

A Pragma-Cognitive Analysis of Political Cartoons: Sectarianism as a Case Study

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تحليل تداولي معرفي للرسوم الكاريكاتورية السياسية: الطائفية كدراسة خاصة

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الملخص:

لقد صورت الطائفية بشكل مختلف من قبل الناس. عكس رسامو الكاريكاتير السياقات الاجتماعية والثقافية للمتلقي عند تصوير هذا المفهوم في رسوماتهم. تتناول الدراسة الحالية المواضيع التي تمثل مصطلح "الطائفية" وتستكشف ما إذا كان مفهوم "الطائفية" ينظر إليه على أنه مجال مصدر أو مجال هدف. كإطار نظري، تتبنى الدراسة نظرية الاستعارة المفهومية لـ Lakoff و Johnson (1980) ونظرية الصلة لـ Sperber و Wilson (1986). تم جمع خمس وثلاثون رسماً كاريكاتورياً من مصادر مختلفة على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي. تكشف الدراسة عن استخدام عدة مواضيع لتصوير مفهوم "الطائفية" مثل (الإعلام الأصفر، المخلوق المخيف، النار، شحن البطارية، الشبي، القاتل المتخفي، الفتنة، التقسيم، التمييز، الاتجاه، الوعاء، الإنسان، السلاح، سحبة دخان النركيلة). كما تكشف النتائج أن مفهوم "الطائفية" يفهم مجازياً في أغلب الأحيان باعتباره مجالاً مستهدفاً. وتظهر النتائج أيضاً أن رسالة المتحدث مشفرة، وأن المشاهد فهمها ضمناً لا صراحة لتحقيق أقصى قدر من الملائمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الطائفية، الكاريكاتير السياسي، نظرية الاستعارة المفهومية، نظرية الصلة، المعنى الضمني والصريح

Abstract:

Sectarianism has been experienced by people differently. Cartoonists reflect people's socio-cultural contexts to depict this term in their cartoons. The present paper examines the themes that represent the term 'Sectarianism' and to explore whether the concept of 'Sectarianism' is conceptualized as a source or target domain. It also examines the explicit and implicit meaning of sectarianism. As a theoretical framework, the study adopts Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory by Sperber and Wilson (1986). Thirty-five political cartoons were collected from different sources on social media. The results reveal that several themes (YELLOW MEDIA, SCARY CREATURE, FIRE, BATTERY CHARGING, OBJECT, DISGUISED MURDERER, STRIFE, DIVISION, DEVICE, DISCRIMINATION, DIRECTION, CONTAINER, HUMAN, WEAPON, and HOOKAH PUFF) were employed to depict the concept of 'Sectarianism.' They also reveal that the concept of 'Sectarianism' is conceptualized metaphorically more often as a target domain. The results also show that the speaker's message is encoded and the viewer understood it implicitly not explicitly to get optimal relevance.

Keywords: sectarianism, political cartoon, conceptual metaphor theory, relevance theory, implicit and explicit meaning

1. Introduction

Metaphor can be realized in imaginative products such as cartoons, literary works, dreams, visions and myths, not limited to the verbal mode (Lakoff, 1993). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." Cartoonists use verbal elements and visual to express their attitudes. There are verbal signs, labels, verbal titles,

balloon texts, and verbal texts among genre's verbal elements. These verbal cues, in their interplay, may contribute to the identification of source and target domains in a metaphoric scenario (Spooren, 2018 cited in Virág, 2020).

El Refaie (2009:184) defines the political cartoon as "A political cartoon is 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." While Forceville (2024) defines political cartoons as "a political cartoon, consisting of a picture and, optionally, short written narratorial explanatory comments and/or utterances by depicted characters, is expected to provide, in one glance, an evaluation of a specific person or state of affairs in the world that is in the news at the moment of publication."

Abdel-Raheem (2022) argues that the purpose of metaphor, in the genre of political cartooning, is to explain, persuade, comment, and to simplify an abstract concept easier to grasp, but not just to entertain.

Cartoons play a major role in critiquing the social, political, and economic phenomena through their cartoons. Cartoonists aim to stimulate audience to these phenomena from various depicting perspectives. The concept of 'Sectarianism' was one of the cartoonists' interest as it is a political and religious phenomenon with ideological dimensions contributed in creating of the problems people suffered from. Cartoonists represent this concept by describing multiple aspects contributed to the creation of sectarianism; such as, yellow media, or describe other aspects that refer indirectly to it, such as, objects, feelings, murdering, and division.

This study focuses on the analysis of selected cartoons that shed light on the concept of 'Sectarianism.' The study aims to answer to the following questions:

1. What are the themes that represent the concept of 'Sectarianism' in the cartoons?
2. Is the concept of 'Sectarianism' conceptualized as a source or target domain?

3. Did the viewers of the cartoons understand the meaning of sectarianism explicitly or implicitly?

2. Theoretical framework

This part presents an overview of both two theories of analysis; Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory. It defines and explains both of them in detail.

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

In cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain as with understanding IDEAS in terms of BUILDINGS. This view of metaphor is shorthand and is called a **Conceptual Metaphor** (Kövecses, 2010).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) claims that a conceptual metaphor is the systematic mapping between two different conceptual domains. This theory assumes that surface linguistic expressions of a metaphor emerge from that conceptual mapping. The major principle of CMT is that metaphor, by its very nature, characterizes cognitive/conceptual structure not only affects surface linguistic expressions (Shinohara & Matsunaka, 2009). Lately, some researchers have started to study the conceptual metaphor not only on linguistic one, but on non-verbal and multimodal modes, for example; cartoons, advertisements, signs...etc. (Forceville, 1994; Forceville, 1996; Forceville, 2006; Kövecses, 2010).

Conceptual metaphor theory is a cognitive process in which humans engage when someone conceptualizes a target domain from a source domain through expressions that mapping between both domains (Lakoff and Johnson,1980). Forceville (2006) explains briefly what is meant by the following notion of Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999) “the mind is inherently embodied, reason is shaped by the body,” by saying that “human beings find phenomena they can see, hear, feel, taste and/or smell easier to understand and categorize than phenomena they cannot. It is

perceptibility that makes the former phenomena concrete, and the lack of it that makes the latter abstract.”

The interpretation of most metaphors, since usually the mappable features or actions are not explicitly verbalized in other modes, is a matter of inferring: the audience needs to combine intra-textual information and extra-textual knowledge about the (sub) culture within which the metaphorical discourse at stake functions (Forceville, 2024). Forceville states that the facility of interpretation of what features are to be mapped is strongly steered by two factors: the first factor is the genre to which the discourse in which the metaphor belongs to; this means that if writing focuses on a political cartoon, this genre typically urges us to search for negative features of the source domain that can be mapped onto the target domain. The second factor is that the attributes, attitudes, and emotions conventionally adhere to the source domain in the culture within which the metaphorical discourse appears (ibid).

Cognitive metaphor theory clarifies that metaphors play a major role in the process of how human beings conceptualize the world. Therefore, the process of metaphorizing is primarily a mental activity and a verbal one only derivatively. Robust evaluation of this trail-blazing idea requires taking into consideration working on multimodal manifestations and non-verbal/visual of metaphor (Forceville, 2016).

The first part of the current study sheds light on the analysis of the cartoons by investigating the metaphorical representation of ‘Sectarianism’ based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

2.2 Relevance Theory

Relevance theory was originated by the French scholar Dan Sperber and the British scholar Deirdre Wilson. This theory can be regarded as a development of, and a reaction against the classical Gricean pragmatic theory. The relevance theory’s main ideas are presented in Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995), and updated more recently in Wilson and Sperber (2004) and Wilson (2010) (Huang, 2014).

Sperber and Wilson state that A arrives at the implicature of B's utterance, in the following exchange example, by formulating a number of hypotheses about communicative intentions of B.

A: Do you want to go into town?

B: I'm feeling really tired at the minute.

The position which B may be taken to implicate, B does not want to go into town, is that the hypothesis which best satisfies the conversation's maxims. Sperber and Wilson are relating their own confirmation system of pragmatic hypothesis to the Grice's work, maxims of conversation (Cummings, 2005). Sperber and Wilson modify Grice's work by adopting a single principle of relevance in replace of the four maxims. To the extent that the Gricean maxims are to be accommodated, they are subservient to this relevance principle. Significantly, whereas Grice formulated his maxims prescriptively, as rules to be obeyed, Sperber and Wilson see the relevance principle as hardwired in human's brains, something we simply cannot help but rely on (Forceville, 2020).

