

**Censuring the Censors: Metaphor and Metonymy in
Algerian Newspaper Cartoons about Censorship Published
during the Algerian Civil War (1992-2002)**



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Abstract

During the Algerian Civil War (1992-2002), the press was subjected to stringent censorship. Despite this control, a surprisingly large number of newspaper cartoons exposing censorship practices were published at this time. This thesis explores the paradox inherent in the fact that the cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz were able to evade the very censorship which they were criticising in their works. It posits that these artists made a strategic use of visual and verbal-visual metaphor and metonymy in isolation and in combination to denounce censorship in a way that was sufficiently indirect to avoid detection by censors.

The study uses a dataset of 95 cartoons, purposely selected from a large corpus of cartoons published during this historical period in Algeria's prominent Arabic-language newspaper *El Khabar* and French-language newspapers *Liberté* and *El Watan*, and interviews with two of the cartoonists. It adopts a cognitive linguistic approach, combining multimodal approaches within Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009), the cognitive theory of metonymy (Radden and Kövecses 1999), Musolff's (2006) notion of 'metaphor scenarios', and Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) concept of 'metaphtonymy' (i.e., metonymy-based metaphor) to examine the effect(s) of censorship in shaping the functions and forms of metaphor and metonymy in the cartoons. The thesis also addresses theoretical gaps by uncovering the meaning potentials of visual metaphor and metonymy and revealing the different ways in which the two rhetorical figures can work jointly to create subtle, complex meanings in political cartoons.

Metaphor and metonymy were found to play a significant role in capturing important facets of censorship and conveying tacit condemnation of censors, while still maintaining a degree of plausible deniability that may have protected the cartoonists from censorship and persecution. The degree of indirectness and nuance provided by metaphor and metonymy makes them useful devices in tightly controlled contexts. Furthermore, metaphtonymy emerged as the most common pattern of metaphor-metonymy interactions. The combination of metaphor with a metonymic chain is a novel finding which suggests the need to refine Pérez-Sobrino's concept. The study also demonstrated that the use of narrative theory is useful to explain the narrative properties of metaphor scenarios and to draw a clear distinction between such scenarios and simple metaphors.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beloved Aunt, Karima, who saw this work started but did not live to see it finished.

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Formatting Conventions

The following formatting conventions are used throughout this thesis:

- SMALL CAPITALS are used for conceptual metaphors and metonymies, that is, concepts or conceptual domains involved in metaphoric and metonymic relationships, e.g., LIFE IS A JOURNEY and HAND FOR PERSON, respectively. LIFE and HAND in small capitals refer to the domains and denote their conceptual nature.
- Italics are used for the name of newspapers e.g., *Liberté*, foreign names, such as *bande dessinée*, and added emphases in quotations.
- For captions and characters' comments in political cartoons, I used the following convention: '*Bonne route*' (Have a safe journey) for French-language captions and/or comments and '*طريق الحرية...*' (Road to freedom...) for Arabic-language ones.

Note on Translation and Transliteration

Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine. I provided English translations for all important citations which are directly relevant to my arguments.

For citing Arabic language material in the list of references, I transliterated the details, such as the title, publishing house, and place of publication into the Latin alphabet using the Qalam Transliteration System (Heddaya 1985). My choice of this particular system was driven by its wide use by scholars. Most importantly, Lawson's (2010: 176) evaluation of the existing transliteration conventions has recommended Qalam for it maintains 'almost the same level of phonetic accuracy' and offers easy access to Arabic materials for people who are inexpert in the language.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines how Algerian cartoonists, in their avoidance of censorship, used figurative devices (metaphor and metonymy) as implicit strategies to expose and condemn censorship and self-censorship in their works published between 1992 and 2002. The following cartoon from my data serves to introduce the study. It was drawn by the Algerian cartoonist Ayoub in 1996 for the independent newspaper, *El Khabar* (The News).



Figure 1.1: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 4/5/1996

Caption: Road to freedom...

Guillotines (from left to right): Islamist violence; Censorship; Printing house

This metaphorical cartoon, ironically captioned 'طريق الحرية...' (Road to freedom...), addresses the issue of censorship, which was a major setback for the cartooning profession in Algeria between 1992 and 2002. This period was marked by a bloody Civil War, and, consequently, both journalists and cartoonists working for the independent press faced enormous pressure, mainly the threat of government censorship and violent attacks by armed Islamists. The regime did not tolerate political dissent or criticism and, as typical of authoritarian governments, it sought to develop a discourse to justify its censorship practices by framing 'censorship as necessary for security, stability, and harmony' (George and Liew, 2021: 45). In this cartoon, Ayoub reveals the perils which made freedom of expression a hard-to-achieve, if not impossible, dream, by depicting three successive guillotines labelled 'Islamist violence', 'Censorship', and 'Printing house', respectively. The cartoon suggests that the press, which is represented as a female figure with a pen nib in place of a head, would be beheaded by the first guillotine. Through this cartoon, Ayoub reflects the pressure, terror, and danger experienced not only by cartoonists but the press more generally.

What is striking about this cartoon is that its publication in the newspaper creates an apparent paradox. Despite the socio-political turmoil in Algeria and the increasingly tight stranglehold on the journalistic and satirical press at the time, Ayoub broke the silence and succeeded in publishing a cartoon that denounces censorship. Seeing his cartoons as ‘an avenue of protest’ (Walker 2003: 19), he cleverly criticises censorship and indirectly expresses his anti-censorship stance. Ayoub’s drawing can, thus, be seen as an act of resistance against censorship. Consonant with my view is George and Liew’s (2021: xi) suggestion that in censorship contexts, cartoonists can adopt various strategies:

to protect themselves they may choose to stay silent, drawing cartoons in their minds only. They may water down what they are saying. They may choose to inspire and lead by continuing to publish in the face of censorship, despite the consequences.

As is clear from Figure 1.1, by laying bare and condemning the sensitive issue of censorship, Ayoub was putting his life and professional career in danger. However, the cartoonist and several of his colleagues refused to remain silent and sought to lambast the censorship practices, which were a violation of political cartoonists’ freedom of expression in Algeria. As stated by Capon (2000), freedom of expression was formally recognised in the Algerian constitution and the press law. The critical aspect of this cartoon (i.e., criticism of censorship) chimes with the genre convention of political cartoons. As Forceville (2020: 168) describes, ‘in political cartoons we are supposed to find negative or critical claims about a public figure or a state of affairs in the world’. An awareness of the communicative purposes of the political cartoon genre inevitably guides the understanding of the roles of metaphor and metonymy in the analysed dataset and directs the interpretation of the cartoons’ meanings.

Highlighting the importance of political cartoons in situations of censorship, Sandbrook (2010: 23) suggests that they can serve as barometers of political freedom. Indeed, by addressing censorship, Ayoub also reflects his working conditions and the state of the press more generally, thereby making his cartoons an important source of insights into the application of censorship in Algeria during this period. His representation of censorship is facilitated by the conventions of the genre that allow cartoonists to condense and record various complex events within a single panel.

1.1 Press Censorship in Algeria between 1992 and 2002

Before I set out the rationale for this study, I provide a brief contextual overview of the turbulent socio-political circumstances and the situation of censorship under which Algerian cartoonists worked between 1992 and 2002. After three decades of a single-party political system and strict control of the state-owned press, the Algerian government introduced a new constitution

in 1989 that legalised political parties and abolished state control of the press and of political cartoon production. This was followed by the promulgation of a new press law in April 1990, which established the principle of press freedom and allowed the emergence of independent newspapers (Labter 1995). Within a few months, the 'Algerian press became the most dynamic and certainly the freest in the Arab world' (Gafaiti 1999: 54), with dozens of highly competitive newspapers and satirical magazines appearing both in French and Arabic languages. Journalists and political cartoonists were relatively free up until the outbreak of the armed conflict in January 1992 between Islamist militants¹ and the government, which became known as the Algerian Civil War. Seeing the threat of a theocratic state, the government cancelled parliamentary elections to prevent the victory of the Islamist party called *Front Islamique du Salut* (Islamist Salvation Front, FIS). This led to an insurrection by the Islamists. The Civil War pushed Algeria into socio-political chaos, characterised by terror and attacks on civilians, government officials, and intellectuals (Evans and Phillips 2007). These events also had serious ramifications for the Algerian press. Anyone working in the press, including journalists, editors-in-chief, press photographers, field reporters, and, not least, cartoonists, were also major targets of Islamist violence (Dris 2017: 283).

The reestablishment of state censorship against the backdrop of this political unrest was another significant challenge to the formerly thriving press (Morsly 1990; 1995). The government introduced censorial decrees and draconian sanctions to stifle political criticism and to control newspapers' reporting of the conflict (El-Issawi 2017: 16). It quickly became clear that neither the government nor the Islamists would allow journalists or cartoonists to work freely (Ibrahim 1995: 12). Gafaiti (1999: 57) summed up the situation by saying that journalists were either 'targeted in atrocious and often unexplained killings' by the Islamist groups, or 'systematically repressed by official authorities in numerous ways: financial and material pressures, direct censorship, suspensions of publication, hasty trials, imprisonment, and increasingly constraining laws that jeopardise[d] the serious exercise of their profession'. This challenging context has been detailed by both journalists (Labter 1995; Metref 1998) and scholars from a range of disciplines (Boughrara n.d; Brahimi 1997; Croll and Ould Tayeb 1998; Mahmoudi 2000; Rebah 2002; Lesouan 2006; Ferchiche 2011; Kadem 2013; Chebri 2014; Leperlier 2016; Souiah 2016; Dris 2017; Boudehan 2018). All have highlighted that these different forms of pressure resulted in severe curtailment of press freedom during the Algerian Civil War. However, most of these works focused on the plight of journalists working in independent newspapers. The political repression of political cartoonists at the time has

¹ In this thesis, I use the terms 'Islamists', 'Islamist groups', 'Islamist militants', and 'Islamist insurgents', rather than the evaluative and ideologically laden term 'terrorists'. The term 'Islamist(s)' is also adopted by Martinez (1998) and Douglas and Malti-Douglas (2009) when they refer to the people who wanted to create a radical Islamic state in Algeria at that time.

received less scholarly attention (see Metref 1998: 132-133; Mostyn 2002: 62-63; Rebah 2002: 77).

1.2 Rationale for the Study

The driving motive behind the present study is the paradox inherent in the non-censored cartoons about censorship produced during the 1992-2002 period by three Algerian cartoonists working for three then-newly established independent newspapers: Mohamed Mazari (also known as Maz), cartoonist for *El Watan* (The Nation), Abdelkader Abdou, who drew for *El Khabar* between 1990 and 2013 under the pen name Ayoub, and Ali Dilem (alias Dilem), who worked for *Liberté* (Freedom) from 1996 to April 2022. The fact that censorship is depicted in my cartoon data is substantive evidence that censorship existed at the time. Using cartoons to examine the exercise and effects of censorship on political cartoon production in Algeria can be supported by George and Liew's (2021: viii) argument that cartoons are 'a lens onto censorship'. Acknowledging the importance of cartoons published in contexts of censorship, Slyomovics (2001: 75) asserts that cartoons can highlight 'the central relationship of image production to censorship'. Taking this argument further, Goldstein (2012: 14) contends that, by closely examining 'refused drawings and authorised drawings, we know exactly what the [censor] fears and what it encourages, we have a clear revelation of its intimate thoughts'.

This paradoxical situation becomes even more intriguing when one learns that cartoons attacking censorship are usually prime targets of censors because most governments try to conceal 'the fact of censorship' by deploying various means to intimidate cartoonists into silence (George and Liew 2021: 45). A case in point is an event on 16 July 1996, when the Algerian government forced the suppression of a cartoon by the cartoonist Said Abi (alias Abi) from the French-language daily *Le Soir d'Algérie* (Algeria's Evening). Abi depicted uniformed men with padlocks and chains marching towards the Maison de la Presse.² The cartoon's caption read: '*8ème bataillon des forces de metteurs sous scellés en avant ...marche*' (Eighth battalion of people sealing the offices forward... march), evoking the sealing of *La Tribune's* (The Forum) offices by the government censor earlier that month (Mostyn 2002: 63). Further instances from the literature to show that cartoons denouncing censorship are often deemed unacceptable by repressive regimes is the case of the Yemeni cartoonist Saleh Ali, who was arrested in 1995 after publishing a cartoon depicting a Yemeni man with his hands tied behind his back and his mouth locked. The arresting officer yells at Saleh, 'Democracy is what I say it is!' (Navasky 2013: 283). Moreover, McGlade (2016: 64)

² *Maison de la Presse* (Press House), located in Central Algiers, are the offices housing several Algerian state-owned and independent newspapers, including *El Watan*.

has reported that cartoons overtly referencing censorship were prohibited under the Franco regime. Therefore, there is clearly a need to investigate how the Algerian cartoonists Maz, Ayoub, and Dilem succeeded to voice their concerns and denounce censorship in their work without it being censored.

This is the first academic study to show how censorship shaped the content of cartoons during the Algerian Civil War. Previous studies have discussed censored materials, for example, by Catalan cartoonists during the Franco regime (1939-1962), to understand the factors leading to the banning of the cartoons and the impact of censorial intervention on the cartoons' content (McGlade 2016). In contrast, my research analyses the cartoons which passed the censorship filter and were successfully published in the three newspapers. In the highly controlled context of the Algerian Civil War, it is expected that any themes that risked mocking or overtly criticising the government had the possibility to be controversial and be censored, as the government was against political dissent and criticism in the prevailing political crisis (McKinney 2008: 177). However, this thesis focuses exclusively on the most surprising cartoons: anti-censorship cartoons.

In the last twenty years, political cartoons have started to become taken increasingly seriously as an influential form of visual communication (Finnegan 2002).³ Publishing daily on the editorial pages of most newspapers in the world, political cartoonists comment on topical social, political, and cultural issues (El Refaie 2009b: 184). Through a combination of humour and criticism, they lampoon politicians and government officials (Marín-Arrese 2005: 8) and draw public attention to governments' misdeeds and abuses of power (Soper 2008: 61). Limb (2018: xiii) remarks that cartoonists often 'achieve this at great danger and cost to themselves, exacerbating the precariousness of their lives'. Cartoons can be subversive and profoundly influence audience's perceptions and attitudes (Al Camp 2018: 203), which is why political figures usually find them insufferable. A further reason why cartoons are censored is that 'it is hard to argue with a cartoon' (George and Liew 2021: 29). Marjkeem Jul Sorensen, a sociologist writing on resistance and humour, argues that 'humour and ridicule are not part of the means the police, prisons, and courts are used to responding to'; hence, it is difficult for people in power to respond in any way unless they 'happen to be talented cartoonists themselves' (ibid.). The type of political regime in place also determines the degree of political cartoonists' freedom. Unsurprisingly, political cartoonists tend to have more trouble working freely in non-democratic and more or less repressive political systems than in Western democratic countries. However, even in liberal countries with long histories of protecting human rights,

³ The assault on the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in 2015, following the publication of derogatory cartoons of Prophet Muhammad, for example, attest to the power of graphic satire in arousing the ire of viewers and provoking violent attacks against cartoonists (Penketh 2015).

scholars have reported instances of censorship, which suggests that cartoonists' freedom is not absolute in any context (Lamb 2004; 2007).

Despite the existence of censorship, political cartoons remain an influential and potent art form. According to George and Liew (2021: 28), extreme reactions to cartoons are a testament to the genre's power. Cartoon censorship challenges the assumption that political cartoons are mere forms of 'entertainment and have little or no power to effect change in the course of social and political history' and that 'they are no more than a reflection of current events' (McGlade 2016: 1).

I now briefly review the literature on political cartoon censorship to identify the existing gap(s) which this thesis will address. Currently, there are two broad strands of literature on the censorship of political cartoonists. The first, mainly in the fields of history, cultural studies, and media studies, seeks to understand the legal environments and working conditions within which political cartoonists operate and outlines the different punitive measures inflicted on them. There has been a growing interest in the exploration of political cartoonists' practices, driven by evidence of escalating cases of sanctions and egregious censorship in different parts of the world (Goldstein 1989b; Manning and Phiddian 2004; Wallis 2007; Danjoux 2012; Ives 2016; McGlade 2016; Joseph 2017; Gathara 2018, 2019; Etty 2019; Iqbal 2019; George and Liew 2021). Most of these works on political cartoon censorship are journalistic interviews, while research studies are relatively rare. They have focused largely on the working conditions of various political cartoonists, highlighting the different constraints and forms of censorship they faced. However, they have not considered whether the political cartoonists surrendered to the censorship practices imposed on them, or whether they developed strategies of resistance.

The current study falls into a second category of works which examine cartoonists' reactions to censorship and the indirect strategies they use to denounce and evade censorship in contexts of control and repression. Scholars in this second strand of literature have shown that, despite the presence of censorship, it is still possible for highly evaluative and critical cartoons to be published. They have shown that cartoonists have, over the years, developed various creative techniques to outwit censors. During World War I, for example, Ottoman artists withstood censorship by sending erasable drawings for approval and then replacing them with more politically provocative ones or leaving a deliberate blank space in the place of the censored materials (Ceviker 1991: 58-59; Abraham 1996: 9). In his consideration of censorship of political caricatures in nineteenth-century France, Goldstein (1989a: 54) notes that a technique used to protest censorship was 'the publication of caricatures that had obviously been mutilated by the censors. Sometimes banned portions of drawings were

replaced by the notice “forbidden by the censor”, while at other times caricatures were published with obviously missing or obscured parts’. The use of animals and/or vegetables for the negative portrayal of governors demonstrated cartoonists’ resistance to state control in twentieth-century America (Sheppard 1994: 26-27) and the implicit criticism of the government in 1940s China (Hung 1994: 122). A further measure has been the publication of cartoons with ambiguous and hidden meanings (Göçek 1998: 2-3). When such attempts to withstand strict governmental censorship against cartoonists fail, publication from a different country becomes an alternative. When King Louis XIV of France banned caricatures for fear of their subversive power, for example, many artists had their cartoons published in the more liberal Dutch Republic (Duncan 2018: 458). However, scant attention has been paid to the use of rhetorical figures for countering the censorship of political cartoons covering sensitive subjects. The only exception is Limb (2018: xx), who makes a brief reference to the use of irony in several African countries, like Zimbabwe. This thesis addresses this gap by taking as its subject the use of metaphor and metonymy by Algerian cartoonists to make their cartoons about censorship and self-censorship suitable for publication during the Algerian Civil War period.

1.3 Key Terms

Having set out the rationale for my study, I briefly outline the key terms which I will use throughout this thesis, namely, censorship, metaphor, and metonymy, before introducing my research objectives.

1.3.1 Censorship

The term ‘censorship’ is hard to define. It is often used in a narrow sense to refer to a government’s attempt to restrict freedom of expression by banning the publication of works which outspokenly criticise that regime (Anthonissen 2008; Peleg 2019). In this thesis, the term will be used with a broader scope, covering any form of harassment or pressure, and any punitive measures introduced to curtail political cartoonists’ freedom, limit their artistic expression, jeopardise their profession, and/or threaten their personal welfare. Ayoub’s cartoon (Figure 1.1) clearly illustrates my broader conception of censorship in this context. It addresses some dangers that the Algerian cartooning profession faced between 1992 and 2002 that are included in my definition of censorship: Islamists’ threats of violence, state control and repression, and non-publication of works by printing houses. It suggests that censorship can be directly imposed not just by government authorities, but also by any other powerful people. As the internationally recognised expert on censorship, Michael Scammell, (1988: 5) reminds us, censorship is ‘the extension of physical power into the realm of the mind

and the spirit'. Self-censorship practices, which, according to Sagi Elbaz et al. (2017: 125-126), can be voluntary or imposed, are also included in my broad definition of censorship.

1.3.2 Metaphor

I use the term 'metaphor' to describe the cognitive process by which humans think and understand an abstract, often more complex, entity or area of experience (the 'target domain') in terms of a concrete and familiar one (the 'source domain'). A conceptual metaphor involves a set of associations, or 'mappings', which are transferred from a source onto a target domain. By way of illustration, the expressions 'she *attacked* me during the discussion' and 'Obama *won* the debate' reveal the underlying conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, in which ARGUMENT is the metaphor's target and WAR is its source. This definition of metaphor originates from Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT), the cognitive paradigm initiated by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) canonical work *Metaphors We Live By*. CMT brought about a radical shift away from the traditional rhetorical view of metaphor as a figure of speech and considered metaphor as a conceptual process of 'understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (p.6). The cognitive view of metaphor suggests that metaphorical meaning can be conveyed both verbally and in a wide range of non-verbal modes of communication. In political cartoons, for example, metaphor is usually expressed primarily through the visual mode, but it often uses verbal cues as well. Forceville (2009b: 24) proposes the concepts 'monomodal' and 'multimodal' metaphor to refer to such forms of metaphors, respectively. Unlike monomodal metaphor, which is conveyed in a single mode, such as verbal language, multimodal metaphor is a metaphor whose 'target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes'.

1.3.3 Metonymy

When I discuss metonymy, I refer to the 'cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the [source], provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target' (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 21). A metonym can refer to either a concrete entity, such as a BODY PART standing for a PERSON, or an abstract concept, like a SKULL referring to DEATH. Unlike metaphor, the conceptual link in metonymy occurs between two related entities within the same domain of experience, i.e., both source and target belong to the same overarching domain. For example, a skull is a part of the human body's remains after death. Metonymy is a pervasive device in language and other modes, as well as in human reasoning (Gibbs 1999a). Commenting on the ubiquity of metonymy across various modes and genres, Littlemore (2015: 2) argues that its presence 'in all modes of expression reflects the key role that it plays in the formulation and communication of ideas'. This testifies to the centrality of metonymy to human cognition, just like its sister rhetorical figure, metaphor.

1.4 Research Aims and Questions

The main objective of this thesis is to provide a better understanding of the ways in which metaphor and metonymy were deployed—separately and in conjunction—in political cartoons about censorship during the Algerian Civil War period (1992-2002). I draw on the argument that figurative devices, such as metaphor and metonymy, are tightly related to the context of their production and reception (Colebrook 2004; Colston 2015; Kövecses 2015; Littlemore 2015; Kövecses 2020). As Colston (2015: 71) suggests, ‘a [rhetorical] figure’s social, semantic, and other contexts will greatly influence the presence and extent of its effect’, implying that the forms and functions of metaphor and metonymy are shaped by social, cultural, and political contexts. The focus on the inextricable relationship between figurative language use and context is driven by scholars’ recognition that metaphor and metonymy are cognitive phenomena which need to be placed in their historical context in order to understand how their use has motivating factors. For example, Gibbs (2022: 23) points out that ‘taking context into account should give analysts some idea of the possible human-based intentions that may motivate the use of metaphorical [and metonymical] language’.

The study addresses important gaps in the scholarship. First, it attends to the question of how the potential of metaphor and metonymy for indirectness can be ingeniously used by cartoonists in situations of censorship, which has so far not been explicitly explored. Colston (2015: 75) argues that indirectness is an intrinsic feature of ‘*all figurative language*’ (emphasis in original). Both metaphor and metonymy establish conceptual links in the mind of the viewer, reader, or hearer. Metaphor has been demonstrated to help explain complex, abstract concepts indirectly in terms of more concrete concepts. As such, it has ‘the ability to [...] capture very rich semantic and schematic meaning in a very concise package’ (ibid.: 73). Metonymy also embodies a form of implicitness, although in ways that differ from metaphor. It provides mental access to the target concept without explicitly mentioning it (e.g., the American President is implicitly referred to by the WHITE HOUSE). As Barcelona (2003a: 226) says, ‘the metonymic source projects its conceptual structure onto that of a target, not by means of a systematic matching of counterparts, but by conceptually *foregrounding* the source and by *backgrounding* the target’ (emphasis in original). Hence, metonymy’s highlighting function can be motivated by particular communicative intentions. Forceville (2009a: 57) proposes that the selection of a particular entity (i.e., source) rather than the entity to which it metonymically refers (i.e., target) is not random; rather, it usually suggests the communicator’s priorities or point of view. However, these scholars have taken the figures’ indirectness for granted. The second gap is that existing works on the use of metaphor and metonymy as counter-censorship devices do not explain the specific ways in which metaphor and metonymy were used to go unnoticed in their data. Notably, scholars have demonstrated that these

figurative devices can be effective means of outwitting censors in various contexts, including on online forums (Thorton 2002; Zwart et al. 2014; Zhang 2016), and in literature and drama (Baden 1999; Wasserman 2003; Peleg 2019). However, they do not show the underlying mechanism(s) which make metaphor and metonymy particularly apt at addressing sensitive political issues in these different media.

To fill these research gaps, this thesis shows how the cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz capitalised on the implicitness of metaphor and metonymy for the purposes of representing censorship practices and expressing objections to these practices and publishing their cartoons under the conditions of control and repression which accompanied the Civil War in Algeria. Metaphor and metonymy are common and prominent features of the cartoon genre in general (El Refaie 2009a; Negro Alousque 2013; Forceville and Van de Laar 2019; Górska 2022). However, their occurrence in my corpus can offer at least a partial explanation for how these cartoonists succeeded to represent and denounce censorship while apparently evading censorship by the state powers and/or newspaper editors, which represented the most challenging constraints for the artists (see Chapter 4). In this study, I look at how the cartoonists (1) offered a clear picture of what it was like to work under pressure and control, and documented the censorship and self-censorship practices which they and their journalist colleagues experienced; (2) condemned press censorship by expressing negative evaluations of the different censors responsible for applying them; and (3) achieved indirectness in their cartoons to avoid censorship. I also determine the main forms of metaphor and metonymy in my data and reflect on their role in helping the cartoonists achieve these three purposes.

Figure 1.1 is a good example of the use of the approach taken in this study. It is a metaphorical depiction of the target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP through the source domain GUILLOTINE. This metaphor involves two modes: the source is represented visually, whereas the target is suggested by the verbal label inscribed on the guillotine. The press is also represented metaphorically as a woman, recognisable from her dress and heels. Interestingly, Ayoub depicts a fountain pen nib in place of the woman's head to help viewers recognise that she is meant to represent the press, since there is strong metonymic association between a fountain pen and the press. This type of metaphor where two objects (i.e., human head and fountain pen nib) are amalgamated into a unified object is called a 'hybrid metaphor' (Forceville 1996: 143). The cartoonist also uses several visual metonymies, namely GUILLOTINE FOR KILLING/DEATH, FOUNTAIN PEN FOR PRESS, and FEMALE'S CLOTHES (DRESS AND HEELS) FOR WOMAN, which help create the cartoon's meaning.

The thesis is also designed to pursue theoretical objectives. First, I seek to analyse the intricate interrelationships between metaphor and metonymy within the multimodal context of political cartoons, which combine verbal and visual modes. Although growing attention is

now devoted to the study of such interactions in visual and multimodal genres, scholars have predominantly focused on advertising (see Urios-Aparisi 2009; Pérez-Sobrino 2013, 2016, 2017). Such interactions in political cartoons remain largely unexplored, with the exception of Viràg (2020), who shows that the dominant patterns that structure the negative representations of Hungary in her cartoon data are metonymy-based visual and multimodal metaphors. The paucity of research on the interplay between the two figures in cartoons has limited our knowledge about the range of possible metaphor-metonymy combinations in political cartoons, and about the functions of metaphor and metonymy in these interactions.

Figure 1.1 is a good example of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Ayoub incorporated metonymies into the structure of the two metaphors. In the PRESS CENSORSHIP IS A GUILLOTINE metaphor, the source GUILLOTINE is further conceptually expanded to the notion of DEATH through the metonymy GUILLOTINE FOR KILLING/DEATH. Similarly, the metaphorical representation of the press as a person involves metonymic elements associated with the press, namely fountain pen nib, and elements which bring to viewers' mind the idea of femininity, namely FEMALE'S CLOTHES (DRESS AND HEELS) FOR WOMAN metonymy. This metaphor-metonymy interaction results in a phenomenon called 'metaphonymy', which involves the integration of metaphor into the source and/or the target domain of a metaphor (Pérez-Sobrino 2017: 204).

My choice to examine the metaphor-metonymy interactions in these particular cartoons is driven by the originality of this corpus, as Algerian cartoons about censorship have remained undiscussed (see Section 1.5). Furthermore, while metaphor and metonymy may be found to interact in cartoons from any other context, as suggested in previous research (see Viràg 2020), I contend that the function which the interactions fulfil differ according to the topic addressed in the cartoons and the cartoonist's intent. Thus, I also aim to determine the role of the metaphor-metonymy interactions in the challenging context in which the Algerian cartoonists were working. I am interested in the extent to which visual and verbal-visual metaphor, in interaction with metonymy, may support a cartoonist's intention to indirectly address censorship. Understanding the way metaphor combines with metonymy increases our knowledge about 'the strong potential of these two tropes to produce rich inferential activity' (Pérez-Sobrino 2017: 57). Moreover, by examining how these combinations play out in a specific dataset of political cartoons, I show that an understanding of the ways in which metaphor interacts with metonymy can 'provide us with an insightful approach to the possibilities of meaning creation' in a multimodal context (Pérez-Sobrino 2013: 73).

A second theoretical objective is to critically engage with Musolff's (2006) notion of 'metaphor scenario', which is a specific type of metaphor structured as a mini narrative. It is

frequently found in political cartoons (see Silaški and Đurović, 2018, 2019a, 2019b; Godioli and Pedrazzini, 2019), and other genres, such as films (Urios-Aparisi 2016). A major weakness in existing studies of metaphor scenarios in political cartoons is that there is no convincing account of how a metaphor scenario differs from a simple visual or verbal-visual metaphor. This has resulted in blurred boundaries between these types of metaphors. Drawing upon narrative theory, I cast new light on the narrative properties and the evaluative function of metaphor scenarios in my data. This study is the first piece of academic research to apply narrative theory to the analysis of metaphor scenarios. Although some work has been conducted by Ritchie (2008; 2017a; 2017b) on the interaction between metaphor and narrative, to date, there has been no attempt to conduct narrative analyses in order to show how metaphor scenarios in political cartoons embody narrative features. Addressing these gaps, I show how narrative theory can help develop a more considered definition of a metaphor scenario and propose a clear distinction between a simple metaphor and a metaphor scenario. I also suggest that narrative theory can provide a robust framework for elucidating the ability of scenarios to help cartoonists evaluate and criticise censors.

Therefore, this study aims to provide answers to the following empirically and theoretically oriented research questions:

Empirical Research Questions

1. What were the different censorship practices which the cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz faced in Algeria between 1992 and 2002, and how did these practices affect them?
2. What are the main functions and forms of metonymies, metaphors, and metaphor-metonymy interactions in cartoons about press censorship during this period?

Theoretical Research Questions

3. What do the patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction tell us about how these figurative devices may work together to create meaning?
4. How can we distinguish between a simple metaphor and a metaphor scenario?

1.5 Research Data

Having outlined my research aims, I now introduce my data, before presenting the theoretical frameworks used for my cartoon analysis. This study combines multiple sources of data to provide a fuller understanding of the topic under investigation. This practice is also known as

‘triangulation’ of data sources (Flick 2018: 786).⁴ I examine a dataset of 95 political cartoons related to press censorship, published between January 1992 and December 2002 in the French-language dailies *El Watan* and *Liberté*, and the Arabic-language newspaper *El Khabar*. This specific timeframe was selected because there was an upsurge in censorship during the Algerian Civil War. The Civil War broke out in January 1992 when Islamist groups rose in rebellion against the government following the cancellation of parliamentary elections which their political party was poised to win and come to power. It lasted until late 2002, when Algeria saw a gradual return to peace, after the promulgation of a law granting amnesty to the Islamist insurgents (Martinez 1998: 98). The use of cartoons as research data in this thesis accords well with scholars’ observation that cartoons are ‘a legitimate, interesting, and engaging source of data’ (Giarelli and Tulman 2003: 945). The importance placed on political cartoons is part of a wider interest in the study of various forms of visual data—both static and moving—in qualitative research (e.g., Emmison et al. 2012; Berger 2016; Eberle 2018).

As I detail in Chapter 3, the censorship cartoons are a subset of a larger corpus of 1,005 cartoons, which I collected from the physical archives of the three newspapers. This data represents all the cartoons that the artists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz produced during the Algerian Civil War. These cartoons reflect the political, social, media, and economic issues of the country during this period. They are, therefore, an important source of insights into the historical context which surrounded their production and enabled me to better understand the main themes which the three cartoonists addressed at that time. This large corpus was subject to a systematic content analysis. The emergence of censorship (and self-censorship) as major themes in the analysed data and the intriguing paradox they present led me to choose this subset of cartoons for closer analysis to look at how censorship shaped the cartoonists’ working conditions and the content of these specific works. As stated above, this study is the first piece of academic research to examine this corpus. To date, there have been no studies that explored newspaper cartoons—related to press censorship or not—produced during the Civil War. The only other study of cartoons relating to this socio-political period was conducted by Perego (2017), who examined the role of humour in cartoons about the Civil War sourced from Algerian satirical magazines.

My study also draws upon qualitative interviews with two of the cartoonists whose work is examined in this thesis: Ayoub and Maz. The interviews aim to provide access to the cartoonists’ lived experiences and ‘first-person viewpoints’ on the practice of cartooning art under the conditions of censorship and repression (Tracy 2020: 82). This distinguishes my study from previous research on political cartoonists and censorship (Danjoux 2012; McGlade

⁴ Data triangulation is one of the four types of triangulation which Denzin (1978) identified: (a) method triangulation, (b) investigator triangulation, (c) theory triangulation, and (d) data source triangulation.

2016), which did not interview the investigated cartoonist(s). Ayoub, Dilem, Maz were the main cartoonists for the three newspapers and are legendary cartoonists who have made important contributions to the Algerian cartoon tradition. Furthermore, they all faced some form of censorship between 1992 and 2002 and practised self-censorship to some extent, which makes their experiences and perceptions crucial to the study. Following Read's (2018) recommendation about the usefulness of 'serial interviewing', I conducted two rounds of interviews with Ayoub and Maz. Despite inviting the cartoonist Dilem several times to take part in my research, my attempts were unsuccessful. However, I compensate for this limitation by consulting a published interview with Dilem conducted by *Liberté's* journalist Mustapha Benfodil in 2008. It provides a detailed account of Dilem's life and career, from being a student in the '*École des beaux-arts d'Alger*' (Graduate School of Fine Arts of Algiers) to becoming one of the most renowned political cartoonists in the world. It also discusses the various challenges he faced and the many sanctions he incurred throughout his career. Moreover, I refer to interviews with Dilem published in *Afrique Magazine* (2006) and in the French newspaper *Libération* (Liberation) in 2019.

The interviews are intended as a supplement to the cartoon data, and quotes from these interviews are used in the background chapter (Chapter 4) and analytic chapters 5, 6, and 7. The cartoonists' first-hand testimonies and individual experiences helped me to compile background information on the forms of censorship they faced, the main censoring agents and institutions, and the effect of the censorship on the cartoonists' professional careers and personal lives. They also furthered my understanding of the cartoonists' reactions towards censorship and the tactics they developed to bypass it, particularly through figurative devices. Additionally, they informed my understanding of the themes covered and characters depicted in their works. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, to evoke the cartoonists' emotional responses, memories, and deeper meanings, I adapted Glaw et al.'s (2017) 'photo-elicitation technique'. It involved asking the cartoonists to comment on pre-selected censorship cartoons they produced during the investigated period. The cartoonists' intended meanings will serve to illuminate my analysis and interpretation of some key cartoons. This point is stressed by Danjoux (2014: 361), who says that 'familiarity with the opinions, attitudes, and beliefs of individual cartoonists is especially important when reading and analysing cartoons published in highly censored press cultures'.

1.6 Theoretical Frameworks

This study adopts a cognitive-linguistic approach to examine the use of metaphor and metonymy in the political cartoons published in the context of censorship under focus. The analysis of the ways in which figurative devices are used across different communicative

contexts represents 'one of the most fruitful areas of cognitive linguistics-oriented research in recent years' (Piquer-Píriz and Alejo-González 2018: 5). Cognitive linguistics, Evans and Green (2006: 3) write, has its origins in the dissatisfaction with formal approaches to language (e.g., Generative Grammar) in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. One of its main arguments is that 'language is governed by general cognitive principles' and that 'language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty' (Croft and Cruse 2004: x). Cognitive linguistics has developed into a solid discipline investigating and theorising about the inextricable relationship between human cognition, language, and communication (Barcelona 2000a: 2), and its basic principles are applied to different areas of research, including semantics, morphology, language acquisition, discourse analysis, and phonology. The publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* and Lakoff's (1987) *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* established conceptual metaphor as a central topic in cognitive linguistic research.

I ground my analysis of metaphor in CMT, specifically the multimodal approach to metaphor it inspired. I engage particularly with the pioneering works of Forceville (2002; 2006; 2008; 2009a; 2009b) and Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009), who have extended the study of metaphor to visual and multimodal genres and developed multimodal metaphor research as a major field of inquiry within cognitive linguistics. These scholars argue that Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) multimodality, which is a theory of communication holding that multiple modes of expression (e.g., visual, linguistic, aural) work together to create a multimodal text, can contribute to account for metaphoric meaning across various modes and genres.⁵ The multimodal approach to metaphor can, hence, address the way that different modes are brought into a relationship within a multimodal metaphorical text, such a political cartoon. It is also relevant to my study because it is currently the dominant theoretical framework in the study of non-verbal and multimodal forms of metaphor and it has been successfully applied to the study of such metaphors in many different media and genres, including political cartoons (e.g., Bounegru and Forceville 2011).

The cognitive theory of metonymy introduced by Radden and Kövecses (1999) provides a theoretical framework for the consideration of the forms and functions of metonymy in my cartoon data. This theory is well-established in cognitive linguistics and provides well-tested tools for the systematic analysis of metonymy across various modes (Kövecses 2000: 20; Gibbs 2011: 530). As Barcelona (2000b: 33) notes, Radden and Kövecses's (1999) theory of conceptual metonymy is 'rigorously systematic, [and] has been elaborated on the basis of

⁵ The works of Gunther Kress (1997; 2010) and co-authored works with Theo Van Leeuwen (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; 2001) are considered to be foundational texts in multimodality research, which has its roots in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

a series of principles commonly held in cognitive linguistics'. This makes it a useful theory for my analysis.

As I stated in Section 1.4, this study aims to analyse visual and multimodal metaphor in interaction with metonymy in the cartoons. I specifically identify and scrutinise occurrences of 'metaphonymy', defined as a complex that involves the inclusion of metonymy in the source and/or target domains of a metaphor, and reflect on the role of this conceptual complex pattern in relation to the cartoonists' communicative purposes. Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) monograph on multimodal conceptual patterns of metaphor-metonymy interactions in advertising is by far the most in-depth consideration of such interrelationships in a multimodal context.

My examination of metaphor scenarios in the data uses key concepts from narrative theory. I particularly engage with the works of Adams (1989), Richardson (2005), and Bamberg (2005), who provide useful notions for analysing the narrative properties and evaluative functions of the scenarios in my data.

1.7 Chapter Outline

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. Following this Introduction, **Chapter 2** is a literature review which briefly outlines the historical development of political cartoons, highlighting how this art has evolved to become one of the most potent outlets for political criticism, and describing the symbols and rhetorical devices available to cartoonists in their day-to-day satirical commentary on socio-political affairs. I also survey the current state of metaphor and metonymy research, stressing that the cognitive linguistic approach provides a strong explanatory framework to deal systematically with metaphoric and metonymic meanings in my cartoon corpus. In addition to discussing the major tenets of CMT, I critically review existing literature on visual and multimodal metaphor, focusing on the major roles and types of metaphors occurring in political cartoons. I then assess the strengths and weaknesses of the notion of 'metaphor scenarios' (Musolff 2006) to propose a novel approach for discerning the narrative properties of metaphor scenarios. Literature on metonymy is also reviewed, foregrounding how metonymy's various forms and functions attest to its importance to human thinking and communication. Finally, I turn my attention to literature on metaphor-metonymy interactions, focusing on the concept of 'metaphonymy' (Pérez-Sobrino 2017).

Chapter 3 deals with the research design of this thesis. I discuss the choice of my sources of data (cartoons and interviews), as well as detailing the process of data collection and methods of analysis. I present the procedures, drawn from cognitive linguistics, of identifying and analysing metaphor, metonymy, and their combinations. I also develop a narrative analytical framework with which to analyse realisations of metaphor scenarios in my data.

Chapter 4 serves to embed the analysis and discussion of the investigated cartoons in their historical, social, and cultural context. It offers background information on the production of political cartoons in Algeria, charting their evolution from a means of political propaganda to a tool of political criticism very often fraught with challenges. I then turn to address RQ 1 about the censorship of political caricature during the Algerian Civil War period (1992-2002), detailing the main censors and their motives, the undesired topics, and the methods of applying censorship. I show that the censorship practices had major consequences for political humour production and jeopardised the cartoonists' lives and careers. I also consider how the crackdown on political criticism led cartoonists to develop different coping strategies, namely self-censorship, covert resistance through manoeuvres and tricks, and open defiance.

Chapters 5-7 draw on the qualitative analysis of censorship-themed cartoons and quotes from interviews to discuss the major forms of metonymy and metaphor, and the roles of the two devices (in isolation and in combination) in helping the cartoonists reflect and condemn press censorship practices in their works in an indirect way. **Chapter 5** examines how visual metonymy was deployed to provide quick conceptual access to the press institution and to visualise the major emotions of characters in depictions of censorship. It also shows that metonymy allowed the cartoonists to both covertly depict censors and criticise them by negatively evaluating their moral attributes. **Chapter 6** considers how the cartoonists offered their own perceptions on censorship and captured its different forms using metaphors, while also achieving a degree of indirectness by not explicitly referencing press censorship in their works. Furthermore, I analyse cases of the combination of metaphor and metonymy and reflect on the roles of metaphor-metonymy synergy in fulfilling the cartoonists' communicative purposes. In **Chapter 7**, I argue that metaphor scenarios include basic elements of a narrative. I utilise fundamental notions from narrative theory to present a large-scale narrative analysis of metaphor scenarios. I also reflect on how the cartoonists, Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz criticised government censors by casting them in the role of antagonists impeding the work of the "protagonists" in the press.

Chapter 8 draws together the main findings of this study, explaining how they contribute to political cartoon studies, studies of political cartoon/satire censorship, and the study of metaphor and metonymy. Furthermore, it outlines the limitations of the study and suggests avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature that informs my study and identify the theoretical and empirical gaps which it addresses. I begin by briefly outlining the historical evolution of political cartoons in Section 2.1. The overview demonstrates that the art of cartooning, which has its origins in the European traditions of caricature, has spread throughout the world and ‘has shifted from being attacked to becoming a method for attack’ (Barker 2016: 7). I explore the major functions of political cartoons and highlight their role in providing humorous socio-political commentaries and constructing arguments about ‘a world that is unjust, immoral and in need of reform’ (Lamb 2007: 718). I also consider the range of rhetorical devices available to cartoonists for encapsulating complex events into a single picture.

I then discuss the literature on metaphor in Section 2.2 and metonymy in Section 2.3. Specifically, I introduce the cognitive theoretical approach used in my study to identify the functions and forms of metaphor and metonymy in Algerian cartoons about press censorship produced during the Algerian Civil War. I emphasise the usefulness of a multimodal approach to CMT and the Conceptual Theory of Metonymy for investigating the roles of metaphor and metonymy in covertly representing and denouncing press censorship during the period in question. I show that these theories, which originate in the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and which stress that metaphor and metonymy are fundamental cognitive mechanisms for abstract communication, provide robust frameworks for the consideration of these figurative devices in verbal and visual/multimodal contexts. In reviewing the literature on metaphor, I touch upon its verbal and non-verbal forms in Section 2.2.2 and consider the studies of visual and multimodal metaphor in the political cartoon genre in Section 2.2.3. Next, the concept of ‘metaphor scenario’ (Musolff 2006) is introduced in Section 2.2.4, highlighting weaknesses in current research and suggesting the application of narrative theory in order to explain the narrative qualities of metaphor scenarios.

Section 2.3.1 outlines the growing recognition of metonymy as an important object of study, on a par with the study of metaphor. I show that research on metonymy, which has for so long focused on verbal metonymy, has now expanded to include the study of visual and multimodal forms of metonymy in various genres, including political cartoons (Section 2.3.2). In Section 2.3.3, I consider the major functions of metonymy, particularly reference, evaluation, and vagueness. The chapter ends with Section 2.4, which discusses conceptual interactions between metaphor and metonymy, particularly Pérez-Sobrino’s (2017) concept of ‘metaphonymy’.