Sperber and Wilson differed from Grice's work over the nature of the relevant pragmatic principles and the ways in which they operated in the process of interpretation. They identify three main differences from Grice; firstly, Sperber and Wilson argued that the Grice's distinction between 'what is said' and 'what is implicated,' as there were some well-established problems with the lack of precision in Grice's definition of 'what is said,' not just with the formulation of it, and in how he envisaged its relationship to literal, semantic meaning. Sperber and Wilson took an issue with very viability of 'what is said' as a distinct level of meaning on which principles could operate to produce implicatures. Secondly, Grice concerns of figures of speech, such as irony and metaphor could be explained as particularized conversational implicatures, dependent usually on the maxims of quality. But Sperber and Wilson claimed that the operations of the maxims are not adequate. Finally, Sperber and Wilson argued that various maxims of Grice are not independently

necessary. A relevance principle can replace them all, which it leads the hearer to believe that the audience has done her/his best to be maximally relevant in the context of utterance (Chapman, 2013).

Relevance, according to Sperber and Wilson, is a function of two factors; contextual effects (cognitive) and processing effort. The first factor is a result of an interaction between a newly impact stimulus and a subset of the assumptions that are already established in a cognitive system. The second factor is the effort which a cognitive system must expend in order to achieve a satisfactory interpretation of any incoming information processed. In this case, relevance is a matter of degree of an input to an individual. It is a balance struck between cognitive effects and processing effort (Sperber and Wilson, 1995 cited in Huang, 2014). Effect and effort principles apply largely the same way in visual communication, given that any ostensive stimulus comes with the presumption of optimal relevance to the addressee (Forceville, 2020).

The main idea of Relevance Theory is that a communicator cannot help but presume to be optimally relevant to her/his audience. In order the message to be relevant to the audience, the message must have an 'effect' on the sum total of beliefs, knowledge, and emotions. The time of communicated message and the place of processing the message is also part of the cognitive environment of viewer. As far as the effect a message has on the cognitive environment of the audience, the message's relevance will be great. The benefits of relevance are substitute by its 'effort' in RT. Relevance arises from the idea of balancing between effect and effort. If the addressee invests more of mental effort to recover a message's effect, the less relevant it yields (Forceville, 2014). In relevance theory, non-explicit meaning called 'implicatures.' Implicatures are inferred by a combination of textual signals, text-internal context, pertinent text-external context, and the whole is constituted a cognitive environment of an addressee (Sperber and Wilson,1995 cited in Forceville, 2024).

Sperber and Wilson claim that in most acts of communication we can distinguish two sub-parts. The first sub-part, is the communicator's wish to communicate a certain

message or a ‘set of assumptions.’ This wish is called ‘informative intention.’ The second sub-part, the communicator usually wants the audience to be aware of her/his wish to communicate the set of assumptions; this wish is called ‘communicative intention.’ It is difficult to separate the two wishes in verbal communication. Usually, both of informative and communicative are obvious when someone talks to you in a familiar language, the audience understand the message then the informative intention is recognized. The message is mutually clear for both interlocutors that the communicator/addressor wants the audience/addressee to be aware to the intended message. In this case, communicative intention is recognized. Thus, ‘ostensive-inferential communication’ is a result of combination of two intentions (Sperber and Wilson, 1986 cited in Forceville, 1996). Relevance Theory suggests that most acts of communication are interpreted by audience by a combination of ‘decoding’ and ‘inferring’ relevant knowledge in the intended message. The envisaged audience needs to understand the words and grammatical structure in order to understand verbal message. This means that the audience is in the possession of the linguistic code, that is to recognize the language’s vocabulary and syntax. Forceville suggests that some visuals require ‘decoding,’ although lacking a syntax and a vocabulary, just as language does. Pictograms, logo, and traffic signs are good examples of such visuals (Forceville, 2020 cited in Forceville, 2024). Sperber and Wilson views that every kind of human communication is amenable to explanation from the perspective of Relevance Theory. By other means, all genres of communication conform to the presumption of cognitive and communicative relevance. Metaphor in the traditional relevance theoretic view is not inherently any different from other kinds of communication, such as simile and hyperbole, exactly because they all are inferred by the hearer following a path of less cognitive effect to achieve relevant meaning (Sperber and Wilson, 2006 cited in Sobrino, 2017).

Relevance Theory model can be applied to ostensive visuals. A communicator deploying visuals extensively wants to inform an audience of something, and

communicate this intention by any of a wide range of attention-grabbing devices. Stimuli in other modes, like ostensive verbal stimuli, visuals come with the promise that they are worth the audience's attention, since they have something to convey that is supposedly relevant to the viewer. Ostensive visuals come with the presumption of relevance, whether or not accompanied by language or other modes (Forceville, 2020).

As one needs to have learned the meaning of words and syntactic structures, one may need to learn recognizing politicians in cartoons, as an example. If someone is unable to identify the representation of a given politician saying, such as Vladimir Putin or Volodymyr Zelensky, as Ursula von der Leyen or Marin Le Pen, he will fail in decoding message. To make the messages meaningful, this requires the audience to process the explicit content in interaction with other information so as to 'infer', as opposed to 'decode', its meaning (Forceville, 2024). Most of the conducted work by Sperber and Wilson has dealt with figurative meaning especially metaphor. Relevance Theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory are appropriate to a large extent given that both models hold that metaphor requires a type of cognitive process for interpretation that is different somehow from literal language (Pérez-Sobrino, 2017).

Forceville (2024) states what Sperber and Wilson distinguished between strong and weak communication. He comments on this idea by saying that not everybody infers exactly the same mapping from a source to target in a metaphorical cartoon. Forceville says that "the more strongly an implicature is communicated, the more clear it is that the communicator (here: the cartoonist) intends the audience to derive it, and thus takes responsibility for the derivation; the more weakly an implicature is communicated by the cartoonist, the more the responsibility for deriving it shifts to the audience." Relevance theorists argues that "the amount of effort to be invested for interpretation is greater for figurative language than for language, and that this great amount of cognitive activity is offset by a large number of meaning effects. This assumption correlates with the cognitive-linguistic idea that metaphor interpretation involves a

reasoning process based on the structure and logic of a system of correspondences (Pérez–Sobrinó, 2017).”

An important difference between Sperber and Wilson’s views on metaphor and those of Lakoff and Johnson is that the first views presuppose that thoughts are literal while the second views contend that many aspects of human thinking are inherently metaphorical (Forceville, 1996). Visuals have parts that are decoded, even though they do not have a grammar or a vocabulary as language has, either because visuals resemble their counterparts in reality or because they have a meaning that has been ascribed to them conventionally. All visuals are incomplete, in one way or another, and require that the addressee assign a referent to one or more of their elements. In cartoons and drawings, as many visual communicators, tend to leave out certain details in the interest of optimizing relevance by reducing the addressees’ effort (Forceville, 2020).

In the current study, the cartoons will be analyzed according to Relevance Theory to show the explicit and implicit meaning implied by the communicator/cartoonist and inferred by the audience to gain an optimal relevant.

2.3 Previous studies

Many scholars have taken cartoons in their consideration. Cartoons have been studied from different approaches and theories; including, cognitive, linguistic, semiotic, and pragmatic methods. Forceville (2026) discusses six visual/multimodal case studies to demonstrate Relevance Theory’s value for further developing multimodality as a robust scholarly discipline. A study that carried out by (Olajimbite and Jolaoso, 2024) examines the pragmatic resources inherent in COVID–19–related cartoons depicting the impact of the virus on Nigerian society. Another study by Forceville (2014) promotes the usefulness of Relevance Theory to analyze the visual and multimodal discourse. In addition, a study by Yus (2009) analyzes the visual and verbal metaphor from Relevance Theory point of view. The study claims that the comprehension of verbal and visual metaphors involves similar mental procedures. The article published

by Abdel–Raheem (2021) discusses whether multimodal texts can be fruitful for both politeness and impoliteness studies. The study focuses on specific cartoon acts and their face–attacking or face–enhancing potential. It sheds light on European Union matters. Kondowe et al. (2014) adopt a study that aims to analyze verbal and nonverbal features of Malawi newspaper political cartoons using Grice’s Conversational Implicature as a theoretical model. Furthermore, Abdel–Raheem’s (2022) study investigates nonverbal and multimodal acts during the coronavirus pandemic. It has a socio–cognitive thrust and uses a large–scale corpus of political cartoons. The study is qualitative to identify metaphor and action in context and a quantitative to identify the most frequent metaphors and speech acts.

Other studies have analyzed political cartoons adopting Conceptual Metaphor Theory. For example, Liepa et al. (2021) conduct a study to identify and analyze the visual and multimodal metaphors in cartoons using Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Zibin (2022) adopts Conceptual Metaphor Theory to explore the monomodal and multimodal metaphors in 80 cartoons by 11 Jordanian cartoonists to depict the coronavirus. Alousque (2014) explores monomodal visual and multimodal verbo–pictorial metaphors in a corpus print political cartoon. Jabber (2026 a.b.c.) analyzes the political cartoons to show how terms ‘Death’, ‘political Closure’, and ‘Peace Dove’ are represented metaphorically. Al–Saedi (2025 a. and b.) has investigated the conceptual metaphors in different socio–political cases and social media in Iraqi newspaper cartoons.