2.1 Political Cartoons as a Genre

The art of political cartooning was previously called ‘caricature’, which stems from the Latin word ‘*caricare*’, meaning to exaggerate.⁶ Its origins can be traced back to nineteenth-century Britain and France, which saw the development of visual satire in the hands of the pioneering artists William Hogarth, James Gillray, Honoré Daumier, and Charles Philipon (Holbo 2017). These artists are credited with founding the first satirical magazines, notably *La Caricature* (1830), *Le Charivari* (1832), and *Punch* (1843), which exposed the vices of aristocrats and monarchs using caricature or the visual distortion of human physiological features (Lambourne 1983). A pertinent example is Daumier’s daring caricature of the French King Louis-Philippe as *Gargantua* (1831), literally meaning ‘a man-eating giant’ (Figure 2.1).

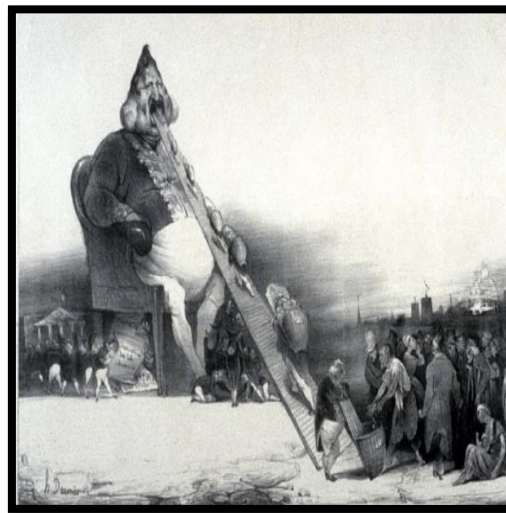


Figure 2.1: Honoré Daumier (1831) *Gargantua*

Source: Childs (1992: 27)

Cartoon art subsequently spread to the rest of the world. In the Middle East and North Africa (henceforth MENA) region, for instance, this Western artform was adapted to the local socio-political realities and acquired unique local meanings and aesthetic forms. Göçek (1998: 1) highlights that the potential of cartoons ‘to generate change by freeing the imagination, challenging the intellect, and resisting state control’ has made them important sites of representation and resistance against authoritarian regimes in the region. It is this acknowledgement of cartoons as significant vehicles of resistance which makes them a worthy subject of inquiry, and this is one of the motives behind the present study of Algerian cartoons.

⁶ It was in the seventeenth century that the word ‘caricature’ came into circulation. It was first used to refer to the drawings of a draughtsman of the Bolognese School, Annibale Caracci (1560-1609) (Lambourne 1983).

Modern-day political cartoons are a regular feature of daily newspapers. They are usually published as single panels on the editorial page (El Refaie 2009a: 175). Cartoonists' stock-in-trade is to offer viewers a visual image by which to interpret complex socio-political events at a single glance (Conners 2017). Political cartoons are truly multimodal texts in that they combine visual image and textual elements in the form of captions, labels, or characters' speech. Using caricature and ridicule as tools in their armoury, cartoonists draw humorous depictions of real-life political figures and celebrities by exaggerating their bodily features. In addition to caricature, puns and irony help cartoonists create humorous meanings. Another hallmark of political cartoons are balloons, which represent the speech or thoughts of characters (Forceville et al. 2010: 56). To visualise characters' movements and convey their emotions and mental states, cartoonists have developed 'pictorial runes' (Kennedy 1982), which take the form of visual lines of different shapes and convey narratively salient details in cartoons (Forceville 2011: 875). A further feature of cartoons is animal symbolism, which is commonly used as a visual shorthand for rhetorical or political purposes (Kangas 2017). A good example of the use of animal imagery is the Republican elephant and Democratic donkey symbols, popularised by the American cartoonist Thomas Nast (Halloran 2012).

Despite belonging to the same realm of graphic art, political cartoons differ from comics in several ways. Political cartoons comment upon topical socio-political affairs in a stand-alone image, whereas comics tell stories through sequential images (Saraceni 2003: 36). As such, comics 'generally tend to stay within the realm of the imaginary, or, if they refer to real world events and characters, do so more literally' (Abdel-Raheem 2020: 38). In cartoons, the depiction of recent events is combined with an imaginary world in such a way that the 'cartoons act as a bridge between fact and fiction' (Edwards 1997: 8). As I will detail in Section 2.2.3 and Chapter 6, the process of transferring meaning from the real world to the imaginary is conveyed predominantly through visual metaphors (El Refaie 2009a: 174). To highlight the centrality of metaphors, this thesis accepts the view that 'political cartoons are animated through visual analogies that imply a likeness between the event portrayed in the image and the issue on which the cartoonist is making a comment' (Danjoux 2012: 35).

Political cartoons have evolved to be a potent and popular communicative form due to their 'simultaneous appeal to the intellect, conscience, and emotion' (Göçek 1998: 2). In general, their purpose 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' (El Refaie 2009a: 176). Therefore, they fulfil several different functions simultaneously: they entertain, criticise, and record history. Cartoons are designed to present a ludicrous situation and lampoon politicians and other public figures in order to pass a humorous comment on current socio-political affairs. This humoristic aspect acts as 'a human equaliser' that puts all people

on an equal footing, regardless of their class, gender, or ethnicity (Walker 2003: 16). By mocking political figures, the cartoonist diminishes their social status and treats them as ordinary people. Moreover, political cartoons are a medium of political communication with considerable rhetorical power. As Etmüller (2012: 38) argues, cartooning is ‘an art *engagé* which aims to transmit a social or political message’. Often used in tandem with editorial commentary, cartoons convey the cartoonist’s critical opinions about particular events to give viewers food for thought. As political cartoons track day-to-day happenings, scholars recognise that they are important historical documents that reflect current events and public sentiments (Caswell 2004). This has led researchers to draw on political cartoons as source material to investigate various political crises and issues (e.g., Diamond 2002; Saleh 2018).

Turning to their interpretation, political cartoons are considered as ‘a puzzle to be decoded’ (Göçek 1998: 2). The distortion of characters’ features and the frequent use of intertextual references to popular literature and clichés (Werner 2004: 64) can create a barrier to comprehending a cartoon’s meaning. Political cartoons are also hard to understand because they usually demand a metaphoric process of making connections between the fictional world and real-life political events and people (El Refaie and Hörschelmann 2010: 197). An audience study by El Refaie (2009b) reported that understanding political cartoons is a complex process that relies on a wide range of interpretive competencies, including the activation of sufficient historical and political knowledge, a familiarity with the conventions of cartoon genre, a large repertoire of cultural symbols, and experience of thinking analytically about personalities or events in the real world. Forceville (2020: 169) adds that viewers’ familiarity with a cartoonist’s style of depicting politicians and events can help viewers identify real-life referents and characters. Finally, the overall appreciation of cartoons is challenging without understanding the way they combine visual and verbal meanings.

2.2 The Cognitive View of Metaphor

This section outlines the cognitive linguistic approach for studying metaphor in my censorship-themed cartoon corpus. To highlight the key tenets of metaphor, I draw on theoretical insights by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Forceville (1996; 2006; 2009b). These insights will be used in Chapter 6 to uncover the communicative functions of metaphors. More specifically, they will help identify how the cartoonists under study carefully selected metaphors to represent issues of censorship and self-censorship in familiar and very often indirect ways to avoid their works being censored. As will be stressed in this section, metaphor is an invaluable device in political cartoons, enabling artists to express the unknown or unseen via the known and the easily perceptible (Forceville 2019). This overview of the literature will also show that the cognitive

linguistic approach provides a strong theoretical framework to account for the main forms taken by the metaphors in my multimodal data.

2.2.1 The Development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Geary (2012: 9) describes the etymological roots of ‘metaphor’ within the Greek language. The term is composed of the words ‘*meta*’ (over and beyond) and ‘*phor*’ (to carry or transfer), which combined together mean ‘to carry across’ (ibid.). Metaphor was long studied within the discipline of rhetoric, where it was regarded as a linguistic ornament and persuasive device that embellished speech, literary texts, and poetry. A milestone in metaphor studies was the emergence of Lakoff and Johnson’s CMT, introduced in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). The founders of CMT argue that ‘metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language’ (p.153). Seen from this perspective, metaphor is not a literary and rhetorical trope, but rather an essential conceptual process for making sense of the world.

At the core of CMT lies the argument that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism which is central for conceptualising and communicating abstract and complex concepts, such as time, mental states, and emotions (called ‘target domains’) in terms of more concrete and familiar experiences (called ‘source domains’) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The ability to think in metaphors is intrinsic to human beings and is, thus, universal. However, metaphor cannot be dissociated from ‘socially acquired beliefs, knowledge and world view(s) intrinsic to our belonging to and interacting within one or several communities’ (Caballero 2017: 193). These factors result in significant within-culture and cross-cultural variations in metaphor, which have been thoroughly considered by Kövecses (2005), among many other scholars.

As Forceville (2016: 19) posits, any metaphor needs to be expressed in a ‘A IS B’ form, as the construction and interpretation of a metaphor consists in transferring a source domain (B) onto a target domain (A). By way of illustration, let us consider the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff 1993: 207), realised verbally in the sentence ‘Look *how far we’ve come*’, for example. It is based on the conceptual relationship between two distinct domains and leads readers to conceptualise the complex target domain LOVE in terms of a journey. As visualised in Figure 2.2, the metaphoric process involves the transfer of a set of properties and attributes associated with source domains onto the target topic. These cross-domain conceptual correspondences are called ‘mappings’ (Lakoff 1993: 203).

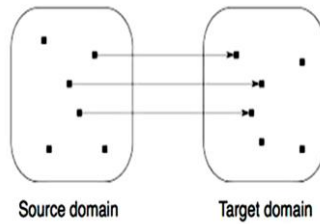


Figure 2.2: Metaphor as Cross-Domain Mapping

The metaphoric expression above involves several mappings between the constituent elements of the source and target domains. It can be broken down into the words *how far* and *come*, which suggest travel to a destination, and the word *we*, which refers to the travellers involved. The sentence, therefore, presents the three main constituents of the source domain JOURNEY: the journey, the destination, and the travellers. These elements can be mapped onto their corresponding elements in the target domain LOVE and result in the following (extended) mappings:

Table 2.1: Possible mappings of LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor
(Kövecses 2010: 9)

Source: JOURNEY	Target: LOVE
the travellers	the lovers
the vehicle	the relationship itself
the journey	the events in the relationship
the distance covered	the progress made
the destination	the goal(s) of the relationship

The metaphoric mappings seem to vary depending on genres. In advertising, as Forceville (1996) points out, positive features are typically mapped from the source to target, because an advertiser's intention is to promote a product or a brand by highlighting its qualities. In contrast, political cartoons usually map negative features and connotations onto the target because their primary function, as discussed earlier, is to criticise politicians or states of affairs (Abdel-Raheem 2021: 211). Metaphors, therefore, enhance cartoons' inherent 'strong evaluative and ethical dimensions' (Forceville 2017: 38).

The notions of metaphoric domains are key elements in any analysis of metaphor. Dalalau and Maior (2014: 142-149) propose that domain delineation provides metaphor analysts with concrete sources and targets to analyse. The ideal source domains are those that are accessible, well-delineated and that chime with readers-viewers' experiences (Kövecses 2010: 18). In contrast, target domains are complex and 'cry out for metaphorical

conceptualisation' (ibid.: 23). In political cartoons, many source domains are available for building metaphoric depictions, including the human body, plants and animals, games and sport, light and darkness, as well as machines and tools.

Source domains are typically 'embodied', meaning that they pertain to humans' sensory perception and bodily interaction with the physical world, as well as being closely linked to their cultural and social practices, including language, values, attitudes, and traditions (Johnson 1987: 209).⁷ In interpreting a metaphor, audiences draw upon their personal experience of physical sensations and interactions to comprehend target concepts (El Refaie 2015b: 69). The embodied nature of conceptual metaphors is a foundational principle of the cognitive approach to metaphor and has received empirical support (see Gibbs 2006; Wilson and Gibbs 2007). As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 19) explain, embodiment is central to all conceptual metaphors and no conceptual metaphor 'can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis'.

Metaphor is an important communicative device in everyday life and thought. Downing and Mujic (2009: 61) assert that metaphoric thought is essential to humans and that it plays a pivotal role in various discourses. Similarly, Cameron (2007a; 2007b) and Gibbs and Matlock (2008) describe how the use of metaphor is crucial for expressing nuances of meaning or feelings that are hard to articulate literally. Metaphor is also a useful way for visual artists like political cartoonists to create representations of abstract concepts. This idea is also shared by Reeves (2005: 3), who suggests that

metaphors are inescapable in [visuals], just as they are in everyday language. As human beings who must often draw from various domains of experience to make sense of new domains of experience, [visual artists] are no different from the rest of us.

This quote shows that metaphors are as important in the visual realm as they are in language.

Metaphor has gained the status of 'master trope' (Forceville 2016b: 18), and the study of metaphor has become an established academic sub-discipline within cognitive linguistics, where it is mainly studied through the lens of CMT. However, there is an increasing trend of integrating critical discourse approaches into metaphor research. Notably, Charteris-Black (2004) has developed Critical Metaphor Analysis, an approach he uses to show how metaphor choices are shaped by individual pragmatic, cognitive, and linguistic knowledge, as well as by

⁷ The key claim of embodied cognition is that 'people's subjective, felt experience of their bodies in action provides part of the fundamental grounding for language and thought' (Gibbs 2003: 2).

the social influence of culture, ideology, and history in British and American political speeches, press reporting, and religious discourse.

Another competing theory, which has also been applied to the study of metaphor is Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) Blending Theory. Like CMT, Blending Theory conceives metaphoric meaning as arising from conceptual domains, but it does not restrict the possible combinations of the domains. Rather, it proposes that two or more domains, called 'conceptual input spaces', are creatively combined to form a new structure, referred to as a 'blended space'. As indicated earlier, this study embraces the CMT framework because it is particularly well suited to the type of analysis undertaken in Chapter 6, namely exploring 'the conceptual level of visual [and multimodal] metaphors (that is: identifying their underlying A-IS-B structure)' (Forceville 2016a: 95) and the specific stylistic forms of their target and source. By contrast, Blending Theory often focuses on novel, creative metaphors (e.g., Forceville 2012), rather than more entrenched conceptual relationships analysed by CMT. Blending Theory has not attracted the attention of scholars studying non-verbal or multimodal metaphors in political cartoons in the same way as CMT has, probably because 'it does not easily translate into testable hypotheses' (Gibbs 2017: 275).

2.2.2 The Multimodal Approach to CMT

Metaphor theorists have stressed the need to study non-verbal metaphors in order to test and refine CMT, which has for so long focused exclusively on linguistic metaphors and its founders relied heavily on invented, decontextualised examples to demonstrate the existence of conceptual metaphors (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993).⁸ The concentration on a single form of metaphor can lead to misunderstanding key aspects of metaphor (Forceville 2008: 463) and can hamper the development of CMT (Pérez-Sobrino 2013: 70). In the last twenty years, there has been a sustained interest in non-verbal metaphors, with cognitive linguists recognising that if metaphor is indeed a conceptual phenomenon, it can be expressed in many other modes besides language. Moving away from verbal metaphors to a consideration of metaphor in a variety of visual and multimodal genres, scholars have conducted empirical studies on advertising (see Forceville 1996; 2002; 2007; Negro Alousque 2014; Pérez-Sobrino et al. 2021), films (Fahlenbrach 2016), comics (Eerden 2009; El Refaie 2014), gestures (Cienki 2017), graffiti art (Asenjo 2020), and music (Zbikowski, 2009), to name but a few. One particularly prolific and influential multimodal metaphor scholar is Forceville (1996; 2005; 2006; 2008; 2009b). Introducing a shift of trend towards a multimodal approach in metaphor theorisation and study, Forceville (2009b: 23-24) distinguishes between 'monomodal' metaphors, where both the metaphoric source and target are cued in a single

⁸ See Haser (2005) and Gibbs (2011; 2017: 58) for criticisms of CMT.

mode (e.g., exclusively through language), and 'multimodal' metaphors, which use a combination of modes (e.g., verbal and visual). According to Forceville, at least nine different modes can be distinguished, namely (1) pictorial signs, (2) written signs, (3) spoken signs, (4) gestures, (5) sounds, (6) music, (7) smells, (8) tastes, and (9) touch. The type of multimodal metaphor, which has received most attention, is one that combines verbal and visual modes. Forceville (1996: 148-161) calls this 'verbo-pictorial metaphor'. The concepts of monomodal and multimodal metaphor have been applied to various genres, including political cartoons (see Bounegru and Forceville 2011). Metaphors in cartoons can be monomodal (verbal or visual), but frequently they are verbo-pictorial, using images and textual elements for the expression of metaphoric meaning. Forceville's distinction between monomodal and multimodal metaphors is adopted in this study to understand how censorship and self-censorship metaphors are constructed in the data.

Visual metaphors can take various forms. Forceville (1996; 2002) has proposed an influential model which distinguishes between four different types of—what he calls—'pictorial' metaphor, namely 'hybrid metaphor', 'pictorial simile', 'integrated metaphor', and 'contextual metaphor'. In hybrid metaphors, two entities (target and source) are merged into a unified object. Unlike some of the other forms of pictorial metaphor which were originally identified in advertising, 'hybrid metaphors' were, in fact, first noticed in political cartoons. An earlier account by the art historian Gombrich (1971) pointed out that a common practice in portrait caricatures was the fusion of a politician's face with the body of an animal to assign stereotypical attributes to the depicted politician. In 'pictorial similes', the target and source are depicted side by side as two distinct entities, yet in a way that strongly suggests their resemblance through some formal features. 'Integrated metaphors' are characterised by objects being depicted in a manner that evokes different objects, even without cues. Finally, 'contextual metaphors' are metaphors where there is an incongruity between the represented target or source, and what we would normally expect in that context. Forceville's taxonomy is '[b]y far the most comprehensive and influential taxonomy of visual metaphors', as El Refaie (2019: 84) recognises, because of its ability to explain instances of visual metaphors found in advertising and other multimodal genres, such as political cartoons.

Despite sharing many properties, visual and multimodal metaphors differ from their verbal counterparts in several ways. Forceville (2008: 463) has argued that pictorial and multimodal metaphors have a high degree of specificity. Likewise, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 13) assert that 'non-verbal and multimodal metaphors may make salient certain aspects of conceptual metaphors that are not, or not as clearly, expressible in their verbal manifestations'. Moreover, such metaphors can trigger a stronger emotional appeal, since they have 'a more sensual and emotive impact on viewers' than purely verbal instances

(Forceville 2008: 475). Finally, in contrast to purely linguistic metaphors, visual and multimodal metaphors can be interpreted easily because they often have a 'perceptual immediacy' (ibid.: 463). Following a similar line of argumentation, Yus (2009: 148) has ascribed the difference in interpreting such metaphors to the fact that 'the perception of images differs from linguistic decoding'. The source and target in visual and multimodal metaphors might be recognised straightforwardly, thereby enabling greater cross-cultural appreciation. While these views are valid, I am more inclined to agree with El Refaie (2003: 75), who takes a different stance, positing that the dissimilarities between verbal and visual metaphors result from the diverging communicative potential of the two respective modes of expression, i.e., what they can convey easily and effectively. For example, the representation of spatial dimensions and size (e.g., POWERFUL IS BIG and HONEST IS STRAIGHT) is easy and more noticeable in visual than in verbal discourses (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009: 13).

While metaphor theorists generally assume that the source domain is concrete and the target is more intangible, Forceville (2017: 27) points to the existence of 'creative' metaphors which take the structure CONCRETE IS CONCRETE. As noted by El Refaie (2017: 153-155), most of the multimodal metaphors discussed in the metaphor scholarship are examples of 'resemblance metaphors', which compare two concrete elements based on 'perceptual similarity'. These metaphors occur mostly in artistic or persuasive genres, such as advertising and political cartoons, and are 'often highly unconventional and creative' (ibid.), since the human imagination 'is boundless in its capacity to impose resemblance on disparate objects' (Grady 1999: 96). Just like resemblance metaphors, correlation metaphors (also called 'primary metaphors') are intrinsic to human thought and are conventionalised in everyday language (ibid.). Correlation metaphors exploit the experiential correlation between two distinct and distant concepts, i.e., the frequent co-occurrence of two domains in our everyday experiences, rather than being based on the domains' shared features (Kövecses 2010: 159). They involve 'drawing on concrete, clearly structured experiences of our bodily actions and perceptions as a way to understand abstract, non-physical domains such as mental states, emotions, and social relations' (El Refaie 2017: 153). For example, the metaphor MORE IS UP is grounded in our bodily action and perception of the domains QUANTITY and VERTICALITY: when we pour more water into a glass, the level goes up.

2.2.3 The Cognitive Linguistic Study of Metaphor in Political Cartoons

Political cartoons draw heavily on metaphors (Schilperoord and Maes 2009: 215), since they enable political cartoonists to simplify the representation of complex political issues. According to El Refaie (2009b: 185), metaphor is a very efficient device because it helps cartoonists address political issues 'in a way that takes a stand or presents a particular point of view'.

Metaphors in political cartoons suggest ‘an imaginary story in a fictional world which refers, at a more abstract level, to real-life events and persons’ (Ritchie 2017b: 217). They involve ‘an identity relation [...] between two phenomena that, in the given context, belong to different categories’ (Bounegru and Forceville 2011: 213). Morris (1995: 5) adds that the combination of humour with visual metaphor is a trademark of political cartoonists. They often apply ‘unexpected metaphors to political actions and [point] out their comic consequences’.

Over the past decades, the study of metaphor in political cartoons within the cognitive linguistic framework, which was pioneered by El Refaie (2003), has attracted considerable attention. Relevant studies have mainly focused on examining the major functions of metaphors in cartoons (e.g., Abdel-Raheem 2016, 2019; Negro Alousque 2020; Saito and Chiang 2020), outlining the formal qualities which enable viewers to identify visual and multimodal metaphors (Bounegru and Forceville 2011), and exploring the interpretation of such metaphors by audiences (El Refaie 2003; 2009a; Schilperoord and Maes 2009).

As stated earlier, one key aspect to consider when studying metaphors in political cartoons is that only two modes are possible for their construction: the verbal and visual. The visual mode is often the primary mode for expressing metaphoric meaning, but most cartoons also rely on verbal cues in the caption or balloons to realise multimodal metaphors. Such linguistic cues can contribute to the identification and interpretation of the metaphoric target and/or source (Spooren 2018: 3). In her analysis of multimodal metaphors in Spanish cartoons, Negro Alousque (2014: 65) presents six possible combinations of verbal and visual elements: for example, both source and target domains are represented in mixed modes (verbo-pictorially); the source is rendered verbo-pictorially while the target appears visually; or the source appears verbo-pictorially while the target is rendered verbally.

The foregoing discussion implies that the identification and decoding of metaphors in this genre are complex processes. Metaphors require viewers to possess strong interpretive skills. El Refaie’s (2003; 2009a) work on British political cartoons and readership has highlighted the high chances of mismatch between the cartoonist’s intended meanings and viewers’ actual understandings. Viewers often fail to draw the intended connections between the metaphoric world and the real-life referents (i.e., events and people). Additionally, the comprehension of metaphoric meaning depends on viewers’ ability to accurately determine the metaphoric source and target (Spooren 2018: 2). In verbal metaphors, readers can be aided by the ‘is like’ metaphoric cue. By contrast, visual metaphors may provide fewer clues to help viewers recognise the metaphoric domains and mappings. Analysis of metaphor in cartoons also requires the activation of sufficient historical and cultural background knowledge (Forceville 2019: 372). According to Abdel-Raheem (2021), political cartoons are typically

based on recent political events, which viewers need to know about in order to be able to transfer the relevant metaphoric mappings.

2.2.4 Metaphor Scenarios in Political Cartoons

In addition to the metaphor types outlined in Section 2.2.2, metaphors in political cartoons are very often structured as mini-narratives, or what Musolff (2006; 2016; 2017) calls ‘metaphor scenarios’. The concept of ‘metaphor scenarios’ is central to my study, as it helps to demonstrate how the cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz used this alternative metaphoric complex to represent and denounce press censorship. Scholars argue that the conventional A IS B formulation or structure of metaphor is quite restricted, as it implies a static view of metaphor. Notably, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 11) claim that this structure ‘disguises the dynamic nature of metaphor’, whereas many metaphors have been found to be, in fact, metaphor scenarios. Musolff (2016: 137) considers metaphor scenarios as sets of ‘recurring narrative-evaluative patterns’ which reflect the attitudes of the communicator towards the issue in question. Metaphor scenarios are particularly prevalent in media and political discourses, where they serve as central instruments for conceptualising and assessing socio-political issues. Indeed, the idea of metaphor scenario emerged from Musolff’s (2006: 24-30) analysis of discourse about the European Union (EU) in German and British media. Musolff reveals that mini-narratives based on COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, and FAMILY were used as source domains for understanding the complex relationship between France and Germany, which are characterised as a ‘married couple’ while other members of the EU are represented as ‘children of the family’ for whose welfare the Franco-German ‘parents’ are responsible.

Most studies conducted on metaphor scenarios to date have focused on their use in linguistic contexts (e.g., Silaški and Durović 2014; Spilioti, 2018). However, scenarios have also been noted in multimodal texts, particularly in films (Eggertson and Forceville 2009; Urios-Aparisi 2016). The potential of political cartoons to produce metaphor scenarios has been evidenced, for example, by studies on the representation of the 2008 global financial crisis (Bounegru and Forceville 2011) and the Brexit debate (Silaški and Durović 2018; 2019a; 2019b; Godioli and Pedrazzini 2019; Negro Alousque 2020). These works have identified a range of recurrent scenarios deployed by cartoonists to conceptualise such issues, namely NATURAL DISASTER, ILLNESS/DEATH, BEGGING scenarios, and JOURNEY, MARRIAGE/DIVORCE, FAMILY scenarios, respectively. However, further research is needed to confirm the conventionality of these scenarios.

A major weakness of this existing scholarship is that scholars have not drawn a distinction between a simple metaphor and a metaphor scenario. Most of the researchers have adopted an intuitive approach, assuming that their cartoon data contains metaphor scenarios

(see Silaški and Durović 2018; 2019a; Negro Alousque 2020; Viràg 2020). This weakness results in an unanswered question: what, precisely, distinguishes a metaphor scenario from a simple metaphor? As I will detail in Chapter 3, there are also some methodological issues relating to their analyses of scenarios. While evaluation and criticism are essential to metaphor scenarios, as per Musolff's conceptualisation, scholars have thus far not addressed how the evaluative aspect is manifested in their data and how this accords with the aim of political cartoons. A further point of criticism relates to the definition of the concept itself. Musolff did not specify whether his notion of 'narrative' is compatible with the way it is traditionally defined by narrative theorists, for example, as 'stories that take place in time' (Berger 1997: 6), or as representations of 'an event or series of events' in a specific context, and involving one or more characters (Abbott 2002: 12). If we assume that a metaphor scenario is like a typical narrative, then it follows from Musolff's definition that a scenario should encompass the fundamental components of a visual (and/or verbal) narrative, notably a setting, human and/or human-like characters, objects, and so on. Nonetheless, we cannot recognise a visual narrative by virtue of these features alone because they can also often be found in simple or ordinary visual/multimodal metaphors. Musolff's concept of metaphor scenario hence needs to be reviewed to define the precise characteristics that would enable researchers to systematically identify and study metaphor scenarios in political cartoons (and visual/multimodal genres, more generally).

The present thesis critiques Musolff's (2017: 3) definition of a metaphor scenario as a 'figurative mini-narrative' generated by a metaphor and expressing an 'evaluative stance' on the perceived reality by analysing metaphor scenarios using narrative theory. I will argue that the features and relations inherent in a metaphor scenario and the evaluative function which it performs can be examined more adequately by drawing on core concepts developed in narrative theory and by considering the communicative affordances and constraints of the medium in which it appears.

Although some work has been carried out on the relationship between metaphor and narrative, to date, there has been no attempt to use narrative theory to explain metaphor scenarios. In much of the existing literature, discussions have centred on how metaphors are used in literary texts, with scholars adopting CMT for this purpose (e.g., Popova 2003; Caracciolo 2017). Research on metaphor and narrative in contexts beyond literary texts has so far only been addressed by Ritchie (2008; 2017a; 2017b). Ritchie brings narrative theory into metaphor research to show that stories are often used metaphorically. This is the case particularly in persuasive discourse, such as political speeches, in which these so-called 'metaphorical stories' often serve to contradict and discredit an opponent's story. He distinguishes between metaphorical stories and 'story metaphors', which he defines as

metaphorical words and phrases activating or implying metaphorical stories, and which he finds to be common in political speeches, as well as in journalism and public affairs. My study is, therefore, the first to show how narrative theory provides a useful theoretical lens for outlining the boundaries between a metaphor scenario and a simple metaphor.

2.3 Metonymy in Language and Thought

Having reviewed the literature on conceptual metaphor and its visual and multimodal realisations, as well as identified the key cognitive linguistic notions for analysing metaphor within political cartoons, this section moves on to consider the second rhetorical device examined in this study: metonymy. I start by discussing the shift in the study of metonymy from understanding the phenomenon as the substitution of words to regarding it as an important cognitive device underlying our thought pattern(s) (Section 2.3.1). I also assess the relevance of Radden and Kövecses's (1999) theory of metonymy to my study. This is followed by a review of the existing scholarship on metonymy in multimodal genres, with particular attention given to studies of political cartoons (Section 2.3.2). As the focus of this thesis is on the different roles played by metonymy in my cartoon data, I also consider its major communicative functions, starting with its referential function and highlighting some of its less well-attested functions, particularly evaluation and vagueness (Section 2.3.3). Section 2.3.4 considers how metonymies often combine to form chains. The chapter ends with a discussion of the conceptual combinations between metaphor and metonymy, which are of particular interest to this study (RQs 2 and 3).

2.3.1 The Conceptual Theory of Metonymy

The concept of 'metonymy' (Greek *metonymia*) dates back to Ancient Greece, where it was regarded as an important figure of speech and was studied in literature and rhetoric. Traditionally, metonymy has been defined as a process of substitution of one entity by another (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 18). The major limitations of this definition are that it restricts metonymy to a mere relationship of reference and neglects its cognitive aspect. The cognitive approach introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 39) challenged traditional rhetorical accounts and established metonymy as a major cognitive operation which structures 'not just language but our thoughts, attitudes, and actions'. Cognitive linguists argue that the use of metonymy in 'language is a reflection of its conceptual status' (Panther and Radden 1999: 2). For example, in the expression '*She's just a pretty face*', the metonymic word 'face' reflects the underlying conceptual metonymy BODY PART (FACE) FOR PERSON (ibid.: 18).

Although conceptual metonymy was rather overshadowed by the focus on metaphor in early cognitive linguistic research, it has come to be recognised as an equally important

device, with some scholars claiming that metonymy 'may be even more fundamental than metaphor' (Panther and Radden 1999: 1). This view has been corroborated by the seminal works of Barcelona (2000a), Dirven and Pörings (2003), and Barcelona et al. (2011). Furthermore, it is held that, just like metaphor, conceptual metonymy is motivated by humans' embodied experiences. However, the embodied nature of metonymy has long remained unaddressed. Scholars (e.g., Littlemore 2017) argue that metaphor and metonymy are embodied in different ways. Metaphor has been shown to be more culturally embodied (Kövecses 2005), whereas metonymy is rooted in physiological embodiment (Maalej and Yu 2011: 14). Physiological embodiment suggests the existence of universal conceptual metonymies across different languages, since humans share a basic body structure and similar bodily experiences (Yu 2008: 387). To illustrate, ATTRIBUTE/CLOTHING/BODY PART FOR PERSON metonymies have been found to be universal (Yu 2003). However, culture-specific variations of metonymy have been pointed out, with cognitive linguists bringing to light cross-linguistic differences in the use of some metonymies, such as PLACE FOR EVENT (THAT TOOK PLACE THERE) metonymy, e.g., WATERLOO for battle fought at Waterloo (see Barcelona 2003b).

The interpretation of metonymies, whether linguistic or visual, is also said to be contextually determined (Littlemore 2015: 18) and to be heavily reliant on a hearer's or reader's social and cultural knowledge. A study by Littlemore et al. (2016) on metonymy comprehension by Japanese learners of English has reported that misinterpreting contextual cues and syntax were not the only errors that the students made in trying to understand the metonymic expressions presented to them. Other barriers to metonymy comprehension were interference from the learners' first language and cultural factors, such as having insufficient cultural information about metonymic words in English. On the latter point, for example, Littlemore et al. found that it was important for learners to know that the word 'anorak' can mean a nerd or a geek and be familiar with the type of people who wear anoraks, as well as the types of solitary behaviours and interests that these people traditionally have. Given the above, it becomes clear then that metonymy is very subtle, nuanced, and can be easily missed.

While there is a general agreement among theorists on both the conceptual nature and the fundamental importance of conceptual metonymy, the core properties of metonymy are the subject of lively debate in cognitive linguistics (Barcelona et al. 2011). Several researchers have provided definitions and models which differ in scope, approach, and importance given to aspects of metonymy (see Panther and Thornburg 1998; Warren 1999; Barcelona 2000a; Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez 2003; Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006). By contrast, Littlemore (2015: 13) suggests that one popular way to explain metonymy is to contrast it with metaphor. The distinction between metaphor and metonymy has been debated within cognitive

linguistics for many years (e.g., Fass 1997; Ruiz de Mendoza 2000; 2015). The most widely accepted distinction is that metaphor involves cross-domain mappings, whereas metonymic mappings or connections occur within one same domain (Gibbs 1999a). Most of these accounts have based their claims on the influential papers of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987), which offer a sound theoretical foundation for the two-domains approach to metaphor and the one-domain approach to metonymy. The second major ground for differentiation is that metaphor involves resemblance between two distant conceptual entities, whereas metonymy is thought to be based on contiguity. That is, metonymy involves two contiguous or conceptually close entities (Goatly 2022). In this thesis, I consider metaphor as a process of thinking and reasoning about a concept in terms of another, whereas metonymy is based on a 'stand for' relationship between two entities within a single domain (Ruiz de Mendoza 2015: 145). This view is consistent with the cognitive approach to metonymy adopted in this study.

This thesis identifies Radden and Kövecses's (1999) conceptual theory of metonymy as the appropriate theoretical framework for analysing metonymy in the cartoon data because it is 'rigorously systematic', is grounded on shared tenets in cognitive linguistics (Barcelona 2000: 8), and can account for both verbal and non-verbal metonymy. Radden and Kövecses have produced the most influential taxonomy of metonymy types, which is currently the most widely cited approach (see Barcelona 2000; Littlemore 2015). It identifies two overarching categories of conceptual metonymies, namely, WHOLE AND PART and PART AND PART, each of which gives rise to an extensive range of sub-types (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 29-42). WHOLE AND PART metonymies are where a part of something is used to refer to a whole, i.e., PART FOR WHOLE (e.g., ROOF FOR HOUSE) or a whole of something is used to stand for a part of it, i.e., WHOLE FOR PART (e.g., AMERICA FOR USA) (pp. 30-35). PART AND PART metonymies involve a relationship between two conceptual entities within a shared, broad domain (pp. 181-184). For example, in 'We are reading *Shakespeare*', Shakespeare refers to the author's work (AUTHOR FOR WORK). Most cognitive theorists call PART FOR WHOLE relationships 'synecdoche' (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980), whereas others (e.g., Seto 1999) consider synecdoche to be separate from metonymy. Seto argues that synecdoche describes a different type of relationship which cannot be included within the term metonymy. Littlemore (2015: 23) disagrees and asserts that, when looking at instances of PART FOR WHOLE metonymies in real-world linguistic data, the distinction between metonymy and synecdoche is blurred. This is one of the reasons why many scholars, such as Biemacka (2013: 35), consider synecdoche as a sub-type of metonymy.⁹ This is the line that will be followed in this thesis.

⁹ See Littlemore (2015: 23-24) for a full discussion about the controversy surrounding the distinction between metonymy and synecdoche.

Radden and Kövecses (1999) based their framework on artificial, decontextualised examples of verbal metonymy. Their theory, therefore, needs to be tested on non-verbal/multimodal, real-life data, which could reveal a wide range of novel metonymies. As Littlemore (2015: 19) discovered through her study of verbal metonymy in authentic texts, ‘by looking at metonymy “in the wild”, it is possible to identify further characteristics, and even, in some cases, new types of metonymy that are not covered in the original taxonomy’. It is the aim of this study to investigate how metonymies of human attributes and emotions, which Radden and Kövecses’ typology does not consider, operate in my contextualised cartoon corpus. Examining the role of metonymy in representing characters’ abstract attributes is important to show how cartoonists use metonymy to offer some form of critical commentary and evaluation of politicians’ actions and morals as per the generic convention of political cartoons. By identifying the metonymies which were used to articulate the prevailing feelings of the censored (political cartoonists and journalists) and the censoring characters during the investigated period, I will address an important gap in metonymy scholarship. To date, there is a dearth of research on the metonymic representation of emotions in visual and multimodal graphic genres, such as political cartoons and comics. Researchers have tended to focus on the visual metaphoric representation of emotions and feelings, such as anger (Eerden 2009), fear (Shinohara and Matsunaka 2009), and love (Charteris-Black 2017a), arguing that humans conceptualise emotions largely through metaphors. What these scholars often fail to acknowledge, however, is that the pictorial signals used to convey emotion-related meanings (for example, the use of a character’s red face and bulging eyes to depict anger), are visual instantiations of the conventional conceptual metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF EMOTIONS FOR THE EMOTIONS (Lakoff 1987: 382).

My analysis of attribute and emotion metonymies is underpinned by Feng’s (2017) theoretical model, which can help account for the visual metonymic expressions of characters’ moral attributes and emotive states, which he calls ‘attitudinal meanings’ (see Figure 2.3). Feng demonstrates that many static and moving visual images in comics, film, and TV commercials are metonymic, in terms of their visual representation of both real-life objects/events and abstract concepts, such as human attributes and emotions. In these genres, a character’s attributes, which mark him/her out as a hero or villain, for example, may be metonymically inferred from his/her ‘analytical features’, such as his/her dress and accessories (p.451).

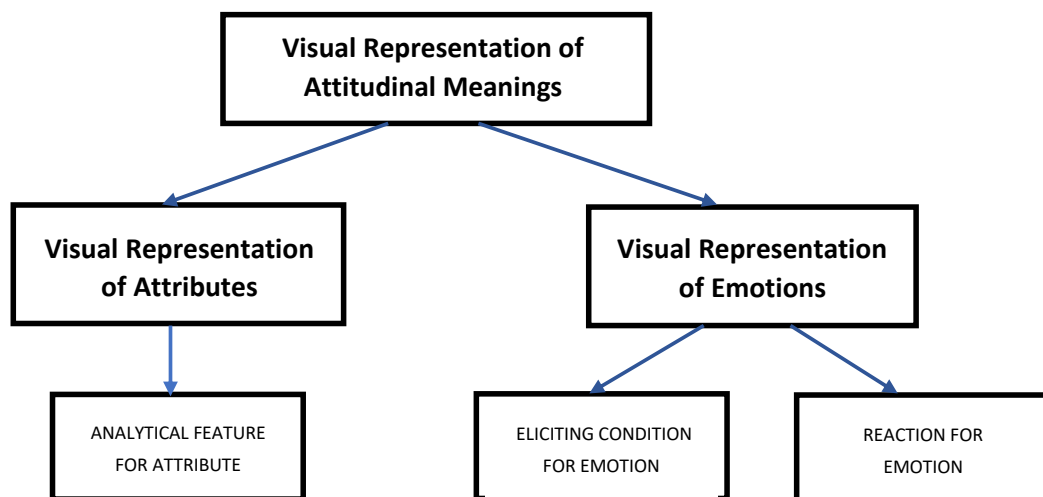


Figure 2.3: Metonymies Involved in the Visual Representation of Attributes and Emotions
(adapted from Feng 2017: 451-455)

Feng adds that a character's appearance is often designed to convey evaluations and invoke viewers' judgments towards him/her in order, for instance, to reinforce viewers' allegiance to the hero and antipathy towards the villain. He also shows convincingly that conditions triggering an emotion and a character's reaction(s) to that emotion are meaningful, visual resources which can metonymically inform viewers about the character's emotions (p.451). Feng's theory is particularly relevant for my analysis because it provides a comprehensive understanding of the depiction of a character's mental and affective states in visual/multimodal contexts. That is, it considers the significant role of eliciting conditions in signalling a character's emotions and highlights the importance of physiological effects of emotions.

2.3.2 Visual and Multimodal Metonymy

The conceptual nature of metonymy means that its instantiations are not limited to language. However, as in metaphor research, for many years the predominant focus of cognitive linguistic studies of metonymy has been on its linguistic expressions. It is only recently that researchers have begun to examine metonymy in visual and multimodal contexts. The prevalence of metonymy in visual and multimodal discourses has been supported by studies of this rhetorical figure in films (Forceville 2009a), online news videos (Musolf and Catalano 2019), fashion (Uno et al. 2018), picture books (Moya Guijarro 2013), gestures (Mittelberg and Waugh 2014), and comics (Whitted 2014). However, the majority of such work has focused on advertising, where metonymy has been shown to act as an economical way of representing desirable features of the advertised product (Yu 2009; Negro Alousque 2015). By identifying visual and multimodal realisations of metonymy, scholars have confirmed the validity of the

cognitive view of metonymy. However, to date, there has been no in-depth and systematic studies of multimodal metonymy in the way that Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009) have provided for multimodal metaphor. This lack of attention runs the risk of slowing or even impeding developments in visual/multimodal metonymy theory in many ways. As noted by Moya Guijarro (2013: 116), a sound theory of figurative devices like metonymy needs to examine 'their occurrence in a variety of genres and analyse how these create meanings in specific contexts'. Similarly, Forceville (2019: 368) observes that research should consider how mode-specific and genre-specific affordances and constraints shape the form and the function of rhetorical figures.

The study of visual metonymy is a growing research area within cognitive linguistics. Negro Alousque (2013) draws on Radden and Kövecses's (1999) taxonomy to examine metaphors and metonymies used for the representation of the Fukushima nuclear crisis, EU policies towards immigration, 9/11 events, and the Greek economic crisis in cartoons by the French artist Jean Plantureux, alias *Plantu*. She concludes that the interpretation of political cartoons is dependent on viewers' ability to understand visual and/or multimodal metaphors, as well as verbal/visual metonymies. She also points out that such figures are communicatively potent because they can emphasise the cartoonist's critical stance towards the politicians or state of affairs treated in the cartoons. Lin and Chiang (2015) investigated the cognitive mechanism underlying the representation of political debates on US beef imports into Taiwan using a corpus of Taiwanese political cartoons. Their analysis demonstrates that these complex debates and the cartoonists' own stances towards them were efficiently conveyed through the 'multimodal fusion technique', which they define as 'when the target and the source are visually, verbally, and conceptually amalgamated' (p. 138). More recently, Zhang and Forceville (2020) have conducted a comparative analysis of the metaphoric and metonymic representations of the China-US trade conflict in both American and Chinese cartoons. They found that verbal and visual metonymies abound in cartoons, making the identification of abstract, complex phenomena simple and quick.

Taken together, these studies have demonstrated the importance of metonymy in political cartoons, where it serves as a central communicative shorthand. They have all analysed both metaphor and metonymy, revealing not only that these two figures are both integral elements of cartoons, but also that metaphor and metonymy are inextricably linked. The studies also imply the crucial role played by metonymy in conveying cartoonists' evaluative stance, although none of these scholars has examined this in any depth.

2.3.3 Functions of Metonymy

Having outlined the different forms that metonymy may take, my attention now turns towards the major functions of metonymy. Early discussions of metonymic functions in cognitive linguistics considered metonymy to perform primarily a referential function, and most of the canonical examples used to illustrate the concept 'metonymy' are referential, such as the oft-quoted example '*The ham sandwich* is waiting for his check' to indicate the restaurant customer who has ordered the sandwich (ORDER FOR CUSTOMER) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 35). Scholars have claimed that metonymy acts as a conceptual shortcut which allows users 'to convey meanings beyond those that are explicitly coded in a linguistic message' (Panther and Thornburg 2018: 122). Referential metonymy is shown to be widely used in real-life contexts, including the workplace, spoken academic discourse, and football reporting and commentary (Deignan et al. 2013).

Recent research has challenged the view that metonymic processes are limited to the purpose of reference, demonstrating the role of metonymy in pragmatic inferencing (Panther and Thornburg 2003), the creation of humour, relationship-building, and the establishment of discourse communities (Littlemore 2015: 85-112), as well as showing the creative and playful uses of metonymy in text messaging (Littlemore and Tagg 2018), and in genres like art, film, and literature (Littlemore 2022). There has also been a growing interest in the study of the affective, evaluative, attitudinal, and social uses of metonymy. Of particular interest to my study is the evaluative function of metonymy. Although research has tended to focus more on evaluation in metaphor than metonymy (e.g., Maalej 2007; Semino et al. 2014), Littlemore (2015: 92) has suggested that metonymy can provide subtler ways of communicating nuance and evaluation than metaphor. Metonymy has been shown to be useful for expressing negative evaluation and criticism. For example, scholars have indicated the role of metonymy in creating or reinforcing cultural stereotypes (Kövecses 2006) and negative value judgments (Pennain 2018). Barnden (2018) examines the evaluative effect of de-personalising metonymy, which he defines as cases where a speaker diverts attention from the target's personal qualities to achieve certain purposes. For example, Littlemore (2015: 24-25) has shown that, when speakers seek to distance themselves from a particular group of people, they evoke the de-personalising attributes of the group in question through the metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY (e.g., BLACKS FOR BLACK PEOPLE). Littlemore (2018: 415-416) has presented further evidence of the evaluative function of metonymy via TRAIT FOR PERSON relationship, which serves to refer to the person through his/her features, for example by referring to a girl who has acne as '*Acne*', a speaker shows how she is both 'unattractive and dehumanised'. In addition, PART FOR WHOLE metonymy can evoke negative/positive associations through the part being referred to. For instance, the use

of the body part ‘mouth’ as in ‘so many *mouths* to feed’ can express a negative evaluation of the people being talked about. In these studies, the use of metonymy appears to be motivated by the attempt to convey a negative evaluation without offending people; however, in other cases, evaluative metonymy might attack a hearer explicitly. Furthermore, the fundamental and pervasive nature of metonymy in everyday life suggests that other types of metonymies than the ones reviewed here might express negative evaluations, but these have not been explored yet. It is the intention of this thesis to address this research gap by identifying the metonymies which the cartoonists select as a way of criticising the censors.

Another less well-attested function of metonymy that is relevant for this thesis is vagueness, which can arise when a metonymic source refers simultaneously to multiple potential targets. The use of metonymy to create a sense of indeterminacy has been noted particularly in journalistic discourses. Halverson and Engene’s (2010: 7-8) and Halverson’s (2012: 285-287) studies of the language in Norwegian newspapers have identified cases of ambiguity arising from the use of PLACE NAME metonymies. They report, for instance, different metonymic referents of the place name ‘Schengen’. The name of this Norwegian city was found to refer to (1) the Schengen Agreement (the treaty guaranteeing free movement of people within the defined European territory), (2) the treaty’s contents (articles, principles, etc.), (3) the European countries which are signatories of the treaty, or (4) the geographical area delimited by the agreement. Similarly, Brdar-Szabo and Brdar’s (2021: 187-188) analysis of news headlines shows that the place name ‘Budapest’ creates an uncertainty as to whether it refers to the government (i.e., CAPITAL FOR GOVERNMENT metonymy) or the city council. According to Littlemore (2015: 96-98), this lack of specificity can be exploited to fulfil certain communicative intentions. For example, journalists often tend to be vague about information which may be sensitive, defamatory, or unconfirmed, or because they intend to arouse the audience’s curiosity. While the interpretation of metonymic meanings is often guided by the context (of the sentence and the different articles) provided in the newspapers, some images lack this context. Therefore, viewers might struggle to determine the intended metonymic referent. The scholarly focus on PLACE NAME metonymies raises the question about whether there are other cases of metonymic indeterminacy not related to place names. This limitation motivates my study to explore how the cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz employed metonymy to create ambiguous cartoons during the years of control in Algeria (1992-2002).

2.3.4 Metonymic Chains

This section addresses how metonymy may combine with other metonymies to form more complex constructs called ‘metonymic chains’. Metonymy theorists have demonstrated that two metonymies may work together and form chains, where the target of one becomes the

source of another (Ruiz de Mendoza 2002; Barcelona 2005; Hilpert 2007). According to Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez (2003) and Ruiz de Mendoza and Pena Cervel (2005), metonymic chains are governed by two fundamental cognitive processes: 'domain expansion' and/or 'domain reduction'.¹⁰ The former refers to the cognitive mechanism by means of which a subdomain provides access to the whole domain, whereas the latter reduces the scope of the conceptual operation as the whole domain stands for its subdomains. These processes relate to PART-WHOLE and WHOLE-PART metonymic relationships, respectively.

In his subsequent study, Ruiz de Mendoza (2007) has identified four cases of metonymic chains, based on the type of interaction between metonymic expansion and reduction processes, namely 'double metonymic expansion', 'double metonymic reduction', 'metonymic expansion and reduction', and 'metonymic reduction plus expansion'. An example of a metonymic chain involving a domain expansion is 'His sister *heads* the police unit', where the domain HEAD provides access to the broader domain of LEADER/AGENT, which, in turn, triggers the domain of ACTION OF LEADING (Dirven 2003: 33). Metonymic chains can also be based on domain reductions, as in '*Wall Street* is in panic' (ibid.: 32). Here, we have the metonymic chain A PLACE FOR AN INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE, which combines PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE metonymies. Wall Street is the location of the New York Stock Exchange. The WALL STREET metonym stands for the financial institution and the people (brokers) working there, who are described as panicking. As such, a group of individual people are metonymically reduced to the institution to which they belong. Metonymic chains can involve both expansion and reduction processes. As Ruiz de Mendoza (2007: 16) explains, '*Shakespeare* is on the top of the shelf' combines AUTHOR FOR WORK (reduction) and WORK FOR MEDIUM (expansion). Finally, domain expansion plus domain reduction can be found in 'He has too much *lip*', where INSTRUMENT (LIP) FOR ACTION involves an expansion process, while ACTION FOR ABILITY is based on a reduction process.

Ruiz de Mendoza's (2007) typology of metonymic complexes was developed on purely verbal, non-authentic examples. In her study of multimodal metonymy, Pérez-Sobrino (2017: 60-61) sought to address this weakness by exploring patterns of metonymic chains in the multimodal genre of advertising. She found double metonymic expansion and metonymic expansion plus reduction operations to be pervasive in her corpus of advertisements, highlighting that domain expansion processes are useful in creating positive images of the promoted product in the customer's mind. Furthermore, while existing studies have reported the interaction of up to two metonymies only (Ruiz de Mendoza 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2014), Pérez-Sobrino (2017) suggests that visual and/or multimodal

¹⁰ These scholars suggested the two processes to explain the domain internal nature of metonymic mappings.

discourse may reveal other patterns still unidentified in the literature. This review of existing studies implies that no consideration has been given to metonymic chains in political cartoons, although cartoons have medium-specific opportunities to realise metonymic meanings, as discussed in Section 2.3.2.

2.4 Metaphor-Metonymy Interactions

The difficulty of demarcating the boundaries between metaphor and metonymy has been ascribed to the intricate conceptual interactions between the two devices (Radden 2003; Kövecses 2013; Littlemore 2015). Recently, researchers have shifted their attention towards the conceptual interplay between the two figures and have shown that metonymy ‘interacts with metaphor, yielding complex thought patterns’ (Ruiz de Mendoza 2015: 161). Metaphor and metonymy are said to overlap in two significant ways. First, metonymy can motivate (or provide access to) certain types of conceptual metaphors. Second, metonymy can structure metaphors. I consider these two types of interactions in Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2, respectively. Reviewing this literature will inform my approach and will specify the type of metaphor-metonymy interaction which I analyse in this thesis (see RQs 2 and 3). In particular, I assess how the theoretical pattern(s) proposed by Pérez-Sobrino (2017) in her empirical analysis of metaphor-metonymy conceptual interplay are relevant to my study.

2.4.1 Metonymy Motivating Metaphors

It has been widely acknowledged that metonymy motivates numerous conceptual metaphors (Barcelona 2000b; Benczes et al. 2011; Kövecses 2013). Many of Grady’s (1999) primary or correlation metaphors, such as MORE IS UP, SADNESS IS DOWN, CAUSES ARE FORCES, are grounded in metonymy. Kövecses (2010: 187) explains that such metaphors are metonymy-based because they involve two distinct and conceptually distant concepts which are conflated in our perceptual experience; one can be used to stand for another. This principle can explain why in the expression ‘Fill her *up*, please’, said to a gas station attendant, UP is used for MORE. The car will be filled up as the attendant adds more fuel to it.

Emotion metaphors also have a metonymic basis. For many years, cognitive linguists have focused on the study of metaphor as the prominent mechanism in the construal of emotions (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1990; 2000), but metonymy is often actively involved in the motivation of emotion metaphors (Perak 2018). As mentioned in Section 2.3.1, while emotions are largely conceptualised metaphorically, the physiological symptoms associated with them are metonymically related to these same emotions (Radden 2003: 430). Scholars have provided substantial linguistic evidence to support this argument, for example, in relation to common conceptualisations of anger (Ansah 2013), fear (Theodoropoulou 2014), and

happiness (Theodoropoulou 2012). A case in point is the ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor, exemplified in ‘You make *my blood boil*’. This metaphor builds on physiological symptoms, such as a rise in body temperature, elevation in blood pressure, and excessive perspiration, which are metonymic indicators of anger (Lakoff 1987: 382-389).¹¹

2.4.2 Metonymy Structuring Metaphors

Metonymy has also been shown to play an important role in facilitating metaphoric structure or shaping the communicative effects of a metaphor. Barcelona (2000a: 1) stresses that ‘metaphor and metonymy often “meet” at conceptual and linguistic crossroads’. Goossens (1990/2003: 362-367) was the first to address metaphor-metonymy interactions. He identified four types of combinations, which he calls ‘metaphtonymy’: ‘metaphor from metonymy’, ‘metonymy within metaphor’, ‘demetonymisation inside a metaphor’, and ‘metaphor within metonymy’. Metaphtonymy (metonymy-based metaphor) was subsequently revised and expanded by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002: 518-528), who identified four types of conceptual interactions based on the domain expansion and reduction processes, namely:

- (a) metonymic expansion of the source domain of a metaphor
- (b) metonymic expansion of the target domain of a metaphor
- (c) metonymic reduction of the metaphoric source
- (d) metonymic reduction of the metaphoric target

The scholars argue that Goossens’s metaphtonymy cases fall under the ‘metonymic expansion of the source domain of a metaphor’ pattern of their model. They further elaborated on Goossens’ model by determining the metaphoric source or target as the domain where the metonymic mapping occurs. Despite the original proposal that metonymy may be more fundamental than metaphor (Barcelona 2003a), several theorists believe that, whenever metaphor and metonymy combine, metonymy is subsidiary to metaphor and gives rise to metonymy-based metaphors (Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011). Hernández-Gomariz (2018: 91) claims that no examples can be found of the reverse, i.e., metaphors that structure metonymies, because of the cross-domain nature of metaphoric mappings, compared to the single-domain metonymic mappings. Hence, ‘the two domains of metaphor cannot operate within the single domain of a metonymy’ (Negro Alousque 2020: 4).

A major weakness of these early works on conceptual interactions is their exclusive focus on language and reliance on a restricted set of idioms as data for the formulation of the models. Similar patterns have, nonetheless, been identified in multimodal contexts, principally

¹¹ Ungerer and Schmid (2013: 133) refer to the physiological effects related to emotion metaphors as ‘physiological metonymies’.

in advertising (Urios-Aparisi 2009; Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic 2011). An important contribution has been made by Pérez-Sobrino (2017), who has conducted the first in-depth research that identifies novel patterns of metaphor-metonymy interactions in real visual and multimodal advertisements and redefines the notion of ‘metaphtonymy’ as the principled integration of a metonymy in the source and/or target domain of a metaphor.¹² Drawing on Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez’s (2002) domain expansion and reduction processes, she explains the cognitive processes underlying the combinations and surveys the extent to which metaphor-metonymy in interaction support advertisers’ communicative purposes. The prevalent use of multimodal metaphtonymy in advertisements was found to help the metaphoric mapping of positive features onto the advertised product.

The excessive attention devoted to advertising has restricted our knowledge about the patterns of interactions in other multimodal genres. Notably, with the exception of Virág (2020), the ways in which metaphor and metonymy combine within political cartoons remain largely unexplored. Virág has shown that the dominant patterns that structure the negative representations of Hungary in her cartoon data are metonymy-based visual and multimodal metaphors, both of which occur in metaphor scenarios. She calls this phenomenon ‘metaphtonymies in metaphor scenarios’ (pp. 226-231). Due to the lack of empirical research in this area, little is known about the range of possible or the most frequent multimodal patterns of conceptual interactions in political cartoons, nor about the roles of the visual and verbal modes in the construction and/or cueing of the metaphoric and metonymic parts in these combinations. Furthermore, our understanding of the function(s) of metonymy and metaphor when they interact in cartoons is severely limited because, to date, such interactions have exclusively been investigated in advertising, which has determined the function of metonymy when it combines with metaphor as that of highlighting the features of an advertised product. The present study builds on Pérez-Sobrino’s (2017) work, specifically by adopting her revised definition of metaphtonymy to scrutinise the distinct combinations of metaphor and metonymy in my multimodal corpus of cartoons about censorship and self-censorship. It answers calls by Pérez-Sobrino (2017: 54) herself, who suggests the need to consider ‘the existence of complex patterns of conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy in multimodal contexts that may be useful to complement and enrich current accounts of pictorial and multimodal metaphor’. I will use the concept ‘metaphtonymy’, rather than her suggested term ‘multimodal metaphtonymy’ because my cartoons are likely to include purely visual instances of the phenomenon as well. Pérez-Sobrino’s theoretical insights have proved very useful for dealing systematically with metaphor-metonymy interplay in multimodal political cartoons, as

¹² For detailed examples see Pérez-Sobrino (2017: 125-148)

demonstrated by Virág's (2020) study. Therefore, their application in this study can help further our understanding of the relationship between the two rhetorical devices.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the existing literature on political cartoons and identified the theoretical developments and gaps in cognitive linguistic research on metaphor, metonymy, and their combinations, particularly in relation to political cartoons. The literature on political cartoons has highlighted that no other form of political communication criticises the government and public figures 'as well as editorial cartoonists do' (Lamb 2004: 238). Drawing on several devices and the interaction of words and images, cartoonists are often able to evaluate and comment in subtle yet effective ways. The chapter has additionally underlined how my data analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 will benefit from the CMT and the conceptual theory of metonymy, which have expanded to the realm of visual and multimodal genres. These theories will help to examine the metaphoric and metonymic representation and condemnation of the censorship practices.

In reviewing the literature on the use of metaphor scenarios in political cartoons, I highlighted the fact that the narrative properties of a 'metaphor scenario', which was originally defined by Musolff (2006) as a metaphor structured as a mini-narrative, have so far remained underexamined. This study addresses this significant gap in our knowledge and shows how narrative theory can inform the analysis of metaphor scenarios in my cartoon data by (1) helping to suggest a clear distinction between a metaphor scenario and a simple metaphoric cartoon, and (2) explaining how metaphor scenarios can achieve an evaluative function. The narrative perspective not only distinguishes my research from existing studies, but also provides an original and novel approach to the analysis of metaphor scenarios in this genre.

Moreover, I emphasised that, despite the recent, sustained interest in the study of visual and multimodal forms of metonymy in cognitive linguistics, the study of metonymy in cartoons is relatively young. Consequently, our understanding of how metonymy creates meaning and the functions it performs in cartoons is limited. A further weakness in metonymy literature is that there is little acknowledgement of metonymy's communicative functions, other than its referential function. The functions of visual metonymy in expressing vagueness and evaluation in particular have not yet been explicitly discussed. This study, therefore, aims to show how metonymy's 'subtle indirectness' (Littlemore 2015: 92) makes it a useful device for performing these two important functions in the collected cartoons about censorship. Furthermore, although visual and multimodal metonymies abound in cartoons, little research has, to date, looked at patterns of metonymic chains in this genre.

Finally, the chapter has considered metaphor-metonymy conceptual interactions. A weakness I noted in the literature is the tendency to focus on such interactions in purely verbal data. It is only recently that scholars have examined these combinations in visual and multimodal contexts, predominantly in advertising (e.g., Pérez-Sobrino 2016; 2017), whereas in political cartoons they have remained largely unexplored. My study addresses this gap and presents a line of investigation which is likely to enrich our understanding of the way(s) in which metaphor and metonymy combine into complex constructs at the conceptual level in my multimodal data and clarify how these combinations support the aims of the three Algerian cartoonists.

Following this outline of the main theoretical perspectives which underpin this study, in the next chapter I detail the procedures of collecting my cartoon corpus about press censorship and the interviews with the cartoonists Ayoub and Maz. Attention will also be devoted to the methodological approaches selected for the qualitative analyses of the data.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

Having discussed the key theoretical principles guiding this thesis in Chapter 2, this chapter engages with the methodology selected for the data collection and the qualitative analysis of the cartoon corpus and the interviews. These two datasets will help gain an understanding of how metaphor and metonymy were used to demonstrate the cartoonists' ability to covertly expose and criticise press censorship in Algeria between 1992 and 2002. In Section 3.1, I start by setting out the rationale for adopting a qualitative approach and discuss the underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions. In Section 3.2, I explain the decisions behind the choice of the timeframe, the newspapers, and the cartoon data, and I introduce the three cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz, whose works I investigated. I also consider the principles underpinning the collection and categorisation of the cartoons. Section 3.3 describes the interviews with the political cartoonists, as well as the processes of transcription and translation of the interview transcripts. Section 3.4 presents the methods of analysing both the rhetorical figures in the cartoons and the interview data. Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 detail the cognitive linguistic procedures of identifying and analysing realisations of metaphor and metonymy, respectively. In Section 3.4.3, I describe the procedure I devised for the study of metaphor-metonymy combinations. This is followed by a discussion of the narrative analytical framework that I developed to identify and scrutinise metaphor scenarios in my data (Section 3.4.4). Section 3.4.5 focuses on the thematic approach selected for the qualitative analysis of the interviews. The chapter concludes with Section 3.5, which outlines the various ethical issues I encountered and addressed.

3.1 Qualitative Research Design

This thesis adopted a qualitative approach, a framework for conducting research which uses *soft data* (i.e., words, sentences, photos, symbols) in contrast to a quantitative approach which analyses *hard data* (i.e., numbers) using statistical techniques (Neuman 2014: 167, emphasis in original). The qualitative approach is used in many separate disciplines; it crosscuts not only the humanities but also the social and the physical sciences (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:46). It was relevant to my study because of its ability to yield a thorough understanding of the Algerian cartoonists' experiences with censorship and restrictions, how they represented and denounced this censorship in their cartoons produced between 1992 and 2002, as well as how they used metaphor and metonymy in covert resistance to censorship. According to Merriam (2009: 44), a qualitative approach is heuristic in that it can 'bring about the discovery of new meaning, extend the reader's experience, or confirm what is known'. As a qualitative research design offers the possibility of triangulation, i.e., drawing on multiple sources of data

(Lincoln and Guba 1985: 305; Flick 2018: 786), it provided a further advantage to my study. For the purposes of my research, I combined the censorship-themed cartoons with a set of qualitative interviews with two of the cartoonists. I also drew heavily on the larger dataset of cartoons as well as books/articles, both of which reference the Algerian Civil War and the general socio-political situation of Algeria between 1992 and 2002. Furthermore, the qualitative approach was well suited for a detailed, qualitative analysis of the two rhetorical devices in the cartoons, revealing the meanings expressed through metaphors and metonymies, as well as for an in-depth examination of the latent themes which the cartoonists talked about in the interviews.

Creswell and Poth (2018: 54) have highlighted that any qualitative inquiry is grounded on philosophical assumptions relating to the nature and characteristics of social reality (ontology) and the nature of knowledge (epistemology). The consideration of philosophical assumptions, which underly a qualitative study, has implications for research practice. This echoes Creswell and Creswell's (2018: 43) assertion that

in planning a study, researchers need to think through the philosophical worldview assumptions that they bring to the study, the research design that is related to this worldview, and the specific methods or procedures of research that translate the approach into practice.

My research espoused a social constructivist view, which postulates that social reality is constructed through interactions with participants (Bryman 2012: 33). This implies that social reality is socially formed rather than being 'an external, objective reality' (ibid.: 36). In my study, I empirically conducted a set of in-depth qualitative interviews composed mainly of open-ended questions, which were aimed at eliciting the political cartoonists' views on the censorship practices they faced during the 1992-2002 period. This chimes with Creswell and Creswell's (2018: 46) argument that 'the more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say and do in their life settings'. Embracing the epistemological assumption that knowledge is acquired through 'subjective experiences of people', I intended to gain a deep understanding of the cartoonists' experiences based on their own perceptions and testimonies (Creswell and Poth 2018: 55). I also attempted to minimise the 'distance' or 'objective separateness' (Guba and Lincoln 1988: 94) and to build a good relationship with my participants by holding two rounds of interviews with each of the two interviewed cartoonists (see Section 3.3).

Qualitative research requires acceptance that the researcher is an integral part of the research, as their beliefs, judgments, and background knowledge may influence the research process (Finlay 2002; Etherington 2004; Berger 2015). The need for such reflexivity in qualitative studies has long been acknowledged, with scholars such as Dodgson (2019: 220)

suggesting that a researcher's transparency about their positionality and the impact of their background on their research is 'a minimum requirement for quality'. Bearing this in mind, I reflected on the position I occupied in relation to my data for example during the interviews. Although I am an Algerian who did not directly experience the Civil War events (1992-2002), I have acquired knowledge about this historical period through narratives transmitted vividly and affectively by family and friends as well as by reading historical and journalistic accounts. This connection to the past is described by Marianne Hirsch (2012) as 'post-memory'. For her, post-memory is the relationship that later generations bear to 'the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before—to experiences they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up' (p.5). Given this, I felt that my affective involvement with the subject matter impacted on the interviews as I projected my feelings of sadness when I heard about the hardships which the cartoonists experienced, and the atrocities committed in Algeria during the Civil War. In addition, cartoonists' experiences and my knowledge of the topics we were talking about not only improved the depth of the interview content but also helped the co-construction of some of the interview narratives. I followed Hsiung's (2008: 220-221) recommendation that an interviewer should engage in active listening and 'enter an interview dialogue with an open mind so that there is sufficient room for the interviewer and informant to explore the subject matter collaboratively'. This kind of self-reflexive practice underscores researcher-participant relationships and experiences as being part of the meaning construction process.

3.2 Dataset 1: Political Cartoons

3.2.1 Selection of Newspapers, Cartoons, and Cartoonists

This study investigated 95 cartoons addressing the issue of censorship which Algerian political cartoonists (and journalists) faced between early 1992 and late 2002. This specific timeframe was selected because it was marked by an increase in censorship practices against the backdrop of an armed conflict between the government and armed Islamists, also called the Algerian Civil War.¹³ January 1992 marked the outbreak of the war, while December 2002 saw a gradual return to peace, following the application of the law on civil concord which amnestied the Islamist insurgents (Naylor 2015: 175). Hence, I followed the practice established by many political historians and researchers who focus on this decade in their accounts of the Algerian Civil War (e.g., Evans and Philips 2007; Perego 2018). As stated in Chapter 1, the realities experienced by Algerian cartoonists and the cartoons they produced about press censorship in such challenging circumstances have remained largely unexplored. Driven by this empirical

¹³ As I will detail in Chapter 4, censorship existed in Algeria before the Civil War period. It started during the authoritarian regime (1960s-1980s).

gap, I compiled all the cartoons about this topic from the independent newspapers *El Khabar* (19 cartoons), *El Watan* (51 cartoons), and *Liberté* (25 cartoons) (see Table 3.1). The paradox arising from the publication of this large number of cartoons, despite the censorship which targeted Algerian satirical production at the time, was the driving motive behind this inquiry.

Table 3.1: Distribution of the collected cartoons across the newspapers

Newspaper	Cartoonists	Number of Cartoons
<i>El Khabar</i>	Ayoub	19
<i>El Watan</i>	Maz	51
<i>Liberté</i>	Dilem	25
Total: 95		

While *El Khabar* is in Arabic, *El Watan* and *Liberté* are in French. *El Khabar* and *El Watan* are still published, whereas *Liberté* closed down on 14th April 2022 due to governmental pressures. Although I sought to balance the corpus, I was unable to access the archival holdings of a second Arabic-language independent newspaper, *El Chorouk* (The Dawn). I found only nine cartoons about press censorship in the archives of the National Library of Algeria, while other issues of *El Chorouk* were not archived. I therefore excluded this newspaper from my dataset.

The choice of *El Watan*, *Liberté*, and *El Khabar* newspapers is motivated by several considerations, namely their independent editorial line, prominence in the Algerian press arena, and their languages of publication. The newspapers emerged during a period of political openness when an independent press was authorised for the first time in Algeria's history in 1989. The anti-government stance of their journalists and cartoonists made them subject to multiple forms of harassment and censorship between 1992 and 2002, in contrast to state-owned FLN-affiliated newspapers, such as *El Moudjahid* (The Warrior) and *Ech-Chaab* (The People), which reflect 'the official discourse of the government' (Gafaïti 1999: 52).¹⁴ Second, they were Algeria's most prominent and widely circulated newspapers, reaching the highest circulation figures during the investigated period. Kadem (2003: 39) notes that between April 1990 and December 1992, the Algerian media landscape comprised 18 dailies and around 46 weekly and 31 monthly newspapers. The three newspapers even superseded the state-owned

¹⁴ The *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front, FLN) was the first legal party in post-colonial Algeria. It was a continuation of the revolutionary body that directed the Algerian war of independence against France (1954–1962). The FLN party has, since Algeria's independence, functioned mainly as an ideological apparatus.

newspapers, despite the latter's longevity (i.e., existing since the late 1960s) (APS 1993). Between 1990 and 1992, *El Khabar* sold over 400,000 copies, and *El Watan* reached a circulation of 150,000 copies per day, while in the mid-1990s, *Liberté* sold approximately 140,000 copies daily (Kirat 2003: 124). Miliani (2002: 78) indicates that, by 2000, the three newspapers were still reaching the highest circulation figures of all Algerian dailies: *El Khabar* (384,600), *El Watan* (259,450), and *Liberté* (294,840). Ever since their emergence, *El Khabar*, *El Watan*, and *Liberté* have had the highest proportion of readers and reached 'broad segments of the literate-urban population' (Amara 2006: 225). At the time of the Algerian Civil War, the readership of all three newspapers was left-wing and politically engaged (Dris 2020: 250). However, the audience's preferences were different. Benel's (1990: 7) study on Algerian newspaper readership indicated that the readership of French-language newspapers (39%) exceeded that of Arabic-speaking newspapers (29%) and the audience reading in both languages (32%).

A further reason for selecting these three newspapers for analysis is their different languages (i.e., Arabic and French). As I will discuss in Chapter 4, Algeria is a multilingual country where Arabic, French, and Berber¹⁵ coexist and are used for daily communication and other purposes (Benrabah 2013). English has also recently expanded in Algeria, mainly in higher education (Bouherar and Ghafsi 2022: 67). The newspapers' different languages are likely to have had an impact on the type of readership targeted. The potentially different audiences may, in turn, have determined the cartoonists' selection of particular manoeuvres for the subtle representation and criticism of press censorship; that is, the degree of implicitness might have been shaped or motivated by whether the cartoonist, drawing in Arabic or French, assumed that his target audience would be able to interpret his work. For example, if the French-language cartoons were intended for highly educated viewers, the cartoonists might have chosen to be more implicit in their works. A brief overview of the emergence of these papers, their political allegiances, and their readership is provided below.

El Watan was founded on 8th October 1990 by Omar Belhouchet and other journalists who had left the government-owned newspaper *El Moudjahid* (Labter 1995: 34). It was the second French-speaking independent daily to appear after *Le Soir D'Algérie*, which was published on 4th September 1990. Shortly thereafter, on 1st November 1990, *El Khabar* first appeared. As in the case of *El Watan*, *El Khabar*'s editorial team was formed of journalists quitting state-owned newspapers, including its founder, Omar Ouertlane (Kirat 2003). *El Khabar* quickly established itself as the first independent Arabic-language newspaper. In

¹⁵ Also called 'Tamazight', Berber is considered the language of the indigenous population of North Africa.

contrast to the other two newspapers under examination in my study, *Liberté* has, since its emergence on 27th June 1992, always been owned by the businessman Issad Rebrab.¹⁶

The editorial lines of all three newspapers are broadly similar. They present themselves as independent, news-focused broadsheets with no political affiliation (El-Issawi 2017: 10). They are also perceived to be socially and economically liberal, as they defend principles, such as freedom of expression and opinion, as well as promoting gender equality and secular education (Dris 2020: 249). Over the years, they have acted as platforms for voices denouncing censorship and corruption and criticising the FLN party, which has made them politically vulnerable (Croll and Ould Tayeb 1998: 74).

The cartoons under study were all produced by Maz (*El Watan*), Ayoub (*El Khabar*), and Dilem (*Liberté*). My selection of these artists is driven by many motives. First, they were the most well-known cartoonists in the Algerian satirical press of the 1992-2002 period and bore witness to the hurdles of Algerian cartoonists working for the then recently emerged independent press. While Maz and Ayoub remained in Algeria, despite the challenging context, Dilem fled the country in 1994. The possible impact of these different working environments (i.e., in Algeria versus in exile) on the cartoonists' experiences and cartooning practices is another important reason for choosing these artists. I wanted to explore whether the three cartoonists faced the same pressures or whether being abroad gave Dilem more freedom in the selection and treatment of his topics and allowed him to be bolder. The fact that they represent different generations of Algerian cartoonists constitutes a further motive for their selection. While Maz and Ayoub were brought up during the repressive authoritarian regime which governed the country between 1962 and 1989, Dilem forms part of the new wave of artists who began cartooning when freedom of political expression had been granted in 1990 (see Chapter 4). Therefore, this divergence may provide several points of comparison and contrast in terms of the cartoonists' beliefs, practices, and reactions to the censorship they faced from 1992 onwards. Having justified the selection of the three artists for study, I now present their biographies which I collected mainly through personal interviews with two of the artists.

Maz (Mohamed Mazari)

Perceived as one of the pioneers of Algerian cartooning art, Maz started his artistic career as a comics artist in 1966 as part of the nascent comics industry in Algeria. He has co-produced some of Algeria's most famous children's comics and satirical publications, including

¹⁶ Rebrab is the owner of Cevital, the leader of oil and sugar industries in Algeria.

M'Quidech,¹⁷ *Les Gars de Chez Nous* (Our Fellow Guys), and *Si Kadour* (Mr Kadour) (*El Watan* 2012). In 1984, he left comics publication in favour of daily cartooning in the state-owned newspaper *El-Moudjahid*, where he was a key figure in making cartoons a recognised form of expression in the Algerian press. In acknowledgement of his excellent cartooning skills, Maz was awarded the National Caricature prize and the First Prize for Comics at the 1986 International Festival of Comics and Caricature held in Algiers. Exhausted by years of control and repression at *El Moudjahid*, Maz joined *El Watan* since its emergence in October 1990 and became the first political cartoonist of the independent press (see Chapter 4). He asserted in the interview that I held with him in 2019 that cartooning requires practice and that 'in the realisation of [his] cartoons, [he] think[s] deeply about a good idea and then the drawing follows easily'. He describes his style as being heavily influenced by his experience as a comics artist. As a cartoonist, Maz drew much of his inspiration from newspaper articles, especially on the front page, which he was often asked to illustrate with a drawing. In his works, he has addressed both national and international socio-political affairs and he continues to publish cartoons in *El Watan* up until today. With over thirty years' experience, Maz is therefore the cartoonist with the longest tenure at a single newspaper selected for study in this thesis.

Ayoub (Abdelkader Abdou)

Ayoub was the first full-time cartoonist illustrating for *El Khabar* between 1990 and 2013, when he played an integral role in the evolution of political and social satire and became the most widely celebrated political cartoonist of the Arabic-speaking press in Algeria (Lahiani 2013). Despite his lack of artistic training, Ayoub excelled in emulating European comics and the style of his established predecessors, such as Ahmed Haroun,¹⁸ to develop his own artistic style in the early 1970s. He entered the media/press realm as a graphic designer at *El Moudjahid* in 1979, before working as a daily cartoonist in *Alwan* (Colours) magazine and then *El Massa* (The Evening) newspaper in 1985. Like Maz, in 1990, Ayoub moved to work for *El Khabar*, which he helped to launch. It was during the Algerian Civil War that Ayoub made his career and earned immense popularity. In our interview, Ayoub stated that, 'at that time, [he] endured the best and the worst times of [his] cartooning career', implying that although the period was fraught with challenges, he continued to be active and successful in the world of Algerian graphic humour. Ayoub's satire of politicians, mocking depictions of Islamists, and

¹⁷ M'Quidech or Mqidech (meaning resourceful) is the hero of Slim's comics album and is inspired from a mythical character in Berber folktales (For detailed discussion see Goldberg 2003; Lacoste-Dujardin 2003).

¹⁸ Ahmed Haroun, a retired cartoonist, was the first cartoonist in post-independence Algeria (i.e., after 1962) and the first Algerian cartoonist to graduate from the School of Fine Arts of Algiers with the last cohort of French students (Tahraoui 2018). His contributions to the governmental newspapers *Ech-Chaab* (The People) and *El-Moudjahid* (The Warrior) laid the groundwork for the Algerian cartooning tradition (Fatmi 2009).

representations of civil society's ordeals during the conflict, which oscillated between the serious and the light-hearted, were heralded as a big success. Ayoub opines that his leap to fame was also due to the simplification of his cartoons which reached a wide audience, and he believes that cartoons should be intended for ordinary people with minimal education so that 'these people can understand and laugh at the cartoon's content; that is, the cartoonist should ensure a sense of inclusion'. The ground-breaking style of his cartoons and the humour not only contributed to his fame, but also increased *El Khabar's* readership and circulation (Benfodil 2008: 108). On the role of political cartoons, Ayoub (2019) stated that they should complement and offer a humorous, often ironic, view of topical events or affairs rather than serving as graphic illustrations of front-page articles, as is often the case with Maz's works, for example. Since 2013, Ayoub has been drawing for *El Chorouk*.

Dilem (Ali Dilem)

Dilem is the youngest cartoonist featuring in this study. He began his cartooning career in 1989 after graduating from the School of Fine Arts of Algiers (Selt 2008: 21). He is among the new generation of Algerian cartoonists and has produced some of what would become Algeria's most iconic cartoons, which have made him one of the country's principal cartoonists. Dilem was a regular cartoonist in *Alger Républicain* (Algiers Republican) until 1991, then in the independent newspaper *Le Matin* (The Morning), before joining *Liberté* for which he was the only cartoonist between 1996 and 2022. Unlike his predecessors, Dilem started during the media liberalisation period, when cartoonists were given sufficient freedom to practise satirical art. Taking advantage of this freedom, Dilem not only developed his distinctive style, but also revolutionised political cartooning in Algeria forever. A bold style combined with overt derision soon became his trademark. Acknowledging the contribution of his colleague, Ayoub avowed that before Dilem, Algerian political cartoons were basic. Despite being forced into exile in France in 1994 after repeated death threats, Dilem remained committed to the production of satire. He is known for his constant determination to direct overt, scathing criticism against political figures, principally the Algerian government and the army, with a lack of concern for the consequences. Dilem's style clearly reflects his perception of the role of a cartoonist as an 'agitator and subversionist' (*Afrique Magazine* 2006: 53). His fame reaches beyond Algeria's boundaries, as he also publishes cartoons in the international channel *TV5 Monde* and in the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. He is a member of the Cartooning for Peace network and has received several international prizes (Plantu and Guitton 2021: 36). The publication of his provocative cartoons has, however, not gone unnoticed. During his career, Dilem has received multiple fines and lawsuits from the Algerian government (Lent 2009a: 24).

3.2.2 Collection of Cartoons

The investigated cartoons were retrieved from the physical archives of the three newspapers. Each of the newspapers' offices, situated in Algiers, holds public archives of past published copies, ranging from the first newspaper edition to the most recent. These archives are put at the disposal of journalists and researchers, so I did not face any difficulties accessing them. I looked through every newspaper issue to find political cartoons published between January 1992 and December 2002. During data collection, I used a Smartphone application called Adobe Scan which was useful for the scanning and subsequent editing of the cartoons. The use of mobile phones and mobile applications for data collection has become increasingly popular due to the convenience they offer to researchers (e.g., Ballivan et al. 2015). The wide acceptance of this new way of conducting research is recognised in Paulus et al.'s (2014) and Paulus and Lester's (2021) monographs, which acknowledge the merits and the drawbacks of these devices to the researcher and the study itself. One of these downsides is the risk of data loss, which I minimised by transferring the scanned cartoons to a password-protected folder at the end of the fieldwork.

3.2.3 Content Analysis and Systematic Categorisation of Cartoons

The 95 cartoons under study were purposely selected following a systematic content analysis of a large corpus containing 1,005 cartoons, which were published in the three newspapers between January 1992 and December 2002. This large dataset provided me with essential historical information about the period in question and was indeed 'a source of data with insights' (Danjoux 2012: 39). The cartoons document the various socio-political events which happened in Algeria, depict the influential political figures of the time, and capture the general atmosphere in the society, as well as reflecting public sentiments and opinions. Highlighting the importance of a political cartoon as a historical source, Slyomovics (1993: 21) notes that by 'condensing history, culture and social relationships within a single frame, a cartoon can recontextualise events and evoke reference points in ways that a photograph or even a film cannot'. The large corpus was also useful to learn about the main topics or themes which the three artists addressed during the Algerian Civil War period.

My approach to analysing the political cartoons was underpinned by Berelson's (1952: 262) canonical definition of content analysis as 'a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication'. Berelson's definition has subsequently been 'widely adopted as *the* definitive description' of content analysis (Richardson 2007: 16). Berelson goes further to argue that content analysis should focus on 'the manifest content' of any material rather than 'the latent intentions which the content may express' (p. 262). Content analysis is a commonly used method to analyse

political cartoons (Sani et al. 2012; Wozniak 2014; Saleh 2018) because the frequency or prominence of issues or characters in the data is an indicator of their significance. As Danjoux (2012: 40) asserts, 'content analysis is not interested in the way that issues are depicted. Instead, it focuses on how often a particular symbol, idea or frame appears in cartoons'.

Content analysis was deployed as a systematic way to narrow down the large corpus into a manageable dataset of cartoons clearly focused on press censorship. It also served to identify the range of topics treated by cartoonists during the decade and determine the most important ones. MacLure (2013: 164-165) stresses that corpora require some means of categorisation to structure data and identify recurrent concepts or themes. She adds that coding, as an analytical practice, is part of various approaches, including content analysis. In line with Berelson's conception, each cartoon image in my study was analysed for both visual and verbal elements to identify the overall topic contained in every image. The consideration of both elements of a cartoon was crucial for decoding the cartoon's meaning. Next, I counted the number of cartoons which covered the same topic and grouped them together to determine the major themes addressed in the cartoons.

The cartoons were then systematically classified into categories and sub-categories according to their topic. This process was repeated three times to ensure that the list of topics was exhaustive and that the categories were mutually exclusive. The detailed analysis revealed five overarching topical categories: 'political issues', 'censorship', 'economic issues', 'social affairs', and 'other'. Under 'political issues', I included cartoons addressing political parties, political campaigns and elections, the Civil War violence and its material and psychological effects on Algerian society (e.g., the everyday massacres and atrocities, the destruction of infrastructure, Algerian citizens' psychological conditions, such as trauma and depression), and the government's actions to handle the political conflict (e.g., military intervention, referendums calling for peace).¹⁹ 'Censorship' included cartoons depicting Islamist threats, governmental pressures, and harassment of cartoonists and journalists by editors, as well as self-censorship. 'Economic issues' involved cartoons relating to economic standards of living, price rises, oil crisis, food shortage, and unemployment. Under 'social affairs', I categorised cartoons about (poor) education, corruption, and other social ills. In the 'other' category, I grouped together cartoons about sport and cultural matters. In Section 4.8, I will provide figures to show the distribution of these themes in the data and discuss a selection of cartoons from each thematic category.

¹⁹ This is commonly referred to in the literature as the government's 'anti-terrorist campaign' or, in French, '*lutte anti-terroriste*' (Le Sueur 2010: 168).

I used a purposive sampling technique to select only cartoons falling within the ‘censorship’ category for my qualitative analyses of the functions and structural patterns of metaphor and metonymy. The logic and power of purposive sampling, Patton (2002: 230) argues, rests on the thorough study of selected information-rich cases to achieve an in-depth understanding of the research question and the issues considered by the researcher to be crucial to their research objectives. My exclusive focus on press censorship cartoons in this thesis is driven by their prominence in the data. While the primary focus was on political issues covered in 701 cartoons (i.e., 69.75%), censorship is the second most common theme addressed by the cartoonists in a total of 95 cartoons (i.e., 9.45%). Danjoux (2012: 40) points out that ‘issues that appear once are deemed less significant than those that occur multiple times’. A further motive, as stated in Section 3.2.1, relates to the paradox inherent in the publication of the 95 cartoons amid the situation of tight control and repression. These cartoons are substantive evidence of the cartoonists’ resistance against censorship. At the same time, they raise important questions about whether other cartoons treating these issues were censored, or whether the cartoonists practised self-censorship. These questions, in turn, reveal how the use of metaphor and metonymy as implicit strategies might have helped the cartoonists break the silence to denounce press censorship in my cartoon data.

3.2.4 Importance of Using Contextualised Cartoons as Data

The investigated cartoons are contextualised, i.e., they are accompanied by important contextual information. I collected them directly from the newspapers in which they appeared and I scanned the newspapers’ front pages because I noticed that, in all three newspapers, the cartoons tended to be closely related to the news headlines on the front pages. As mentioned in Section 2.1, political cartoons usually appear on the editorial page of a newspaper, next to news reports and opinion editorials (Seip 2003: 527). In addition to this spatial link, cartoons are often associated thematically with the editorial commentaries on the same page and/or the front-page articles. This is what El Refaie (2003: 86) calls ‘discursive context’.

Placing the cartoons within their original contextual environment was crucial in orienting my interpretation and analysis of the cartoons. The broader discursive context guided my comprehension of the issues and my identification of the depicted characters, particularly given the timelapse between the cartoons’ production and my analysis.²⁰ El Refaie (2009b: 182) and Danjoux (2014: 366) agree that it can be challenging to make sense of cartoons

²⁰ Although I presented some cartoons for the cartoonists to comment on, these were only a few examples, while I had to interpret the rest of the corpus myself.

retrospectively. In contrast, viewers who read cartoons in close temporal proximity to their publication are typically more familiar with the topical issues and political actors represented. To develop a thorough historical knowledge, I read every cartoon in conjunction with the content of the newspapers' editorial and front pages. I also drew heavily on academic publications written by political scientists and journalists about the major events and the main political figures of the consecutive Algerian governments of the 1990s and early 2000s, the main members of the Islamist groups, and the list of political cartoonists working at the time (e.g., Labter 1995). These publications also discuss the key roles and involvement of these figures in the Civil War crisis and/or the censorship affecting the press. It has been pointed out that developing such broad knowledge of politics and past events is one of the key literacies required for determining cartoons' meanings (Charteris-Black 2017b: 225), since cartoons 'can only be produced and perceived in a socio-historical background' (Mazid 2014: 145). This shows that using decontextualised political cartoons, such as those catalogued in online databases²¹ as research data (e.g., Negro Alousque 2020), can present a serious methodological weakness and impinge on the cartoons' interpretation. Chattopadhyay (2015: 244) remarks that altering 'the context of "reading" the visual' can transform its meaning'.

The cartoons' original context was also central in the analysis of the figurative devices. Since I aimed to determine the main functions and forms of metaphor and metonymy, I contextualised my analysis of these devices by examining each cartoon together with its accompanying news stories. The importance of discursive context in the construal of metaphors, for instance, has been acknowledged by Koller (2009: 49), who notes that pictorial and multimodal metaphors require viewers 'to construct a meaningful reading by processing verbal and visual elements together'. As I discuss in Chapter 5, the newspaper context can also influence the construction of metonymic meanings.