To analyze the gathered cartoons, the researcher adopts two approaches, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) by Lakoff and Johnson and Relevance theory (1986) by Sperber and Wilson.

3. Method of analysis

The data are limited to the representation of the term of ‘Sectarianism’ as it is called in the period of the struggle between some groups from different Iraqi Sects. Thirty–five cartoons are selected from different sources on social media by Iraqi well–known cartoonists; Auda Al–Fahdawi and Khudhiar Alhamyari. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

(CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Relevance Theory (1986) by Sperber and Wilson are chosen as multimodal study to analyze the selected data. The gathered cartoons will be analyzed into two parts. The first part focuses on the analysis of the cartoons by investigating the metaphorical representation of 'Sectarianism'. The details of the cartoons will be explained and then the extracted metaphors will be verbalized. The second part adopts the Relevance Theory. The details of the cartoons will be investigated to show the encoded and decoded messages and to elicit the meaning whether it is explicit or implicit.

4. Analysis and findings

This part concerns with the analysis of the selected cartoons by adopting two models, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) Conceptual metaphor theory and Relevance Theory (1986) by Sperber and Wilson. This part is divided into two subparts, the first part relies on metaphorical analysis whereas the second focuses on pragmatic analysis.

4.1 Cognitive analysis

This part of analysis sheds light on analyzing the cartoons by adopting the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The researcher begins with describing the scenarios of each cartoon and then shows how the concept of 'Sectarianism' is represented metaphorically through different themes and scenarios. After each theme, source and target domains are identified to show the visual and verbal modes.

4.1.1 YELLOW MEDIA Metaphor

This type of non-professional media lies on fabricating news, sensationalism, and exaggeration to increase sales and attract the audience with adhering to journalistic ethics standards. It focuses on crimes and scandals, and it emerged as media in the late of nineteenth century. It manifested in misleading headlines, sensationalism, fabrication, and lack of credibility. It has finally emerged in cartoons, offering negative criticism of politicians and political, social, and economic issues in society. This type of

behavior was particularly prominent in the period following the fall of Saddam’s regime, especially during the period known as sectarian, where the media played a major role in spreading the spirit of division and sectarian, regional, and ethic discrimination among the people of the same country.

Cartoons, Figures 1a–p, by the cartoonist Auda Al–Fahdawi, shows different scenarios of the YELLOW MEDIA metaphor.

Cartoon, Figure 1a, shows a person holds a device with his right hand looks like a TV/horn. From his head, the yellow papers are emerged and his eyes are blindfold. The cartoonists depict the yellow media as a PERSON. This case can be perceived metaphorically as YELLOW MEDIA IS A PERSON. A speech bubble is emerged from the TV. Screen, from which, a verbal text ‘No to sectarianism is appeared. The bubble text shows the misleading media which indicates refusing the sectarianism from those who in turn seeks for it. Therefore, a conceptual metaphor MISLEADING MEDIA IS SECTARIANISM is conceived. The blindfold eyes indicate what it is called blind discourse which it sees just what it wants to see or accept. In this case, a conceptual metaphor is represented as; SECTARIAN DISCOURSE IS BLINDFOLD.

Target domain	yellow media	verbal
	misleading media	visual
	sectarian Discourse	visual
Source domain	person	visual
	sectarianism	visual
	blindfold	visual



Figure

1a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi
cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

Figure 1b: Cartoon the

Figure 1b shows another scenario where a channel is personified sitting on a sofa and his head is depicted as building block and a verbal text 'National Channel' is emerged from the bubble. The national channel is depicted as BUILDING BLOCK whose notions are closed-mind. The building block portrays the people or spectators who see the notions from one side, and rejected and argued another matters. Therefore, it can be conceived the metaphor NATIONAL CHANNEL IS BUILDING BLOCK SPECTATOR. In front of the person, TV device is portrayed and as scary creature looks like (dragon) is going out from it, which is labeled with the word SECTARIANISM in yellow color. From this depiction, the metaphors are conceptualized as; SECTARIANISM IS SCARY CREATURE and YELLOW MEDIA IS TV DEVICE.

Target domain	national channel	verbal
	sectarianism	verbal
	yellow media	visual
Source domain	building block spectator	visual
	scary creature	visual
	TV device	visual

In Figure 1c, yellow media is personified. It stays on the ground and smolder is emitted from it. The personified object holds a match and he tries to fire around him. The cartoonist depicts the yellow media as a FIRE that burn all things around it as

misleading news that act the sectarian discourse. From the above depiction, the conceptual metaphor is recognized; YELLOW MEDIA IS A PERSON and SECTARIANISM IS FIRE.



Figure 1c: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi Figure 1d: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

Figure 1d shows a scenario of conversation between two persons. The first person wears sleep clothes and another is a personified yellow media, the verbal text which region than others. This scenario shows indicates the following metaphors; THE SECTARIAN DISCOURSE IS REGINAL and YELLOW MEDIA IS A PERSON.

Target domain	yellow media	visual
	sectarian discourse	verbal
Source domain	person	visual
	regional	verbal

Figure 1e portrays a figure of the former president of Iraq Barham Salih. The cartoon shows two flags, Iraqi and Kurdistan. The cartoonist depicts the YELLOW MEDIA as a TIE of Barham Salih. The cartoon indicates that the Barham's head is filtered to the Kurdistan flag. This movement is a connotation to the racism where a particular group or person tends to a particular region or sect. The movement of Barahm's head is portrayed that the racism is filtered to Kurdistan matters not Iraq. The meaning of this cartoon can be conceived metaphorically as YELLOW MEDIA IS BARHAM'S YELLOW TIE and HEAD MOVEMENT IS RACISM.



Figure 1e: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

Target domain	yellow media	visual
	Head movement	visual
Source domain	Barham's yellow tie	visual
	racism	visual

Cartoon, Figure 1f, shows a tree scenario, where a big tree is depicted as POPULAR MOBILIZATION FORCES under whose shade people find shelter. One branch seems to be cut from the tree. The shape of the tree is conceptualized metaphorically as POPULAR MOBILIZATION FORCES IS A BIG TREE. Tools are used to work, play, pleasure, and to fight. Tools and machines and the activities that related to them show up as metaphorical expressions (Kövecses, 2010). Yellow media is depicted as TOOL in the shape of a figure with an axe head. Since, it can be conceptualized as YELLOW MEDIA IS A TOOL. The speech bubble "You are patriotic" is depicted as a national discourse addresses to misleading people. The connotative meaning of this metaphor, as traditionally inherited in Iraqi culture, that the concept of A BIG TREE is an umbrella which presents a shape that protects others from the sun. In spite of the connotative meaning, the YELLOW MEDIA still misleading these matters metaphorically by conceiving CUTTING TREE BRANCHES, for this reason a conceptual metaphor YELLOW MEDIA IS A TOOL/FOREST AXE and MISLEADING MATTERS IS CUTTING TREE BRANCGES.

Target domain	popular mobilization forces	verbal
	yellow media	visual
	misleading matters	visual
Source domain	big tree	visual
	tool/forest axe	visual
	cutting tree branches	visual



Figure 1f: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi Figure 1g: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

In the same vein, cartoon Figure 1g seems to be looked like Figure 1e but the YELLOW MEIDA is personified holding an axe by both hands asking some people to cut their tree's leaves accusing it of containing yellow leaves. The connotative meaning conceptualizes the metaphor YELLOW MEDIA IS A PERSON. The cartoonist portrays the accusation of popular mobilization forces by sectarianism as a tree, which its leaves became yellow, in this case, another metaphor is conceptualized ACCUSATION SECTARIANISM IS YELLOW TREE'S LEAVES. Behind a man, a black tree is showed with a yellow leaf which hangs down from it. The negative connotation of the black color is clearly understood in Iraqi culture as a symbol for evil and bad behavior whereas green color, as with tree's green leaves, symbolizes to good behavior and peace. In this cartoon, it can be depicted as sectarian people or tendency to

sectarianism. In this case, it can be conceptualized as SECTARIANISM IS BLACK TREE and POPULAR MOBILIZATION FORCES IS GREEN TREE'S LEAVES.

Target domain	yellow media	visual
	accusation sectarianism	visual
	sectarianism	visual
	popular mobilization forces	verbal
Source domain	person	visual
	yellow tree's leaves	visual
	black tree	visual
	green tree's leaves	visual

Another cartoon, Figures 1h and i, which shows a scenario tends to be a conversation between two persons. The first person is depicted as a PATRIOTIC PERSON and a second is YELLOW MEDIA PERSONIFICATION. The scenario conceptualized a conversation between PATRIOTIC PERSON and YELLOW MEDIA which represent that YELLOW MEDIA mislead the patriotic people. For this reason, the meaning of the cartoon is conceptualized metaphorically as follow: YELLOW MEDIA IS A NON-PATRIOTIC PERSON, and THINKING PROCESS IS A PATRIOTIC PERSON.