3.3 Dataset 2: Interviews with the Cartoonists

To supplement the cartoons, I used qualitative interviews as my second source of data. Qualitative interviews are regarded as '*the most common qualitative method of data collection*' in the humanities and social sciences (Braun 2013: 77, emphasis in original). I interviewed the cartoonists Ayoub and Maz. The process of their recruitment was very smooth. I met them in their respective newspaper offices situated in Algiers. Their participation in my research was voluntary and I did not offer incentives. As mentioned in Chapter 1, because I could not interview Dilem, I made use of the published interview conducted by the *Liberté* journalist Mustapha Benfodil in 2008. It provides insightful details about Dilem's life and artistic career, including the various prosecutions he faced and his valiant efforts to stand up to the

²¹ An example of such databases is Cagle (www.cagle.com)

government through his cartoons. The details gained from these different interviews enriched my study.

The interviews were important for accessing the cartoonists' first-hand testimonials about restrictions on freedom of expression during the Algerian Civil War. Research has highlighted the significance of interviews in eliciting rich details about participants' personal experiences and viewpoints, thereby getting at the 'heart of the matter' (Tracy 2020: 79). By collecting the cartoonists' individual stories, I aimed to identify similarities and/or differences in their experiences, thus gaining a thorough understanding of the challenges faced by the Algerian satirical press. In particular, the interviews were meant to provide details about the censorship practices in Algeria, the extent to which the coercive restrictions affected the artists' personal and professional lives, and the artists' individual reactions to those pressures.

The interviews were also useful for asking about the cartoonists' stated or implicit intentions of a selection of their works. As Danjoux (2014: 367) stresses, familiarity with the cartoonists' intent and opinions is important for decoding the meaning of cartoons, especially those produced in situations of censorship. As qualitative interviews enable researchers 'to ask interviewees to verify, refute, defend, or expand' on topics (Tracy 2020: 79), they gave me the chance to discuss and compare my own cartoon analysis and interpretation with the cartoonists' intended meanings and to resolve some discrepancies. However, I kept in mind that multiple meanings are possible and that even the intended meaning as described by the cartoonists themselves is not the only valid interpretation. El Refaie (2009a: 174) remarks that researchers should not consider the cartoonists 'to be the ultimate arbiters of the meaning of their work'. This caveat is noteworthy, especially when much time has elapsed between the production of the cartoons and the interviewing of their creators, as was the case with my study. In the interviews, I was aware that the time lapse might have affected not only the cartoonists' narration of their lived experiences, but also the post-publication interpretation of their drawings. I was also aware of the possibility that the artists might not remember everything because it had been a long time ago and they were relying on their memory to recall the events and looking at the cartoons from a completely different perspective. Consequently, the cartoonists might have expressed interpretations that diverged from their initial intentions.

For the purposes of my research, I decided to conduct two interviews with each of my participants. This practice is called 'serial interviewing' (Read 2018). While most scholars tend to conduct one-time interviews, there are cases and circumstances which require the researcher to interview participants multiple times. Read argues that serial interviewing is appropriate and even necessary for researchers examining complex and multi-faceted topics. It helps them acquire 'information of adequate quality, quantity, and validity' (ibid.: 1-4). When

investigating such multidimensional subjects, the researcher requires some time to develop a full understanding of the research topic(s) and to gradually realise the right questions to ask. Moreover, the technique gives interviewers time off in-between interview sessions so they may return to the topics with a fresh mind or return 'to ask participants the questions [they] "should have asked" in earlier rounds' (p.4). A further advantage is that, over time, the researcher and the study participants can develop a more relaxed, comfortable, and productive relationship (ibid.: 6-8). Considering the complex socio-political climate in which the cartoons were produced and the censorship challenges I wanted to learn about, I deemed serial interviewing to be the most appropriate method for my study.

I chose semi-structured interviews because of the considerable flexibility that they offer both to the researcher and to participants in terms of 'how and when the questions are put and how the interviewee can respond' (Edwards and Holland 2013: 29). Moreover, semi-structured interviews provide the opportunity to ask probing follow-up questions (Brinkmann 2018). The interview schedules I designed consisted mainly of open-ended questions due to the breadth of discussions and rich details that these can elicit. Following Braun's (2013: 84) recommendations on the importance of question wording, I phrased the questions in an accessible style, free of any jargon, and I translated them from English into French or Arabic, depending on the cartoonists' preferences. I conducted the first interviews in March and August 2019 and the second interviews in October and November 2020.

In the first round, I asked the cartoonists about the emergence and development of the Algerian cartooning tradition, their working conditions, and the general atmosphere in Algeria throughout the 1992-2002 period. The second round focused on the various constraints which prevented the cartoonists from freely practising their profession and the strategies they adopted to evade censorship. I conducted the second round of interviews after I had conducted a preliminary analysis of the cartoons to avoid being too heavily influenced by the creators' intended meanings. The interviews served to compare my own interpretations of the cartoons with the artists' declared intentions. In keeping with my research questions, some of the interview questions revolved around the specific rhetorical devices (metaphor and metonymy) that the artists used to represent censorship while avoiding their works being suppressed by the authorities. Other questions covered the artists' target audiences and the main messages they sought to convey with selected cartoons.

During the second round of interviews, I employed a visual data elicitation technique adapted from Glaw et al. (2017). It involves using 'photographs or other visual mediums in an interview to generate verbal discussion', as it is widely accepted that '[v]isual methods enhance the richness of data by discovering additional layers of meaning, adding validity and depth, and creating knowledge' (ibid.: 1). Since this technique has the benefits of evoking

emotions, memories, and sometimes deeper meanings than are possible through using verbal methods only (Bignante 2010; Copes et al. 2018), I incorporated some cartoons in the interviews to jog the cartoonists' memories and emotional responses about their cartoons and the context of their production. Moreover, as mentioned above, I wanted to gain insights into the cartoonists' intended meanings of some of the cartoons discussed in Chapters 4-7. Using this visual procedure to complement the qualitative interview questions produced rich data for analysis, particularly because the cartoonists commented on examples of their own works.

The logistics of conducting an interview play an integral part in its success. Particularly, the setting is crucial to the quality of an interview (Bailey 2007: 104). For the first interviews, I selected the cartoonists' offices as the venue because they offered a quiet, comfortable, and familiar environment. Face-to-face interviews with Ayoub and Maz were advantageous for trust and rapport building (Bryman 2012). I audio-recorded the interviews using a digital device, which made it possible 'to check the accurate wording of any statement the researcher may wish to quote' (Bell 2010: 167). A further merit of audio-recording was to increase the quality of the interview conversations by enabling me to focus on the discussion and to engage fully with the cartoonists instead of being distracted by the need to take notes. Although I initially planned to conduct the second interviews face-to-face, I had to do them online via Skype due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The usefulness of Skype software for qualitative data collection is well-documented (Iacono et al. 2016; Adams-Hutcheson and Longhurst 2017). Skype offers the possibility to interview participants using voice and video via a synchronous internet connection when traditional onsite interviews are problematic owing to geographical dispersion and/or time and financial constraints (Janghorban et al. 2014). Skype proved to be a convenient software to use, particularly because it enabled the audio and video recording of the conversations, which, in turn, facilitated the subsequent transcription of the interviews. The quality of the data which I gathered via the Skype interviews was comparable to the quality of the data from the face-to-face conversations with the cartoonists. Nevertheless, the interviews required some preparation, notably ensuring that the participants had basic technological competence, and maintaining high-speed internet access and good sound/video quality at both ends. Additionally, the shift in interview format required seeking permission from the cartoonists to be video recorded, because only audio recording had been mentioned on the original consent form (see Section 3.5). While Deakin and Wakefield (2014) reported the difficulty of building rapport with their participants in the online interviews conducted as part of their PhD research projects, I did not face this issue because I had already developed a good relationship with the cartoonists in the first interviews.

3.3.1 Transcription and Translation of Interviews

There are several transcription conventions (e.g., Atkinson and Heritage 2006) catering for researchers' different disciplines and specific interests. For the purposes of my study, I transcribed the interviews using transcription conventions adapted from O'Connell and Kowal (1995). Their transcription system is particularly useful because it allowed me to capture the cartoonists' emotional states by notating pauses and minimal responses. I manually transcribed the audio recordings in the original languages (Arabic and French), using Microsoft Office Word. Manual transcription is time-consuming because it involves listening attentively to the recordings several times during and after the transcription (Bryman 2012: 484), but it offers certain advantages for the analytical stage (see Section 3.4.5). Furthermore, transcribing the first interviews helped me reflect upon and improve my interviewing skills for the second interviews, particularly in terms of 'question wording, tone, and pace' (Tracy 2020: 203), as well as suggesting additional questions to ask the cartoonists.

I subsequently translated the interview transcripts from Arabic and French into English. As any translation requires the researcher to make ad hoc decisions about the best approach to translation (Dickins et al. 2002), I found it useful to combine literal or 'semantic translation' with 'communicative translation' (Newmark 1981: 39).²² According to Newmark (1991), literal word-for-word translation is lexically and grammatically driven. It puts emphasis on the translation of lexical and syntactic structures of a source language text into their nearest target language equivalents. Literal translation was only useful to translate the puns used in the cartoons. However, since it does not consider cultural differences between source language and target language, it results in translated texts which sound unnatural in the target language and might sometimes fail to express any clear meaning (p.106). For instance, when discussing his drawing, Maz said, '*Je suis resté dans le style de la bande dessinée*'. This sentence literally translates as 'I stayed in the style of comics'. A further example is Ayoub's reference to the political scene in Algeria before the outbreak of the Civil War 'مع بداية الديمقراطية' 'بدا ظهور الشيوعيين والاسلاميين', which literally translates as 'with the onset of democracy began the emergence of communists and Islamists'. As these examples show, literal translation produces content which is unclear and would sound odd to an English-speaking readership. In this case, a more communicative and meaning-driven approach to translation was required. This approach conveys meaning that is as similar as possible to the meaning transmitted in the target language. Texts translated through communicative-based translation are clearer and more accessible to readers (Newmark 1981: 39). A more communicative translation of

²² I have drawn heavily on Peter Newmark's canonical works in translation studies, namely *Approaches to Translation* (1981), *A Textbook of Translation* (1988), and *About Translation* (1991), which are widely used resources in translator training courses and which provide practical examples of translation.

the two examples might be, for example, 'I continued to use the style of comics' and 'communists and Islamists emerged with the introduction of democracy', respectively.

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Identification and Analysis of Metaphor

To examine the visual and multimodal metaphors the cartoonists used to represent press censorship, I adopted Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) procedures, which currently provide the most reliable and replicable guidelines for the manual identification of non-verbal metaphors in political cartoons. Although there exists Šorm and Steen's (2018) Visual Metaphor Identification Procedure (*VISMIP*) as another procedure for analysing metaphors, I chose Bounegru and Forceville's analytical tools since they were specifically devised for the study of visual/multimodal metaphors in cartoons, thereby accounting for the specificities of metaphors in multimodal cartoons. In contrast, *VISMIP* was adapted from its linguistic predecessor, Steen et al.'s (2010) Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (*MIPVU*). Pérez-Sobrino (2017: 80) warns that the identification of '[visual and] multimodal manifestations related to metaphor [...] must be carried out in a different way than for verbal metaphor', to avoid potential analytical issues and weaknesses. Furthermore, the methodological rigour of Bounegru and Forceville's method is well-attested in cartoon scholarship, which makes it relevant to my study (see Forceville and Van de Laar 2019; Silaški and Durović 2019a; Zhang and Forceville 2020).

To determine the presence of metaphors in my corpus, I followed the authors' suggestion that, for something to qualify as a metaphor, the following criteria must be met:

- (1) an identity relation is created between two phenomena that, in the given context, belong to different categories;
- (2) the phenomena are to be understood as target and source respectively; they are not, in the context, reversible;
- (3) at least one characteristic/connotation associated with the source domain is to be mapped onto the target domain; often an aligned structure of connotations is to be so mapped (p.213).

The systematicity of this identification tool proved very useful, as it reduces subjectivity in the identification of metaphors which, in turn, helps ensure consistent and generalisable findings by the independent analyst.

All the cartoons were analysed individually, considering both textual and visual elements. Once all the cartoons were classified depending on whether or not they contained metaphors, the metaphorical examples underwent a further process of analysis, which

involved ‘deciding what connotations [or metaphorical mappings] have been mapped from source to target’ (p.213). I also categorised the metaphors according to their respective source domain and target domain, which helped identify the recurrent source domains used to depict censorship. Because one of my objectives was to discern the prevalent forms of metaphors in the data (see RQ2), I distinguished between visual and multimodal metaphors of the verbo-visual type using Bounegru and Forceville’s (2011: 213) guidelines:

erasing all verbal elements in the cartoon, and (1) if the visuals still allow for identifying a target and a source, the metaphor is construed as a pictorial one; (2) if neither target or source becomes unidentifiable, it is construed as a multimodal metaphor (more specifically: of the verbo-pictorial variety).

Bounegru and Forceville’s procedure facilitated the identification of metaphors in my cartoon data and their categorisation according to their formal properties. However, it was sometimes hard to verbalise the metaphors in one specific way. Acknowledging this difficulty, Bounegru and Forceville (2011: 222) propose that ‘[the] different verbalizations do not affect the fact that they are rooted in a single conceptual domain’. Therefore, during my analysis, I kept in mind that there could be different plausible ways to verbalise the metaphors identified.

3.4.2 Identification and Analysis of Metonymy

Because there are no explicit and replicable procedures for the analysis of verbal and visual metonymies in cartoon research, I adapted the ad hoc identification protocol designed by Pérez-Sobrino and Littlemore (2017: 388-389) in their examinations of metonymy in advertisements. As argued by Pérez-Sobrino (2017: 78), to fill methodological gaps, the analyst can either adapt existing methods or develop new analytical frameworks when necessary. The adapted procedure involves:

- (1) identifying the (possible) target domains;
- (2) identifying the (possible) source domains in the surrounding pictorial and/or verbal context; and
- (3) characterising the two domains as metonymic if their relationship/mapping can be verbalised as A FOR B, where A is the target and B is the source.

The relevance of this systematic protocol for my study is that it was designed based on empirical studies that considered visual and verbal-visual metonymy in real-life data. That is, the method addresses the methodological question of how metonymy can be identified in a multimodal text.

3.4.3 Identification of Metaphor-Metonymy Interactions

Following the analysis of metaphor and metonymy in isolation, I considered their combinations. I formulated an analytical procedure specifically for the systematic examination of metaphor-metonymy interactional patterns in my data because there is, to date, no reliable approach to detect and analyse such interactions in political cartoons. If one of the identified metonymies was found to be related to a metaphor, that is, if a RELATED TO relationship (i.e., A FOR B) supported an IS LIKE relationship (i.e., A IS B), I annotated it as a metaphonymy (metonymy-based metaphor). As exemplified in Figure 3.1, the metonymies HAND FOR JOURNALIST FOR PRESS and PEN AND PAPERS FOR JOURNALISTIC WRITING are integrated into the target of the metaphor PRESS CENSORSHIP IS AN OVERSIZED BALL AND CHAIN. Another metaphonymy contained in this cartoon is that the metonymies BALL AND CHAIN FOR OBSTACLE, and BALL AND CHAIN FOR PRISON form the basis of the source domain of a metaphor that expresses the idea that censorship restricts journalists' ability to work freely.

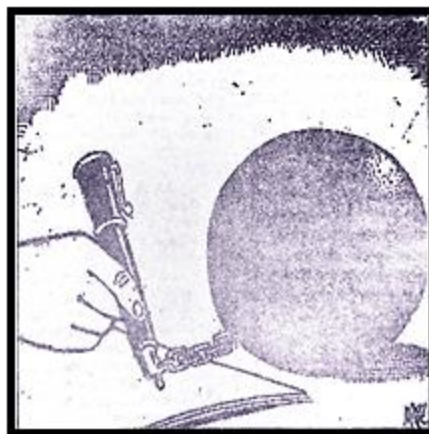


Figure 3.1: Maz, *El Watan*, 14/5/1995

Since political cartoons often contain multiple metaphors and metonymies, I sought to keep the identification of the metaphor-metonymy relations simple and only coded the metaphonymies that were directly related to the overall topic of the cartoons: exposing censorship. Hence, metaphor-metonymy combinations realising emotive meanings, as mentioned in Chapter 2, were out of my focus, and so I did not annotate them.

3.4.4 Identification and Analysis of Metaphor Scenarios

Despite the growing interest in studying metaphor scenarios in political cartoons, scholars have hitherto not developed a reliable protocol of identification that can be used by other analysts. While some researchers just assume that all their data can be described as examples of metaphorical scenarios (e.g., Silaški and Durović 2018; 2019b; Viràg 2020; Zhang and Forceville 2020), others have suggested protocols which are either unconvincing

or very specific to their own datasets. For example, in their study of metaphor scenarios in political cartoons on Brexit, Godioli and Pedrazzini (2019) have used a stepwise procedure which involves considering the following characteristics: the *source*, *action*, *effect*, and the *scenario*. The problem with this protocol is that the term 'source(s)' which the authors use to refer to the rivalling parties involved in the Brexit issue (EU and UK) might be misleading to readers accustomed to the use of this term to describe the distinct notion of a metaphor 'source domain' in CMT. Furthermore, as the overall aim of their procedure is to discern a metaphor scenario in the cartoons, it does not make sense that the identification of the scenario comes as a last step.

As this study is the first to adopt narrative theory for the study of metaphor scenarios, I devised a new analytical framework. As mentioned in Chapter 2, I regard metaphor scenarios as 'mini-narratives' (Musolff 2006) which are triggered by metaphors in the cartoon panel and which help conceptualise abstract and complex real-life phenomena. Drawing on insights from narrative theory, I devised a systematic procedure which involved applying a set of criteria to distinguish between a simple metaphor and a metaphor scenario. The starting point in my analysis is to ensure that the cartoon is clearly metaphorical by adopting the procedure of identifying metaphors in political cartoons explained in Section 3.4.1. The second step involves determining whether the cartoon contains a metaphor scenario. I used the following criteria which, according to Kintsch et al. (1977: 547), are the basic features of a narrative and conform with the schema of a visual story in Western culture (and arguably other cultures, since narratives are universal): (1) the presence of human and/or human-like characters; (2) the occurrence of two or more actions/events; (3) a time sequence; and (4) an element of causality. In other words, to qualify as a metaphor scenario, a cartoon needs to include two or more human and/or human-like characters, and to evoke *at least* two actions or events, which must be connected both chronologically and causally. The actions should reflect a sense of temporality (past, present, and future actions), but they do not have to be tied to a specific time duration (e.g., a day or month). As Abbott (2002: 5) puts it, 'time is not necessarily any length at all'. Moreover, the actions should indicate cause-effect relationships in the sense that readers can understand that one depicted action is caused by and gives rise to another action. These temporal and cause-effect narrative relationships can be inferred from visual cues and/or verbal information, such as labels, captions, or comments in the cartoon. Taken together, these core elements evoke a narrative in the mind of reader-viewers who are familiar with the structure of a story (Abdel-Raheem 2020: 27). The resulting scenario may not be a full and detailed narrative, yet the events unfolding in time lead up to and 'account for what we see' in the political cartoon (ibid.: 6).

If we take the example of Figure 3.2, we will notice that the cartoon is metaphoric, conceptualising press censorship as a shoe crushing a journalist.

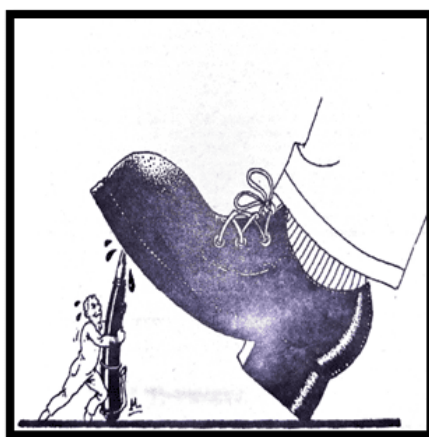


Figure 3.2: Maz, *El Watan*, 11/12/1998

It involves two characters, one of which is a journalist recognisable from his fountain pen and the other is only partially depicted through his big shoe. These characters are shown engaged in two actions: the big shoe is stamping on the journalist, who, in turn, is trying hard to push back the shoe's pressure with a fountain pen. This is clearly indicated by the sweat droplets resulting from the strenuous physical effort which the journalist is making to resist.²³ Although the cartoon is static, we can infer that the two actions had already started at some point in the past and are still happening simultaneously in the present moment. A sense of future is also inferable from the visual information which suggests that the strength of the oversized shoe is hard to withstand and is likely to cause damage to the pen and physical harm (and probably death) to the journalist. The two actions are also related causally, as these damages are direct consequences of the shoe crushing on the journalist and his fountain pen.

3.4.5 Thematic Analysis of Interviews

The qualitative procedure selected for the interviews was the staged model of thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), which accords well with the qualitative research design adopted in this thesis. Thematic analysis involves the identification of themes, defined as 'some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set' which 'captures something important about the data in relation to the research question' (p.82). The use of this specific approach in the study is relevant due to it being very widely used in the humanities and social sciences. It also shows theoretical and epistemological flexibility. This 'foundational

²³ The stamping action and the journalist's attempt to resist the pressure reflect Talmy's (1988: 49) idea of 'force dynamics' which can explain 'how entities interact with respect to force'. This includes, for example, the exertion of force and resistance to such force, clearly implied in Figure 3.2 as well as in Figures 5.12 and 5.13.

method' can provide 'a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data' (p.78). Scholars distinguish between two levels of thematic analysis: semantic level and latent themes. While the 'semantic level' involves the analysis of 'the explicit or surface meanings of the data', 'latent' themes are 'the *underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data' (p.84, emphasis in original). My analysis goes beyond the mere description of the participants' words and is also concerned with latent themes.

The identification and coding of themes within the data was guided by a hybrid approach involving deductive and inductive thematic analysis. Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 46) assert that qualitative research 'privileges no single methodological practice over another'. This flexibility allows the researcher to choose the qualitative approach that is best suited for a systematic investigation of their research topic and which yields relevant answers to their research questions. My choice to co-apply deductive and inductive thematic analysis was driven by the fact that both approaches on their own have limitations (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Contrasting Two Types of Thematic Analysis
(adapted from Braun and Clarke 2006: 83-84)

Theoretical Thematic Analysis	Inductive Thematic Analysis
Deductive	Inductive
Top-down	Bottom-up
Theoretically driven/ analyst-driven	Data-driven

Despite offering the advantage of a clearly targeted and well-structured analysis, a purely deductive approach would have meant disregarding potentially important themes emerging directly from the data, as the analyst codes for 'a quite specific research question' (p.84). In contrast, an inductive approach would have entailed an explanatory analysis, which would not have worked well in my study because I had already identified predetermined themes that I expected to find and that were tightly related to my research questions. The drawback of inductive analysis is that the researcher may fail to notice certain themes which might be significant for their study because the coding is done without consideration of the themes identified by existing scholarship on their topic (ibid.). Therefore, to ensure a rigorous and comprehensive analysis of my interviews, I used a hybrid approach. My research questions determined the questions I asked in the interviews, which then also shaped the main themes in my analysis. I coupled this thematically driven analysis with a more inductive approach in that I was also open to the possibility of new themes emerging from the data itself. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) opened a discussion on this double approach to thematic analysis,

when they used a hybrid process of deductive and inductive data coding and identification of themes in their study on the role of performance feedback in the self-assessment of nursing practice. This hybrid methodological approach has since been successfully applied in several empirical research projects (e.g., Swain 2018; Xu and Zammit 2020).

I followed the six-step methodological process suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006: 86-93), as shown in Table 3.3 below. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that the analysis of my interviews was by no means a linear process of moving from one step to the next, but rather an iterative process of moving back and forth between the different stages.

Table 3.3: Phases of Thematic Analysis
(Braun and Clarke 2006: 87)

Phase	Description of the Process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire dataset, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Steps 1, 2: Familiarisation with Data and Generation of Initial Codes

This stage consisted in acquainting myself with my data by transcribing, translating, and doing multiple readings of the original and translated interview transcripts. The transcription process

helped me develop a thorough understanding of the cartoonists' statements and be familiar with the emerging ideas. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998: 73) posit, transcription represents a first, crucial stage of data analysis. Following Van Nes et al.'s (2010) advice to conduct the initial stage of analysis in the original language of the interview, I read the interview transcripts several times and generated the initial ideas in Arabic and French.²⁴

Next, I imported the translated transcripts into the qualitative data analysis software, Nvivo, in preparation for the coding stages (i.e., Steps 2-5). I used Nvivo because it helps ensure the rigour of qualitative data analysis and facilitates the digital management of the written transcripts and the creation of codes and themes (Bazeley and Jackson 2019: 3-8). Furthermore, Nvivo assists researchers in carrying out deductive and/or inductive analysis. However, there are some caveats to working with Nvivo. Notably, Bazeley and Jackson (2019: 7) warn that the software 'can distance researchers from their data'. I mitigated this concern as much as I could by familiarising myself with the transcripts 'to conduct the interpretive aspects of analysis', which Nvivo cannot do (D'Cruz and Jones 2004: 156). Gibbs (2002: 10) reminds us that Nvivo is just a tool for analysis, whereas the 'real heart of the analysis requires an understanding of the meaning of the texts, and that is something that computers are still a long way from being able to do'. I followed Saldaña's (2013: 3-20) practical guidelines for coding qualitative data to code every potentially important pattern in the interview transcripts. The coding was informed by the hybrid approach explained earlier.

As stated in Section 3.3, I conducted two rounds of interviews with my two participants and each round had a different interview guide. For the thematic analysis, I decided to use the same coding list for the four interview transcripts because there were overlapping themes across both sets. For instance, while 'state censorship' was a major topic in the second interviews, the cartoonists also touched on this in the first interviews, which made it a recurrent code. I coded the four interviews one by one and kept adding new codes to the coding list whenever new themes came up. The use of a combined list of codes worked perfectly well for my analysis.

Finally, the process of coding the data was iterative. Keeping in mind scholars' (Saunders et al. 2018; Hennink et al. 2020) warning about the importance of achieving data saturation in qualitative research, I continued the analysis and coding of the transcripts until I reached a point when the data did not provide any new codes; that is, I ensured that my list of codes was exhaustive and my data did not require any further coding (Guest et al. 2006). Data

²⁴ There is flexibility in choosing to translate the interview transcript before or after the analysis. These are decisions which researchers make according to what suits their projects best.

saturation not only demonstrates the validity of the findings, but also enhances the quality and rigour of the research (Fusch and Ness 2015: 1408).

Steps 3, 4, 5, 6: Derivation, Review, and Definition of themes and Production of Report

These stages involved identifying themes in the data by collating relevant codes and naming the themes. To this end, I relied on the 'mind mapping technique' (Bazeley and Jackson 2019) due to its efficiency in revealing and visualising the relationships between various codes and grouping them under potential themes. The thematic analysis of the interviews ended with the selection of extracts from the interview transcripts to substantiate my analyses and discussions across Chapters 4-7. This was in accordance with Braun and Clarke (2006: 94), who highlight that such extracts are 'illustrative of the analytic points the researcher makes about the data'.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Scholarly discussions about ethics of research have highlighted the need to achieve ethical clearance at the outset of a research project (Whiteman 2018; Tracy 2020). Bryman (2012: 130) explains that ethical practice has profound implications as it determines 'the integrity of a piece of research and of the disciplines that are involved'. I considered and mitigated ethical risks at various stages of my project because ethical considerations are not confined to data collection (Whiteman 2018: 385); rather, issues might surface at any stage of the research process. I gained ethical approval from the ENCAP School's Ethics Officer in November 2017, prior to undertaking any data collection. In my application, I adapted the School's existing templates of a consent form and a full ethics form, both of which are structured around well-established principles of ethical research, namely, protecting data, ensuring participants' welfare, respecting their privacy, and giving them equitable and inclusive treatment (Creswell and Poth 2018: 215).

My ethics application was related to the cartoon data and the interviews. A particular ethical concern that I considered was the possibility that I might have to apply for permissions from the newspaper archivists or the newspapers' managers to collect the cartoons. Gaining access to fieldwork sites is recognised as one of the challenges that researchers might confront (ibid.: 238). However, the archivists said that I did not have to obtain any official authorisations for accessing the newspaper's archival holdings due to the public nature of the cartoons; that is, the cartoons used in this study are available for free and can be reproduced in research contexts.

A further concern was to overcome potential challenges involved in the interviews and to ensure the participants' safety because I intended to ask questions about sensitive topics, namely state censorship and the consequences of the Islamist violence on Algerian cartoonists between 1992 and 2002. At the recruitment phase, I handed out consent forms (which I translated into French and Arabic) to the cartoonists and allowed them time to read the forms carefully and decide whether to participate in my research. The consent forms provided the cartoonists with lucid details about the purpose of the study, the procedures of data collection, the proposed storage and use of the data, the voluntary nature of the cartoonists' participation, their right of withdrawal, and the potential risks of their involvement in my project. Following Tracy's (2020: 88) suggestion, I also included bullet points of the topics that I aimed to address in each of the two interview sessions in order not to deceive the cartoonists, to give them time to prepare, and to allow them to assess in advance if they felt uncomfortable with any of the proposed topics.

During the interviews, the cartoonists were allowed to refuse to answer any sensitive or distressing question(s), and any other questions they were reluctant to address, without the need to justify their decision. Due to the sensitivity of the topics covered, the artists were given the option to not disclose traceable information, such as the names of newspaper editors and owners or politicians, especially since many of these people are still alive. This procedure was aimed to protect the cartoonists and/or the people mentioned from any potential problems that might impinge on their professional careers and/or result in harm to their personal lives. Scholars point out that there can be a power imbalance between an interviewer and interviewee(s) during an interview, with either party having a stronger influence on the other. Brinkmann and Kvale (2009: 33) caution about the 'asymmetrical power relation' which might arise between a dominant interviewer and interviewees withholding information because of the researcher's controlling attitude. It is also possible for the participant to have more power in certain cases where a researcher might feel intimidated by the participant's fame, expertise, age, or gender. To mitigate potential issues and enhance the efficiency of my interviews, I carefully considered my relationship with the cartoonists. In the interviews, I sought to build trust and show respect for the cartoonists. I also treated the interviews as an interactive and collaborative discussion between two interlocutors who were equally knowledgeable in their respective areas of expertise. This point is echoed in Braun's (2013: 96) statement that '[w]hile we are "experts" in the sense that we are trained researchers and know a lot about our research topic, the participants are the experts on their experiences, views and practices'. At the end of each interview session, I gave debriefing forms to the cartoonists to keep for their own records. I also sent them the interview quotes which I intended to include in the thesis so that they could say if they wanted anything deleted retrospectively.

A final ethical concern that I considered was about data storage and publication. For security purposes, I made backup password-protected folders of the cartoon corpus, the interview recordings, and their transcripts. After consulting a Cardiff University's data protection officer, I decided to not include the interview transcripts in an appendix due to the sensitive nature of the information that they contain.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological measures I took to achieve 'transparency of method' and ensure the reliability of my research (Merriam and Grenier 2019: 22). One of the merits of the qualitative approach I adopted was the possibility to combine sources of data (i.e., censorship-themed cartoons, larger dataset of cartoons and newspaper articles, and interviews) for my study. I highlighted that an important advantage of collecting cartoons from their original context of publication was that it contextualised and enriched the cartoons' interpretation and analysis. Interviews with the cartoonists were well-suited to learn about their individual lived experiences and intended meanings of their cartoons. Such details would have been difficult or impossible to obtain otherwise. Finally, the discussions of the cognitive linguistic approaches to the analysis of metaphor, metonymy, and their interactions, as well as the narrative analysis of metaphor scenarios have shown how these methods will be used to effectively analyse the cartoon data.

Before reporting on the findings of the analyses, I will now consider the historical circumstances which surrounded and prompted the production of the censorship-themed cartoons. This will provide the context needed to inform the analysis and discussion of these cartoons across Chapters 5-7.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4: The Algerian Political Cartooning Tradition and the Major Challenges of the Cartoonists between 1992 and 2002

Introduction

This chapter contextualises the analysis chapters 5-7 by providing essential background information about the practice of political cartooning in Algeria and the challenging context within which the artists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz operated during the Algerian Civil War. The chapter is driven by my recognition of the importance of examining the cartoons about press censorship considered in this thesis with a full awareness of the historical landscape of their production. It gives details of the cartoonists' opinions and testimonies, sourced from my interviews with Ayoub and Maz, and provides historical insights based on my analysis of the larger dataset of cartoons in conjunction with the accompanying newspaper headlines and articles in order to complement the limited scholarly literature on the working conditions of Algerian cartoonists between 1992 and 2002. To set the scene, I start by outlining the Algerian socio-political context and the political regimes from independence to the decade-long Civil War, which aborted the country's path towards democracy (Section 4.1). A description of Algeria's linguistic diversity as well as the place and role of French and Arabic in this linguistic landscape is provided in Section 4.2. This discussion is needed because, as stated in Chapter 1, the investigated cartoons appeared in both French and Arabic-language independent newspapers. In Section 4.3, I consider the production and appreciation of political humour and satire in Algerian culture. I then sketch the milestones in the evolution of Algerian cartoon art and its quintessential characteristics, as well as touching on major similarities and differences in the works of the three investigated cartoonists (Section 4.4).

This is followed by a detailed discussion of the exercise of press and cartoon censorship in post-colonial Algeria across Sections 4.5-4.6, highlighting how the press and graphic humour industries were subjected to control and repression since their emergence in the 1960s. Section 4.5 focuses on governmental censorship during the authoritarian regime (1962-1989) and its major effects on cartoonists' work. It also explains that 1989-1991 was an unprecedented period, which saw the emergence of a freer press. Section 4.6 looks at the censorship which bedevilled the then-nascent independent press during the political conflict of 1992-2002. It singles out the independent press because it was subject to particularly stringent censorship practices. Addressing RQ 1, the section particularly considers the forms of censorship imposed, the main agents and/or institutions responsible for their application, as well as their effects on the work of the three cartoonists investigated in this thesis. These discussions, therefore, help to understand better how Algerian cartoonists, particularly Ayoub

and Maz,²⁵ operated under different political systems, and to what extent artists' freedom of expression was curtailed under these regimes. Manning and Phiddian (2004: 8) describe political cartoonists as 'canaries sent down the mine shaft of public debate to discover how fresh the air is there, how safe for freedom of speech'. This metaphor certainly applies to Ayoub and Maz and their colleagues, who indicated the level of freedom of expression under different regimes.

Section 4.7 is concerned with the range of strategies deployed by Algerian artists to defy censorship practices from the 1960s up until the early 2000s. Finally, Section 4.8 presents the main topics emerging from the content analysis of the larger cartoon data (see Section 3.2.3). Particularly, it details the representation of the Civil War and its perpetrators, which is a major theme in the cartoons. At that point, I highlight the prominent role of the cartoonists during this conflict and their stance towards its principal actors, namely the government and the Islamists.

4.1 Historical Overview of Algeria from Independence to Civil War (1962-2002)

Algeria became a sovereign country in July 1962 after fighting a costly war of independence, which ended 132 years of French colonialism. A socialist, one-party regime was then established under the leadership of the *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front, FLN) party with its nationalist principles. Post-independent Algeria was governed by authoritarian presidents, namely Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-1965), Houari Boumediene (1965-1978), and Chadli Bendjedid (1979-1992), who prohibited any political parties, restricted freedom of expression, and maintained a monopoly over the national media (Labter 1995: 43).²⁶ After almost three decades, people's disenchantment with the authoritarian regime erupted in October 1988. Frustrated by corruption, rising unemployment, and degrading socio-economic conditions furthered by the world economic crisis of 1986, Algerian youths took to the streets in nationwide protests to voice their grievances and to release their pent-up anger (LeSueur 2010: 3). The October 1988 mass riots became a real turning point in Algeria's post-colonial history, effecting far-reaching reforms which paved the way to a more liberal, democratic regime (Quandt 1998: 46). The Bendjedid government promulgated a constitution in 1989 that granted individual liberties, ended the state's monopoly of the media, and introduced a multi-party political system.

²⁵ As I mentioned in Chapter 3, in contrast to Dilem, Ayoub and Maz belong to the first generation of cartoonists who started their careers during the authoritarian regime.

²⁶ Algeria adopted a model of repression which spread in the twentieth century, whereby governments 'invented tools of control that reached into almost every aspect of daily life of the citizenry through a single party [...] and used the new media of movies and radio, programmed to promulgate an all-embracing ideology and build a cult of personality around the omnipresent face and voice of the leader' (Freedman 2012: 88).

The political liberalisation led to a proliferation of political parties and the organisation of the first democratic elections in Algeria's history in 1991. During this period, the *Front Islamique du Salut* (Islamist Salvation Front, FIS) party emerged as a potent opposition party. Exploiting Islam for political purposes, it saw as its major mission to establish an Islamic state in Algeria. Fearing the FIS's political victory through the ballot box, the government cancelled the January 1992 parliamentary elections mid-course, banned the party, and imprisoned its leaders, Ali Behadj and Abassi Madani (Martinez 1998). Rejecting any political negotiations with the government, FIS partisans challenged the regime by taking up arms (Moussaoui 1998: 250). Motivated by 'a doctrine of violent jihad', the radical Islamists unleashed a maelstrom of violence, believing that 'those in power must pay whilst those who take up arms will find their reward in heaven' (Evans and Phillips 2007: 165). Algeria soon descended into a Civil War and bloodshed, which took the lives of 200,000 people (McDougall 2017). At first, Islamists' violence targeted only government personnel. However, attacks also quickly extended to civilians and the intelligentsia, including cultural and literary figures, academics, and press members (LeSueur 2010: 5). The peak of violence was reached by the massacre of Bentalha in 1997 when over 400 people were slaughtered (Roberts 2003: 309). It is such atrocities which made the Civil War earn the label of 'Black Decade' (Chatti 2016: 169). Initially, neither side of the conflict could negotiate a truce, resulting in an impasse which the successive governments of President Ahmed Boudiaf (1992), Ali Kafi (1992-1994), and Zeroual (1995-1998) failed to resolve. The horrors would not have ended without the enactment of the Law on Civil Concord by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika (1999-2019). The law disallowed the prosecution of the Islamists in exchange for their commitment to a cease-fire (LeSueur 2010: 77). Although the conflict eventually ended, it left a fractured and psychologically traumatised society and an economic chaos that debilitated Algeria.

4.2 Algeria's Linguistic Landscape

As the Algerian sociolinguist Mohamed Benrabah (2005; 2009; 2013) notes, Algeria's linguistic landscape is a complex one, marked by the use, interaction, and often clash of several languages. This linguistic situation is tightly linked to the country's culture, as well as its colonial and post-colonial history. Under French colonialism, French was imposed as part of the French "civilising mission" (Gafaiti 1997: 61). The French colonisers sought to 'cut Algerians from their Arabic and Islamic roots' by banning the teaching of Arabic and Berber in schools and mosques (Bouherar and Ghafsi 2022: 47). Berber is a minority language spoken by the native inhabitants of North Africa. They have lived in Algeria since 3000 BC (Strazny 2011: 35). It is the oldest language in Algeria and is the native language of about 20%-25% of the Algerian population. In Algeria, the Berber-speaking community is concentrated in Kabylia, a mountainous area east of the capital Algiers (Benrabah 2013: 26-27). A major consequence

of eradicating native languages and religion was that, after independence, more than 80% of Algerian people were illiterate (ibid.).²⁷ Post-independence Algeria emerged as 'the most vociferous [country] in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity' (Gordon 1978: 151). In 1963, the first Algerian constitution established Islam as the official religion and Arabic as the official language. The consecutive governments committed themselves to restoring the Arabic language, notably through President Boumediene's Arabisation policy in 1970s, which implemented an exclusively Arabic educational system. Although the monolingual Arabisation policy came to end French cultural and linguistic imperialism (Daoudi 2018: 465), it threatened other mother tongues. The confrontation of these languages has created a serious language issue, which is still unresolved.

Despite this conflictual situation, present-day Algeria is a multilingual country, where five languages are involved in one way or another: Berber, Algerian dialectal Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French, and English. Although Algerians have different attitudes toward each of these languages, they 'value quite highly both speaking several languages and Algeria's multilingualism' (Benrabah 2013: 79). Celebrating Algeria's linguistic diversity, Berger (1998: 61) affirms that

many Algerians, perhaps [the] majority, live in several languages, often switching from one to the other in the same sentence. To deny Algerians the possibility of being at the same time Arabophone and Berberophone, or Berberophone and Francophone, might amount to denying them the very possibility of being Algerian.

The roles of these languages in society vary. Berber and Algerian Arabic are mainly used for social and popular communication, whereas Standard Arabic and French are used for vocational purposes and are the chief languages of education, administration, and media. French has also remained an influential language in post-independence Algerian culture and society. Kaplan and Baldauf (2007: 7) observe that French has occupied an important place in most of France's former colonies in Africa. Notably, Algeria has a large French-speaking community, with 49% of French speakers in 1993, a number that was projected to rise to 67% in 2003 (Benrabah 2007: 194). A report by '*Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*' (International Organisation of Francophonie, OIF) in 2022 indicates that Algeria is the third largest Francophone country in the world, with 14.9 million of French-language speakers (OIF 2022). I illustrate the influence of French by focusing on Algerian Francophone literature and press. In his consideration of Algerian literary production, Miliani (2002: 119) found that

²⁷ Gafaiti (1997: 60-61) explains that the limited size of Algerian readership at the time was the consequence of two factors: 'for centuries, Algeria relied for the most part on orality, and its culture was systematically eradicated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the French "*mission civilisatrice*," which closed the existing Arabic and Berber schools and offered only limited access to French education'.

between 1970 and 1991, 126 literary books were published in French, compared to only 59 in Arabic. The dominance of the French language in the literary field is also noticeable in the readership. A survey conducted by Haddadou (1985) showed that Francophone literature, both Algerian Francophone literature and twentieth-century classical French literature, had a larger readership of youngsters and adults than Arabic publications. The national press is also a site where French has been influential for many years. Until 1990, the French-language press dominated the Algerian market, with most of the state-owned newspapers being in French (*El Moudjahid*, *Algérie Actualité*, *Révolution Africaine*, and *Horizons*), while only two were in Arabic (*Ech-Caab* and *El Massa*). The French-language press in Algeria thrived even more thanks to the media liberalisation and the emergence of independent newspapers (see Section 4.5). By 2003, half of daily newspapers (29 out of 58) were in French (Kreamer 2003a: 274). However, the predominance of the French-language press in Algeria has started to wane in the last decade. Bessadi (2022) notes that Francophone newspapers currently represent only a third of newspapers in Algeria.

4.3 Political Humour and Satire in Algeria

In Algeria, there is a well-established tradition of resisting political repression, as well as coping with hardship and threats, through humour. Studies conducted by the Algerian sociologist Khelladi (1995) and the anthropologist Moussaoui (2006: 372) have highlighted that Algerians made fun of their misfortunes in colonial and post-colonial eras, particularly under the authoritarian regime and during the Algerian Civil War. Acclaiming the use of humour as a resistance strategy, Perego (2015: 9) asserts that it demonstrates ‘the courage and ingenuity with which many Algerians faced these troublesome situations’. Over the years, various forms of humour, such as irony, sarcasm, black humour, and (self-)mockery, have developed and spread widely in Algerian society, as well as humorous genres, such as comics, political cartoons, theatre, and jokes.

Under the repressive authoritarian regime (1962-1989), jokes became an important form of political satire and resistance against political censorship (Morsly 1995: 68). During Benjedid’s presidency in particular, Algeria witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of political jokes pillorying him. As argued by Moussaoui (2006: 377), in the absence of freedom of expression, jokes offered a valuable, indirect way to express political criticism that could not be voiced overtly. The political jokes that circulated around the country then achieved what comics and political cartoons, which were under constant state control (see Section 4.6), could not. Agreeing with Moussaoui, Dahak (2015: 6, my translation) posits that, in less democratic regimes, the ‘daily weight of censorship makes political jokes the most effective means for citizens to express their defiance towards the state’.

Even during the Algerian Civil War, Algerians found ways to mock the grisly reality in which they lived. According to Chaulet-Achour and Morsly (2000: 55), tragic and life-threatening situations often give rise to humour. Drawing on a deeply rooted tradition of (self-) mockery (Khelladi 1995: 225), Algerians withstood the daily terror by inventing jokes which downplayed the seriousness of the circumstances and laughing at themselves and the victims of the violent attacks (Perego 2017; 2018). Likewise, the cartoons of the time not only exposed the population's weakness, but also ridiculed the conflict's main tormentors: the Islamists (see Section 4.9). Humour during this period, Perego (2018: 191) writes, served as the 'weapon of the weak'. Algerians' use of humour as a strategy for survival in the context of the Civil War ties in with the relief theory of humour introduced by Munro (1951), who argues that humour alleviates pent-up pressures.

As the foregoing discussion is about Algerian humour, it should be noted that humour is culturally bound. Abraham (1996: xviii) opines that 'humour [...] is really very national and regional. There is, for instance, little connection between the Japanese and Indian sense of humour'. Such cultural differences explain why humour comprehension and appreciation can be difficult (Bell 2007).

4.4 The Emergence and Development of Algerian Political Cartoons

The Algerian cartooning scene is more recent than the well-established traditions of neighbouring countries such as Egypt, where Yaqub Sanua published the first satirical newspapers in the Arab press, '*Abu Naddara Zarqa*' (The Man with Blue Glasses) in 1877, or Tunisia, where the pioneering cartoonist Bayram Al-Tunisi launched the satirical gazette '*Al-Shabab*' (Youth) in 1932 (Kishtainy 1985: 94). In Algeria, political cartoons first appeared in the 1950s in the French colonial press. An illustrious cartoonist then was Maurice Sinet, alias *Siné*, who was outspoken in his opposition to colonialism (Chelouch and Khafedj 2018: 11). Consequently, he was constantly being prosecuted for his drawings (Goldstein 1989a: ix). However, it is only after independence that an authentic Algerian cartooning tradition emerged in the national press.

Scholars (Labter 2009; Souiah 2016) note that the development of Algerian comics and political cartoons overlapped because most of the first generation of cartoonists, such as the legendary Slim (Menouar Merabtène), Maz, Ahmed Haroun, and Mohamed Aram, were initially comics artists before producing political cartoons. From the 1960s to 1980s, these artists developed a thriving and sophisticated comics production marked by a nationalist ideology commemorating the war of national liberation and its heroes (Douglas and Malt-Douglas 2009a). These comic strips appeared in the state-owned press and were also

published as albums subsidised by the state.²⁸ The most renowned juvenile Algerian magazine was *M'Quidech*, which ran from 1969 to 1974 (see Figure 4.1).²⁹

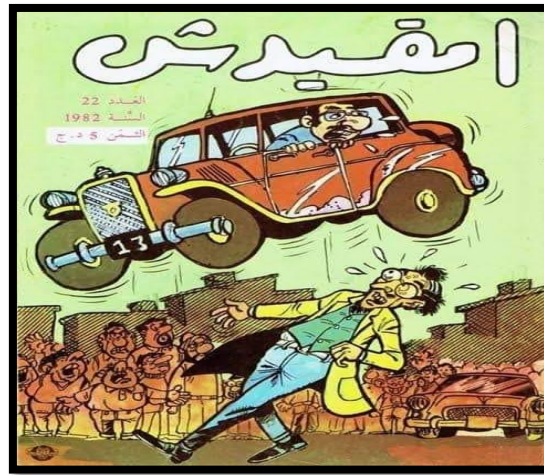


Figure 4.1: *M'Quidech* magazine (1982, 22nd edition)

Source: Labter (2019: 80)

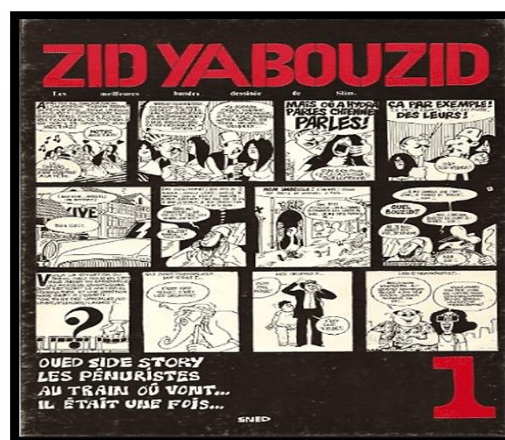


Figure 4.2: Slim's album *Zid Ya Bouzid 1* (1980)

Source: Oum Cartoon (2015)

This period also saw the publication of Slim's celebrated comics albums, particularly *Zid Ya Bouzid* (Go for It), shown in Figure 4.2, which had a circulation of 30,000 copies at its peak

²⁸ The albums were published by state-run publishing companies, such as '*Société nationale d'édition et de diffusion*' (National Publishing and Distribution Company, SNED) and '*L'entreprise nationale du livre*' (National Book Company, ENAL) (Mekbel 2009).

²⁹ *M'Quidech* or *Mqidech* (meaning resourceful) is the hero of Slim's comics album and is inspired from a mythical character in Berber folktales (For detailed discussion see Goldberg 2003; Lacoste-Dujardin 2003).

(Barka 1999: 91). In contrast to the nationalist comics, Slim's comics covertly represented the issues of socialist Algeria and attacked the corrupt bourgeoisie (Lent 2009b: 84).

Newspaper cartoons appeared in the state-owned dailies from the early 1980s onwards. They quickly became an integral part of the Algerian press and enjoyed remarkable success. Employed as a full-time cartoonist in the Arabic-language newspaper *Ech-Chaab*, Ahmed Haroun entertained Algerian audiences through his social cartoons entitled '*Dawaher*' (Phenomena) (Zelig 2010: 53). Similarly, Ayoub, Maz, Slim and their colleagues, who worked for *El Moudjahid* and *Révolution Africaine*, laid the foundations for a vigorous cartooning tradition. However, the authoritarian regime of the time outlawed political caricatures of any nature, leaving the cartoonists with no other option but to create humorous cartoons about social and cultural affairs (see Section 4.5).

The media liberalisation and the country's transition to democracy were milestones in the development of Algerian graphic satire. Between 1989 and 1991, cartoonists enjoyed such an unprecedented freedom of political expression that the period became known as the 'Golden Age' of Algerian political cartoons. Slyomovics (2001: 82) asserts that 'Algeria was unique in the Arab world as a haven for political cartoonists'. Along with this sudden expansion of freedom of expression emerged the second generation of Algerian cartoonists, including Ali Dilem, Dahmani, Chawki Amari, Hichem Baba Ahmed (*Le Hic*), and Karim Mahfouf, alias Gyps. By 1992, most of the newly launched independent dailies employed political cartoonists.³⁰ The second generation of cartoonists (particularly Dilem) acknowledged the talent of their precursors and gave a further impulse to the cartooning art. They boosted political criticism to a degree unimaginable in other Arab contexts (Taiebi 2020: 225). This period also saw the emergence of the first satirical magazines, namely, the French-language *El Manchar* (The Saw) and *El Baroud* (The Rifle), as well as the Arabic-speaking *Es-Sahafa*.³¹ These publications, particularly *El Manchar*, were successful for their innovative use of puns, humour, and their vitriolic attacks on politicians, government officials, and sometimes the army (Khelladi 1995: 233). According to Lent (2009b: 87), *El Manchar* possessed healthy circulation figures rising to 150,000 copies at its peak. For its first issue on 1st November 1990, the cartoonists designed an innovative cover inspired by the French artist Théodore Géricault's famous painting '*Le Radeau de la Méduse*' (The Raft of the Medusa), as shown in Figure 4.3. The drawing depicts well-known political figures of the time all on a raft, which represents Algeria. We can recognise, for example, the then-President Benjedid looking into the distance,

³⁰ Ayoub worked as a daily cartoonist in *El Khabar*, Dahmani joined *L'authentique*, Dilem worked for *Le Matin* and then *Liberté*, Chawki Amari was employed in *La Tribune*, and Maz joined *El Watan*.

³¹ The title of this magazine draws on a clear pun between the words '*Essahafa*' meaning journalism and '*Essahafa*' which translates as truth is scourge (Slyomovics 2001: 79).

the Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche looking through a spyglass, and the FLN's General Secretary, Abdelhamid Mehri, at the helm.

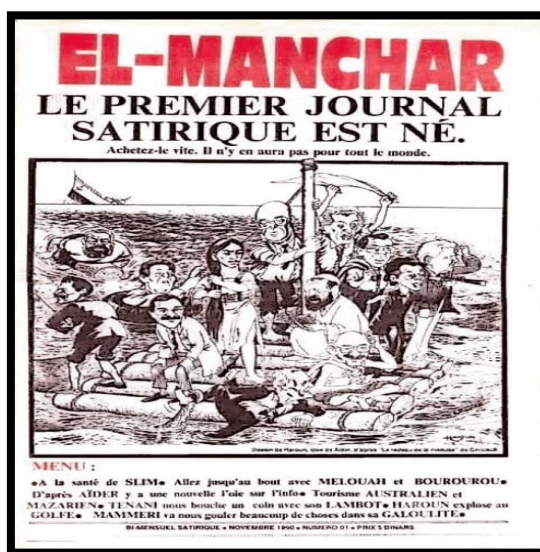


Figure 4.3: The first edition of *El-Manchar* magazine

Source: Chaulet-Achour (1997a: 174)

The cartoons and magazines produced at the time entertained the Algerian population. Slyomovics (2001: 82) asserts that Algerians had much appreciation for graphic material and quickly became 'sophisticated readers' of graphic satire. The satirical publications not only helped establish a vibrant satirical tradition but also reinforced the country's preference of visual over written materials (Amari 2006). This implies that there might be a direct link between the high level of illiteracy after Algeria gained independence and the popularity of graphic satire.

Tracing Algerian cartoons' characteristics, one notices that artists, mainly from the first generation, blend compositional techniques borrowed from French and Belgian comics with Algerian cultural features. The Belgian Marcinelle School, known for its '*gros nez*' style (style of the big nose),³² has had an enduring and profound impact on Maz's and Dilem's works, for example.³³ The ex-cartoonist Chawki Amari disagrees, maintaining that a major downside of this style is that the works resemble European comics more than typical political cartoons (Benfodil 2008: 95). Foreign influences on cartoon production are not only manifest in Algerian

³² The drawing of characters with big noses became the distinctive feature of the Marcinelle School, established in the late 1940s and the early 1950s by Belgian comics artists Hergé (Georges Remi), Dupuis, and Goscinny, notable for the Asterix, Tintin, and Spirou series (McKinney 2017: 57). The style of these artists inspired generations of cartoonists both inside and outside Europe (Grove 2010: 166), and their works have entertained millions of readers worldwide (McKinney 2008: 3).

³³ In contrast to Maz and Dilem, Ayoub's style departs from the style of comics.

cartoons. Brummett (1998: 15) notes that other cartoonists in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), such as Turkish artists, also adopted the styles of European satirical traditions. The lack of specialised schools of political cartooning in the region (Azim 1996: xi-xii) can probably explain why cartoonists sought inspiration from the well-established Western cartooning traditions. This shows that, despite adding local twists to this foreign product, the impact of such foreign cartooning techniques has been central in defining the stylistic properties of North African and Middle Eastern cartoon art. However, the nature and extent of such influences are scarcely acknowledged in the literature.

Despite the foreign influences, Algerian cartoons exhibit some typical characteristics. Algerian artists use many cultural and political symbols which not only mark the artists' individual style(s), but also often serve as communicative shortcuts and implicit visual strategies to refer to particular influential politicians or address sensitive topics. A recurrent character in Dilem's works is a woman wearing a *hayek*³⁴ and toting the Algerian flag to whom he gave the name 'Madame L'Algérie' (Lady Algeria) (Figure 4.4).

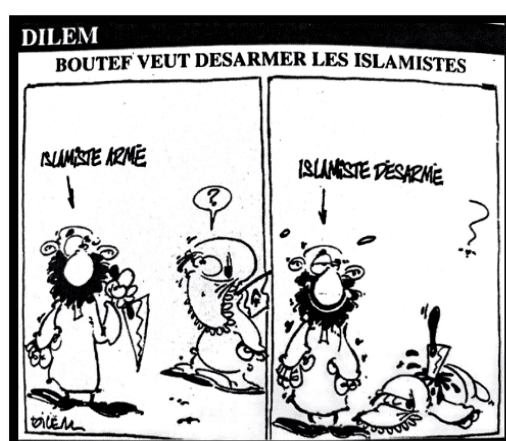


Figure 4.4: Dilem, *Liberté*, 14/6/1999

Caption: Bouteflika aspires to disarm the Islamists

Armed Islamist/ Disarmed Islamist

The hayek-clad woman is used 'to stand in for the civilian population of the country as a whole' (Perego 2020: 79). Dilem clarified in an interview to Benfodil (2008) that his character is an Algerian homologue of the French Marianne, which is a popular symbol in Plantu's drawings.³⁵ A similar character, whose outfits have Algerian flag symbols, is found in Ayoub's cartoons (see Figure 4.9). When interviewed in 2019, Ayoub explained that he cast Algeria as a mother showing caring, thoughtful, and compassionate behaviour towards her children who, in turn,

³⁴ A long, white headscarf traditionally worn by women in the Algiers region.

³⁵ The French artist Jean Plantureux, alias Plantu.

represent the Algerian people.³⁶ Algerian artists have also created numerous political symbols. The use of worms on military caps to suggest the time-worn character of the military system, pot-bellied generals denoting corruption and overindulgences, flies around Islamists' heads to suggest their nastiness, and the nickname 'Atika' treating President Bouteflika as a woman are all trademarks of Dilem. Ayoub has also developed a rich repertoire of political terms, such as 'فخامته' (His Excellency) referring to President Bouteflika and the term 'SARL APC' alluding to the corruption of mayors, by turning 'Assemblée Populaire Communale' (city halls, APC) into 'Société à Responsabilité Limitée' (business firms, SARL) for their financial interests.

A further hallmark of the Algerian cartoon tradition is the use of different registers and reliance on multilingualism. The language chosen seems to depend on the cartoonist's intended audience. Targeting a well-educated and politicised audience, Maz and Dilem tend to use a high register of French³⁷ and an ironic language. Regarding Dilem's complex punning technique, Chawki Ammari notes that the wordplay can only be understood by viewers well-versed in French (ibid.: 95-96). Ayoub, in contrast, is credited with popularising political cartoons and widening their audience by using Algerian colloquial language. He opines that cartoons should be simple to make them accessible to all levels of ability, especially people with minimal education. Although these artists diverge in terms of their audiences, they converge in their reflection of the country's linguistic diversity through frequent code-mixing and foreign word borrowing. In many of Dilem's and Maz's French-language works, we notice the borrowing of the Arabic term 'Cheikh' (Arab leader) transliterated from 'شيخ' and the inclusion of the term 'Imir' emanating from the French word 'Le Maire' (The Mayor) in Ayoub's cartoons, for instance.³⁸

4.5 Press and Cartoon Censorship in Algeria during the Authoritarian Regime (1962-1989)

Having discussed the emergence and development of Algerian cartoon art and its major characteristics, I now retrace the history of press censorship in Algeria by highlighting that there is a long tradition of banning political criticism and dissent, which began during the authoritarian regime. Under this regime, censorship was omnipresent, despite being an

³⁶ Dilem has been using this character since the beginning of his cartooning career, whereas Ayoub's personification of Algeria featured only in the works produced during the 1990s.

³⁷ Ennaji (2005 :98) refers to this as 'Standard Educated French', a variety of French used by people who master French and have been educated in bilingual or Francophone schools.

³⁸ Barka (1999: 95) and Douglas and Malti-Douglas (2009a: 69) make a similar point about the tendency of Algerian comics artists to include words and phrases in Algerian Arabic to the dominant Francophone comics production, making it unique in the Arab world. They particularly note the mixing of languages for the creation of puns in Slim's comics, for example.

unofficial regulation (Capon 2000: 349). Journalism was not considered ‘a profession based on the principle of providing information to the public and expressing different perspectives and ideas, but rather as a means of propaganda, an instrument of state control of the citizens’ opinions’ (Gafaiti 1999: 50). As such, the state-owned press operated under the strict control of the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Culture, and journalists had to develop a journalistic style called the ‘*langue de bois*’ (wooden language)³⁹ and were forced to promote the government’s official discourse (ibid.). Highlighting the effects of political regime type on media freedom in Arab countries, Abu Zayd (1986) concludes that all Arab countries governed by authoritarian regimes have manipulated and continue to manipulate their media for propaganda purposes and impose censorship. During the 1962-1989 period, Algeria was certainly no exception.

The authoritarian regime also had a strong influence on the graphic humour industry in Algeria. Discussing censorship in the Middle East, Göçek (1998: 1) notes that the discomfort of authoritarian political systems with political cartoons typically leads them to censor artists. Working for the strictly controlled, governmental newspapers, the first generation of Algerian cartoonists were compelled to adhere ‘closely to nationalist values and to the ideology of the Algerian government’ (McKinney 2008: 178). Failure to do so resulted in outright censorship of their works. The silencing of political expression at the time relates to Le Vine’s (2016: 57) argument that the aim of most governments in the MENA region is to ‘co-opt potentially revolutionary artists before they can challenge them, or at least redirect their activities away from directly challenging the system’.

At that time, the caricature and mocking of ministers, politicians, police, the gendarmerie, army, and even the representation of the head of state were outlawed (Barka 1999: 96). Such prohibitions can be considered cases of ‘structural pre-censorship’, which Mintcheva (2015: 127) defines as state regulation of ‘what can be put on display before it can even appear in public space’. This pre-publication censorship impinges on cartoons output as it ‘constraints the very possibility of production’. Recounting his working experience in *El Moudjahid*, Slim (2012) says, ‘I knew what my limits were’ and asserts that the publication of cartoons in this state-owned newspaper was ‘a sword above the head, it was impossible to criticise anything’. In these increasingly difficult conditions, all attempts to publish a drawing of the president failed. The first endeavour was by Slim on 1st January 1984. Overcoming his fear, Slim produced a caricature of President Benjedid and was excited that the audience would see ‘a revolutionary front page the next day’. However, the caricature did not appear

³⁹ ‘*Langue de bois*’ is a metaphorical expression translated from Polish, which spread in France in the early 1980s to designate the official discourse of political power holders and ‘its rhetorical rigidity’. It was originally used to refer to the propagandist and ideological language of the Soviet communist media (Pineira and Tournier 1989: 13-17).

because at night the police burned 180,000 copies of the paper (Lent 2009b: 88). Two years later, in June 1986, a second attempt was also unsuccessful. *El Moudjahid's* editor asked Maz to produce a portrait of the same head of state. Maz explained that the portrait had to be 'very accurate, I was not allowed to caricature any of his facial features'. However, the fear of potential repercussions led the editor to refuse the publication of the cartoon at the last minute. The only permissible topics were social, cultural, and economic affairs, although these were sometimes censored too. As Slim's social comics often alluded to the socialist government's failures and popular discontent during Benjedid's presidency, Slim sometimes discovered at the time of publication that some of his works had been censored and his texts rewritten (Slim 2014). Additionally, he was often called to account by the editor of *El Moudjahid* to explain, for example, why his drawings evoked the bourgeoisie, which was not supposed to exist in socialist Algeria (Souiah 2016).

A turning point for Algerian press and cartoon art industries was the period of relative freedom of expression against the backdrop of Algeria's (attempted) transition to democracy between late 1989 and late 1991. Decades of propaganda and censorship were overturned by the establishment of the principle of media liberalisation in 1989 and the promulgation of a new press law on 3rd April 1990, which introduced a considerably—but not absolutely—freer press (Boudehan 2018: 239). These laws gave rise to a vibrant and bilingual independent press in Algeria. The national press, which was until then restricted to a few state-owned newspapers serving as mouthpieces of the FLN party, thrived considerably. Between 1990 and 1992, investigative reporting and political criticism were allowed, which resulted in the publication of high-quality journalistic reports and editorials in the most prominent newspapers, notably *El Watan*, *Liberté*, *Le Quotidien d'Oran*, and *El Khabar*. Consequently, the independent press attracted a wider audience than the ideologically oriented, governmental newspapers (Miliani 2002). However, only the print press benefitted from the media liberalisation. The audio-visual media⁴⁰ and the news agency '*Algérie Presse Service*' (APS) remained under state control. Moreover, the state monopolised the supply of paper and the printing, advertising, and distribution of newspapers. It owned five printing houses,⁴¹ including the '*Société d'impression d'Alger*' (Algiers Printing Company), as well as owning the '*Agence Nationale d'Édition et de Publicité*' (National Publishing and Advertising Agency), responsible for placing public advertising shares in the national media, and the '*Entreprise nationale des*

⁴⁰ The audio-visual sector remained under the control of the state-owned institution, Entreprise Nationale de Télévision Algérienne (ENTV) until 2014, when the government allowed the emergence of private TV channels and radio stations under the Audiovisual Code of 2014 (see *Loi n° 14-04 du 24 février 2014 relative à l'activité audiovisuelle* [Law 14-04. Available at: <http://www.ministerecommunication.gov.dz/fr/node/356>])

⁴¹ Apart from *El Watan* and *El Khabar*, which invested in their own printing house in 2000, the other independent newspapers used state-owned printing houses (Rebah 2002: 29).

messageries de presse (National Distribution Agency) (Gèze and Kettab 2004: 12). This implies that, despite the advantages that media liberalisation offered to the independent press, it was state controlled. As stated in Section 4.4, during this more relaxed period, political cartoonists were also granted more artistic freedom and practised their art ‘with far less restraint and reverence towards the government’ (McKinney 2008: 179). Cartoonists introduced political criticism, lampooning highly influential politicians. While in Morocco, for example, caricaturing the president was an offence punishable by imprisonment (Wozniak 2014: 16), it became permissible in Algeria. The credit for successfully publishing the first cartoon of a president in the Algerian press goes to Ayoub. Published on 17th November 1990, Ayoub’s cartoon shows President Benjedid facing a crowd of Islamists (see Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 17/11/1990

4.6 Censorship of Journalists and Cartoonists during the Algerian Civil War (1992-2002)

This section continues the discussion on the imposition of censorship on the Algerian journalistic and satirical presses by focusing on the forms of censorship, the main censoring institutions and agents, and their motives during the Algerian Civil War period – the main focus of in this thesis. A consideration of the censorship practices against the independent press helps explain how certain restrictive practices and punitive measures were also extended to the cartoonists. In particular, the section examines religious, governmental, and editorial censorship, which were serious setbacks that stunted the development of both the independent press and political satire in Algeria. More importantly, the section draws on first-hand testimonials of Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz to explain how these censorship constraints were applied to and affected the works of these cartoonists (RQ 1).

4.6.1 Religious Censorship

As soon as the state of emergency was declared in February 1992, the recently emerged independent press was a site for deadly confrontation between the government and the Islamist insurgents. Journalists were forced to openly oppose the Islamists' atrocities and to surrender to the government's editorial line (Essoulami 1994: 143). These practices led the Islamists to blame journalists for partiality and allegiance to the government.⁴² Caught in this political crossfire, the Algerian press paid a heavy price to the extent that Algeria became one of the most unsafe countries in the world for journalists (Kreamer 2003b: 155). One hundred journalists were cruelly killed between 1993 and 1997, including the illustrious journalists Tahar Djaout and Smail Yefsah. Many journalists fled the country, whereas others struggled to survive in a climate of constant terror worsened by innumerable threatening calls and letters,⁴³ abduction attempts, and bombings of newspaper and TV offices (Belhimer 2001: 120).

Just like their journalist colleagues, political cartoonists suffered from Islamists' threats and struggled to practise their profession. Many cartoonists, including Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz, received innumerable calls and letters threatening them and their families with death. The letters were anonymous and accused the artists of being 'enemies of Islam and the Quran', as Ayoub (2019) reported in the interview. Dilem's name even appeared in an assassination 'hit list', which was circulated by the Islamists, along with the names of other journalists. Seeing that most of these targeted journalists were being murdered, Dilem experienced depression and spent months in hiding, tormented by the idea that he could be the next victim (Benfodil 2008: 59). Like Dilem, other cartoonists were living 'in fear of the knife that slices the throat and the bullet that shatters the skull' (Labter 1995: 16, my translation). Fearing for their personal safety and their families, Ayoub and Maz were constantly moving houses and concealing their identity and profession. Ayoub explained that he advised his children never to reveal their father's occupation and to pretend that he was either unemployed or working as a car mechanic. Additionally, Ayoub had to change his pen name from his surname, Abdou, to a non-traceable, artistic name, Ayoub. Even with such precautions, the cartoonists were not relieved because death was always lurking. In Maz's (2020) words, 'I had a premonition of death. When I went to work in the morning, I was never sure whether I would return home in the evening'. Due to the worsening terror, other cartoonists like Dilem, Gyps, and Slim fled Algeria to settle in France (Capon 2000: 345). This was also the case for most writers,

⁴² The Islamists repeatedly threatened that 'those journalists who fight against Islamism through the pen will perish by the sword' (Gafaiti 1997: 59).

⁴³ Some death threat letters addressed to journalists are indexed in Labter (1995: 204-210).

humourists, and artists who were forced into exile to protect their lives (Khelladi 1995: 235). In exile, the cartoonists continued to produce cartoons about the chaotic socio-political circumstances back home and sent them regularly to their respective Algerian newspapers, as well as working for French-language periodicals like *Télérama* and *L'Humanité* (Chaulet-Achour 1997a: 179). People's struggle for survival during the Civil War were also reflected in political comic books produced in France, such as Gyps' *FIS and Love* and Slim's *Retour d'Ahuristan* (Evans and Phillips 2007: 203).

The cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, Maz, Gyps, and Slim survived, but others were murdered by armed Islamists. In 1995, Brahim Guerroui, known as Gébé, who worked for *El Moudjahid*, was executed. Bemoaning the loss of his friend, Slim relates how Gébé was savagely killed: '[t]he fundamentalists took him from his home, to the streets. They told his family they just wanted to talk to him. Later, they took his body, his severed head with his drawings stuffed in his mouth, back to his family' (Lent 2009b: 85). *Le Soir's* cartoonist, Mohamed Dorbane, was the second artist to be assassinated. Following these two incidents, the comics and political cartoon community was in mourning (Fatmi 2009: 19). Adding to these cartoonists, Saïd Mekbel, a renowned journalist and creator of the satirical magazines *El Manchar* and *El Baroud*, was gunned down in 1994 (Attouche 2005: 10). The death of these artists was a great loss for Algerian cartoon art.

There are three main motives that could explain why the Islamists attacked cartoonists: fundamentalist religion, politics, and reaction to satire. Ayoub and Maz agree that the Islamists condemned cartoon production mainly for religious reasons, and that the assassination of artists clearly indicates the Islamists' fierce endeavour to eradicate 'in the name of God' all artistic and cultural output (Gafaiti 1999: 61). The Islamists' motive was based on the '*Shari'a*' (Islamic law), which has traditionally forbidden animal and human representation, especially the depiction of God and the prophets in avoidance of 'idolatrous temptations' (Ramadan 2006). Ayoub explained that, even before the start of the Civil War, the Islamists threatened that 'there would be no cartoonists in the prospective Islamic state because drawing is forbidden in Islam'. Second, Slim asserts that he was repeatedly threatened in Algeria due to his political stance towards the Islamist movement (Lent 2009b: 86). The Islamists regarded Slim as an enemy as he represented their failure in the January 1992 parliamentary elections. The last reason is related to the Islamists' violent reaction to satire. The Islamists' insurgency presented material for Algerian cartoonists, who fought the Islamists with their pencils and often mocked them (see Section 4.9). For example, Ayoub declares that he triggered the Islamists' wrath mainly by persistently mocking their political Islam in his Arabic-language

cartoons.⁴⁴ Understanding the subversive power of cartoons and humour, the Islamists hated being satirised and considered cartoonists as targets to be eliminated. The Islamists' violent reactions, thus, confirm Duncan's (2018: 454) assertion that the targets of satire and ridicule often respond with hostility.

4.6.2 Governmental Censorship

With the outbreak of the Civil War in early 1992, Algerian journalists and political cartoonists were again under a substantial degree of governmental control that jeopardised the freedom of political expression gained during the preceding 'Golden Age' period (1989-1991). The state instituted a special policy to control the press's reporting of the Civil War (Essoulami 1994: 142).⁴⁵ It enacted decrees that prohibited independent investigative reporting and empowered the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Culture and Communication to censor newspapers.⁴⁶ El-issawi (2017: 16) explains that 'diverse narratives on the conflict were impossible; contradicting official narratives and disseminating unauthorised "pre-mature" information were treated as offences'. The regime, particularly the government of Belaid Abdesselam (1992-1993), imposed draconian censorship practices, including the inspection of journalistic reports in courts, and the confiscation of journalistic materials from newsrooms or newspaper publications from the state-owned printing houses (Boudehan 2018: 247). Between 1996 and 1998, the Ministry of Interior appointed to every printing house reading committees composed of civil servants and ministry staff whose task was to subject all articles to pre-publication censorship (Rebah 2002: 71). The press was also confronted with coercive laws and repeated legal actions. The 1990 press law, while formally recognising press freedom, involved punitive laws against journalists and newspaper editors, which remained in place throughout the decade. Kirat (1992) notes that the press law was intended to sanction rather than protect journalists from legal proceedings and censorship. Moreover, the government deterred political dissent through monopolies of printing, advertising, and distribution (Jones 2015: 35). The government-owned printing houses often suspended the publication of newspaper editions under the guise of shortages of paper or ink. The government also challenged the independent press through the unequal distribution of public advertising resources, favouring the newspapers which adhered to its editorial line (Boudehan 2018: 241). The non-distribution

⁴⁴ The cartoons were in Arabic, which was a more accessible language to these groups than French.

⁴⁵ The Ministry of Defence created a communication unit which relayed government accounts of violent incidents either directly to newspapers or through the APS (Kreamer 2003b: 163).

⁴⁶ On 30th September 1992, the government passed a law known as 'décret relatif au terrorisme et à la subversion' (the Law on Terrorism and Subversion) (Croll and Ould Tayeb 1998: 74). This was further reinforced by the enactment of a major decree by the Ministries of Interior and Communication on 7th June 1994.

of the national newspapers was yet another way of exerting pressure on the independent newspapers (Dris 2017: 262). Finally, media staff were beset by the threats of newspaper suspension or even closure. Between 1992 and 1998, numerous newspapers ceased to appear for several weeks,⁴⁷ leaving the country's newsstands empty (Mahmoudi 2000: 195).

Political cartoonists also suffered from stringent governmental censorship. The prevailing political unrest led the state to constrain graphic satire and political criticism. In a country like Algeria with a low literacy rate (Qantara 2017), political cartoons threatened and continue to threaten the state. The former director and editor of *Le Matin* newspaper, Mohamed Benchicou, averred in an interview with the French news agency (*Agence France Presse*) in 2007 that this visual art has always triggered the anxiety of the regime insofar as it 'combined derisive humour and subversion' (my translation).⁴⁸ Souiah (2016: 98) agrees that political cartoons are a humorous art form which Algerian authorities have taken seriously since their first emergence. A further motivation for cartoon censorship could be the government's reluctance to suffer criticism and to be ridiculed. These two motives can be subsumed under what Le Vine (2016: 57) calls 'political censorship', which is a key motivation for the censorship of artistic production in the MENA region. He argues that this type of censorship involves silencing any artistic expression of political criticism. These countries also impose a 'moral censorship' on artistic speech which deviates from social norms, as well as cultural and religious beliefs. In Algeria, both types of censorship were practised during the Civil War, but political censorship was the most prevalent, as we will see in this section.

The successive governments, which governed Algeria during the 1992-2002 period, tried to prevent ridiculing the nation and its defining symbols, including religion, defaming government officials, such as the president, and representing the military (McKinney 2008: 177). However, these red lines were by no means stable as censorship was often subjective and arbitrary. McKinney (2008) observes that red lines were changing according to the needs of the 'regime and the party élite, but also under pressures or actions emanating from artists, journalists, Algerian public opinion, or even international opinion (for example, interventions from Reporters sans frontières ['Reporters Without Borders'])'. Due to the arbitrary application of censorship, Algerian cartoonists were under constant threat. Interviewed by Souiah (2020: 131), Slim remarks that, during the Algerian Civil War, the 'red lines [were often] blurred and

⁴⁷ For example, the government suspended *El Watan* newspaper in October 1992 and October 1998, ostensibly for financial reasons (Labter 1995: 50). The newspaper *La Nation* was forced to close down in December 1996 for denouncing violations of human rights in Algeria (Gèze and Kettab 2004: 10-12).

⁴⁸ Benchicou worked for *Le Matin* newspaper, which was banned in 2004. He was interviewed on 29th September 2007 by the Agence France Presse during the 26th Festival of Caricature and Humour in Limoges in France. Available at: <https://www.yabiladi.com/forum/algerie-caricature-constitue-risque-pour-2-2102220.html> [Accessed: 6th August 2020].

shifting, it [was] hard to predict when censorship would hit'. A case in point was the banning of Abi's censorship-themed cartoon in 1996 (see Chapter 1). The government instructed members of a reading committee, appointed in one of the printing houses, to reject the drawing for publication (Metref 1998: 133). This implies the government's objection to the denunciation of press censorship, although this theme was never in the delineated list of prohibited topics.

The state used various means to censor political cartoonists, some of which were similar to the restrictions imposed on journalists. First, the previously thriving satirical magazines were banned, and their authors were on the frontline of state hostility. For instance, in 1993, the satirical magazines *Es-Sahafa* and *El Manchar* were suspended. In May 1996, the state suspended the satirical magazine *Mesmar* (The Nail) and arrested its cartoonists Nacer Belfounes and Mohamed Staifi, as well as its publishing manager and editor. All were charged with insulting the government (Lent 2009b: 89). Another direct constraint on the cartoonists' freedom were the censorious laws issued: for example, the 1990 press laws, which remained in place until 2012 when a new press code was enacted (El-Issawi 2017: 8). In particular, the press code contained Article 77 which made insulting Islam and any other religion punishable by imprisonment of between six months and three years and heavy fines (Rebah 2002: 70). Additionally, on 16th May 2001, Parliament enacted a more restrictive penal code, which caused uproar in the satirical press. Article 144bis of this code imposed two months to two years of prison and fines of 50,000 to 250,000 Algerian dinars against anyone insulting or defaming the president and influential figures, notably members of Parliament, judges, and the army through writing, drawing, or audio-visual or electronic means.⁴⁹ However, the punishment is not limited to cartoonists, but extends also to anyone who publishes or shares the drawing (Souiah 2016). This Article was nicknamed the "Dilem Decree" because it was directed at Dilem who, as we will see in Section 4.7.3, has always been known for his strident criticism of presidents and the army (Kreamer 2003b: 159). To protest against this Article, which increased 'the "scale" of [defamation] sanctions a hundredfold', Dilem announced a hunger strike on 16th June 2001 (Benfodil 2008: 5, my translation). However, the government ignored this and was determined to punish any cartoonist criticising the regime or the military. Such punitive laws affected the cartoonists' ability to work freely and limited the subjects they could draw.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This decree is still in force in Algeria. In December 2019, the artist Abdelhamid Amine, alias *Nime*, was sued over cartoons deemed by the court as violating the decree (Rousseau 2020: 17).

⁵⁰ A similar remark was made by Gathara (2018: 102) in his analysis of the effects of censorship on Kenyan cartoonists.

Closely related to legislation were the threats of litigation and imprisonment. During the 1992-2002 period, sanctions, fines, and legal proceedings against cartoonists were common in the Algerian satirical press. The three cartoonists under consideration in this thesis were themselves subjected to numerous lawsuits. Ayoub (2020) averred in his interview that these lawsuits were aimed at deterring political satire and criticism. In 1993, Ayoub was sued for a cartoon criticising government officials. It depicted a poor citizen standing in front of an extravagant villa in Algiers' rich area of Hydra and wishing to be a pet dog of one of Mouradia's or Hydra's residents. Because the presidency is headquartered in El Mouradia and Hydra alludes to the area where the elite and most government officials live, the judge decoded the cartoon's meaning and accused Ayoub of disrespect towards the officials by likening them to dogs. Ayoub tried to convince the judge that he intended to address the deteriorating situation of poor citizens, who wished to live the comfortable life of dogs owned by the upper class living in Hydra and El Mouradia. However, the judge ordered Ayoub to report to the court daily for six months. Ayoub (2019) confided that in 1994 he was also prosecuted for the publication of a political cartoon that the magistrate regarded as insulting to the government. He stated:

despite my attempt to find different justifications for the cartoon, my explanations failed to convince the judge. I was then subjected to a judicial harassment as a punishment. I was under a kind of house arrest for six months; I had to register my presence at the Court every single day. This was meant to deter me from criticising the regime.

Maz's experience with prosecution was no different. When interviewed in 2019, he related that in 1994 he was sued in court over a cartoon condemning the liberation of an Islamist by the government, despite his attempt to blow up big bombs in civilian crowds in Algiers. According to Maz, the cartoon suggested that 'one could play with a bomb without worrying about prosecution'. Unlike Ayoub, Maz was acquitted at the end of the trial, but the judge warned him not to discuss such topics again in the future.

Dilem was undoubtedly the cartoonist who suffered from prosecution the most. The outspoken style and the caustic humour expressed in his works made him more susceptible to government backlash. Evans and Phillips (2007: 297) observe that the regime's reactions to Dilem's cartoons attest to 'the subversive power of humour'. The government initiated numerous libel proceedings against him and imposed heavy fines on him over his provocative cartoons. According to Benchicou, Dilem was sentenced to nine years in prison in total (Oberlé 2006). For example, in February 1994, Dilem and his editor Said Mekbel were summoned to the presidency following the publication of cartoons mocking the then-President Zeroual by nicknaming him "Zorro" (Benfodil 2008: 5). The government continued to take legal actions against Dilem, even when he was later living in France. The prosecution was mainly based on the "Dilem Decree". Shortly after the penal code's promulgation, Dilem was once again sued

in court for two cartoons, one published in *Liberté* on 29th November 2001 addressing the telethon organised to raise money following the floods of Bab El Oued on 10th November 2001, and the second published on 15th January 2002 about the assassination of President Boudiaf (Souiah 2016). As he was clearly attacking army generals in these cartoons, Dilem was fined 20,000 dinars (Gèze and Kettab 2004: 17). Further instances of the government's reliance on Article 144bis to muzzle cartoonists were the severe sanctions against Dilem in 2003. Dilem was sentenced to one year in prison and a fine of 50,000 dinars over a cartoon published in *Liberté* on 8th September 2003 that showed President Bouteflika being chased by an angry Algerian population and captioned 'Bouteflika, we are all behind you', and a series of cartoons published in October and November 2003 depicting Bouteflika as a puppet of army generals (Evans and Phillips 2007: 297). Figure 4.6 is another cartoon mocking President Bouteflika, which also earned Dilem a heavy fine.

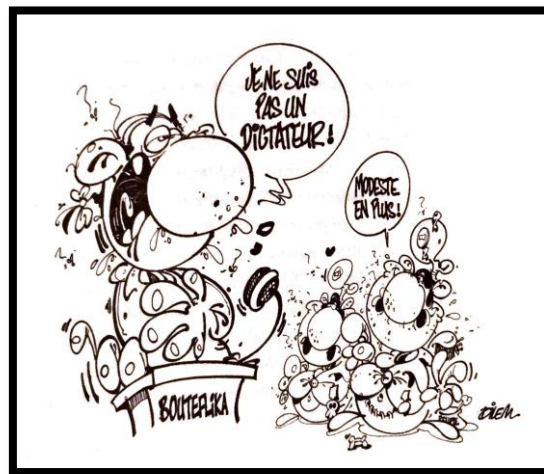


Figure 4.6: Dilem, *Liberté*, 14/11/2000

Bouteflika: I am not a dictator! / Army generals: He's very modest!

Despite the state repression and numerous fines and sentences imposed on him, Dilem kept the flame of cartooning and political dissent alive and continued to fight for the freedom of Algerian cartoonists by constantly challenging the government until 2005, when President Bouteflika amnestied Dilem and other political cartoonists, as well as journalists who had been subjected to legal actions (McKinney 2008: 198).

Algerian cartoonists were also confronted with the threat of imprisonment. A major incident occurred on 4th July 1996 when *La Tribune*'s cartoonist, Chawki Amari, was sent to prison. His arrest followed the publication on 1st July of a satirical cartoon showing Algerian flags strung between houses of the political elite. Walking on this street, the first character asks, 'Is this for 5th July? —meaning Algeria's Independence Day—to which the second character replies, 'No, it's dirty linen'. While Amari intended his cartoon as a criticism of the

Algerian political elite's disrespect for the country and its symbols (Souiah 2016), he was charged with insulting the national flag, a breach of Article 160 of the penal code, which stipulated five to ten years custody against 'anyone who deliberately and publicly tears up, defaces or defiles the national symbol' (Mostyn 2002: 62). The authorities also ordered the immediate suspension of *La Tribune* for six months and the detention of its managing director, Kheireddine Ameyar, and its editor, Baya Gacemi (Capon 2000: 346). Incensed by the government's attack on free speech, the '*Assemblée Générale des Journalistes*' (Algerian Journalists Union) protested against the incarceration of Amari and the suspension of *La Tribune*'s publication. In support of Amari, several cartoons appeared in the national press, for example in *El Watan* (Figure 4.7), and in French newspapers (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.7: Maz, *El Watan*, 9/7/1996

The Algerian flag is inscribed with the phrases '*Libérez Amari*' (Free Amari)



Figure 4.8: Plantu, *Le Monde*, 17/7/1996

Flag: Free Chawki Amari!

Cartoonist: It's the flag of cartoonists! Don't touch it! It's sacred!!!

Amari's incarceration was meant to spread fear in the satirical press, dissuade other cartoonists from crossing the red lines, and, thus, stifle political satire. On this matter, McKinney (2008: 177) observes that punishing an artist 'constitutes a clear threat to all other caricaturists and their employers'. The different cases of government's repression against cartoonists discussed so far corroborate Metref's (1998: 133, my translation) opinion that 'the [Algerian] regime had a congenital inability to accept satirical journalism'. While other cartoonists carried on cartooning regardless of the threats and censorship, Amari abandoned his short-lived cartooning career (1994-1996) and has, since his release, been working as an editorialist for *El Watan*.

The threat of withdrawing advertising revenues was yet another effective censorship strategy. Cartoonists were often challenged through economic sanctions by the government-owned advertising agency, ANEP, which caused economic difficulties to and even the closure of some newspapers (McKinney 2008: 198). This shows that threats and penalties could be inflicted not just on the individual cartoonist, but also on the entire newspaper. The government, thus, created a relationship of submission, given that advertising was a major financial resource for a newspaper's survival. For Gathara (2018: 102), advertising revenues are the backbone of newspapers as up to three-quarters of revenues for any newspaper company usually come from government advertising. In an article published in 2013, Tom Rhodes of the Committee to Protect Journalists remarks that 'because they represent the greatest source of revenue, advertisers—especially governments and government-owned enterprises—wield huge influence, which often allows them to quietly control what is published and what is not'.

Finally, the cartoonists received threatening calls and letters or offers of enticements. As outlined in Section 4.4, the 1989-1991 period was the first genuine experience of political cartooning in Algeria, as cartoonists started to establish the convention of lampooning politicians and other influential figures. Since Algerian politicians were not accustomed to being caricatured in satirical cartoons, they often reacted aggressively to caricatures. In contrast, other politicians offered incentives to cartoonists in exchange of refraining from representing them in their works. This demonstrates that political humour can generate different reactions from audiences. One of these cartoonists was Ayoub, who recounted when interviewed in 2020 that he received several letters of enticement, but continued to deride these same politicians regardless. He says 'I refused their advantages because I thought that my colleagues and I were paving the way to freedom of expression for future generations'.

4.6.3 Editorial Censorship

Editorial censorship posed a further challenge to both journalists and political cartoonists. The increasing government coercion against the independent press and the constraints on political dissent led editors to think twice about what articles and cartoons to publish. Editors very often curtailed journalists' and cartoonists' freedom of expression by deploying various means to muzzle them (Fatmi 2009: 24). Political cartoonists had tough times with editors imposing censorship on the defamation of government officials and the representation of army generals, police, and gendarmerie. Newspaper editors were careful to ensure that their cartoonists did not cross the boundaries of permissible political criticism in order to protect themselves and the cartoonists from legal proceedings and avoid incurring economic sanctions against the newspaper. The prosecution of editors-in-chief along with cartoonists was frequent as the government often reprimanded editors for their lack of control. Editors' caution increased even more with Amari's arrest and the enactment of the law on libel in 2001, which put cartoonists at risk of litigation and detention. Furthermore, editors' fear of upsetting or antagonising influential political figures meant that cartoons which satirised such people were unlikely to be published. At the time, despite working for independent newspapers, some editors were either pro-government or had strong relationships with members of Parliament, ministers, or army generals. To show their political allegiance and/or to preserve their political interests, these editors censored any cartoons disparaging these influential people.