Target domain	yellow media	visual
	thinking process	verbal
Source domain	non-patriotic person	visual
	patriotic person	visual



Figure 1h: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi



Figure 1i: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

In Figure 1j, the YELLOW MEDIA metaphor is personified. The cartoonist depicts the figure as a person who runs quickly holding the tree's branches as AN INCITING MEDIA and the wood branches as media devices to strife, since it is depicted as TREE'S BRANCHES ARE MEDIA DEVICES and INCITING MEDIA IS A PERSON. From the personified yellow media, a bubble is emerged with a verbal text prayer "O provider...there will be strife between the brothers." The scene conceptualizes the metaphor STRIFE AMONG BROTHERS IS THROW WOOD BRANCHES INTO FIRE.

Target domain	tree's branches	visual
	inciting media	verbal
	strife among brothers	verbal
Source domain	media devices	visual
	person	visual
	throw wood branches into fire	visual



Figure 1j: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi



Figure 1k: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

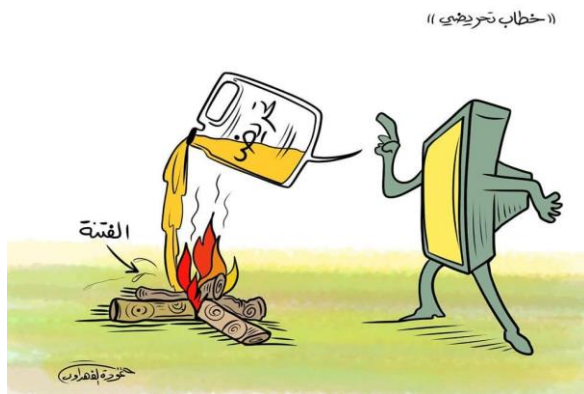


Figure 1l: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

When the concept of plant is used metaphorically, we distinguished diverse parts of plants; many actions we perform in relation to plants are awarded; and many different stages of growth that plants go through are recognized (Kövecses, 2010). In Figure 1k, the yellow media is also depicted as a personified TV set. He holds watering hose to water the plants. Under the ground a black seed is portrayed. On the seed's cortex, a verbal word 'strife' is written. The cartoonist depicts the black seed as a STRIFE which waits inciting media to be done, as seeds waiting to grow. The meaning of this scenario can be understood metaphorically not verbally as STRIFE IS A SEED and INCITEMENT MEDIA IS WATERING SEEDS. In cartoon, (Figure 1l), it's title is "Inciting discourse" shows that the media devices are a gallon/barrel of oil which is poured onto the fire to increase the flame. Henceforth, incitement is depicted as OIL

GALLON and igniting strife is depicted as POURING OIL ONTO THE FIRE. This cartoon shows the following conceptual metaphors; INCITING IS OIL GALLON and IGNITING STRIFE IS POURING OIL ONTO THE FIRE.

Target domain	strife	verbal
	incitement media	visual
	inciting	verbal
	igniting strife	visual
Source domain	seed	visual
	watering seeds	visual
	oil gallon	visual
	pouring oil onto the fire	visual

Cartoon, Figure 1m, shows the scene of muslim ablution which all Muslims do before prayer. Through a bubble, a verbal text “I seek refuge in Allah from the accursed media” is manifested. This verbal prayer reminds us with a Quranic verse “I seek refuge in Allah from accursed Satan.” The cartoonist encoded the concept of media as a SATAN being accursed. In another side of the cartoon, media is depicted as a person in yellow screen. The cartoonist gives the qualities of Satan to personified yellow media; demonic horns on his head and an arrow holding by his hand, and a pointed tail. Therefore, this scenario can be understood as YELLOW MEDIA IS SATAN. The conceptual metaphor shows two domains, the target domain which is recognized verbally, and source domain which recognized visually.



Figure 1m: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

Figure 1n: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

In Figure 1n, a scenario of a conversation between a doctor and a patient is portrayed. The cartoonist depicts the YELLOW MEDIA metaphor as a PATIENT. For this reason, a conceptual metaphor can be formed YELLOW MEDIA IS A PATIENT. The verbal text of the bubble, which is emerged from the patient, asks a doctor about the test's results. And another verbal test of the bubble shows a doctor answer "Your triviality is up." Kövecses (2010) argues on the up-down metaphor by saying that "Upward orientation tends to go together with positive evaluation, while downward orientation with a negative one." The connotative meaning of the doctor's answer to the patient portrays that the triviality is encoded on what the YELLOW MEDIA behaves towards others as INCITEMENT DISCOURSE is not serious or to indicate negative connotation. Therefore, TEST'S RESULTS are depicted as INCITEMENT DISCOURSE and INCITEMENT is depicted as UP-TRIVIALTY to form the metaphors; TEST'S RESULTS ARE INCITEMENT DISCOURSE and INCITEMENT DISCOURSE IS UP-TRIVIALTY.

Target Domain	yellow media	verbal
	test's results	verbal
Source domain	incitement discourse	visual
	patient	visual
	incitement discourse	visual

up-triviality

verbal

In cartoon, Figure 1o, the sectarian discourse is depicted as BLACKMAN WORKER who derives a yellow wheel barrow. The wheel barrow holds depicted as ahead block from which a bubble is emerged with a verbal text “This is an agent, this is a traitor, this is a tail, this is....” The building block portrays the people as closed-mind who they do not accept others’ opinions and argue all others ideal notions. The cartoonist depicts the verbal text of the bubble as a SECTARIAN DISCOURSE metaphor and people who are affected by this discourse is depicted as BUILDING BLOCK metaphor runs by a media which in turn depicted as a WHEEL BARROW. The cartoon’s scenario shows several metaphorical conceptualizations; INCITEMENT DISCOURSE IS A BLACKMAN WORKER, YELLOW MEDIA IS A WHEEL BARROW, and PEOPLE’S MIND IS A BUILDING BLOCK.

Target domain	incitement Discourse	verbal
	yellow media	visual
	people’s mind	visual
Source domain	black man worker	visual
	wheel barrow	visual
	building block	visual



Figure 1o: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

Figure 1p shows two persons who they see surprised towards a personified yellow media. A verbal text which is appeared through the one person's bubble "Be careful not to call it sectarian, you'll be the sectarian one," is perceived as a warning to another person. Henceforth, a verbal text depicts that saying a truth is SECTARIANISM in itself. The cartoonist depicts a sectarian discourse as TV WAVES metaphor out from a personified YELLOW MEDIA. For this depiction, it is noticed following conceptual metaphors; YELLOW MEDIA IS A PERSON, SECTARIAN DISCOUSE IS TV WAVES, and SAYING THE TRUTH IS SECTARIANISM.

Target domain	yellow media	visual
	sectarian discourse	visual
	saying the truth	verbal
Source domain	person	visual
	TV waves	visual
	sectarianism	verbal



Figure 1p: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

4.1.2 SECTARIANISM IS BATTERY CHARGING Metaphor

Cartoon, Figure 2a, which its title sectarian charging shows three persons, the first holds wires in his hand. He looks surprisingly. The two charging wires ties to the

battery by yellow electrodes. A second person holds a voltmeter, which is used to measure the electricity power. Here, this cues to external parties that manipulate people's emotion. Since it is depicted as EXTERNAL PARTIES metaphor and conceptualized as EXTERNAL PARTIES ARE VOLTMETER. A verbal text through bubble "It's not like before, it charges very quickly!" portrays the difference between two periods of country's people which cues metaphorically how people effected by YELLOW MEDIA in that period. A third person stays on the chair, his head is shaped as a battery. The scenario of this cartoon, as with cartoon (Figure 2b), perceived that the process of charging a battery is not understood literally. The context of the cartoon conceives that the meaning is metaphorically depicted. The verbal text 'Sectarian Charge' on the cartoon depicts the behavior of those who perform incitement discourse. This is depicted as a target domain and the process can be conceptualized as SECTARIAN CHARGING IS BATTERY CHARGING. Since the charging electrodes are yellow, it refers to YELLOW MEDIA, and metaphorically shaped as YELLOW MEDIA IS CHARGING ELECTRODES. The wires are connected to unknown source of charging, which refers to hidden assets which manage 'Sectarianism' in the country. It can be depicted as SATAN ROPES and metaphorically conceptualized CHARGING WIRES ARE SATAN ROPES and BATTERY CHARGING IS INCITING STRIFE. Figure 2b shows two persons with heads depicted as batteries tied to charging. The two images literally construe that there is a struggle between them, but metaphorically, can be conceive that each one of them belongs to party which in turn represents own notions or matters, since a conceptual metaphor is represented as CHARGING BATTERIES ARE MATTERS/NOTIONS STRUGGLE.