Driven by either of the two motives, editors practised various forms of pre-publication censorship, notably ordering cartoonists to make amendments to their works, substituting, or even omitting cartoons. Slim avows that *Le Matin's* editor, Benchicou, often asked him to alter the textual elements (captions and/or characters' comments) or the image to render the cartoon acceptable. He adds that Benchicou refused to publish any cartoon referring to the military because it was a powerful and threatening institution, which could suspend newspapers (Lent 2009b: 85). Indeed, the military institution played a major role in Algerian politics and often interfered with the press (Mortimer 2006: 156). Similarly, when working for *Le Matin*, Dilem had his cartoons rejected for publication on the grounds that they were overtly critical of the army. Benfodil (2008) explains that it was this stringent editorial censorship that led Dilem to quit the newspaper in 1996. A further instance is Maz, who said that *El Watan's* editors discouraged the publication of politically sensitive issues and imposed strict control, with all cartoons requiring prior approval to avoid the government's predation.

The replacement of cartoons initially submitted for publication with other works, without the knowledge of the artists, was another form of editorial censorship. Several cartoonists were frustrated when their works were not published. For example, editors often censored the cartoons Slim produced in exile. Expressing his frustration, Slim says: 'when I see *Le Matin* in

Paris, some other cartoonist's work [has] replaced mine' (Lent 2009b: 85). Ayoub's works were also subjected to this form of censorship between 1992 and 1996. *El Khabar's* editor often substituted cartoons which were overtly critical of members of Parliament and ministers with past cartoons taken from the archives. Ayoub pointed out in the 2020 interview that 'because [the editor] liked compliments and had relations with officials, he frequently banned my cartoons'. Ayoub went on to explain that sometimes the editor left the cartoon space blank and published the following note: 'Because the cartoonist Ayoub is unwell, he is unable to publish any cartoon today'. It becomes clear that this practice impinged on the cartoonists' ability to publish their cartoons, as the editors did not give the artists any chance to tone down their political criticism or to make alterations to their works. Nonetheless, as I discuss in the following section, some cartoonists found devious ways to operate outside the boundaries of censorship and indirectly defy the censors.

4.7 The Coping Strategies of Algerian Cartoonists against Censorship

The situation of control and censorship during the Algerian Civil War led some cartoonists to adopt self-censorship on certain topics, whereas others remained undeterred and sought to fight for freedom of expression and push the limits of editorial and governmental censorship. These cartoonists found ways to resist censorship, whether by using creative tricks that helped them express tacit critical messages about sensitive themes or by adopting an outspoken style in defiance of censors. These three coping strategies are discussed in turn, highlighting how self-censorship and covert resistance had their origins in the cartoonists' experiences and cartooning practices under the preceding authoritarian regime.

4.7.1 Self-Censorship

When censorship is imposed, self-censorship is usually a concomitant practice (Fadnes et al. 2020). Self-censorship is well-known to Algerian cartoonists who, throughout the 1992-2002 period, struggled between practising their freedom of expression and remaining silent on certain issues and politicians. Algerian artists grappled with this major dilemma because, as McKinney (2008: 176) states, obedience to the government '[could] confer certain benefits, [whereas] disobedience [could] lead to serious difficulties'. However, self-censorship was less common in post-1992 than the 1960s-1980s period when cartoonists had to fall into submissive silence about political issues. During the Civil War, Algerian cartoonists' self-censorship was driven by two motives, notably fear of perceived risks and retribution, or morality.

The fear of litigation and imprisonment deterred cartoonists from satirising the army and defaming government officials. Although the depiction and criticism of political figures

were allowed in theory, most cartoonists remained cautious not to libel government officials or denounce corruption in the army, particularly since there was no protection for cartoonists from prosecution. This point was raised by Ayoub (2020), who explained that he depicted presidents to criticise their policies and decisions as government officials but refrained from mocking their person or reputation. For him, self-censorship was an effective precautionary measure. He further asserted that ‘a cartoonist should above all think deeply about potential repercussions. A cartoon can cause serious problems; that is why at times I had to practise self-censorship’. He emphasised that his decision to self-censor such topics was not driven by fear of editorial censorship, but rather by fear for his life, job, and of retribution on the newspaper. Ayoub said, ‘I was afraid about my personal safety. I was also worried about the newspaper. I did not want to cause the newspaper’s suspension or closure. I did not want to put my colleagues’ jobs at risk’ (ibid.). In contrast, Dilem declared repeatedly his refusal to practise self-censorship on political criticism. The only topics which he self-censored were mocking symbols of the nation, including religion (Kouaou 2008).

Self-censorship was also motivated by a sense of consideration towards sacred national symbols and respect towards the audience. All three cartoonists refrained from criticising or ridiculing the Algerian flag, the war of independence, the martyrs, and literary figures. The importance (and sanctity) of these topics and people led cartoonists to represent them only rarely. Even when they did, they used a serious tone. Another self-censored topic was religious beliefs. Algerian cartoons did not include any instance of religious blasphemy, depiction of God and/or prophets to avoid offending religious, and specifically Muslim sensibilities.⁵¹ In her discussion of the Danish cartoon controversy,⁵² Klausen (2009: 16) argues that self-censorship can ‘follow out of respect for other people’s religious beliefs or from a desire not to hurt people’s feelings’. For example, Maz (2019) explained that he set his own limits and that the reason behind his avoidance of religious and taboo topics was not driven by editorial or governmental pressures, but rather his desire to be considerate of his Muslim audience. Cartoonists’ self-restriction on religion stems from a deeply rooted prohibition of representing God and Prophets in Islamic law (see Section 4.7.1). As I will discuss in Section 4.9, the cartoonists’ attacks on the Islamist insurgents were never aimed at Islam as such. Ayoub (2019), for instance, clarified his intention to criticise what he described

⁵¹ Wozniak (2014) notes that Arab cartoonists tend to refrain from mocking their religion and that publishing blasphemous cartoons is severely punished in many Arabic countries. For example, Tunisia sentenced the cartoonists Jabeur Mejrri and Ghazi Beji to seven years in prison for posting cartoons depicting a naked Prophet Mohammad on Facebook.

⁵² A worldwide controversy was sparked following the publication of 12 political cartoons featuring Prophet Muhammad by the Danish newspaper *Jyllandes* 1.2on 30 September 2005. Considered to be demeaning and abusive to Islam and Muslims, these cartoons outraged the Muslim community worldwide and instigated diplomatic tensions between countries, rallies of protesters outside embassies, death threats against cartoonists, and campaigns of boycotting goods (Klausen 2009: 75).

as the “fake Islam” embodied by the Islamists. Similarly, the cartoonist Lounis Dahmani elucidates ‘in my drawings, I don’t mock the Muslim religion, I mock extremists, which is different’ (Argelas 1999: 52, my translation). Taboo topics, mainly sexuality, were also absent from Algerian cartoons during this period. Cartoonists avoided this culturally sensitive topic to show respect to their audience. For Ayoub (2020), the suppression of certain topics was required by morality and respect. He stresses that he could not enjoy boundless freedom of expression like *Charlie Hebdo* satirists because his works should be suitable for Algerian viewers. The foregoing discussion implies that cartoonists can be somewhat restricted by the context of work and the target audience.

Self-censorship was useful insofar as it afforded protection to Algerian cartoonists, but it also had negative consequences. The Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet (1902-1963) compared self-censorship to prison bars and maintained that ‘there are no worse bars than the ones you put in your head’ (cited in Labter 1995: 50, my translation). This quote is echoed in Ayoub’s and Maz’s assertion that self-censorship affected their artistic output. They observe that it kills artists’ sense of creativity and innovation. Ayoub (2020) expressed some concern about how self-censorship undermined the quality of his cartoons between 1992 and 2002 because they were sometimes merely entertaining, rather than being critical and thought-provoking. He adds that ‘viewers might think that it was a poor performance’. Slim explains that a second major effect of self-censorship was that it resulted in thematic stagnation in Algeria, particularly before 1989 (Lent 2009a: 98). The heavy censorship and fear of government reprisals made it extremely difficult to criticise the regime and led to an increase in self-censorship which, in turn, affected the evolution of political satire production.

4.7.2 Covert Resistance Strategies

There is a deep tradition of withstanding editorial and political censorship that cartoonists established under the post-independence authoritarian regime in Algeria. Working under this repressive regime, very few cartoonists dared to overtly satirise and criticise the government. Ahmed Haroun and Ayoub, for example, preferred to err on the safe side of caution and embedded political criticism within social issues, appealing to the intelligence of their readership to decode the implicit messages. However, Ayoub (2020) indicated that insinuation or allusion did not always prevent misunderstandings and tensions with his pro-government newspaper editor, who did not tolerate criticism of the regime.⁵³ He cites the example of a cartoon he produced in 1986 about the effects of declining industries on society. Although the cartoon’s topic was ostensibly social, Ayoub alluded to the incompetence and wrong decisions

⁵³ In the pre-1989 era, most newspaper editors were adherent to the governmental party, FLN. Therefore, their editorial line was purely pro-government.

of the socialist government. The cartoon resulted in a confrontation between the editor and Ayoub, who explained:

I tried to discuss the cartoon with him, but he did not want to hear anything. He told me that I should not be critical of or tarnish the reputation of the Algerian national industry. I did not realise that my drawing would annoy him that much.

However, this incident did not discourage Ayoub from indirectly criticising the regime in his cartoons. Similarly, Slim, refused to be silenced regardless of constant government coercion (Plantu and Guitton 2021: 41). Relying on bilingual wordplay (English and French) and intertextual references, Slim poked fun at the corrupt bourgeoisie and the government (Souiah 2016). He also used characters wearing black glasses as implicit references to politicians. As Ibrahim (1995) notes, Algerians described Slim's drawings as "a refreshing wink" in a boring mass of officially sanctioned news'. Such precautionary strategies were necessary for Slim and his colleagues who had to constantly worry 'if [their] cartoons would pass censorship', as Slim asserts (Lent 2009b: 88).

In what follows, I provide an overview of the techniques which the cartoonists used to covertly criticise the government and address other politically sensitive issues with the resurgence of censorship from 1992 onwards. This section will inform Chapters 5-6 because some of these tricks, notably animal symbols and ambiguity, also feature in many of the cartoons on press censorship.

Between 1992 and 2002, Algerian cartoonists again had to find subtle ways to express critical messages against the government without falling into the trap of censorship. A case in point was the variety of tricks which Ayoub deployed, namely symbols and leitmotifs. One of the strategies used by Ayoub to refer implicitly to the political regime was portraying a cat and a mouse alongside other human characters. Usually placed in the cartoon's corner and shown conversing with one another, the cat refers to the powerful government, whereas the mouse represented the helpless Algerian citizens. Ayoub (2020) indicated that, by highlighting the malice and deceiving behaviour of the cat towards the mouse, he implied the power inequality between the government and ordinary people. When asked by his audience to use the cat and mouse as main characters in cartoons, Ayoub expressed his reluctance to the suggestion clarifying, 'I could not do that because they were indirect means of conveying dangerous political messages'. A concrete example of this technique can be found in Figure 4.9 below. The cartoon's topic revolves around Eid, a religious celebration that the Muslim community, including Algerians, observe twice a year and is typically a time when families and friends reunite to celebrate. Ayoub chooses a caption through which he presents his wishes to the Algerian people, but he discards Islamists, as indicated by the word 'except'. Interestingly, both the cat and mouse are happy and add a commentary on the theme of the cartoon, but

their comments are inconsistent with the cartoon's melancholic tone and with the caption. While the two animals seem to add only a jocular tone to the cartoon, they, in fact, pass critical messages about the government's indifference for the sufferings of Algerians and the readiness of a few Algerians to forgive the Islamists, despite the atrocities committed against their fellow countrymen/women.⁵⁴ A consequence of such atrocities are the two orphans, who have no one else to take care of them except the woman who represents the nation.



Figure 4.9: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 17/1/1999

Caption: A blessed Eid to Algeria and Algerian folk... except the Islamists...and people who spread hatred...

Mouse: I will go and pay [the Islamist] a visit on this happy occasion. After all, it is nice to forgive people/ Cat: I will even take some cakes with me

Labels on children's tops: Children of Cain and Abel⁵⁵

According to Ayoub, a second indirect technique, which was very successful in countering the then existing editorial and governmental censorship, were leitmotifs. Inspired from Algerian culture and society, he created the leitmotif of Ayoub and his authoritative mother-in-law 'أيوب' and 'نسيبته'. He used the perennial conflict between the two characters for political criticism, particularly to hint at the strained relationship between the government and Algerian people, represented by the mother-in-law and the character of Ayoub, respectively. A further strategy which enabled Ayoub to evade censorship was the ambiguity resulting from the cartoons'

⁵⁴ A similar technique was used by the renowned Chinese cartoonist Liao Bingxiong. In a series entitled *The Cat Kingdom* (1946), Bingxiong depicted a cat and mouse in lieu of human characters to disguise his criticism of the Guomindang (Nationalist) government (Hung 1994: 122; Walker 2003: 20).

⁵⁵ Ayoub seems to use an inter-textual reference to the story of Cain and Abel to further strengthen the idea of orphans. According to the book of Genesis in the Bible, Cain and Abel were the sons born to Adam and Eve. While Cain was a farmer, Abel was a shepherd. The brothers made sacrifices to God each of his own produce. When God favours Abel's sacrifice instead of Cain's, Cain's jealousy drove him to rise up against his brother and murder him. This incident has since then been considered the first crime in the history of humanity; Abel being the first murder victim and Cain the first murderer (LeCocque 2010: 18-40).

multiple layers of meaning. When interviewed in 2020, Ayoub highlighted the usefulness of ambiguity: 'I drew cartoons which were open to various interpretations. I used to conceal my intentions; I mean that I was duping the editor-in chief'. As I detail in Chapter 5, ambiguity was also commonly used and very useful for the cartoonist Maz in his attempt to increase his chance of publishing his anti-censorship cartoons.⁵⁶

When editorial censorship intensified and every other trick failed, Ayoub refused to subject his works to a pre-publication inspection. Rather, he handed his cartoons directly to the newspaper director, who was also the publishing manager, and with whom he had a good professional relationship. By implementing this trick, Ayoub avoided editorial censorship and published his works in *El Khabar*. Ayoub pointed out that the newspaper director, who regarded press freedom as 'an unarguable principle', encouraged him to draw fearlessly and to satirise government officials, including the president. As indicated in Section 4.7, the representation and mocking of army generals and the Minister of Defence were officially outlawed by the 2001 penal code. Ayoub further said that the newspaper director 'even expressed his ability to be imprisoned on my behalf'. This degree of endorsement gave Ayoub a certain freedom in the selection of his subject matter. Ayoub noted that he, nonetheless, had to be vigilant because editorial censorship was still in place. Despite being constantly reprimanded by the newspaper director, the editor-in-chief kept censoring Ayoub's drawings in the absence of the director.

As this section has showed, all the themes treated in the cartoons of the 1992-2002 timeframe, such as the criticism or mockery of the government, had the potential to be controversial and to provoke the censors. However, this thesis focuses principally on the most intriguing cartoons, anti-censorship cartoons, to show how the three cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz used metaphor and metonymy to make these drawings so indirect that they would pass unnoticed.

4.7.3 Open Defiance

Feeling constrained by the pervasive fear of retaliation and death, Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz initially avoided portraying the Islamists, but they later showed their irreverence towards the Islamists and satirised them overtly (see Section 4.9). However, the three artists reacted differently to governmental and editorial censorship. While Maz and Ayoub deployed precautionary measures and tricks to avoid such censorship, as explained in Section 4.7.2,

⁵⁶ Ambiguous cartoons were also heralded as a successful site of political opposition against dictatorship in Greece, known as the Regime of the Colonels (1967-1974). A Greek newspaper owner, Helen Vlanchos, observed that 'while the colonels were too dense to get the message, the readers worked it out with subtle skill' (cited in Abraham 1996: xi).

Dilem fiercely guarded his licence to skewer politicians, presidents, and army generals and openly defied his editors. He rejected the idea of censorship, regardless of various threats and fines (Morsly 1995: 72). *Liberté*'s publishing director, Abrous Outoudert,⁵⁷ avowed that Dilem always refused to avoid lampooning army generals and to imply that they are the real power holders in Algeria (Benfodil 2008: 168). He also rejected editors' instructions to tone down his criticism and disagreed with editors-in-chief over the censorship of his cartoons. Dilem declares 'if you want to lose me, impose censorship on me'. He adds that censoring a cartoonist is to kill them (ibid.: 76).

Three major factors can explain the cartoonists' different reactions to editorial and governmental censorship. The first factor relates to the political regime under which Algerian cartoonists operated. The restrictions imposed by the authoritarian regime significantly influenced Ayoub's and Maz's styles and the content of their drawings. Therefore, Ayoub and Maz appeared inhibited and less audacious. Even their political criticism was moderate and usually implicit. Ayoub (2020) remarked that this regime shaped his cartooning style, particularly regarding the use of the insinuation technique, which he describes as a strategy that he had to adopt at the time, but he has kept using since whenever necessary. In sharp contrast, Dilem began his career when political and media pluralism were established (see Section 3.2.1). Commenting on Dilem's style, Ayoub explains that he was lucky enough to begin cartooning when freedom of expression and political satire were allowed. This difference can explain why Dilem transgressed the red lines, mocking and expressing criticism of political figures and army generals, although without naming a specific general in his works. Living abroad was another significant factor in accounting for the variation between cartoonists' reactions to governmental censorship (i.e., overt versus covert resistance). In particular, exile presented less risks for Dilem compared to the cartoonists who remained in Algeria. As McKinney (2008: 182) observes, 'Algerian artists who have gone into exile have enjoyed the greatest freedom'. A final possible factor could be the cartoonists' character traits. Dilem is younger and started his career with so much determination, fervour, and bravery that nothing could stop him from being outspoken. Belfodil (2008: 4, my translation) describes the personality of Dilem as 'a young man endowed with great discernment, high moral standards, and political intransigence'. He adds that what makes Dilem a daring cartoonist is that he faithfully translates his feelings and stances into his drawings. Moreover, Dilem was more

⁵⁷ Outoudert was the publishing manager and senior manager of *Liberté* between 1995 and 2003 as well as from 2008 to 2018. On 1st August 2021, he was again appointed as publishing manager of the newspaper. <https://www.liberte-algerie.com/actualite/abrous-outoudert-nouveau-directeur-de-liberte-362695> [Accessed 15/08/2021]

willing to take risks than his predecessors, who were more cautious and not ready to be imprisoned for a cartoon.

4.8 Algerian Political Cartoons during the Civil War: Main Themes

This section reports on the content analysis of the large dataset of 1,005 cartoons that I collected for my study. As explained in Section 3.2.3, all the collected cartoons were published between 1992 and 2002 in *El Khabar*, *El Watan*, and *Liberté* newspapers. Illustrated with concrete examples from this decade, this section describes the topical issues covered in the cartoon database, offering a clear picture of the historical context in which these cartoons were drawn. It then focuses on the representation of the Algerian Civil War, which is a central and recurring theme in the analysed cartoons and considers the role and stance of Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz towards the decade-long conflict and its perpetrators.

The content analysis indicates that the three cartoonists foregrounded domestic issues, while leaving aside international subjects. The focus on national subjects reflects Algerian cartoonists' tendency to address burning issues in their own country, as Rousseau (2020: 26) observes. The cartoonists, therefore, produced works contributing to the development of a 'comic memory' which chronicles past key events through humour (ibid.: 9). The study has identified political issues, censorship, economic affairs, and social issues as the four most significant concerns represented during the analysed period. The distribution of these themes across the three newspapers is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Topical categories resulting from content analysis of cartoons and their distribution across newspapers

Issues Newspapers	Political Issues	Censorship	Economic Affairs	Social Issues	Other
<i>El Khabar</i>	112	19	53	42	24
<i>El Watan</i>	173	51	19	23	16
<i>Liberté</i>	416	25	10	5	18
Total	701 (69.75%)	95 (9.45 %)	82 (8.15%)	70 (6.96%)	58 (5.77%)

As Table 4.1 shows, national politics were by far the most pressing and widely covered issues across the three newspapers, with a total of 701 cartoons (69.75%). Within this category, 112 cartoons (15.97%) are about political campaigning. Indeed, during the decade, there was a series of municipal, legislative, and presidential elections, which were all recorded in the

cartoons. Electoral campaigning is a common theme that presents great material for cartoonists worldwide. This has led to a growing academic interest in how cartoons frame and orient their audience's understanding of political campaigns (see Khang 2002; Gould 2016). A good example from my data is Maz's cartoon below which depicts the presidential campaign of 1999, which led to the election of President Bouteflika. Maz compares the elections to a race and represents the candidates as racers. As the cartoon shows, one racer is so big that he blocks everyone else's path, suggesting that Bouteflika's victory is a foregone conclusion.

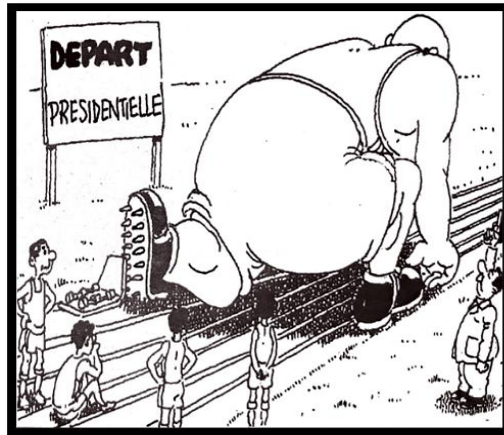


Figure 4.10: Maz, *El Watan*, 12-13/3/1999

Starting Line: Presidential elections

The second main theme is censorship depicted in 95 cartoons (9.45%), which were found distributed across the dataset and were prevalent throughout the decade rather than being clustered around certain years. This topical focus corroborates Danjoux's (2012: 80) argument that 'the prominence of certain issues over time becomes a good indicator of their perceived threat'. As I stated in Chapter 3, the censorship-themed (and self-censorship-themed) cartoons, which fall within this 'censorship' category, are the cartoons used for my qualitative analysis of figurative devices in Chapters 5-7.

As can be seen from Table 4.1, 82 cartoons (8.15%) reflect the economic problems in Algeria at the time. The government struggled to keep the economic sector afloat since the 1986 world oil crisis that hastened the collapse of the local economy, which had relied heavily on oil and gas revenues. Rising inflation, external debts, and shortages of food staples, thus, paralysed the country (McDougall 2017: 280). Algeria's economic situation worsened with the political crisis as the Islamist guerrillas coordinated many acts of economic sabotage, disrupting gas and oil industries, and destroying factories and other infrastructures (Le Sueur 2010: 112). This economic crisis obviously affected citizens' everyday life. A cartoon by Ayoub illustrates the shortage of cooking oil for example, which in 1992 provoked stampedes and

long queues in stores (Figure 4.11). It depicts a husband who is worried about the political instability of Algeria and warns his wife that the country's welfare is a priority over finding oil. Another possible meaning is the husband's use of the political unrest as an excuse for his failure to find cooking oil.



Figure 4.11: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 4/2/1992

Man: (Listen to me ...the country is in danger....forget about cooking oil !).

Label on character's back: He has been on a quest for cooking oil for 4 months



Figure 4.12: Maz, *El Watan*, 29/7/1992

In addition to economic issues, social issues frequently featured in the data. The cartoonists captured the various social ills in Algeria during the period, exposing themes like poor education and struggle against corruption. The latter is clearly reflected in Figure 4.12 above which represents the government's efforts to eradicate corruption through the image of Minister Belaid Abdesslam attacking a character labelled 'corruption', who is trying to escape. The last thematic category, named 'Other', features 58 cartoons (5.77%) about sport and

cultural matters. Published on 10th June 1998, Dilem's cartoon in Figure 4.13 offers a mocking account of the Opening ceremony of the 1998 Football World Cup held in France.



Figure 4.13: Dilem, *Liberté*, 10/6/1998

Caption: The surprising team of the World Cup championships

Dilem depicts Islamist guerrillas organised into a team of players, who are wearing football kit labelled 'GIA', an acronym for *Groupe Islamique Armé* (Armed Islamic Group), holding a bloody axe as well as a gas cylinder in lieu of their team emblem. Dilem even supplies an additional detail: that of one Islamist resting his foot on a decapitated head rather than a football, which together with the other details brings to mind the image of a football team posing for a photograph. However, this representation of the Islamists and the caption create an incongruity in viewers' minds—that it is impossible for the Islamists to participate in the Football World Cup competition—which serves to satirise the Islamists.

Returning to the 'political issues' category, the analysis revealed that there was a striking focus on the theme of the Civil War. It is unsurprising that this issue received the most attention, since the conflict affected not only political life but society in general. Scholarship has indicated that political conflicts often lead to a proliferation in cartoon production (see Alkazemi and Wanta 2015; McGlade 2016). Some researchers have gone further, claiming that cartoons are communicatively more effective during such effervescent political situations than periods of relative calm (Der Plas et al. 2002; Elmaghraby 2014). For instance, during the Arab Spring in Egypt, cartoons were not only instrumental in articulating public opinion, but they also translated 'the revolutionary ideas into a global understanding of the Arab Spring' (Ettmüller 2012: 147). Deeply concerned about the atrocities sweeping Algeria, the three cartoonists felt impelled to represent the misfortunes of Algerian society. As Dilem explains, 'I could not draw birds and flowers when four hundred people were being slaughtered' (Benfodil 2008: 7, my translation). This statement explains why Dilem and his confrères pictured

Algeria's grisly reality and reflected their grief and anger towards the daily attacks on defenceless civilians. They intended their cartoons to be vivid sources for understanding the conflict. Spielmann (1895/2014: 50) emphasised the importance of political cartoons as a historical source, arguing that the cartoon

is not to be considered merely as a comic or satirical comment on the main occurrence or situation of the week, but as contemporary history for the use and information of future generations cast into amusing form for the entertainment of the present.

The analysis has revealed that the cartoonists exposed the causes that led to the crisis and reflected the ensuing violence and chaos (daily carnages, bombs, kidnappings, and fake checkpoints).⁵⁸ The cartoonists also highlighted the length of the crisis and the resulting psychological agony.⁵⁹ In the later years of the conflict, the cartoonists focused on the various calls for a ceasefire and expressed their hopes for a peaceful solution to the crisis.

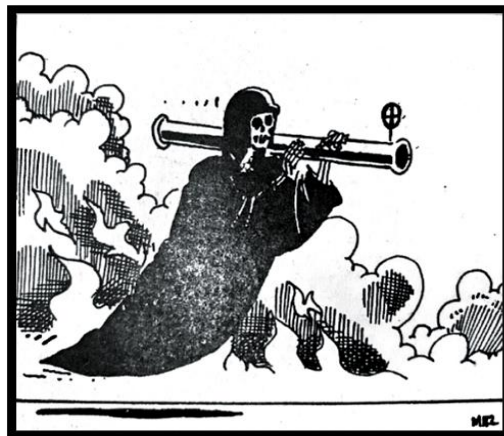


Figure 4.14: Maz, *El Watan*, 20/4/1993

What makes the cartoons of this conflictual period interesting is that the cartoonists exposed the harrowing acts of violence in a serious, grim tone, but they very often treated them with a light and humorous tone. Depictions of beheaded corpses, bloody hatchets, car explosions, and graves figure predominantly in the cartoons, highlighting the pervasiveness of terror and massacres across Algeria. A good example is Maz's cartoon (Figure 4.14) above, which evokes the ideas of violence and death through the representation of a grim reaper shooting projectiles and the clouds of smoke in the background. The hooded and cloaked grim

⁵⁸ The violence motif recurred mainly during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, which witnessed a steep upsurge in assassinations. According to Douglas and Malti-Douglas (2009b: 93), the Islamists believed that escalation of bloody massacres during Ramadan meant more rewards from God for their steadfast fight in their allegedly "holy war".

⁵⁹ The historians Evans and Phillips (2007: 202) note that the psychological impact of the constant terror was so profound that 'weeks and months slipped by without memory as people were absorbed by the rigour of simple survival'.

reaper is a common symbol of death, since it is notorious for its ‘macabre and menacing demeanour’ (Howarth and Leaman 2003: 416). The distressing reality was, however, often represented using black humour, irony, and self-mockery. As discussed in Section 4.3, jokes and humorous cartoons were the main forms of humour during the Civil War. They reinforced a deeply rooted tradition of (self-)mockery and laughter in the face of death (Perego 2018). The cartoonists made their satirical and self-mocking cartoons ‘a comic outlet unifying readers in a community of laughter’ (Rousseau 2020: 9). A good example of the use of black humour is Dilem’s cartoon (Figure 4.15), which turns the assassination of civilians into a comic cartoon.



Figure 4.15: Dilem, *Liberté*, 21/6/2000

Caption: 21 June ...That's it, summer is here
Islamist: Shiver... it's cold!

Published on 21st June, the first day of summer, the cartoon treats Islamist violence with a sense of black humour. It shows an Islamist dipping his toe, as if preparing to go for a swim in a pool of blood. The mocking tone of the cartoon is strengthened by the Islamist's shivering and comment, which evoke the image of cold water. The sense of black humour illustrated in this cartoon involves laughing at 'the tragic [and] the intolerable', as suggested by Chaulet-Achour (1997b: 146, my translation).

A last point to consider before exploring the representation of the Islamists is the cartoonists' roles during the Civil War. Combining humour and tragedy, the cartoonists seem to trivialise the severity of the Civil War violence to exorcise their own fears. Defays (1996: 11) opines that the function of humour is not strictly to entertain through humour; rather, humour serves as a therapy to cope with misfortunes and withstand atrocities. Dilem, for example, recounts how the creation of humorous cartoons helped him overcome his fear and sorrow: 'I got over [the horrors] because I was able to exorcise my sufferings through my cartoons' (*Afrique Magazine* 2006: 54). By making fun of the threatening situation, the cartoonists also aimed to amuse and alleviate the distress of their audience(s). The role of humour in relieving

built up psychological tension is the main argument of relief theory (Attardo and Raskin 2017). However, the cartoonists sought to achieve more critical/serious functions rather than merely entertaining their audience. They directed criticism to the two parties which allowed the tragedy to occur: the government and the Islamists. Figure 4.16 illustrates how Dilem condemned the disastrous consequences of the Civil War. Representing Algeria as a grave, Dilem highlights the uncontrolled violence which, by 1997, had swept the country. The cartoon's caption '*Barakat*' (Enough) articulates public outcry over Algeria's horrendous situation. Additionally, the artists raised awareness of the reality of the Civil War by emphasising that the political conflict involved two major opponents, but only civilians were the real victims of assaults, as exemplified in Figure 4.15.

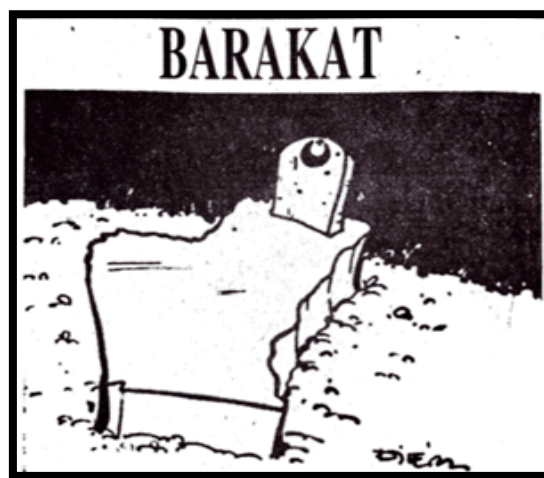


Figure 4.16: Dilem, *Liberté*, 29-30/8/1997

The Islamists, as the main perpetrators of violence, were frequently represented, despite the constant death threats received by the cartoonists. The Islamists' ruthlessness prompted Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz to draw scathing anti-Islamist cartoons. This determination is clearly expressed by Dilem: 'I had to do something. I couldn't remain silent in the face of everything that was happening' (Benfodil 2008: 83, my translation). Just like Dilem, Ayoub and Maz refused to put down their pencils as a challenge to the Islamists. They engaged in a daily counterattack against the Islamists, using graphic art and ridicule as weapons against them.

The cartoonists represented the Islamists as having a bushy beard and Islamic outfits, including the Afghan-like garb: a traditional long robe, sometimes topped by a Western-style jacket.⁶⁰ Douglas and Malti-Douglas (2009b: 91) assert that these outfits lack 'the dignity of either traditional or Western garb'. The cartoonists also represented the Islamists' facial

⁶⁰ According to Quandt (1998: 39), these outfits were made popular by Islamists who had returned from fighting against the Russians in Afghanistan.

features, notably their teeth, sneers, and murderous gazes. Particularly, Ayoub produced some courageous cartoons that cast the Islamists as ferocious beasts. When interviewed, Ayoub (2019) acknowledged that '[he] was perfecting [his] cartoons of the Islamists. [He] mocked them on purpose. [He] was distorting their appearances and annoyed them with [his] cartoons'. He deployed a technique called 'zoomorphism', which involves merging the body of a human being with the body of an animal (Martinelli 2010: 284).



Figure 4.17: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 30/12/1997

As shown in Figure 4.17, Ayoub depicts an Islamist with the features of a bull, namely horns, ears, tail, legs, and heels. He mocks the Islamist and his extreme obsession with violence, which is conveyed by the bull snorting, a well-known signal of a bull's fury. By ascribing animalistic properties to this Islamist, Ayoub cast aspersions on the Islamist groups more generally and captures their negative characteristics. The offensive aspect of the Islamists-beasts comparisons in Ayoub's cartoons relates to the argument advanced by the social psychologists Haslam et al. (2011: 313) about the dehumanising effect of zoomorphism. The depictions indicate Ayoub's disavowal of the Islamists' humanity, as he goes beyond just figuratively likening the Islamists to animals, but rather treating them as less than human.

The publication of such cartoons despite the repeated threats indicates Ayoub's audacity and opposing stance driven by his determination to take risks and to voice his fury against the atrocities, especially given that he had the support of the government. Ayoub explained that, in his meeting with an ex-Minister of Defence, the latter encouraged the defamation of the Islamists. The Minister told him that 'as a Ministry of Defence, we could not attack the Islamists like you did with your drawings. Our arms and tanks failed to assault the Islamists as your cartoons did'. One can deduce that Ayoub's cartoons were allowed because they indirectly served the government's purposes in the war waged against the Islamists. This

point confirms Duncan's (2018: 454) suggestion that political cartoons can sometimes be used to 'great effect in political campaigns and conflicts of the day'.

Conclusion

By outlining the emergence and development of Algerian political cartoons, this chapter has highlighted the important place of graphic political humour and satire in Algeria. Despite its late emergence, Algerian cartoon art established itself very quickly and developed further during the political transition to the democratic regime, when Algerian cartoonists pushed the limits of permissible political topics. However, as I have discussed, the cartoonists experienced a radical shift from a situation of relative freedom of expression to a situation of stringent censorship. The re-establishment of censorship and control against the backdrop of the Civil War in 1992 demonstrates that the media liberalisation and the short-lived period of press freedom (i.e., 1989-1991) did not eradicate censorship and did not establish solid grounds for freedom of expression. The chapter has identified religious, governmental, and editorial censorship as the main forms of cartoon censorship in Algeria. As a major censorial institution, the government imposed pre- and post-publication censorship, formal and informal pressures, as well as individual and institutional penalties to stifle political criticism.

Addressing the effects of repression on political humour production in Algeria between 1992 and 2002, the chapter has indicated that the control and repression led to the practice of self-censorship on certain sensitive and taboo topics. In choosing the resistance route, some cartoonists found innovative tricks to operate outside the boundaries of censorship and to pass tacit critical messages about the government, whereas few cartoonists (e.g., Dilem) even openly defied their editors and the government censor regardless of sanctions. Despite the assassination of their colleagues and the repetitive death threats they received, Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz resisted the Islamists' pressures. They denounced religious censorship on the press and mocked the Islamists' obsession with violence.

This detailed background knowledge about censorship challenges in Algeria will inform the analysis chapters 5-7, which will look specifically at cartoons about press censorship that were paradoxically published despite the censorship in place. It will explain how Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz reflected the context of control under which they worked. It will also specify the type of censorship and identify the censors that the cartoonists condemned using metonymy (Chapter 5), metaphor and metaphor-metonymy interactions (Chapter 6), and metaphor scenarios (Chapter 7) as implicit devices to avoid censorship and prosecution.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5: Functions and Forms of Metonymy

Introduction

Having discussed the censorship that beset Ayoub, Dilem and Maz during the 1992-2002 period in Chapter 4, this chapter addresses RQ 2 about the main metonymies used by the cartoonists and their major functions in the cartoons about press censorship. Combining insights from the cognitive theory of metonymy and the cartoonists' own testimonies, I provide an informed analysis of the strategic deployment of metonymy during this period. The discussion of metonymy is illustrated by concrete examples from my data, many of which (if not all) also contain metaphors. However, my detailed analyses in this chapter focus principally on metonymy to highlight its forms and specific communicative functions. An in-depth analysis of the intricate metaphor-metonymy combinations is provided in Chapter 6.

Central to my analysis of metonymy in my cartoon data has been Radden and Kövecses's (1999) conceptual theory of metonymy. In consonance with this theory, I adhere to the widely accepted idea that metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity (the source) refers to another related conceptual entity (the target). At the core of any metonymic process lies a relationship of contiguity which brings together the two entities (Kövecses 2010: 175). Metonymy essentially reflects its conceptual nature and is fundamental to human thinking (Gibbs 1999: 64). Its conceptual nature has led to a wide recognition of its ubiquity in language and various other modes. Metonymy scholars have, thus far, identified countless metonymies that derive from three broad conceptual configurations, namely WHOLE FOR PART, PART FOR WHOLE, and PART FOR PART, all of which are also apparent in my data.

Organised into four sections, this chapter argues that the use of a given metonymy is driven by the cartoonists' communicative intent. This is supported by Forceville's (2009a: 56) proposition that a communicator 'has a reason to use a metonym, and to use one metonym rather than another'. Section 5.1 shows how metonymy is an intrinsic and prevalent device in the cartoons and provides an effective shorthand to refer to concepts that would otherwise be hard for the cartoonists to represent. It particularly discusses how the cartoonists reflected the situation of censorship by using visual metonymy to visualise the press institution (Section 5.1.1) and to capture the emotions of the censors and the censored journalists and cartoonists (Section 5.1.2). Section 5.2 considers the function of metonymy in creating vagueness and indeterminacy about the government censor, which makes it a useful tool for circumventing cartoon censorship. It demonstrates that the implicit nature of metonymy renders it a malleable device at the cartoonists' disposal. Section 5.3 looks at how metonymy was also used for more critical and evaluative purposes. It explains how metonymy helped the cartoonists condemn censorship by evaluating censors' moral attributes based on their outer appearance. Finally,

Section 5.4 focuses on the specific nature of visual metonymy and its vital role in visual meaning making. It specifically highlights that visual metonymy has a great advantage of capturing specific and fine details about the depicted objects and characters in a way that cannot be attained by verbal metonymy.

5.1 Metonymy for Visualising Complex Concepts

Metonymy is prevalent across the three newspapers, with every single cartoon in my dataset of censorship cartoons including at least one metonymy. The analysis revealed that the most basic function performed by metonymy is the representation of complex entities and abstract concepts, which cannot be depicted literally. A key convention of political cartoons is to represent abstract, complex socio-political issues, which need to be concretised in some way to become accessible to a wide audience. Drawing a distinction between concrete and abstract notions, Bolognesi and Vernillo (2019: 26) note that, 'while concrete concepts can be graphically represented within the pictorial mode by showing the referent that they designate, abstract concepts lack concrete referents that can be easily depicted'. Therefore, having recourse to metonymy is a necessity for cartoonists regardless of their cartoons' topic. As noted by Górska (2022: 83), cartoonists rely heavily on metonymy for constructing meaning in their works.

Most of the metonymies identified in my data derive from the overarching conceptual metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, established in Radden and Kövecses' (1999) taxonomy. Also called synecdoche, this conceptual metonymy is recognised as 'the best-known variant of metonymy' (Kashanizadeh and Forceville 2020: 80). The core of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy is to understand a broad domain in terms of its constituent parts. In line with this principle, the three cartoonists selected a part to stand for something bigger in many of their drawings. They, therefore, used metonymy to serve as a communicative shorthand. Highlighting the referential function of metonymy, Littlemore (2015: 5) says that it allows people to use 'their shared knowledge of the world to communicate with fewer words than they would otherwise need'. In the following discussions, I consider how metonymy enabled the cartoonists to represent the press, which is a central institution found to be metonymically evoked through one of its parts (Section 5.1.1). I also address how the cartoonists used visual and multimodal metonymy to visualise the government's and the Islamists' anger with the Algerian journalistic and satirical presses and capture the fear that pervaded these presses due to the constant threats of censorship. My discussion will corroborate the observation that emotions are abstract concepts which can only be represented metonymically in visual and multimodal genres (Feng and O'Halloran 2012; 2013).

5.1.1 The Metonymic Representation of the Press

Given the cartoons' thematic focus on the tribulations and censorship of the press during the 1992-2002 period, it is unsurprising that the press is a recurrent feature of the cartoons. It is worth mentioning that the term 'press' is itself a metonym, as the original printing press device which produces newspapers is now commonly used as a reference to the entire journalistic enterprise (Fauconnier and Turner 1999: 87). In my data, the press is represented through its salient features, including a journalist. A good example of the metonymic reference to the press through the character of a journalist is Figure 5.1. Without explicitly referencing or mentioning the press as an institution, Maz invites viewers to activate a metonymic mapping to the press through the image of a character, cast as a convict gripping the prison bars with his hands,⁶¹ and the label 'journalist' inscribed on his striped uniform, which leaves little doubt as to the character's identity as a journalist. The conceptual relationship between journalist and press is that of contiguity because the journalist is part of the press institution and, hence, serves as a metonym standing for the press in a PART FOR WHOLE conceptual relationship.

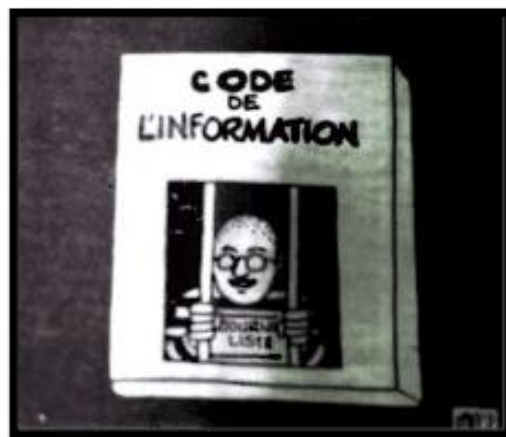


Figure 5.1: Maz, *El Watan*, 12/3/1992

Labels: Press Code; Journalist

The metonymic mapping to the press in this cartoon is clear-cut, as the label 'journalist' indicates clearly that the character is a journalist. In contrast, in other cartoons, such as Figures 1.1, 5.11, and 5.12 in which the cartoonists depict a male or female character (usually adding the label 'press'), it is hard to decide whether the press is conceptualised through a personification (i.e., PRESS IS A PERSON metaphor) or the character is a journalist standing metonymically for the press. Viràg (2020: 230) has raised a similar issue in her analysis of multimodal figurative (metaphoric and metonymic) representations of Hungary in political

⁶¹ Interestingly, the journalist is incarcerated inside the press code that is metaphorically represented as a prison cell. Metaphors of censorship will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

cartoons. She found it challenging to say exactly whether the cartoon calls for a metaphoric or metonymic cognitive process, i.e., HUNGARY IS A PERSON or HUNGARIAN CITIZEN FOR HUNGARY, respectively. Acknowledging this difficulty, Littlemore (2015: 134) remarks that ‘in language at least, there are clues in the text or intonation that often indicate whether or not a particular expression should be understood as metaphor or metonymy’. This implies that certain media are probably clearer, provide visible clues and pose less challenges for analysts when it comes to decoding figurative meaning. In this thesis, I consider cartoons where a character is depicted and the label ‘press’ is included somewhere in the cartoon as being personification metaphors, whereas I regard characters represented with the inscription ‘journalist’ on their body as being metonyms for the press.