Target domain	external parties	verbal
	sectarian charging	verbal
	yellow media	visual
	charging wires	visual
	battery charging	visual

	charging batteries	visual
Source domain	voltmeter	visual
	battery charging	visual
	charging electrodes	visual
	Satan ropes	visual
	inciting strife	visual
	matters/notions struggle	visual



Figure 2a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari Figure 2b: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari

4.1.3 SECTARIANISM IS AN OBJECT Metaphor

In cartoons, Figures 3a and b, by the cartoonists Auda Al-Fahdawi and Khudhiar Alhmyari, a concrete block is showed, the word ‘Sectarianism’ is written on it. The cartoonist gives the qualities of an object/concrete slab to sectarianism concept being, solid and difficult to penetrate. Since sectarianism is depicted as AN OBJECT source domain and hence, a conceptual metaphor SECTRIANISM IS AN OBJECT is represented. Although the concrete block is solid, and metaphorically conceived as sectarianism, it can be penetrated by soldiers of Iraqi Army who they do not differentiate between one people country. Henceforth, it is conceptualized as NATIONAL UNITY IS A CONCRETE BLOCK PENTRATION. In Figure 3b, a verbal

text ‘Transitional parties’ on the cartoon, is come into contact with shape of pole vault player.

The pole vault player is depicted as TRANSITIONAL PARTIES target domain, and it conceptualized as TRANSITINAL PARTIES ARE POLE VAULT PLAYERS. The scenario of this cartoon, (Figure 3b), indicates how some parties use sectarianism to achieve their goals. The concrete slab cues to crossbar which the player of pole vault tries to cross. The sectarianism concept here is depicted as an CROSSBAR source domain. Therefore, it is conceptualized as SECTARIANSIM IS AN CROSS BAR THE PLAYER WANTS TO CROSS.

Target domain	sectarianism	verbal	
	national unity	visual	
	transitional parties	verbal	
	sectarianism		
verbal			
Source domain	object	visual	
	concrete block penetrating	visual	
	pole vault players	visual	
	crossbar the player wants to cross		visual



Figure 3a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi Figure 3b: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhamyari

4.1.4 SECTARIANISM IS A DISGUISED MURDERER Metaphor

Figure 4a, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, shows another scenario of sectarianism. In the cartoon, a murderer figure is noticed and a blood is bleeding around him. The murderer's blood is addressing another person through bubble by saying "this is who killed me." The other person in the cartoon (see Figure 4b), by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, seems to be a disguised murderer and he holds a sword from which a blood is dripping. The verbal text "Sectarianism runs in your blood" is emerged from him. The cartoonist indicates this scene as a paradox when a murderer accuses a victim in order to show critique about that the other party is sectarian itself. The cartoonist depicts blood, being an object, to be a LIVING CREATURE source domain and it is conceptualized as VICTIM BLOOD IS A LIVING CREATURE. The cartoonist portrays a disguised person as those who call for sectarianism. Therefore, it can be depicted as DISGUISED MURDERER as source domain and hence conceptualizes the metaphor SECTARIANISM IS A DISGUISED MURDERER. Figure 4b represents another scenario when one figure, who has a beard and without a mustache and he conventionally construes to AN EXTREMIST PERSON, holds a victim's hand and he addresses the victim to tell the murderer through bubble by saying "Apologize to him so they don't call you sectarian and we can make a national conciliation for you." In this case, it can be conceptualized as A SECTARIAN PERSON IS AN EXTREMIST PERSON.

Target domain	victim blood	visual
	sectarianism	verbal
	sectarian person	visual
Source domain	living creature	visual
	disguised murderer	visual
	extremist person	visual

In Figure 4c, the scenario shows a murdered person holding a sword and wears black clothes with a hood on his head. Under the man a cutting head body is laying down and a blood is spreading from him. On the other side of the cartoon, the cartoonist portrays a person holding a yellow Kleenex tissue box. A verbal text “Kleenex tissue national unity” on the box is conceived negatively as a means to conceal the crime. Another text “The best way to remove the people’s blood” conceives that the best way to remove traces of the murderer crimes is by using a Kleenex tissue, it is depicted as CLEANING A VICTIM BLOOD metaphor. The cartoonist depicts the YELLOW MEDIA metaphor as KLEENEX TISSUE BOX and the SECTARIAN DISCOURSE metaphor is depicted as KLENNEX TISSUE by giving the qualities of paper, being white, clear to the discourse which distorts the facts and reject others’ notions and spreading hatred and division. Therefore, the following metaphors can be conceptualized; YELLOW MEDIA IS KLEENEX TISSUE BOX, NATIONAL UNITY IS TISSUES GIVING TO A MURDERER, SECTARIAN DISCOURSE IS KLEENEX TISSUE, and REMOVING THE PEOPLE’S BLOOD IS A VICTIM BLOOD CLEANING.

Target domain	yellow media	visual
	national unity	verbal
	sectarian discourse	visual
	removing the people’s blood	verbal
Source domain	Kleenex tissue box	visual
	tissue giving to a murderer	visual
	Kleenex tissue	visual
	victim blood cleaning	visual



Figure 4a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

Figure 4b: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi



Figure 4c: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

4.1.5 SECTARIANISM IS A STRIFE Metaphor

Cartoon, Figure 5a, by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari, shows a TV Device, from which a figure of man seems to be existed from its screen and his hand tapping on a body. The word strife is viewed on the duvet of the sleeping figure. On TV. screen, a verbal text “Sectarian charging channels” depicts the behavior of some channels to adopt the inciting discourse through their programs. The cartoonist portrays the sectarian charging channels as a PRESENTER WHO TAPPING ON A BODY. On the other hand, a STRIFE is depicted as a SLEEPING FIGURE, since the metaphorical conceptualization can be represented as; STRIFE IS A SLEEPING FIGURE, SECTARIANISM IS A STRIFE, and SECTARIAN CHARGING CHANNELS ARE PRESENTER WHO TAPPING ON A SLEEPING FIGURE. The representation of

SLEEPING STRIFE metaphor views another scenario in Figure 5b, by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari, which shows a circle of man figures around the sleeping strife. They perform drumming, speaking, and hit the crash cymbals. The cartoonist portrays the figures performance as if they want to wake up the sleeping figure. This scenario cannot be literally understood but metaphorically where performing cues to INCITING DISCOURSE, since the metaphor can be depicted; INCITING DISCOURSE IS MUSICAL PERFORMANCE.

These cartoons remind us with aphorism "The strife is dormant; may God curse whoever awakens it" "الفتنة نائمة لعن الله من يقظها" and a Quranic verse "وَأَلْفَيْتَنَّهُ أَشَدُّ مِنْ" "and fitnah is worse than killing" Al-Baqarah 191. This saying and Quranic verse construe that the yellow media performs a role to trigger the strife which leads to sectarianism which in turn leads to murder people. The meaning of what it said above can be understood metaphorically. To sum up, THE STRIFE IS SLEEPING UNTIL SOMEONE AWAKENS IT, and THE STRIFE IS MURDER PEOPLE.

Target domain	strife	verbal
	sectarianism	verbal
	sectarian charging channels	verbal
	inciting discourse	
visual		
	strife	
visual		
Source domain	sleeping figure	visual
	strife	verbal
	presenter who tapping on a sleeping figure	visual
	musical performance	
	murder people	
visual		

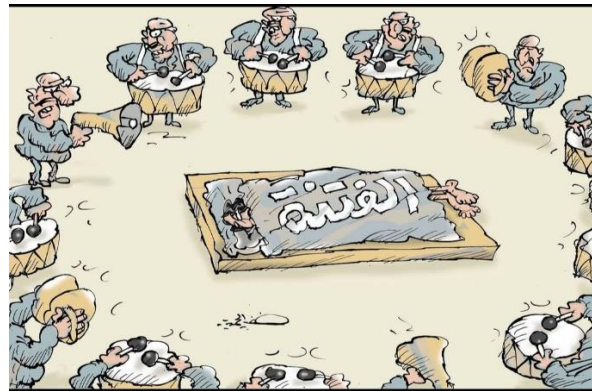


Figure 5a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari Figure 5b: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari

4.1.6 SECTARIANISM IS DIVISION Metaphor

In Figure 6a, by the cartoonists Auda Al-Fahdawi, two figures of men are viewed. Each one holds a razor blade and both of them holds one Iraqi flag. The scenario of the cartoon views that they perform to cut the Iraqi flag by a razor. One bubble is emerged from both, and a text “No to division” is viewed through it. The cartoonist represents an incongruity notion between the figure’s bubble words and what they are performing to do. The cartoonist depicts Iraq land as IRAQI FLAG and those who advocate sectarianism, who they perform to cut a flag, as FIGURES OF MEN. The inciting discourse, which those political blocs depend on to represent sectarianism, is also depicted as RAZOR BLADE which they depend on. From this scenario, it can be recognized that cutting a flag is a DIVISION process which leads to sectarianism. Several conceptual metaphors can be represented; IRAQ LAND IS IRAQI FLAG, ADVOCATES OF SECTARIANISM ARE FIGURES OF MEN, INCITING DISCOURSE IS A RAZOR BLADE, and SECTARIANISM IS DIVISION.