The analysis revealed that the depiction of a newspaper in the cartoons also provides metonymic access to the press institution. Dilem’s cartoon below (Figure 5.2) is a good case in point. Dated 5th May 2000, the publication of this cartoon coincided with World Press Freedom Day. We learn from the conversation of an army general, recognisable from the military cap, and the then President Abdelaziz Bouteflika that they are talking about the emergence of the independent press in the early 1990s. Dilem bases this conversation on wordplay introduced by the word ‘10 years’. The army general informs Bouteflika about the news he reads from a newspaper that ‘the independent press has had 10 years’, but does not give any further details, which leaves his comment open to various interpretations. Bouteflika misconstrues his interlocutor’s comment and derisively asks him whether he means that the press has been convicted to serve a ten-year custodial sentence.



Figure 5.2: Dilem, *Liberté*, 3/5/2000

Caption: The indi...press celebrated its tenth anniversary

Left (Army General): The independent press has had 10 years!

Right (President Bouteflika): Custodial sentence?

Although both the army general's comment and the cartoon's caption refer to the independent press, the mere depiction of the newspaper works as a visual metonym for the press. This example, hence, demonstrates that it suffices for cartoonists to draw a newspaper, which is the main output of the press, to evoke the whole press institution in viewers' mind.

In my dataset, the press has also been found to be commonly represented through a fountain pen. Back in the 1990s, the fountain pen was probably the typical implement for writing articles in Algeria. However, this is now somewhat anachronistic, as most journalists are likely to write on a computer and no longer use fountain pens. The following cartoon by Ayoub illustrates this finding effectively. It is an example of a uniquely complex metonymy because the PEN metonym is polysemous, in contrast to the cartoon above where the newspaper activates a straightforward metonymic mapping to the press institution. Ayoub's cartoon features a fountain pen, a pair of handcuffs, and a bloody hatchet, which represent different means of expression, as the cat's comment suggests.

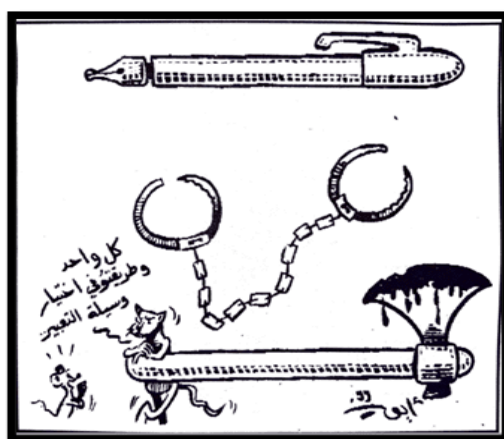


Figure 5.3: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 4/5/1999

Cat: Everyone has their own means of expression

Ayoub used a fountain pen to refer to the broader conceptual domain PRESS because it was the most common writing implement. However, since there is no explicit indication of the precise referent intended by Ayoub, the PEN metonym appears to have other possible referents, which indicates metonymy's potential for polysemy. The occurrence of multiple metonymic targets is also stressed by Forceville (2009a: 69), who says that a metonymic source can be used to stand for various target referents simultaneously. Thus, in this example, the pen could also refer to journalists who use it for writing their articles through an INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT(S) metonymic relationship (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 37). This metonymic link between pen and journalists is strengthened by the cat's comment implying that the three objects stand for their users. In this case, the metonymy is not based on a PART FOR WHOLE

overarching conceptual metonymy (i.e., relationship between a whole and its parts); rather, it derives from a PART FOR PART conceptual metonymy (i.e., relationship between parts) (ibid.: 36). Further possible metonymic targets of the pen include journalistic writing as a process or journalism as a profession. A final possibility could be to concretise the abstract notion of press freedom.⁶² This range of references is possible and not mutually exclusive, particularly because they are tightly related to the same overarching domain PRESS. Similar observations apply to the HANDCUFFS and AXE metonyms, whose meanings are not limited to the people using these items: the police and Islamists, respectively. The handcuffs can instead stand for arrest or be associated with the government censors who frequently prosecuted and imprisoned journalists during the Civil War. Moreover, the bloody axe can evoke both the violence of attacks by Islamists and the cruelty of the perpetrators.

Returning to the FOUNTAIN PEN metonym, I argue that it activates the double metonymic chain PEN FOR JOURNALISTS FOR PRESS. This chaining results from the metonymic relationships between fountain pens and their users, journalists, who, in turn, work in the press institution. This metonymic chain accords well with Ruiz de Mendoza's (2007) definition of metonymic chains as the complex interaction of two metonymies: the target of a first metonymy becomes the source of a second metonymy. The PEN FOR JOURNALISTS FOR PRESS chained metonymy involves a 'domain reduction plus a domain expansion' cognitive process (ibid.). It involves a first metonymic reduction (PEN FOR JOURNALISTS) because the domain JOURNALISTS is conceptually reduced to the instrument that journalists commonly use, as illustrated in Figure 5.4 below.

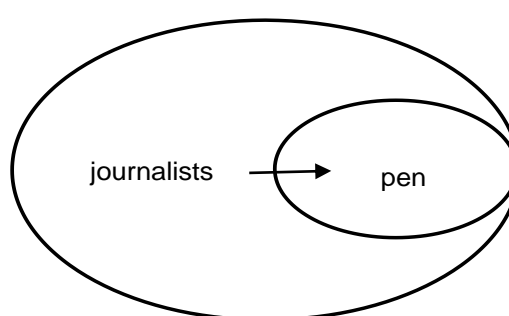


Figure 5.4: Domain reduction process

Through a domain expansion process, the target of the first metonymy (i.e., JOURNALISTS) activates a second metonymic mapping, which provides access to the broader conceptual

⁶² Fountain pen nibs are involved in a cartoon (Figure 6.4), where the curtailment of press freedom is metaphorically represented as the clipping of fountain pen nibs.

domain of PRESS INSTITUTION; that is, journalists are deployed to refer metonymically to the institution for which they work. The metonymy JOURNALISTS FOR PRESS derives from the conceptual metonymy PEOPLE FOR INSTITUTION, which is based on a domain expansion process (see Figure 5.5). It differs from the reversed metonymy INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE involved in the PLACE FOR INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE metonymic chain, which is exemplified in 'Wall Street is in panic'. This metonymy is based on a domain reduction operation (see Section 2.3.4).

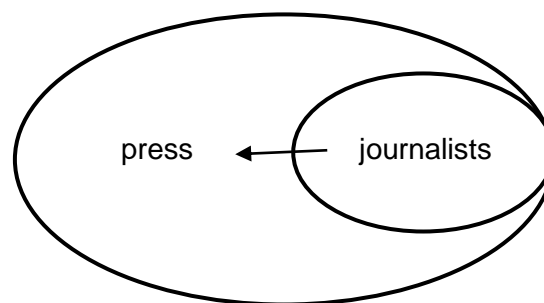


Figure 5.5: Domain expansion process

In contrast, the art of political cartooning is visualised through a pencil, which is the main tool for drawing cartoons. A good example is the cartoon in Figure 5.6, which shows an Islamist holding a large knife and fighting against the cartoonist Dilem, who is valiantly defending himself with his pencil.



Figure 5.6: Maz, *El Watan*, 23/12/1999

As Ayoub and Maz explained, when I asked them about their drawing tools, the first sketches are drawn in pencil and then the cartoon is inked with a pen. This suggests that, although both tools are used by the two cartoonists, and despite the use of graphic software programs by

some cartoonists in the contemporary world (Balakrishnan and Venkat 2019: 73), only the pencil is deployed as a metonym for cartooning. The main reason for the prevalent use of the pencil metonym could be that the pencil is clearly associated with drawing and, by extension, cartooning through the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 37). This kind of metonyms are widely established and recognised because of their long history of use. Therefore, they are far more likely to be easily recalled and understood by viewers.

5.1.2 The Metonymic Representation of Fear and Anger

My analysis also indicated that metonymy is a useful and efficient communicative tool which enabled the cartoonists to visualise the intangible emotions of the censors and the censored journalists and cartoonists during the situation of control and repression (1992-2002). It revealed that visual and multimodal representations of fear and anger form most of the emotions represented in the data. As discussed in Chapter 4, fear pervades any context where censorship is practised. This emotional experience is clearly reflected in eight cartoons showing journalists marked by fear of threats and attacks. The strained relations between the press members (i.e., journalists and cartoonists) and both the government and the Islamists are metonymically represented in five other cartoons, with anger as a concomitant emotion. This section provides a detailed inventory of the visual and multimodal metonymic signals of these two emotions in the cartoon data. As noted by Forceville (2005: 71) in his study of the metaphoric representations of anger in the *Astérix* comic book *La Zizanie*, there is a considerable difference between how an emotion is expressed in language and its visual and/or multimodal representation in graphic genres. In accordance with this view, this section addresses how the cartoonists used visual and verbo-visual expressions of ELICITING CONDITION FOR EMOTION and REACTION FOR EMOTION metonymies (Feng 2017) to represent characters' emotive states. It highlights a novel finding that the representation of characters' emotions in political cartoons is constructed through the metonymic association of both (1) the eliciting conditions; and (2) characters' bodily reactions to the emotions. In the following discussions, I detail these elements in turn. First, I consider the causes of emotions by referring to fear and anger. Then, I turn to the metonymic reactions to emotions, again by referring to fear and anger.

In my data, the eliciting cause of characters' emotional states has proved central to signalling emotions. In most cartoons, characters' fear and anger are triggered by apparent causes that are indicated principally through visual clues. Notably, several characters are shown reacting (with fear or anger) to the sight of other characters (five occurrences), such as government officials, or a specific object (four occurrences), such as a guillotine. Gaze and a

pointing index finger are also crucial for directing viewers' attention to the eliciting condition. Characters are shown either fixing their gaze on the source of danger or pointing explicitly to the threat using their index finger. In addition, in one cartoon, the eliciting condition is the implied action of other characters. A good example of how fear is metonymically signalled by its apparent cause is Maz's cartoon (Figure 5.7). It shows a journalist working under the watchful eye of a sturdy masked and cloaked figure, which is a representation of an important facet of press censorship at the time: the *imprimatur*. The *imprimatur* is understood as an official license to print that is given by a person or a group in position of power.⁶³ The Algerian government imposed this censorship measure to control the coverage of the Civil War (see Section 4.6.2).



Figure 5.7: Maz, *El Watan*, 9/10/1995

Caption: Then an *imprimatur* has been imposed on security information

Journalist's speech balloons: A violent attack has been carried out this morning in... elsewhere!

Inscription on masked figure: *Imprimatur*

Maz uses the ELICITING CONDITION FOR EMOTION metonymic relationship to highlight that the masked character is the main cause of the journalist's fear. As the cartoon shows, the presence of this character causes discomfort and prevents the journalist from working freely, as indicated by his bulging eyes directed towards the cloaked figure and the sweat drops surrounding his head. Haunted by the character looking over his shoulder, the journalist distorts the news story he is writing, as indicated by the ellipses included in the speech balloon. Instead of saying clearly where the attack happened, he decides to use the vague reference '*ailleurs*' (elsewhere).

Turning to anger, the eliciting causes which metonymically evoke anger are represented or implied verbally and/or visually. In Figure 5.8, for instance, the reason for the

⁶³ The *imprimatur* applies to the publication of books and newspapers. The *imprimatur* requires the prior '*nihil obstat*' (nothing obstructs) formula signed by an official licenser of the press (Oxford English Dictionary 1989).

journalist's fury is implied through the decision of the then President Liamine Zeroual and the Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyehia (both on the right) to suspend the publication of *El Watan* and *Le Matin* newspapers. This decision is alluded to verbally by the caption and the characters' comments. It was made after the two newspapers published articles in early September 1998 that implicated the then Minister of Justice Mohamed Adami in a corruption affair. This led to his resignation on 19 October of the same year (Bouamama 2000: 315). The decoding of the metonymic meaning relies heavily on viewers' ability to recognise the two officials and to supply enough background knowledge to understand the link between the government officials' comment and the journalist's angry attitude.



Figure 5.8: Dilem, *Liberté*, 10/11/1998

Caption: Journalists are calling the government out

Journalist (left): We want to publish our newspapers...

Government officials (right): Sorry! Adami is no longer part of our government

The metonymic representation of the discussed emotions through their eliciting causes is mirrored by findings reported in Kövecses' (1990; 2000) studies on emotion concepts, which suggest that causes are significant for conceptualising fear and anger. Particularly, Kövecses (1990: 69) proposes a metonymy-based model of fear in English, where 'danger' forms the initial trigger of a chain consisting of the following elements: 'danger, fear, flight'. He explains that fear is popularly defined as 'a dangerous situation accompanied by a set of physiological and behavioural reactions that typically ends in flight'. Similarly, an 'offending event' is highlighted as the first stage in his prototypical cognitive model of anger: offending event, anger, attempt to control anger, loss of control and retribution (Kövecses 1986: 12ff).

In addition to the eliciting causes, reactions to fear and anger are important to metonymically evoke the character's emotional states (i.e., REACTION FOR EMOTION metonymy). These reactions appear to be based on universal physiological experiences

associated with the emotions, since ‘bodily experience is a source of vocabulary for our psychological states’ (Sweetser 1990: 30). Forceville (2005: 71) states that comics and cartoons have their own toolkit for representing emotions. They rely on a rudimentary ‘sign-system’ involving a set of stereotypical exaggerations of bodily responses to emotions. These, Forceville suggests, play an important crucial role in helping viewers interpret the emotions displayed. In my data, characters’ bodily responses to fear and anger are represented through a set of recurrent, explicit visual signals. Notably, fear is represented through signals that reflect bodily effects frequently resulting from fear: (1) **facial expressions**: bulging eyes⁶⁴ (eight occurrences); raised eyebrows (six occurrences); wide-open mouth featuring the character’s teeth and tongue (five occurrences); a very thin closed mouth (one occurrence); (2) **arm/hand positions**: raised arms (one occurrence); raised hands (one occurrence); crossed fisted hands (one occurrence); index finger (two occurrences); (3) **sweatiness** (seven occurrences), and/or (4) **shaking** (four occurrences). In addition to these bodily-based, visual metonyms, I identified one other type of signal that can also convey fear: jagged lines in speech balloons (four occurrences) and interjections (two occurrences). Sweating and body shaking are visualised as droplets and squiggles around the body, respectively. These so-called ‘pictorial runes’ (Kennedy 1982) have been demonstrated to be metonymically motivated rather than representing arbitrary signs (Forceville 2005: 73).

Ayoub’s cartoon below is a good example of how fear is cued metonymically through its physiological effects. It portrays a journalist caught up in an extremely threatening situation. He is harassed and intimidated by two parties: an army general rebuking him for his articles, which he deems to be subversive, and a reader accusing him of being pro-government.



Figure 5.9: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 30/01/1992

Army general (left): Be careful! Your articles are subversive...

Reader (right): All your articles are merely flatteries of the government

⁶⁴ In this analysis, eyes count as ‘bulging’ when the pupils are clearly visible in wide-open eyes; sometimes the pupils are enlarged and located on the edge of the eyes.

The journalist's anxiety is conspicuous from pictorial physiological symptoms that are metonymically associated with fear, namely his bulging eyes accompanied by raised eyebrows and his clenched jaw. Marked by fear, the journalist is shivering, as indicated by the zigzag lines in parallel to the contour of his body and his head spinning around to the left and right. He even lifts his arms up as if he was caught by the police. The use of the sweat drops further reveals the journalist's terror.

Regarding anger, the analysis showed that characters' anger is expressed openly rather than controlled or suppressed. The primary resources for signalling anger are **facial expressions**: bulging eyes (five occurrences); wide-open mouth accompanied by character's tongue and teeth (four occurrences); and frowning eyebrows⁶⁵ (five occurrences). In his work on the meaning of human facial expressions, Scherer (1992: 141) demonstrated that the facial musculature can express cognitive processes like perceiving and thinking, but mainly emotions. Other body features were found to act as visual metonyms for anger, namely **arm/hand positions**: raised fists (three occurrences); **body posture** (four occurrences), and/or **shaking** (four occurrences). Dilem's cartoon below illustrates these findings effectively. It shows Islamists turning furious in response to *Le Matin*'s editorialist, Sid Ahmed Semiane (alias SAS), publishing an article condemning Islamist violence. Attacking SAS in his office, an Islamist uses his index finger to point to the article in question. This visual cue triggers a clear metonymy (ELICITING CONDITION FOR EMOTION), enabling viewers to understand what caused the Islamists' anger.



Figure 5.10: Dilem, *Liberté*, 28/7/1999

Caption: Islamists threaten the editorialist SAS

Islamist (left): Hey!!! Is it you who wrote this article against us???

SAS (right): Sorry!!! I thought you were illiterate!

⁶⁵ In this analysis, eyebrows are considered frowning when they are joined together in a frontal view or connected to the upper part of the character's nose in a side view.

As the cartoon shows, the Islamists' wrath is also revealed through their bulging eyes fixing SAS with an unwavering and aggressive stare, their wide-open mouths along with their teeth and tongues, as well as their frowning eyebrows, which serve as visual metonyms indicating the characters' emotional state. The Islamists' threatening behaviour is also reinforced by the knives they carry (KNIVES FOR VIOLENCE metonymy), suggesting their readiness to assault the editorialist. Dilem's use of repetitive exclamation and question marks in the speech balloon can also contribute to evoking the Islamist's violent reprimand.

While the foregoing discussion has established that the visualisation of fear and anger is achieved by the metonymic representation of the cause of and the physiological reactions to these emotions, it has also demonstrated that, very often, several visual cues signal the cause or the reaction of these emotions. It appears that an emotion is not typically triggered by a single metonymic cue. For example, in the cartoon above, the Islamists' angry behaviour is not expressed by bulging eyes only, but rather the combination of a set of well-defined facial expressions, arm/hand position, etc. Another important point is that some metonymic signals are shared by the two emotions. For instance, bulging eyes and body shaking can be, in some cases, used to denote fear and/or anger.

5.2 Vague Communication through Metonymy

Next to visualisation and representation, another purpose of using metonymy was to achieve indirectness that would help bypass the censorship of the censorship-themed cartoons. In his work on visual and multimodal metonymy, Forceville (2009a: 58) asserts that a communicator always has a reason to use a metonymy in a specific context of communication, and this reason, as Forceville acknowledges, can be explained in terms of relevance and communicative intentions. Starting from this premise and drawing on the cartoonists' own testimonies, I suggest that the strict control on the satirical press led Ayoub and Maz to exploit metonymy in order to produce subtle cartoons exposing political (i.e., governmental) censorship and referring to the people and institution(s) involved. The cartoonists capitalised on the implicit potential of the metonymy HAND/FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) to disguise the censor's identity. Since characters represented in political cartoons usually have real-life referents (El Refaie 2009b: 182), the cartoonists asserted that they had to produce covert representations of the members of the government in most of their cartoons to avoid any potential troubles. When interviewed in 2020, Ayoub and Maz stated that the government was the major censoring institution, which presented a redoubtable threat to Algerian journalists and cartoonists alike. As indicated in Section 4.7, although the Islamists (and editors) also harassed them, most Algerian cartoonists challenged these threats and fiercely guarded their right to practise their professions. In this section, I focus on the works of Ayoub and Maz

because the metonymies which I discuss are only present in their cartoons, not in Dilem's. This is because Dilem was the most explicit of the three cartoonists, with his cartoons usually making overt references to members of the government and the army (see Chapter 4).

The situation of political censorship during the Algerian Civil War, which is neatly captured by Dris's (2017) metaphor 'the invisible hand of the state', seems to be reflected in my cartoon data. As detailed in Section 4.6.2, the journalistic and satirical presses were strictly controlled indirectly mainly through state-owned advertising and distribution agencies, which were all orchestrated by the regime. Additionally, Ministers of Interior and Ministers of Communication and Culture appointed reading committees in state-owned printing houses that ordered alterations or rejected certain articles and/or photographs and, in some cases, suspended the publication of entire newspaper issues (Gafaiti 1999: 57). In the cartoons, the censoring agent is, thus, the character carrying out the censoring action, while the real responsibility lies with the government institution behind the censorship practices, but which is very often absent from the cartoons. Ayoub and Maz confirmed to me in the 2020 interviews that they sought to indirectly target the government institution by not fully revealing characters. Therefore, the metonymic representation of the censoring agent, responsible for applying censorship following the government's instructions, involves a visual depiction of only a body part, specifically a hand or foot, while the character's face or head, which are essential for recognition, are not revealed. The HAND/FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) metonymy, which is a variant of the metonymy BODY PART FOR PERSON, derives from the overarching PART FOR WHOLE conceptual metonymy, whereby the depicted hand or foot stands for the political censoring agent.

The data includes six instances of HAND FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) metonymy and two realisations of FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) metonymy. These partial metonymic depictions constitute only 8.4% (8 out of 95 cartoons) of the data. This does not mean that all the remaining 91.6% (i.e., 87 cartoons) feature explicit depictions of members of the government or political agents who had implemented the censorship regime. Only a few cartoons contain complete, overt representations of these censors (e.g., Figure 5.8, which shows President Zeroual and Prime Minister Ouyehia). This implies that the artists sometimes concealed these censors by not depicting them at all. In contrast, Islamists and editors are usually represented (see Figure 5.10 and Figure 95 in Appendix 4, respectively).

The following cartoons suggest that, while Ayoub and Maz highlighted the censorship context in which the press operated, they refrained from pointing to a specific censoring agent by deploying BODY PART metonyms as substitutes for the depiction of entire characters. A particular cartoon (the only exception) is Figure 5.12 in which the three labelled arms, instead of one hand commonly found in other cartoons, point to the different censoring agents that

received instructions from the government to censor the press: printers, advertisers and newspaper distributors. In contrast to Figures 5.11 and 5.12, Figure 5.13 displays the use of a FOOT metonymy crushing a newspaper, which stands for the censoring agent.

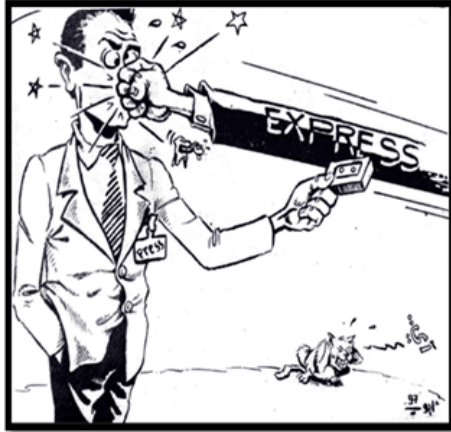


Figure 5.11: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 30/11/1997
Labels: press (left); express (right)

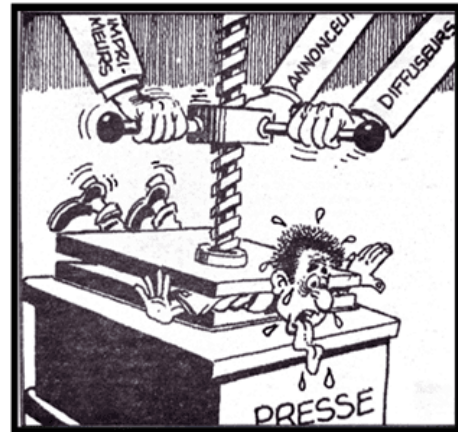


Figure 5.12: Maz, *El Watan*, 8/10/2000
Labels: printers; advertisers; distributors

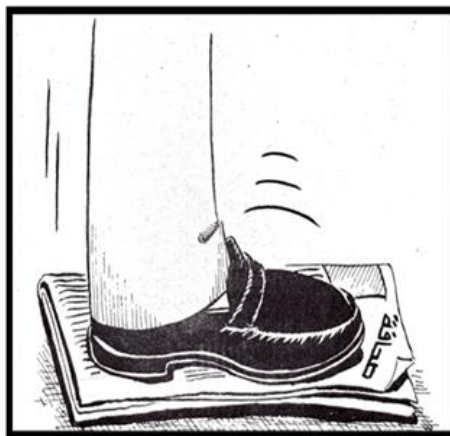


Figure 5.13: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 6/7/1992
Label: press

The types of metonymic representations of characters suggested by Painter et al. (2013: 61-65) apply to my cartoons. The authors suggest a system of character manifestation in visual narratives and distinguish between ‘complete’ and ‘metonymic’ depictions. Characters can be shown in full, including their face or head, which aids their identification. The second option available to artists is metonymic representation, which is subdivided into two sub-types: (1) the visual depiction of only a body part (excluding a character’s head); or (2) the depiction of a character’s shadow or silhouette. The body/part metonymic relation is

clearly manifested in my data (e.g., Figures 5.11-5.13).⁶⁶ The shadow/silhouette metonymic representation is also found in the following cartoon (Figure 5.14), which shows hands of a censoring agent, gagging a journalist, and an outline of their entire body. As it is clear from this cartoon, Maz gives no clues for recognising the real referent. The use of black is significant in this case, given its symbolic meanings of mystery, darkness, and evil (Paterson 2004: 43), which can be associated with the censor.

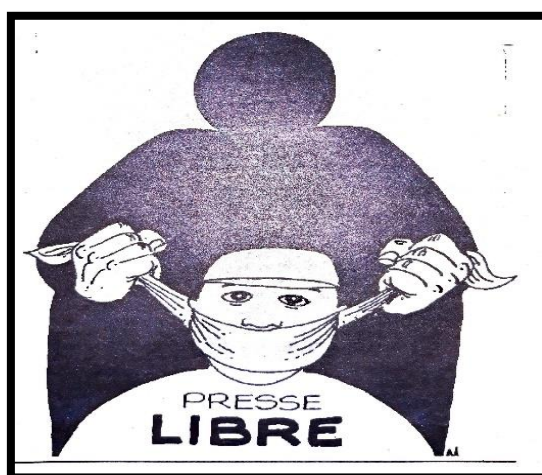


Figure 5.14: Maz, *El Watan*, 15/10/1998

Label: Free Press

The representation of the censoring agents through metonymy rather than *in toto* creates a sense of vagueness about the identity of these same agents. This finding chimes with Littlemore's (2015: 92) observation that the indirect nature of metonymy 'makes it a useful device for vague communication'. The discussed cartoons demonstrate that the HAND and FOOT metonyms are useful because they give a clue that the character is a person, while simultaneously masking the identity of this character. The absence of the censor's head or face makes the metonymic representations so implicit that the censoring agent cannot be easily pinned down, without knowing the cartoonist's intentions and identifying certain elements, which I will discuss later in this section. As the example of the shoe stamping on the newspaper (Figure 5.13) shows, without knowing Ayoub's intended referent, viewers cannot associate the foot to any specific person. Thus, the targeted referent remains obscure. This ambiguity is known as 'metonymic indeterminacy' (Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2021: 175). This phenomenon arises when a metonymic source, in this case foot or hand, can be simultaneously linked to more than one metonymic target. The only exception is Figure 5.12,

⁶⁶ The punching, torturing, and stamping actions in these cartoons are visualised using Kennedy's (1982) 'motion lines', which appear parallel or around a character's body part and which are helpful in implying movement and dynamic events in static genres like political cartoons or comics.

which is quite explicit due to verbal labels on the arms, which indicate the political censoring agents.⁶⁷

As Figure 5.13 indicates, for example, the high degree of vagueness about the character makes the cartoon open to various possible interpretations. The cartoon presents a case of metonymic indeterminacy in which the single metonymic source (FOOT) allows several metonymic targets simultaneously. It is unclear whether the censor is a specific person, notably a newspaper editor, or any politician, minister (or even the president), or any other agent applying censorship. Alternatively, the foot might also refer to the abstract principle of censorship, which cannot be depicted without recourse to a metonym or a metaphor. This range of possible referents generated by the partial representation of the censor through the FOOT metonym was acknowledged by Ayoub (2020) who observes that:

without showing who the censor is, the cartoon can hint at wealthy sponsors who can crush and destroy the press, for example, by suspending advertising. At the same time, the shoe is an indirect reference to the state; the use of the shoe is open to several interpretations.

The metonymic vagueness resulting from the use of the BODY PARTS metonymies appears to have been particularly useful during those times of control and censorship because it supported the cartoonists' intention of indirectly addressing the issue of political censorship and making the cartoons less susceptible to censorship by offering Ayoub and Maz a chance to deny their intended meaning(s). Regarding Figure 5.13, Ayoub (2020) explained that, because the FOOT metonym can point to several possible referents, there is a room for deniability:

I could convince the censor that I was referring to funders and businessmen, not to the state, because if a given newspaper does not show allegiance to its funder the latter would crush the newspaper or suspend advertising. I would explain that I did not mean the government. My justification had to be convincing to the censor.

The different metonymic targets of the BODY PART metonyms might have made the cartoons go unnoticed, or perhaps the government-affiliated censors may well have suspected that the government was the target, but it was perhaps implicit enough to let them go. As discussed in Chapter 4, the reading committees, for example, did not pay much attention to political cartoons, as they mainly focused on articles. Even when they read the cartoons, they often misunderstood the complex and ambiguous ones. It is worth pointing out here that, while I suggest how the need to avoid censorship made it necessary to indirectly treat governmental

⁶⁷ Even in this case, Maz does not single out a specific printer, advertiser or newspaper distributor; rather, he uses the plural form, which expresses a sense of vagueness.

censorship through metonymy, I do not claim that the use of metonymy enabled the cartoonists to circumvent (pre-publication) censorship and publish their censorship-themed cartoons.

Interestingly, the analysis showed that the government institution, which the cartoonists aimed to indirectly condemn for imposing censorship, can only be identified by skilful viewers who activate the chained metonymy HAND/FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) FOR GOVERNMENT. In other words, this metonymic chain enabled the cartoonists to be implicit about the government censor by indirectly shifting attention from the political censoring agent to the main censoring institution: the government. This chain, just like the PEN FOR JOURNALISTS FOR PRESS chain discussed in Section 5.1.1, conforms with Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez Velasco's (2003) definition of metonymic chains and realises the 'double metonymic expansion' pattern, originally identified by Ruiz de Mendoza (2007) in verbal discourse. The metonymies HAND/FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) and CENSORING AGENT(S) FOR GOVERNMENT are of the PART FOR WHOLE type that is based on a domain expansion cognitive process, enabling a metonymic source to provide access to a broader target domain. According to these scholars, PART FOR WHOLE metonymies are motivated by domain expansion, whereas WHOLE FOR PART metonymies involve domain reduction processes. As the examples discussed show, in the first metonymy, the HAND/FOOT metonyms are related to the censoring agent person(s) to which they belong. In turn, the CENSORING AGENT(S) metonym, which is the target of the first metonymy, activates another metonymic mapping, giving access to the broader domain of GOVERNMENT: the institution which gives instructions to the censoring agent(s).

Most of the double metonymic chain HAND/FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT(S) FOR GOVERNMENT in the data draw on the interaction of verbal and visual modes, hence realising what I call a 'multimodal metonymic chain'. For example, in Figure 5.12, the verbal references to printers, advertisers and newspaper distributors are crucial for cueing the first metonymic link between the visually depicted hands and these different censoring agents, i.e., the source is visual, whereas the targets are verbal. The hands are metonyms for the censoring agents only thanks to these textual details because hands as parts of a human body can stand for a (generic) person (HAND FOR PERSON), who is probably defined in the context of use or advisedly left imprecise just like the other cartoons in the data. The distinction between instant metonyms, which are based on a previously established metonymic relationship, and those which acquire a metonymic status in their context of use is noted by Forceville (2009a). He remarks that 'a distinction must be made [...] between pictorial metonyms that can be identified *sui generis*', e.g., portrait of Eiffel Tower standing for Paris, and 'metonyms that can be identified as such only thanks to additional information provided in the text' (p.62). The textual references to the censoring agents also help activate the second metonymic mapping to the

government which appointed these people. In contrast to the first metonymy, this second metonymy seems to be verbal. The verbal source domains (printers, advertisers and newspaper distributors) give an implicit reference to the government, provided that viewers know that the printing houses, the advertising and distribution agencies were state-owned.

Following this discussion of the structural pattern of this double metonymic chain, I will now consider the main elements required for its identification. The construction of this complex referential process requires viewers to (1) demonstrate visual literacy skills to identify and decode visual clues presented inside the cartoons; (2) be able to read cartoons in conjunction with the accompanying newspaper articles; and (3) have sufficient background knowledge about press censorship in Algeria during the Civil War. In what follows, I detail these elements in turn.

The specific appearance and actions of the body parts are significant visual cues enabling skilful viewers to trigger the metonymic chain. Although the characters are camouflaged, fine visual details about their hands and feet may reveal their identity, affiliation, and values. Most cartoons imply that the character is the political censoring agent who is instructed by the government. They feature not only the hand(s), but also parts of or the whole arm(s) and sleeves which indicate that the character is a male adult. The hand(s) are not cracked, implying that they are well-looked-after, contrary to the typically rough and dry hands of a worker. In addition, the character wears a suit with cufflinks, suggesting that he is a well-dressed, wealthy person because this outfit is commonly associated with people who are wealthy or work in a white-collar job and/or in a high-status position, such as politicians. Similar observations apply to the feet depictions. The feet have nice, polished, black shoes, while the accompanying trousers suggest that the character is besuited, so may be a high-profile person in Algeria. Such details lead viewers to discard the possibility that the concealed censoring agent is an Islamist.

The actions performed by the body parts are also useful to decode the main referents of the metonymies (i.e., the government) and evoke their morals. All the cartoons show hands and feet being involved in censorship actions. Hands are portrayed violently punching the face of a reporter (Figure 5.11), torturing a journalist with a heavy binding machine (Figure 5.12) and gagging a journalist (Figure 5.14), whereas feet are shown stamping on a newspaper (Figure 5.13), for example.⁶⁸ The represented actions suggest the bad morals of the censoring agents and, by implication, the government institution. The violent actions of the hands and feet also seem to convey the ideas of control and repression, respectively. This finding relates to research on the figurative associations of body parts that has found hands to refer

⁶⁸ These actions are metaphorical as they diverge from literal censorship practices, such as crossing out content.

metonymically to control. Notably, Ahn and Kwon (2007: 207) have demonstrated the frequent use of HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy in English idiomatic expressions. It is unsurprising that the notion of control is metonymically extended to ‘the control of our abstracted surrounding’ (Abbott and Forceville 2011: 14) because hands are the primary body part we use to deal with our external world, thereby controlling our physical environment. This echoes Yu’s (2003: 337) assertion that ‘our everyday bodily experiences with hands establish the cognitive schemas upon which we build more abstract and complex concepts’, including the concept of control. The cartoons suggest that feet are associated with repression. The stamping action presented in Figure 5.13 evokes the brutal repression of the censoring agent and, by implication, the government institution for which this agent is working. FOOT FOR REPRESSION constitutes a novel metonymy which is less well-attested compared to the well-documented HAND FOR CONTROL metonymy. To the best of my knowledge, the sole example of FOOT metonym in the literature is discussed by El Refaie (2009a: 176-177). Produced by the cartoonist Peter Schrank, the cartoon depicts an oversized cowboy boot representing the US President Bush and his administration which has crushed the UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, represented as a relatively small character. El Refaie highlights the metaphorical meaning of the cowboy boot as expressing the unequal power relationship between the two politicians.

General background knowledge about the governmental control, censorship practices and the censoring agents and institutions during the 1992-2002 period is also needed to trigger the metonymic chain. Finally, reading the cartoons in combination with the newspaper articles on the same page or in the same edition may help uncover the cartoonists’ intended referent: the government. This applies particularly to Maz’s cartoons, which appear on *El Watan*’s front page next to the main headlines. Surprisingly, the newspaper sometimes openly addressed press censorship: while Maz often refrained from explicitly mentioning political censorship and referring to its agents and institution, some journalists took risks to openly denounce this issue. In their articles, they gave hints for the interpretation of Maz’s cartoons. As Maz explained in the 2019 interview, his cartoons mainly serve to illustrate *El Watan*’s articles. In contrast, Ayoub’s cartoons are usually published on the editorial page and are independent from the front-page articles. A good example of how the newspaper article supplied details about the cartoon is Figure 5.15.

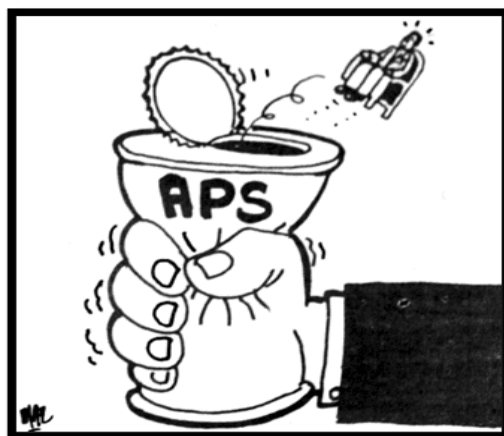


Figure 5.15: Maz, *El Watan*, 18/9/1994

The identity of the character is implied in an article by the journalist Tayeb Belghiche. It addresses the ungrounded dismissal of the director of the Algerian news agency, APS (Algerian Press Service) by the then Director of Communications working in the Ministry of Communication and Culture. Hence, the political censoring agent is easily identifiable and the second metonymic mapping to the government institution, which Maz aimed to blame for the dismissal action, is straightforward.

5.3 Evaluating Censors through Metonymy

Having considered the role of metonymy in referring indirectly to the government censor, I will now show a possible way in which evaluative metonymy supported the cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem and Maz's aim of condemning the religious censors, i.e., the Islamists. Since cartoons are unable to offer detailed representations of characters—due to space limitations—the analysed cartoons were found to draw on various objects and features that serve as visual metonymic shortcuts for making a quick point about the religious censors. My cartoon analysis indicated that the cartoonists used the metonymy APPEARANCE AND PARAPHERNALIA FOR MORAL ATTRIBUTES to evaluate the Islamists' abstract morals. The cartoonists carefully designed the outward appearance, namely exaggerated bodily features and outfits, as well as the weapons of the Islamists, mainly to condemn the aggressiveness of these censors through metonymy. In what follows, I discuss the elements of this metonymy and illustrate with cartoon examples.

In my data, the religious censors' physical characteristics, including facial expressions and attire, are the primary means that metonymically reflect the bad morals of these censors. Outer appearance is often a useful way to assign intended attributes to characters. As Feng (2017: 454, emphasis in original) affirms, a person's outer physical attributes can '*index* inner conceptual attributes'. This is because physical appearance is 'the only experiential aspect of

a character that can be explicitly inscribed into an image' (Painter et al. 2013: 56). From such metonymic depictions, viewers can infer the character's more implied characteristics, including age, class and ethnicity. In Figure 5.16 for example, Dilem uses a set of distinctive visual features that can be said to metonymically evoke the ideas of violence and danger which we come to associate with the Islamists. He depicts the Islamist Omar Chikhi, who is outraged by a petition signed by journalists which urges the authorities to arrest him. Reader-viewers can instantly recognise the character as an affiliate of the Islamist movement from his appearance, principally his bushy beard. Inspired by Islamic codes, wearing untrimmed beards was a requirement for any Islamist at that time. The Islamist's intention to retaliate against the petition is implied through his caricatured body features, especially his exaggerated facial expressions, notably his threatening look and wide-open mouth, which signal his fury (see Section 5.1.2).



Figure 5.16: Dilem, *Liberté*, 22/2/2001

Caption: Journalists signed a petition to demand the arrest of the Islamist Omar Chikhi
Islamist's comment: This petition is useless...the addresses are missing

The Islamist's clothes further reinforce his attributes. As described in Section 4.8, the Islamists did not wear modern Western garments, nor traditional Algerian outfits, but adopted an Afghan-like style: short trousers (sometimes with a long dress), a headband, or Pakistani-style headgear (Martinez 1998: 248). The Afghan-style outfit worn by the depicted Islamist is reminiscent of the Taliban extremist movement in Afghanistan from which Algerian Islamists inspired their look and their violent practices during the Civil War.⁶⁹ Attire has been highlighted as being crucial for pointing to wearers' attributes. Notably, Norrick (1981: 62-63) states that

costumes arise as a result of the efforts of certain groups to set themselves off from others, i.e., to be recognized as such and, consequently, as different from other groups

⁶⁹ There is some evidence suggesting that members of the Islamist guerrillas had military training in Afghanistan before the outbreak of the Civil War (Quandt 1998: 39).

[...] various items of clothing [are] accepted as evidence of the presence of a member of a particular ethnic, religious or age group.

However, as the cartoon shows, the Islamist's outfit indicates not only his identity and group membership, but also his more abstract, moral character.

The flies and the bat circling his head are also meaningful in this context. The deployment of these two components relates back to my discussion of the recurrent leitmotifs and visual symbols characterising each of the three cartoonists in Section 4.4. Dilem often uses flies to express rottenness, death and decay. In Gourdin's (2003: 78) consideration of the use of flies in political cartoons, she suggests that flies carry pejorative connotations of the character(s) they encircle, particularly assassins. In line with this explanation, in this cartoon, Dilem seems to imply that the Islamists have the outer appearance of people who are rotten with evil on the inside. Turning to the bat, it reinforces the ideas of wickedness and aggressiveness, since its wings are thought to be 'an infernal attribute' (Cirlot 2006: 23). The bat symbol has probably become more popular in cartoons and comics, following its appropriation by the artist Bob Kane when he created the Batman character in 1939 (Maloney 2015).

Weapons were also found to create evaluative metonymic depictions of the religious censors. The cartoonists always cast the Islamists as heavily armed criminals and intended their audiences to consider the Islamists as essentially violent and threatening to the press. As Ayoub's cartoon below (Figure 5.17) shows, the image of the Islamist holding a sword and a firearm is likely to trigger a metonymic link to the aggressive characteristic of the Islamist (i.e., WEAPONS FOR VIOLENCE).



Figure 5.17: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 4/5/1997

Personified censorship: I killed more ...I killed 11 newspapers, each of them employs 30 journalists, each journalist has 6 children...you can work it out!....

Labels: newspapers (left), censorship (middle), 69 journalists (right)

The graves behind the Islamist reinforce the idea of violence by suggesting that he personally killed 69 journalists. Similarly, in Dilem's cartoon (Figure 5.16), the Islamist is shown armed with a bloody axe that, together with his attire and hostile countenance, evoke his violent traits. The two cartoons, therefore, produce evaluative metonymic meanings about the depicted Islamists and Islamist groups, by extension.

The recurrence and the conformity of the Islamists' negative portrayals across the newspapers imply the cartoonists' intention to publish stereotypical cartoons. Just like Brown (2010), I consider stereotypes as the attribution to someone of negative traits and/or undesirable behaviours which are thought to be shared by all or most of their fellow group members. Stereotypes are 'conveyed and reproduced in all the usual socio-cultural ways—through socialisation in the family and at school, [and/or] through repeated exposure to images in books, television and newspapers' (ibid.: 69). It is noticeable from Figures 5.16 and 5.17 that the cartoonists attributed similar features to the Islamists: same bodily traits, (almost) similar outfits and similar weapons, thereby implying that the physical characteristics and attire of the depicted Islamists apply rigidly to the whole Islamist groups through the conceptual metonymy *MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY*, proposed by Lakoff (1987: 79). Similarly, the attribute of aggressivity, captured by the evaluative metonymy *PARAPHERNALIA FOR MORAL ATTRIBUTES*, reinforces a stereotype of the depicted Islamists as violent, which applies to their fellow Islamists, more generally. Van Leeuwen (2008: 143) calls this type of representations 'generic representation'. In connection with racist pictures, he argues that

at first sight, it might seem that images can only show specific people. Yet, there is a difference between concentrating the depiction on what makes a person unique and concentrating the depiction on what makes a person into a certain social type.

The visual characteristics of the depicted Islamists, therefore, belong to the 'social type category', where certain depictions of social actors/groups can be considered to be biased (ibid.). The power of stereotypes in reducing singularities (Brown 2010), as shown by Figures 5.16 and 5.17, accords particularly well with the cartoon genre which encourages generalisation rather than considering individual differences. The deployment of stereotypes (religious, social, cultural, political) is a conventional practice in political cartoons (Forceville 2020: 184), since they help cartoonists make a quick, visual commentary on topical issues or depicted characters and have the advantage of being easily identified by viewers. However, cartoons can use stereotypes not so much to function as useful shortcuts for representing and understanding a complex world, but mainly to influence viewers' opinions and perceptions of the world (Kenney and Colgan 2003: 226). In their research on stereotypes of Muslims as Arabs in American cartoons, Gottschalk and Greenberg (2008: 69) found that, by routinely

describing Muslims through the stereotype of violent and hypocritical Arabs, cartoonists led to a non-distinction of the two groups. Indeed, the danger is that, when stereotyped images recur, they can have subtle and long-lasting effects on viewers. This is because stereotypes operate at an unconscious level.