Target domain	Iraq land	visual
	advocates of sectarianism	visual
	inciting discourse	visual
	sectarianism	visual

Source domain Iraqi flag	visual
figures of men	visual
razor blade	visual
division	verbal

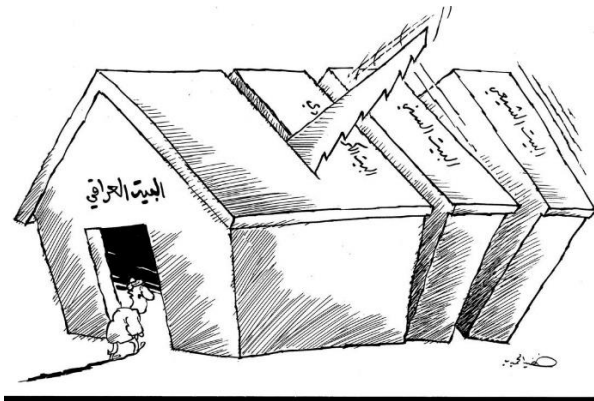


Figure 6a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi Figure 6b: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari

Figure 6b, by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari, shows another scenario of DIVISION metaphor through cutting a wood house by a saw into pieces. The image shows that the house is cut into three pieces; ‘Shiite,’ ‘Sunni,’ and ‘Kurdish.’ The wood house represents the sects of the Iraqi people, as a verbal text ‘An Iraqi house’ on the front of the house, construe that a saw is a device cues to an inciting discourse and political behavior which in turn leads to division. The cartoon depicts Iraq as a COTTAGE and inciting discourse as a saw. Also, the sects of the Iraqi people are depicted as PIECES. For this depiction, the metaphors can be conceptualized as; COTTAGE IS IRAQ, SECTS OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE ARE HOUSE PIECES, INCITING DISCOURSE AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR ARE SAW, and SECTARIANISM IS DIVISION. The following table shows the representation of both domains:

Target domain cottage	verbal
sects of the Iraqi people	verbal

	inciting discourse and political behavior	visual
	sectarianism	verbal/visual
Source domain	Iraq	visual
	house pieces	visual
	saw	visual
	division	visual

4.1.7 SECTARIANISM IS A DEVICE/ELECTRICAL CHARGING Metaphor

Electricity is one of the concepts that is used by cartoonists to cue sectarian discourse. Electricity is one kind of forces, as mentioned by Kövecses (2010), this force is seen as affecting us and operating on in many ways. Figure 7, by the cartoonist Khudheer Al-Hameri, shows a man stands against an electrical switch and tries to press it. The cartoon portrays an ON/OFF ironically, the notion cues to those sectarian advocates who they always call for inciting discourse. A verbal text of caption "Sectarian charging switch" construes to the inciting discourse and it is depicted as ELECTRICAL SWITCH source domain. Metaphorically, sectarianism can be depicted as DEVICE/ELECTRICAL CHARGING metaphor. Henceforth, the represented conceptual metaphors construed as; INCITING DISCOURSE IS A DEVICE/ELECTRICAL SWITCH and SECTARIANISM IS DEVICE/ELECTRICAL CHARGING.

Target domain	inciting discourse	verbal
	sectarianism	visual
Source domain	device/Electrical switch	visual
	device electrical charging	visual



Figure 7: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimari

4.1.8 SECTRANISM IS DISCRIMINATION IN BLOOD Metaphor

In the cartoon, Figure 8, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, two figures of men are standing and they are looking for the blood spreading on the ground. In this cartoon, two conversations are represented through bubbles. The first verbal text “Is this a respectful blood from our community, or disrespectful from their community?” and the second verbal text “Human! this is an Iraqi blood.” The first text represents the advocates of discrimination who they discriminate between on sect from the others and the other text represents the national discourse who sends to all Iraqi sects. The cartoonist depicts Iraqi people as BLOOD. The sectarianism is depicted as DISCRIMINATION IN BLOOD metaphor. For this depiction, the context of cartoon cannot be understood literally but metaphorically, since the following conceptual metaphors can be represented; IRAQI PEOPLE ARE BLOOD and SECTRANISM IS DISCRIMINATION IN BLOOD.

Target domain	Iraqi people	verbal
	sectarianism	visual
Source domain	blood	visual
	discrimination in blood	verbal



Figure 8: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

4.1.9 SECTARANISIM IS DIRECTION Metaphor

When movement involves a change of location, it is associated with direction, up and down, forward and backward. Changes of diverse kinds are conceptualized metaphorically as movement that involves a change of location (Kövecses, 2010). Cartoon, (Figure 9.), by the cartoonist Khudher Al-Hameri, portrays two **CROSSED** signboard arrows, one refers to right side whereas another to wrong side. The verbal signal on the wrong arrow views sectarian sentiment whereas the right arrow views national sentiment. The cartoon shows that the right signboard arrow is under the wrong signboard arrow's pressure which leads to its compression but still direct to the right side. The cartoonist reveals different sects through the crossed arrows. The sectarian sentiment is depicted as **WRONG DIRECTION** whereas the national sentiment is depicted as **RIGHT DIRECTION** and sectarianism is depicted as a **DIRECTION**. Therefore, the metaphorical conceptualization is recognized as; **THE SECTARIAN SENTIMENT IS THE WRONG DIRECTION, THE NATIONAL SENTIMENT IS THE RIGHT DIRECTION, and SECTARIANISM IS A DIRECTION.**

Target domain	sectarian sentiment	verbal
	national sentiment	verbal
	sectarianism	verbal
Source domain	wrong direction	visual
	right direction	visual

direction

visual



Figure 9: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari

4.1.10 SECTARIANISM IS A CONTAINER Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) states that each of use is a container, with a boundary surface and in-out orientation. We project our own in-out orientation onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces. This notion of a container can be adopted to the cartoon, (Figure 10a-b) by the cartoonist Khudhair Al-Hameri. Figure 10a shows two figures of men, one represents those who call for sectarian discourse and the second represents those who call for national discourse. The big black bubble that emerged from a represented sectarian discourse figure cues to shark which it devours the white small bubble that emerged from a represented national discourse. The big black bubble is depicted as CLOUD; sectarian discourse is depicted as a BIG CONTAINER whereas the national discourse is depicted as inside SMALL CONTAINER. Figure 10b, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, portrays the sectarianism as a big fish devours the Iraqi map. The cartoonist depicts the sectarianism as BIG CONTAINER, which it does not discriminate between the people of the country, Iraq is depicted as INSIDE CONTAINER. Hence the conceptual metaphors are represented as; SECTARIAN DISCOURSE IS BIG

BLACK BUBBLE, NATIONAL DISCOURSE IS SMALL WHITE BUBBLE, SECTARIANISM IS BIG CONTAINER, and NATIONALITY IS INSIDE CONTAINER.

Target domain	sectarian discourse	verbal
	national discourse	verbal
	sectarianism	verbal
	nationality	verbal
Source domain	big black bubble	visual
	small white bubble	visual
	big container	visual
	inside container	visual



Figure 10a: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari Figure 10b: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al- Fahdawi

4.11 SECTARIANISM IS A HUMAN Metaphor

Personification is one type of the common source domains when the qualities of the human beings are given to an object. Kövecses (2010: 18) states that “‘embodiment’ of meaning is perhaps the central idea of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and, indeed, of the cognitive linguistic view of meaning.” Figure 11, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, shows three figures of men and one another tries to close their mouths by a plaster tape. A verbal text “Turn off the websites that promote sectarianism” is viewed as a title of the cartoon. The cartoonist depicts the

websites that promote sectarianism as PERSONS and turn off these websites as PUTTING PLASTER TAPE ON PERSONS' MOUTHS. Thus, to understand the core of the cartoons, it should be conceptualized as SECTARIANISM IS A HUMAN BODY, TURNING OFF THE SECTARIAN WEBSIDES IS PUTTING THE PLASTER TAPE ON THE PERSONS' MOUTHS.

Target domain	sectarianism	verbal
	turn off the sectarian websites	verbal
Source domain	human body	visual
	putting plaster tape on the persons' mounts	visual



Figure 11: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

4.1.12 SECTARIANISM IS A WEAPON Metaphor

Figure 12, by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari, shows a figure in the position of shooting through weapon. The cartoon portrays the magazine of the weapon to cue the inciting and threatening channels. Hence it is depicted as a WEAPON MAGAZINE. The Weapon, which is used by the shooter, is directed towards people in order to threaten and perform discrimination and division. Henceforth, this scenario represents the conceptual metaphors as; INCITING AND THREATING CHANNELS ARE WEAPON MAGAZINE and SECTARIANISM IS A WEAPON.

Target domain inciting and threatening channels verbal

	sectarianism	verbal
Source domain	weapon magazine	visual
	weapon	visual



Figure 12: Cartoon by the cartoonist Khudhiar Alhimyari

4.1.13 SECTARIANISM IS HOOKAH PUFF Metaphor

In cartoon, Figure 13, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, a figure of man is viewed sitting on the chair and smoking a hookah. The smoke is shaped typo pictorially as the Arabic word ‘Sectarianism’ which is exited from him. The men represent politicians who live on sectarianism. The cartoonist depicts sectarianism as POLITICAL HOOKAH PUFF and the sects of the sectarian discourse as a SMOKING PERSON, thus it is conceptualized as SECTARIANISM IS POLITICAL HOOKAH PUFF and SECTS OF THE SECTARIAN DISCOURSE ARE A SMOKING PERSON.

Target domain	sectarianism	verbal
	Sects of the sectarian discourse	visual
Source domain	political hookah puff	verbal
	smoking person	visual



Figure 13: Cartoon by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi

4.2. Pragmatic analysis

This part of study deals with analyzing the collected cartoons by adopting the Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson's Relevance Theory (1986). The analyzing process taking into consideration the five interrelated questions by Forceville (2026). Each theme, being shared the same metaphor scenario, will be analyzed as a whole.

4.2.1 The first theme of the study, Figures a–p, is represented by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi. The envisaged addresses/audience are regular readers of media who they familiar with this particular cartoon's style. The communicator/cartoonist depicts the concept of sectarianism as yellow media stimulus. Yellow color is employed by the communicator to cue the non-professional type of media which lies on fabricating news, sensationalism, and exaggeration. He encoded the yellow media metaphor into different stimuli or symbols; body, device, tie, tool, oil, and container. The communicator/cartoonist employs several speech bubbles to encode the implicit meaning; such as encoding the national channels by viewing a building block as a head metaphor, (Figures 1a and b), the speech bubble "No for sectarianism," and "Your tree has a yellow leave needs to be cut off," (Figure 1g), reveal a contradictory notion uttered by those who call of sectarian discourse. The speech bubbles 'Sectarianism' and 'Inciting,' (Figures 1a, b and l), are explicit stimuli. The communicator says those words since he knows the strong effect of them on the envisaged audience thought. He recognizes the background knowledge of the

audience towards these words and their negative effect on the society behavior as a result of sectarian struggle. Therefore, they are considered as a strong stimulus to guide the audience to the intended interpretation. Another strong stimulus is fire metaphor (Figure, 1 b, c, and l), flame is a burning energy that evokes fear and subconscious feeling towards a particular matter. The communicator explains through the speech bubbles how the media/yellow media controls the people's mind through the ideological facts, for instance, "You are patriotic" (figure 1.f), "You are patriotic and a patriotic doesn't think. You just repeat what you hear from me, that's all" (Figure 1.h). "Don't think...if I'm here" (Figure 1i). The communicator wishes the contradictory statements to be affected on the people's think being steer the patriotic people feeling towards the inciting media discourse. He used to the simile A IS LIKE B, the phrase "The accursed media," (Figure 1m), is resembled into "The accursed Satan" phrase. The communicator/cartoonist wants to stimulate the audience religious/Islamic belief of the utterance 'accursed' being a detonated adjective to the Satan, the rejected Quranic figure.

The set of assumptions produced by the communicator/cartoonist are mutually manifest for both communicator and audience. Henceforth, the communicator has succeeded to yield a contextual implication on the cognitive environment of the viewers/addressee. In the cartoons communication, there is an interaction between the speech bubbles and captions, and visual factors to achieve the optimal relevance of the audience. The speech bubbles generate implicit assumptions and they contribute to the derivation of contextual implicature. The blending of visual and verbal stimuli enables the viewers to infer the communicator's meaning efficiently.

The message of the cartoons is fully implicit. The metaphors are easy decoded by the envisaged audience to obtain the optimal relevance. The strong contextual effects are obtained through blending verbal and visual stimuli; such as contradiction, motivated words, represented abstract concepts into concrete objects, misleading, inciting,

warning. Therefore, the cartoons produce high cognitive effects and low processing effort. Consequently, optimal relevance is resulted by the audience.

4.2.2 The concept of sectarianism of this theme, Figures 2a and b, by the cartoonist Khudhir Al- Hameri, is encoded as ‘charging battery’ metaphor. ‘Charging’ as most audience aware is a process used to charge electrical appliances. The communicator/cartoonist employs the term ‘charging,’ as encoded process guides people toward sectarianism. He uses the title ‘Sectarian charging’ to stimulate the audience to the negative results of those who encourage people to adopt sectarian notions. The speech bubble, (Figure 2a), “It’s not like before, it charges very quickly!” construes that the communicator wants the audience to infer that there are external sects who steer the sectarian discourse. The communicator/cartoonist succeeded to address these set of assumptions to be effected on the cognitive environment of the audience. To achieve the effect of the addressee’s cognitive environment, the communicator attempts to blend verbal and visual stimuli.

The message of the cartoon is fully implicit, through contextual stimulus, the communicator/cartoonist was able to address the audience to the encoded meaning. The context shows that the metaphor is visually clear and direct. The communicator reduces the explicit message through encouragement by employing the caption “Sectarian charging” to encode the cognitive stimulus of those who adopt the sectarian discourse. The communicator produces high cognitive effect and since the metaphor is direct and verbal speech bubbles and caption are easy decoding, processing effort is gained low, as such optimal relevance is yielded.

4.2.3 The theme, Figures 3a and b, by the cartoonists Auda Al-Fahdawi and khudher Al-Hameri, encode the concept of sectarianism through the concrete object metaphor. The communicator/cartoonist symbolizes the concept of sectarianism through the object/ concrete block. To stimulate the audience to the intended message, the act of metaphor, the verbal word ‘Sectarianism’ is titled the concrete block. Another strong

stimulus is a movement act where a hand of a soldier penetrated the concrete block. This act stimulates the audience to the notion that nationality unites country people. The communicator, (Figure 3b), encoded the parties who use the sectarianism to obtain the gains as a player who wish to cross the concrete block. The contextual assumptions show a blending between verbal and visual stimuli to guide the audience of the cartoon speech acts. The produced message is fully implicit. Hence, the communicator has succeeded to make an effect on the cognitive environment for the audience through metaphor projection from the secondary onto primary terms. Since the metaphor is clearly visualized, it addresses a high cognitive effect and low processing effort and thus, the cartoon is optimally relevant.

4.2.4 The cartoon of this theme, Figures 4. a, b and c, encodes the sectarianism as a disguised murderer metaphor. The agent of this cartoon is the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi. The audience derive meaning through a set of assumptions; firstly, through personification of the sectarianism into a metaphor of disguised murdered (Figures, 4. a, b, and c), secondly through speech bubbles; "This is who killed me" is a direct statement of accusation from the victim which in turn symbolized as blood. Another contextual message is a statement by a murdered towards a victim, (Figure 4a), by blaming him with a sectarianism through a speech bubble "Sectarianism runs in your blood." Another discourse by a sectarian person to a murdered, (Figure 4b), in speech bubble "Apologize to him so they don't call you sectarian and we can make a national conciliation for you," produces a contradictory expectation, where he wants a victim to apologize from the murderer. The stimulus is produced mutually manifest to the communicator and audience. The communicator/cartoonist performs inferential steps; for instance, encoded sectarian disguised murder, blaming victim, and contradictory notion. The cartoon produces strong contextual effect through the discourse bubbles between the murderer and victim. The verbal and visual stimuli affect the addressee's cognitive environment; hence the cartoon produces high cognitive effect in general. The message is implicit not explicit. It is easy and do no effort by the audience in

decoding the intended meaning, therefore, it yields low processing effort by the audience. Thus, the optimal relevance is achieved.

4.2.5 The cartoons of this theme depict the concept of sectarianism as a strife metaphor. The agent of these cartoons, (Figures 5a and b), is the cartoonist Khudher Al-Hameri. The strong stimulus which the communicator intends to convey his message to the envisaged audience is the metaphor 'Strife.' He has a background, as so have the audience, about the effect of this concept of people awareness towards some social and political facts. The word 'strife' is the center and the reason behind any political and social struggle as they consider the negative results of the sectarianism. Another contextual stimulus used in this scenario is the role of the inciting channels to survive the sectarian acts. The communicator/cartoonist performs this act through a scene of awake sleeping by tapping on a human body, (Figure 5a), or performs musical acts, (Figure 5b) The contextual message is fully implicit due to the background knowledge of both the communicator and envisaged audience. The communicator sends certain message and audience aware of these set of assumptions to achieve the ostensive-inferential communication. The cartoon manifests verbal and visual stimuli to affect the cognitive environment of the audience. Hence, the cartoon produces strong contextual effects and low processing effort and as a result, an optimal relevance is revealed.

4.2.6 The theme, Figures 6a and b, is portrayed by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi and Khudher Al-Hameri. The communicator/cartoonists depicted the concept of sectarianism as division metaphor. The communicator tries to convey a certain message/ set of assumptions. In Figure 6a, sectarianism is encoded through division of an Iraqi flag by a razor blade. The two men are encoded to represent those people or parties who adopt sectarian behavior. The speech bubble "No for division" shows an ironic act which sends a message that those who guide the sectarians are those who try to divide the country into social, political, and religious regions. Figure 6b employs

another cognitive stimulus where a country is encoded as a cottage divided by saw into three parts, each part encodes one region of the Iraqi land. This decoding act is a clear message to the audience to aware the plans of terrorist advocators to divide the country. The captions, Shiite, Suni, and Kurdish are inferential message produces a strong stimulus to guide the viewer towards the negative effect of the sectarianism towards all country people. The cognitive message of the communicator in not explicit; it is fully implicit. This set of assumptions and the audience communicative intention yield what is called ostensive inferential communication which mutually manifest to the communicator and audience. The communicator affects the cognitive environment of the addressee by a means of verbal and visual stimuli. The contextual assumptions of the communicator/cartoonists produce high cognitive effects. Since the metaphor is clear and verbal text and speech bubble are easy decoding, the audience produce low processing effort. Hence, the optimal relevance is revealed.

4.2.7 Figure 7, by the cartoonist Khudher Al-Hameri, encodes the term sectarianism as electrical switch metaphor. The viewer generates the encoded meaning through the act of pressing ON/ON and encoding the act of sectarianism through verbal text of caption "Sectarian charging switch." The communicator/cartoonist encoded the sectarian behavior as an electrical switch. The stimulus is strongly affecting the cognitive environment of the envisaged audience through a contradictory notion when a switch is shaped as ON/ON process instead of ON/Off to convey a message to the audience that the advocators of inciting discourse does not accept other's opinions and they have their own ideology. The set of assumptions is implicit not explicit. It makes mutually manifests to the communicator and audience. Both verbal and visual stimuli are used to modify the cognitive environment of the audience. The cartoon produces high cognitive effects by the communicator and low processing effort by the audience. Hence the optimal relevant is yielded.

4.2.8 In Figure 8, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, the term ‘Sectarianism’ is encoded metaphorically as a discrimination in blood. The communicator’s certain message is employed through the two person’s speech bubbles. The first speech bubble encodes the inciting discourse as a sectarian question “Is this a respectful blood from our community, or disrespectful from their community?” The second verbal text of bubble shows another discourse “Human! this is an Iraqi blood” The communicator/cartoonist tries to guide the audience to the contradictory notion among patriotic people and those who adopt the sectarian discourse. The communicator uses a direct message to stimulate the audience to this notion. He uses verbal and visual cognitive stimuli in order to affect the cognitive environment of the viewers. The assumptions are clear and direct; hence it is implicit rather than explicit. Therefore, it has a strong effect on the communication process of the audience and thus it has low processing effort. As a result, a set of assumptions achieve optimal relevance.

4.2.9 In cartoon, Figure 9, by the cartoonist Khudher Al-Hameri, the communicator/cartoonist encodes the concept of sectarianism as a metaphor of direction. He sends the audience an ostensive stimulus through encoding two crossed arrows of signboard, one is sectarian sentiment which is encoded as wrong direction whereas the second is the national sentiment which is encoded as the right direction. The signboard arrow of sectarian sentiment is shaped as bigger than the national sentiment. This certain message makes mutually manifested meaning to both the communicator and addressee and send negative impression. Verbal and visual stimuli are used by the communicator to modify the effect of the addressee’s cognitive environment. Since the contextual stimulus and blending modes, the message is fully implicit; not explicit to be clear for communicator and audience. The metaphor is visually direct and clear, hence the sign and texts are easy decoding. As a result, the cartoon reveals high cognitive effects and low processing effort, thus the optimal relevance is achieved by the audience.

4.2.10 Figures 10a and b, by the cartoonists Khudher Al-Hameri and Auda Al-Fahdawi, portrays the sectarianism as a CONTAINER metaphor. The sectarian discourse is encoded metaphorically as a container, (Figure 10a). The cartoon shows two stages, one cues the sectarian discourse and another cues the national discourse. The communicator employs a strong message through a bubble as encoded a big container of cloud devours a small babble. It construes an impossibility notion where cloud does not have the ability like living creatures of eating or devouring. In Figure 10b, sectarianism is encoded as a big fish devours an Iraqi map. A speech bubble "Leave our dear homeland" uttered by a person shows a conflict message among patriotic people and sectarian people. The set of assumptions; the contradictory notion, exaggeration, big container, the impossibility to do something are all messages cue to implicit meaning not explicit. The audience inferential communication is generated through the verbal and visual contextual stimuli. The cartoon produces high cognitive effects. Because the metaphor is pictorially direct and texts are easy decoding, the results is low processing by the audience and consequently, the optimal relevance is revealed.

4.2.11 Figure 11, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, represents sectarianism as a human metaphor. He encoded the websites, which promote sectarianism, as persons. In this cartoon, a communicator wants to convey message through a process of closing persons' mouths by plaster tape. The cartoon title "Turn off the websites that promote sectarianism," is clear and easy stimulus to be understood by viewer. The communicator/cartoonist employs through this process an ironic notion, since it is naturally impossible to close websites by plaster tape because they do not haven creatures' properties. The communicator's message is implicit; he wants the audience to be aware of her/his wish to infer that the inciting discourse is an ideological policy of certain websites, therefore, it is better to close them in order to stop their negative results. The audience realizes the message through the contextual assumptions through using blending verbal and visual stimuli. The cartoon employs high cognitive

effects through, metaphor, irony, and verbal caption. The results show low processing of the audience and thus yields optimal relevance.

4.2.12 In Figure 12, by the cartoonist Khudher Al-Hameri, the concept of sectarianism is encoded as a weapon. The communicator/cartoonist wishes to communicate certain message in order the audience to be aware the intended notion that steering people who do with channels like shooter who does with a weapon. He encoded the inciting discourse and threatening channels as a weapon magazine of bullets used to kill people. The communicator's message is implicit; not explicit since the encoded meaning of shooting others by channels is impossible due the channels cannot be processed as a weapon does. The verbal and visual stimuli are a strong means to affect the addressee's cognitive environment. The stimulus produced to be mutually manifest to the communicator and audience to achieve what is called ostensive-inferential communication. The cartoon employs high cognitive effects through the contextual stimulus. Since the metaphor is visually easy to decoding and verbally clear, it reveals low processing effort of the audience. To sum up, the optimal relevance is recognized.

4.2.13 Figure 13, by the cartoonist Auda Al-Fahdawi, shows another scenario of encoding and decoding the concept of sectarianism. The first stimulus is encoding sectarianism into a verbal mode in the shape of an Arabic word of 'Sectarianism' created from the smoke. The sectarian people are encoded as a smoker of hookah sitting on the chair. The cartoon title 'sectarian puff' refers to behavior of some politicians who adopt the sectarian performance. The cartoon's title is clear stimulus, guides the audience to decode the ideology of sectarians which lies behind the sectarian puff. The cognitive environment is affected by blending verbal and visual stimuli and the message of the communicator is recognized implicit. The contextual stimulus; decoding sectarianism and sectarians by the communicator/cartoonist

produce high cognitive effects with low processing effort. Therefore, the audience achieved the optimally relevant.

5. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that different themes are used to depict the concept of sectarianism; the target domain used to depict the sectarianism is common (e.g. yellow media, fire object, device, container, etc.). From the analysis, it can be inferred that the source domains, from which sectarianism is understood, are experienced from divers metaphorical expressions. The findings of this study showed that the target domains are manifested verbally more often than visual mode.

Through the pragmatic analysis, it is found that the communicator's cognitive effect is appeared high whereas the viewer's processing effort is low. The speaker's message is manifested implicitly through the context of the cartoons. The analysis also concluded that the visual stimuli/a set of assumptions achieved a strong means to be effect on the addressee's cognitive environment.

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