In the case of Dilem's and Ayoub's cartoons above, although the representations of the Islamists clearly reflect reality, they are overtly exaggerated. As suggested by Leyens et al. (1994: 15), 'many stereotypes are grounded in reality, even if they constitute an exaggeration of reality'. Indeed, Martinez (1998) points out that not all Islamists dressed in the Afghan-like style, and not all Islamists carried weapons and murdered people. However, the cartoonists appear to capitalise on exaggerated representations of violence to reinforce their audiences' existing stereotypes about the aggressivity of the Islamists and the danger that these groups represent to Algeria's welfare. The possibility of triggering viewers' stereotypes chimes with the critical discourse analyst⁷⁰ Van Dijk's (2006) definition of stereotypes as fixed, negative mental representations of a certain social group, which are stored in people's memory. The power of such mental representations, as his definition suggests, is that they lead to preconceptions of group members' appearance and behaviour. Accordingly, viewers might expect the Islamist characters to dress in this specific way and to carry out atrocities not only because the characters' appearance and behaviours have some basis in truth, but also because viewers have preconceived ideas about these groups. In other words, the visual characteristics of the depicted Islamists might match the image of a typical Islamist in viewers' mind, inspired either by knowledge about this type of extremist groups, such as the Taliban fundamentalists, or through exposure to images and political cartoons. As Lester and Ross (2003: 3) affirm, 'both textual and visual media messages that stereotype individuals by their concentrations, frequencies, and omissions become a part of our long-term memory'.

5.4 Specificity of Visual Metonymy

Having discussed the functions of metonymy, I now consider the predominant form of metonymy in the data (RQ 2). The analysis has indicated the ubiquity of visual metonymy, as shown by the various examples discussed in Sections 5.1-5.3. Visual metonymies function by providing quick cognitive access to the targeted idea, thus enabling the investigated cartoonists to streamline their imagery. This finding corroborates Danjoux's (2012: 23) statement that visual metonymies are 'effective solutions to the cartoonist's need for visual

⁷⁰ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, pioneered by Teun Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, that views language as a form of social practice. Researchers subscribing to this approach critically describe, interpret and explain the ways in which discourses construct, maintain and legitimise social inequalities.

efficiency [and] satisfy a reader's desire for rapid analysis'. In such metonymies, visual cues suffice to establish the conceptual link between the depicted source domain and the related concept to which the cartoonists aimed to refer (i.e., metonymic target). For instance, the verbal label 'express' inscribed on the punching arm in Figure 5.11 is not necessary to construct the metonymy HAND FOR PERSON. The label does not specify the target, but rather creates a wordplay along with the term 'press'. The journalist is violently attacked by an express punch in the face while conducting an interview, as indicated by the tape recorder. The cartoon implies that the work of journalists as 'press' staff receives an 'express' (i.e., immediate) violent reaction from censors.

An important aspect of the visual metonymies identified is their unique communicative potential for specificity. They were found to represent concrete instances of objects and characters and to capture specific details about them, which, verbally, could perhaps not be expressed as easily without long and detailed descriptions. Therefore, I suggest that visual metonymy holds an advantage over its verbal counterpart, inasmuch as it can offer rich and vivid details about elements of source domains. I back up my claim by Lemke's (1998: 110) argument that 'semiotic modalities (e.g., language, depiction) are essentially *incommensurable*: no verbal text can construct the same meaning as a picture'. Pertinent examples are the visual metonyms HAND and FOOT discussed in Section 5.2. The body parts' visual aspect is meaningful, for it highlights some essential details about the masked characters and points to their (possible) affiliation. The power of visual metonymy, supported by the visual disposition of political cartoons, offered a depiction of a hand in Figure 5.15 that is specific and full of significant details rather than a generic hand. The hand has specific features: it is a large, uncracked, male hand, and the arm shows that the character wears a suit with cufflinks, implying that the character is a well-dressed, well-groomed and probably an influential person.

In contrast, verbal metonymy does not seem to offer detailed descriptions of source domain elements. To illustrate, in the adage 'The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world', 'hand' is a metonymic reference to a person who raises a child. Anyone reading or hearing this proverb is not given any details about this hand, what it looks like or what it does. Without sufficient indications, the targeted referent remains unclear. The person referred to could, at least in theory, be of either gender, and any age or social class.

Similar observations apply to the visual metonymy FOUNTAIN PEN FOR PRESS and the metonymic representations of emotions. For example, the visual representation of the FOUNTAIN PENS metonyms in Figure 5.18 shows clearly that the pens are quite specific: they are black fountain pens of a specific type and size.

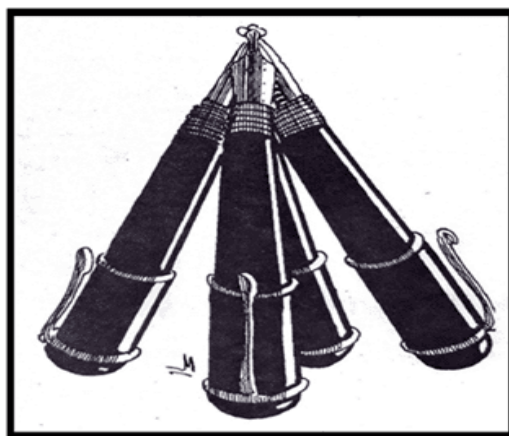


Figure 5.18: Maz, *El Watan*, 15/7/1998

However, in the proverb 'The pen is mightier than the sword' which realises the verbal metonymy PEN FOR PRESS/JOURNALISTIC WRITING, the metonymic source PEN is generic and broad. The pen imagined by the audience would vary considerably, whereas if the proverb were to be visualised, the cartoonist would draw a very specific visual PEN metonym. Similarly, as discussed in Section 5.1.2, the visual representation of fear and anger draws heavily on a wealth of characteristics provided by visual metonymy. For instance, the specific facial expressions that signal characters' emotional reactions (e.g., wide-open mouth and bulging eyes) are highly detailed. Such fine details would be hard to capture through a verbal metonymy.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed RQ 2, which concerns the main functions of metonymy and the forms which it took in my data. It has demonstrated that metonymy was used to effectively achieve several functions in the data, which made it a very useful tool for the investigated cartoonists to increase the meaning possibilities of their cartoons and to imply more by depicting less. First, the ability of metonymy to visualise the press institution and represent characters' affective meanings clearly demonstrates metonymy's potential to serve as a hidden, communicative shortcut in the multimodal genre of political cartoons. In particular, the discussion of the representation of characters' fear and anger has highlighted that cartoonists can provide a detailed representation of abstract emotions using the causes of and the characters' physiological reactions to the emotions in question as visual metonyms. Second, the implicit nature of metonymy makes it apt to create vagueness, which, in turn, may help cartoonists to covertly address the issue of political censorship. I particularly showed that the potential for deniability, resulting from the partial depictions of political censors through BODY PART metonymies, may have supported the cartoonists' aim of avoiding the suppression of

their works in the highly controlled context of the 1992-2002 period. Third, metonymy was discussed as a powerful evaluative device enabling the cartoonists to convey tacit condemnations of press censorship by embedding evaluations and stances vis-à-vis censors.

These functions are supported by the prevalent use of visual metonymy which, as I have proposed, holds an important advantage over its verbal counterpart. The rich and specific details which visual metonymy captures about the depicted objects and characters express the cartoonists' meanings in a cognitively efficient way. These meanings are also achieved through the deployment of metonymic chains that are either realised visually or draw on visual and verbal modes to create what I have termed 'multimodal metonymic chains', which are a novel pattern that is still unidentified in metonymy literature.

With focus turning to the use of metaphor in the cartoon data, Chapter 6 will build on these findings to show, among other things, how metaphor interacts with metonymy and metonymic chains. It will also highlight that visual metonymy's communicative potential for specificity offers advantages for creating meaning in metaphor-metonymy combinations.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6: Functions and Forms of Metaphors

Introduction

While Chapter 5 considered the uses of metonymy, this chapter is concerned with the functions and formal features of metaphor in the cartoon data. I start by providing a general overview of the main metaphors identified and their distribution in the data (Section 6.1). Detailed analyses of the diverse metaphors deployed to describe the concepts of press censorship and self-censorship are presented in Sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2, respectively. These two sections discuss how the cartoonists exploited the formal properties of the cartoon medium to offer metaphorical representations of different facets of press censorship and to visualise their perceptions of self-censorship. By showing how metaphor helped the cartoonists to represent these complex, abstract issues in more relatable terms, I seek to confirm Górska's (2019: 280) argument that, since political cartoons draw on visual and verbal modalities, they offer valuable insights into the visual and multimodal 'representations of abstract concepts and the dynamic activation of metaphoricality'.

Section 6.2 looks at how metaphor's potential for indirectness may have provided a useful tool for the cartoonists to expose their hardships and avoid any censorship measures between 1992 and 2002. Specifically, I show how the cartoonists produced complex metaphorical cartoons, which do not contain explicit verbal references to press censorship, thus possibly enabling them to treat this burning issue without drawing the attention of censors. The cartoons also require an inferential process to derive implied meanings, called 'metaphorical entailments' (Kövecses 2010), needed for understanding press censorship, thereby making the cartoons' interpretation challenging for censors. Section 6.3 explores the main forms of metaphors in the data, highlighting the advantages which visual metaphors offered to the cartoonists.

Finally, Section 6.4 addresses RQs 2 and 3 about metaphor-metonymy interactions and how these combinations may assist the cartoonists' purpose of covertly representing press censorship in the cartoons. I discuss how most metaphors are based on visual and verbo-visual metonymies in their inner structure (i.e., source and/or target domains), giving rise to complex cognitive patterns of interaction called 'metaphtonymy' (Pérez-Sobrinó 2017). I demonstrate that in such combinations, metonymy is at the service of metaphor: it represents the target domain of the metaphor and expands metaphoric meanings in interesting ways.

6.1 General Overview of Metaphors in the Data

In my dataset of 95 political cartoons, 54% (i.e., 51 cartoons) are metaphorical, while 46% (i.e., 44 cartoons) do not involve any metaphors but are still figurative due to the presence of at least one metonymy. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, metonymy is more fundamental to human thought and, hence, more pervasive than metaphor (Panther and Radden 1999: 1). The analysis revealed the occurrence of 20 metaphors about press censorship overall (i.e., 43 metaphorical cartoons), which fall under two overarching conceptual source domains: VIOLENCE/HARASSMENT and IMPEDIMENTS/RESTRICTIONS presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Overview of main metaphors of censorship and their distribution across the dataset

Metaphorical source domains		No. of metaphorical cartoons and percentage
Broad domain	Specifications	28 (65%)
VIOLENCE/HARASSMENT	Gagging (4) Attack (3) Dangerous animals (3) Shooting (3) Scissors (2) Shoe crushing (2) Stabbing/killing (2) Cutting journalist's arm (1) Funeral (1) Guillotine (1) Being between a hammer and anvil (1) Hand squeezing (1) Minefield (1) Punch in the face (1) Threat (1) Torture (1)	
IMPEDIMENTS/RESTRICTIONS	Destruction of tools of trade (7) Prison (4) Blackmail (2) Newspaper suspension (2)	15 (35%)
Total		43 (100%)

For each source domain, I have provided the number and the percentage of its presence in the data. As Table 6.1 indicates, violence is by far the most common source domain, with 65% (i.e., 28 cartoons) of occurrences in the corpus, compared to IMPEDIMENTS/RESTRICTIONS metaphors (35%). The VIOLENCE/HARASSMENT metaphors were found to depict the various forms of harm being done to the body of journalists and/or political cartoonists. These cartoons portray scenes of physical attack, for example, by a dangerous animal or a punch in the face.

The second major set of metaphors captures the different challenges and limitations which restrict the press's right to free expression. They involve the internment of journalists and/or cartoonists, the suspension of newspapers, or journalists' writing and cartoonists' drawing implements being restricted or destroyed in some way (locked, trimmed, etc.).

The data analysis has also indicated the occurrence of five metaphors which describe closely related topics, notably press resistance and struggle for freedom of expression, as well as three metaphors about self-censorship. The metaphorical depictions of self-censorship, which I discuss in Section 6.1.2, reflect clearly the self-censorship practices that journalists and cartoonists practised under the tight control of the 1992-2002 period. As I stated in Chapter 1, these specific metaphors also give rise to a paradoxical situation, as the Algerian cartoonists practised self-censorship but published cartoons that decry this experience using metaphor as a rhetorical device.

Some of the censorship metaphors take the form of complex scenarios. Specifically, I identified 11 distinct metaphor scenarios, most of which appeared in the French newspaper *El Watan*. Certain scenarios are exploited in more than one cartoon, which suggests that they are recurrent scenarios activated in times of increased censorship. This attests to the generative potential of metaphor scenarios in the cartoon data and substantiates Godioli and Pedrazzini's (2019: 303) assertion that 'the ability of metaphor to generate narrative scenarios is particularly evident in satirical cartoons'. An in-depth analysis of these scenarios will be provided in Chapter 7.

6.1.1 Metaphorical Conceptualisation of Press Censorship

The CENSORSHIP metaphors were found to perform two important functions, namely (1) they represent press censorship in all its facets, and (2) they help the cartoonists increase the implicitness of their message and thereby evade censorship of their cartoons. I start by discussing the first function, then delve deeper into the second function in Section 6.2. The cartoonists' frequent use of metaphor to describe the issue of press censorship can be explained by metaphor's power to 'represent the unknown, unresolved or problematic in terms of something more familiar and more easily imaginable' (El Refaie 2003: 84). As a complex and abstract topic, censorship cannot be expressed easily and straightforwardly without recourse to metaphors. This difficulty has also been acknowledged by Evans and Green (2006: 290), who argue that it is hard 'to find a non-metaphorical way of thinking and talking about certain concepts'. For example, time would be very hard to describe literally, so people make use of metaphorical terms relating to space and motion (see Chapter 7). In what follows, I discuss and illustrate the metaphors which the cartoonists used to show their perception of censorship.

By drawing an analogy between CENSORSHIP and the more accessible domain of TARGET SHOOTING, the cartoonists Dilem and Ayoub help their respective audiences to have a better understanding of what censorship is, what it entails, as well as its threatening, detrimental, and sometimes fatal impact on journalists and cartoonists. This is clearly reflected in Figures 6.1 and 6.2, which show the press being the shooters' main target.

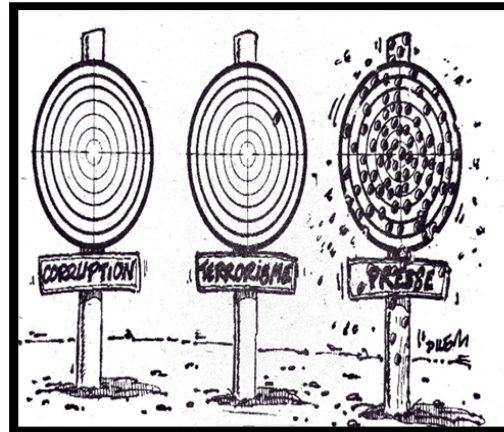


Figure 6.1 : Dilem, *Liberté*, 10/08/1996

Left : Corruption ; Middle : Islamist violence ; Right : Press

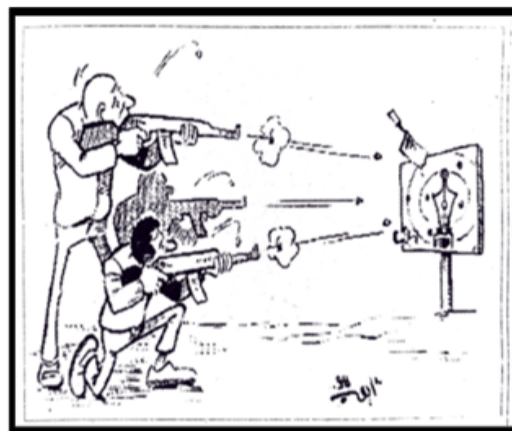


Figure 6.2: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 3/5/1998

While reference to the press is verbally cued in Figure 6.1, in Ayoub's cartoon (Figure 6.2), the press as an institution and its staff are evoked by the tip of FOUNTAIN PEN visual metonym placed over the bullseye. The violence against the press is indicated in Dilem's cartoon by the number of bullets shot in the target which is labelled 'press', compared to the 'Islamist violence' target or the 'corruption' target on the left, implying that censoring the press was the major preoccupation of the government at the time. Sword (2019: 48, emphasis in original) claims that shooting is 'an act with *universal* resonance (conjuring up archers and gunslingers from myth, legend, and popular culture)'. The TARGET SHOOTING metaphor is, therefore, likely to

resonate with the cartoonists' audiences. Nonetheless, as discussed in Section 2.2.3, interpreting complex (visual and multimodal) metaphors in political cartoons is not always straightforward, as it hinges deeply on reader-viewers' activation of different types of interpretive strategies (El Refaie 2009a: 173-180) and encyclopaedic knowledge (Forceville 2020: 171-179).

The mappings conveyed by the TARGET SHOOTING metaphor in the two cartoons make this metaphor well-suited to the detailed conceptualisation of press censorship. The metaphor relies on a set of structured associations to map onto the domain of CENSORSHIP. First, the shooters or snipers correspond to the censors. As can be noticed from these two cartoons, the shooters are hidden in Dilem's cartoon, but are represented in Ayoub's cartoon as a group of men standing in close proximity to one another, which suggests coordinated action. Second, the target corresponds to the press institution, which metonymically refers to journalists and cartoonists. Third, shooting at the targets corresponds to the banning of the journalists' and cartoonists' works, as well as other measures taken against them. Finally, the nature of shooting practice, particularly the precision and accuracy which is typically required to hit the target, might be associated with the careful design and enactment of strict press laws, or the harassment of specific newspapers and/or journalists and newspaper editors.

The deployment of TARGET SHOOTING as a metaphoric source domain is also apt because it activates important metaphorical entailments (i.e., latent, inferable meanings) about PRESS CENSORSHIP. For example, shooting is usually an individual activity, which involves a single shooter or sniper who is in full command of the practice and is the only winner. In contrast, in team sports like football or boxing, the power is more evenly distributed, as any of the competing parties can win the game. Hence, the power imbalance in shooting between the single shooter and their main targets can be equated with the inherently unequal power relationship between the censors—in this case, the government—and the press. Second, shooting requires strenuous physical training to achieve the goal, in contrast to the mental effort involved in competitive games, such as chess or domino. Therefore, the physical action involved in shooting serves to highlight the vigorous enforcement of censorship, for example, the physical harassment of journalists and cartoonists and the forceful confiscation of journalistic materials from newsrooms by police. As I will discuss in Section 6.2, it is this rich array of mappings and entailments that make metaphor such a useful device for cartoonists to expose censorship practices while evading these very same measures themselves.

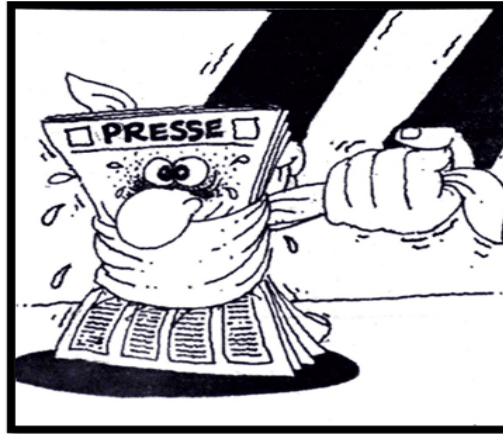


Figure 6.3: Maz, *El Watan*, 17/12/1995

Label: Press

Maz's cartoon (Figure 6.3) presents a different metaphor for how the press was robbed of the right to work freely and independently. The depiction relies on a 'hybrid metaphor' (Forceville 2008), which involves the fusion of the front page of a newspaper and a human face, recognisable from the eyes and exaggerated nose. As mentioned in Section 2.1, the distortion of human features is a common convention of the political cartoon genre. The censor's main goal of silencing the press is represented visually as a gagging action. The hands are pulling the gag over the character's mouth very tightly to prevent him from speaking. The gagging results in the suffocation of the face, as indicated by the pictorial rune of sweat 'droplets' (Kennedy 1982) and the bulging eyes. The use of the mouth is reminiscent of the metonymy MOUTH FOR SPEECH, which provides the cartoonist with a useful conceptual shortcut to refer to speech, since the mouth is the organ of speech. This metonymy is experientially motivated (i.e., embodied) and is widely attested across languages (Yu 2011: 134). As the cartoon shows, Maz uses this human-newspaper hybrid to evoke the press institution and to refer to journalists and cartoonists, more generally, who suffered from censorship stifling political dissent. This is achieved through the verbo-visual metonymic chain NEWSPAPER FOR PRESS FOR JOURNALISTS (see Chapter 5). Despite the use of the label 'press' on the newspaper, the metaphor is visual rather than multimodal because, even without the verbal information, it is still possible to draw the conceptual mapping between the source and target domains. In this case, the label serves to guide the analyst and reader-viewers towards the correct interpretation of the cartoon.

Another pertinent metaphor in the data is presented in Figure 6.4 below. Ayoub uses the visual metaphor of trimming nails to represent press censorship. What is interesting about this metaphorical cartoon is that the fingernails have been replaced with the nibs of fountain pens, which metonymically represent journalistic writing and/or press freedom. This substitution signals a visual incongruity (i.e., the fountain nibs look incongruous with the hand),

which alerts viewers towards the realisation of a 'contextual metaphor' (Forceville 2008). As Schilperoord (2018: 11) argues, visual incongruity is at the core of visual metaphor, and the substitution of items suggests the interpretation of the metaphor as a contextual one. The cartoon gives a sense of agency by depicting the censor's hand holding a nail clipper and cutting the nibs. Its main implication is that, despite the firmness of censors to rule over the press with an iron fist and to curtail its freedom of expression, censorship is pointless because journalists and cartoonists will always find ways to resist. This is suggested by the clippings on the desk and the image of the censor's hand moving towards the index finger and the thumb, which indicates the continuity of the trimming action. This image is further reinforced by the comment through which the censor manifests his frustration at the constantly regrowing fountain nibs.

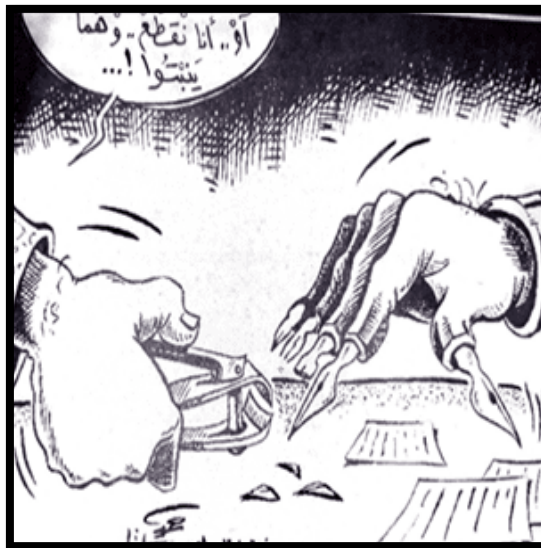


Figure 6.4: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 30/5/2001

Comment: How come?!...I keep trimming them ...but they're still growing!

This metaphorical image conveys an equally important entailment about the press censorship practices of the time. It is common for adults to trim their nails themselves. However, the fact that it is the censor who is metaphorically performing this action suggests the idea of compulsiveness. In contrast, the press is helpless in the face of the trimming, which invokes the censorship and the firm restrictions to repress the press. The reading of this metaphor converges with the cartoonist's intended meaning. Ayoub (2020) observed that

the press is supposed to have claws and have an impact on the regime and direct public opinion, but those claws are being trimmed by the regime using nail clippers. The use of the hand refers clearly to the censor, which is the state, whereas trimming means the destruction of the press. The censor exerts pressure on newspapers by suspending advertisements, creating a chaos within newspapers by pushing journalists to claim their wages, filing a lawsuit against the newspapers, or by harassing and imprisoning their editors.

Ayoub compares the nibs to the claws which certain animals use to catch prey or for self-defence. This conjures up the idea that a truly independent press in a democracy needs to be free to perform its role as the 'fourth estate'. However, as the cartoon clearly shows, censorship, visualised as a trimming action, restricts this right.

In addition to making the abstract notion of press censorship easier to grasp, the censorship metaphors enable the cartoonists to detail different facets of press censorship and to highlight the coercive aspect of their application. These metaphors capture the harassment, blackmail, and imprisonment of journalists, as well as the restrictive press code (Figure 6.5) and newspaper suspensions (Figure 6.6). This is achieved through the wide range of more concrete and embodied source domains exploited by the cartoonists (see Table 6.1). This finding lends support to Kövecses's (2013: 79) assertion that, in studies of metaphor, it is common to find 'cases in which a target domain is characterised by a number of source domains'. For Lakoff and Johnson (1980), this is because a single source domain fails to capture all relevant aspects of a target domain, particularly if the latter is complex and multifaceted. This tendency has been noted, for example, with regard to the concepts of ARGUMENT (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), ANGER (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987), and HAPPINESS (Kövecses 1991).

Maz's cartoon below, for instance, presents a metaphor about the press law which was a major instrument of censorship and coercion against the press. Maz uses the source image of a crocodile eating a journalist who is recognisable from the fountain pen which he holds tightly (FOUNTAIN PEN FOR JOURNALIST FOR PRESS metonymy). This depiction gives rise to a metaphorical mapping that might be verbalised as PRESS LAW IS A CROCODILE. In formal terms, the cartoon shows a multimodal metaphor involving a visual source entity, the crocodile, and a verbal target in the form of a caption. Crocodiles are notorious for their 'aggressive ferocity as hunters' (Werness 2006: 117) and for not releasing their prey 'until death has occurred' (Beer 2003: 77). It follows that the cartoonist's selection of a crocodile from the wide range of possible alternatives is significant. The crocodile's aggressiveness suggests the constraining and threatening nature of the press law and, by implication, the perilous working conditions of the press. Maz's cartoon, hence, denounces the press law as something which acts against journalists and cartoonists rather than protecting them and guaranteeing their freedoms.

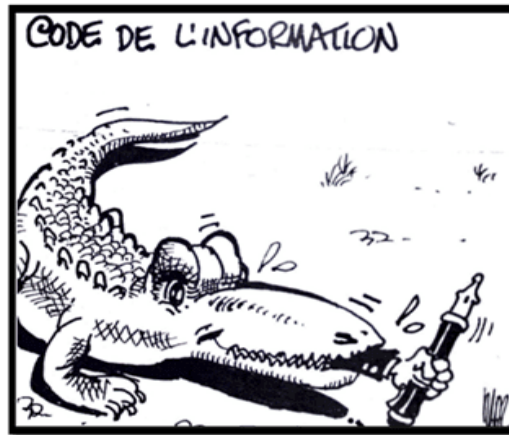


Figure 6.5: Maz, *El Watan*, 12/5/1992

Caption: Press law

This ANIMAL metaphor corroborates Haslam et al.'s (2011: 312) assertion that the animal realm is a 'bountiful source domain and provides a rich metaphorical vocabulary'. Animals are frequently used in metaphors to express a wide range of meanings, from love and affection to derision and insults (Sommer and Sommer 2011). Animal metaphors derive from the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING, a hierarchical structure of all forms of life, including humans, animals, and plants (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 166-181). Previous research has reported the frequent use of such metaphors for the pejorative description of human behaviour (Ana 1999; Pilyarchuk and Onysko 2018). In accordance with this finding, Maz's cartoon evokes the severity of the press restrictions by way of the source domain CROCODILE to indirectly criticise the government censor who promulgated the press code.

My final example, taken from *El Watan* newspaper, offers a metaphorical representation of newspapers' suspension, which was one of the main repressive measures (Figure 6.6).

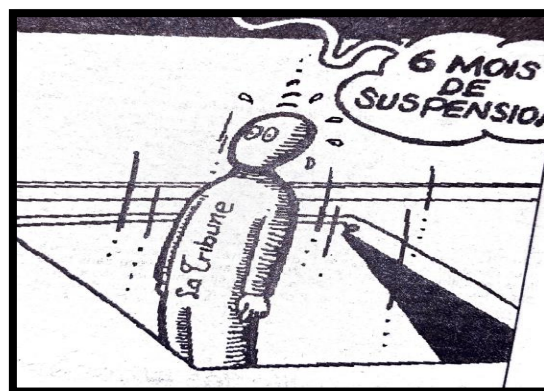


Figure 6.6: Maz, *El Watan*, 6/9/1996

Label on character: La Tribune

Judge's comment in bubble: 6 months of suspension

This cartoon uses a multimodal metaphor which represents the suspension of *La Tribune* newspaper in terms of a person falling suddenly through a trapdoor. Maz personifies *La Tribune*, allowing it to be construed as a living organism that can have human traits and even exhibit an emotional reaction. According to Kövecses (2002: 35), personification is a metaphor where human characteristics and attributes are assigned to abstract, non-human phenomena. Personification metaphors are important because they allow us ‘to use our knowledge about ourselves to maximal effect, to use insights about ourselves to help us comprehend such things as force of nature, common events, abstract concepts, and inanimate objects’ (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 72).

In CMT, personification is regarded as a pervasive type of metaphor found in verbal and non-verbal discourses. In their discussion of the INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 34) maintain that ‘viewing something as abstract as inflation in human terms has an explanatory power of the only sort that makes sense to most people’. They further explain that, when ‘suffering substantial economic losses due to complex economic and political factors that no one really understands, the INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY metaphor at least gives us a coherent account of why we’re suffering these losses’ (ibid.). Figure 6.6 demonstrates that metaphorical personification can encapsulate and concretise complex issues. Although the character is almost faceless, informed reader-viewers can easily identify the emotion of shock, suggested by the bulging eyes and the droplets, which ensue from the announcement of the verdict. Without providing many details in the cartoon, Maz relies on the audience’s imaginative ability to figure out the setting of the scene, namely a court room where the trial process has ended with the decision of banning the publication of *La Tribune*. Through this cartoon, Maz seems to emphasise a collective plight, since other independent newspapers, including *El Watan*, were also forced to close temporarily at different points during the decade (Rebah 2002: 128).

The metaphorical cartoons discussed thus far demonstrate that metaphor provides cartoonists with a useful way to represent press censorship and make their censorship experiences tangible, relatable, and readily graspable by reader-viewers. This ability to simplify complex phenomena for reader-viewers relates back to the foundational premise of CMT that our conceptual system is inherently metaphorical and that metaphors ‘structure the creation and understanding of many life events’ (Gibbs 2017: 224). While the censorship metaphors discussed so far draw reader-viewers’ attention to different facets of press censorship in Algeria, other metaphors which use scissors as source domains (e.g., Figures 6.14 and 6.16) highlight the power of censors to muzzle journalists and cartoonists by implying their intention to cut inappropriate or offending articles/cartoons out of newspapers. According to Brink (2015: 204), the motif of the censor’s scissors involves ‘a change of perspective from

the effects of censorship to its administrators', and from 'the sad silencing of the satirists to the counter-attacking ridicule of the censors'. My findings are consistent with Boyd and Bailey's (2009: 660) suggestion that metaphors of censorship 'capture the dangerous and stultifying nature of censorship'. The two educators wrote a commentary article in which they used three metaphors to discuss the censorship and banning of educational materials, such as films, artworks and particularly books in American schools, namely CENSORSHIP IS A BARBED WIRE FENCE, CENSORSHIP IS A PATINA, and CENSORSHIP IS A DANGEROUS TIGHTROPE (pp.655-658). Like the metaphors of press censorship in my data, the metaphors deployed by Boyd and Bailey are negative perceptions that convey the ideas of threats, danger, and being caught in difficult situations.

6.1.2 Metaphorical Conceptualisation of Self-Censorship

As stated in Section 6.1, there are three cartoons about self-censorship in the data. The very fact that cartoonists have drawn about their own self-censorship practices clearly presents something of a paradox. In what follows, I discuss two cartoon examples to show how the use of metaphor enabled the cartoonists to represent their experience of self-censorship. Take, for instance, the following cartoon from *El Khabar* newspaper (Figure 6.7).

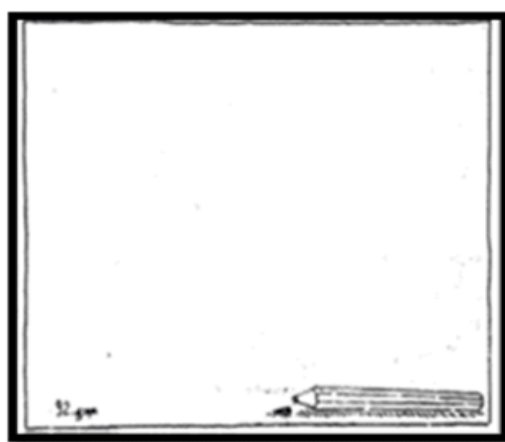


Figure 6.7: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 25/1/1992

Ayoub used a purely pictorial metaphor, showing a pencil with a broken tip to portray his inability to draw cartoons freely and to be creative. As mentioned in Chapter 5, a pencil is a common metonym for political cartooning and being broken adds a metaphorical layer on top of this, providing a tangible source domain for the abstract target domain of SELF-CENSORSHIP. The broken pencil conveys a metaphorical meaning that Ayoub is unable to draw due to the curtailment of press freedom at the time. The imposition of censorship on the satirical press during the Civil War led many political cartoonists to practise self-censorship on sensitive topics in quest for survival (see Section 4.7.1). This interpretation is clearly reflected in Ayoub's

explanation of the cartoon's intended meaning during the 2020 interview: 'the pencil is broken, meaning there was no room for cartooning and freedom of expression was over'.

The metaphorical conceptualisation of SELF-CENSORSHIP is reinforced by the blank white background. One could posit that empty spaces communicate as much as drawings do, in the same way that silences can be meaningful in speech. On the distinction between literal and metaphorical meanings, El Refaie (2003: 82) argues that there can be 'no such thing as a completely literal visual sign' because meaning making is, to a certain extent, figurative. Based on this assertion, I propose that the meaning of the blank space is mainly metaphoric with a metonymic motivation. In their discussion of the intricate relationship between metaphor and metonymy, several scholars have gone so far as to claim that every metaphor ultimately relies on metonymy (e.g., Barcelona 2000b: 33-34; Radden 2003: 408). I suggest that, given the absence of any representation of actions, characters, or any content other than the pencil in the metaphoric source image, the blank background reflects metonymically the cartoonist's inability to draw something. This could perhaps be metonymically chained to the main cause 'self-censorship'. That is, the blank panel is by no means arbitrary, but rather steers viewers to activate the metonymic chain BLANK PANEL FOR LACK OF DRAWING FOR SELF-CENSORSHIP based on EFFECT FOR CAUSE relationships to understand why Ayoub produced this cartoon. The choice of the blank panel is also driven by Ayoub's intention to highlight the idea of imposed silence. When his freedom of expression was constrained, Ayoub remained silent about various topics by practising self-censorship. This interpretation accords well with Anthonissen's (2008: 402) observation that, 'as silence is opposed to speech, white space on a printed page becomes a visual equivalent of silence'.⁷¹ Rousseau (2020: 18) notes that blank panels acted as a vehicle for Algerian cartoonists to express their silence and frustration with the lack of freedom of expression.

A different metaphorical representation of self-censorship is given by Maz in Figure 6.8. Self-censorship is conceived as a journalist wearing blinkers. The blinkers and the downward position of the journalist's head bring to mind the image of horses which commonly wear blinkers to prevent them from seeing to the rear or sides and shy away from perceived dangers (BLINKERS FOR RESTRICTED VIEW metonymy).

⁷¹ While in this cartoon the blank white space articulates self-censorship and silence, comics and graphic novels commonly use black panels to signal characters' unconsciousness or depression, or to indicate traumatic experiences that cannot be expressed verbally or visually (see El Refaie 2012: 115; Romero 2017: 60).



Figure 6.8: Maz, *El Watan*, 11/3/1992

Editor's comment: Blinkers! Wooden language and praises to the government are much safer methods!...

Label on the desk: Press

The cartoon suggests that the blinkers serve the same function as with horses. By using the blinkers, the journalist ignores his surroundings and limits his field of vision to the paper or article right in front of him. This, in turn, does not enable much knowledge to be gained by looking around/from either left or right sides. The source image, therefore, rests on the well-entrenched conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING (Lakoff 1993: 240). As Kövecses (2020: 41) explains in connection with this metaphor, 'when we see something, it enters our awareness [...] knowing something commonly requires seeing things'. Highlighting further how the action of seeing with eyes is mapped onto knowing, Yu (2005: 666) says that the metaphor is embodied and is found in many languages. In this cartoon, the journalist's restriction of his visual field chimes with his self-imposed intention or perhaps obligation to self-censor. By mapping this association onto the domain of SELF-CENSORSHIP, viewers can understand that self-censorship involves the voluntary or compulsory refraining from accessing and relaying knowledge which might be banned and, hence, be detrimental to the journalist's life and/or professional career. Considering Forceville's (1996; 2002) types of pictorial metaphor, this cartoon can be described as a contextual metaphor. The blinkers look incongruous in this context, as it is usually horses, not humans, that wear them. The metaphor is mainly visual, while the textual elements reinforce the idea of understanding self-censorship in terms of horse blinkers.

The journalist's serene attitude and his full attention to his work, as a result of using the blinkers, are indicative of the usefulness of self-censorship during those tense times. Convergent with this metaphoric meaning is the comment of the panic-stricken editor, which suggests that, by encouraging his journalist to take this precautionary measure, the journalist does not run any risks and achieves a sense of safety. This meaning is strengthened by the

depiction of the editor pointing with his finger at the article, ensuring that his journalist is being vigilant in his writings. The newspaper editor's emotional state reflects what I discussed in Chapter 4: that self-censorship was partly due to newspaper editors' fear and reluctance to suffer any threats from censors.

6.2 Achieving Indirectness to Evade Censorship

This section considers the second function of metaphor in the data (RQ 2). One of the most striking findings of my analysis is that metaphor as a figurative device appeared to offer the cartoonists a useful way to covertly discuss state censorship and repression against the press. The analysis has identified two possible ways in which metaphor was used to achieve indirectness that may have, in turn, prevented the suppression of the censorship-themed cartoons and protected the artists from punishment. In the following discussions, I first consider how, by deliberately avoiding the verbal labelling of the target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP in their cartoons due to the situation of censorship in Algeria, the cartoonists were able to expose censorship practices without having to refer to them explicitly (Section 6.2.1). In Section 6.2.2, I show how the cartoonists seem to code their metaphors in such a way that, in some cases, viewers need to go beyond merely identifying the metaphorical mappings between the source and target domains and need to undertake inferential activity to derive the implicit meanings of the overarching source domains VIOLENCE/HARASSMENT and IMPEDIMENTS, called 'metaphorical entailments' (Kövecses 2010).

Before I begin the discussion of these findings, I reiterate that, while I suggest how the need to stay safe from censorship led the cartoonists to address the censorship issue using figurative devices, I do not claim that the deployment of metaphor led to the publication of these cartoons. It is also necessary to clarify why I do not refer to Dilem in this section. As stated in Chapter 4, Dilem was the most explicit of the three cartoonists. Because of his very audacious and outspoken style, his cartoons contain far fewer metaphors than Maz's and Ayoub's. Only four out of his 25 cartoons are metaphorical, while the rest of his cartoons are either literal or contain only metonymies. This implies that Dilem might have used other techniques or strategies to counter censorship, or he intended to safeguard his freedom of expression at any cost, even if it meant incurring fines and sentences.

6.2.1 Implicit Reference to Metaphoric Target PRESS CENSORSHIP

The first way in which Ayoub and Maz used metaphor to support their intention of avoiding censorship is through the implicit reference to the target topic 'press censorship', which can result in quite polysemous metaphorical cartoons. Given the context of control and repression of the 1992-2002 period, the cartoonists explained that they intentionally refrained from

explicitly mentioning the word 'censorship' in the cartoons. It is only explicitly referenced in very few panels (e.g., Figure 1.1), whereas the metaphoric source is often presented. The target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP is rather suggested through metonymies. Metonymies play a vital role in helping the audience identify this target domain through its constituent elements (see Section 6.4.1). The identification of the topic of censorship is also likely to be implied through the 'discourse context', which El Refaie (2003: 86) defines as any textual information presented on a newspaper page but outside the frame of the cartoon. This context involves, for instance, articles and editorials that usually present a serious account of the same socio-political events treated in the cartoon.

The following cartoons published by Ayoub and Maz illustrate these points effectively. They present different visual elaborations of the underlying conceptual metaphor PRESS CENSORSHIP IS IMPEDIMENTS, where a padlock restricts journalists' writing implements or printing devices.

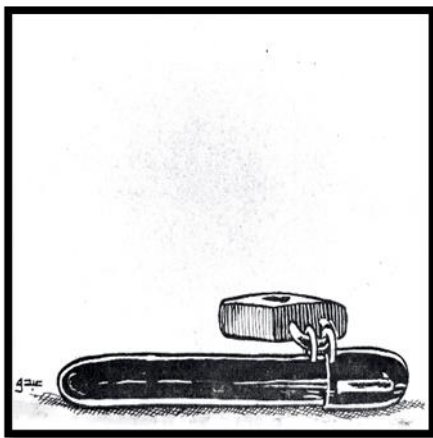


Figure 6.9: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 19/3/1992

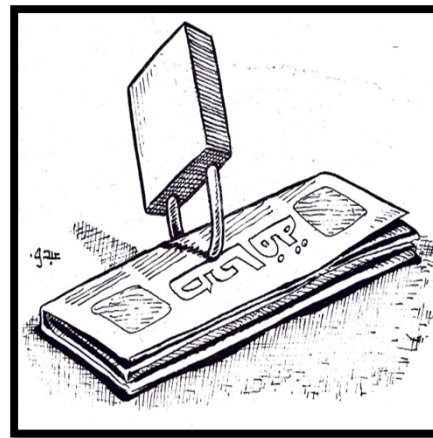


Figure 6.10: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 7/7/1992

Label: Press

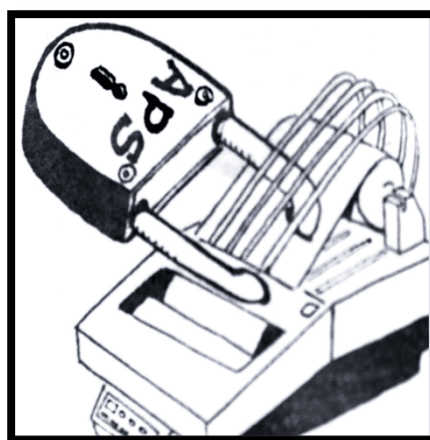


Figure 6.11: Maz, *El Watan*, 18/1/1995

Across the three cartoons, the padlock is applied to a fountain pen (Figure 6.9), a newspaper (Figure 6.10), and a printer (Figure 6.11). The three objects seem to evoke different facets of the press censorship imposed at that time. The pen, which stands metonymically for journalistic writing in this context, evokes the fact that journalists were very often not free to write about politically contentious topics. If they did dare to address them, their newspapers were frequently banned from publication or distribution (see Section 4.6). The ideas of publication and distribution are indicated by the printer and the newspaper, respectively. The implied analogy between locking and restrictions, which ensue from the application of censorship, is further reinforced by the oversized padlocks on the newspaper and the printer. The oversized padlocks invoke the conceptual metaphoric mapping linking significance to physical size (Grady 1997). In formal terms, the three metaphors can be described as visual instantiations of what Forceville (2008) calls contextual metaphors. As explained in Section 6.1.1, this type of pictorial metaphors creates a visible mismatch between what viewers expect and what is actually depicted in the cartoons. The padlocks are incongruous in the contexts in which they are depicted because they are commonly used to secure doors or containers.

In these pictorial metaphors, the source domains are explicitly cued, while the target topic PRESS CENSORSHIP is not stated explicitly. In Figures 6.9 and 6.10, the metaphoric target is implied through visual and verbal references to the press. As an institution, the press needs to be concretised in some way (see Section 5.1). It is metonymically evoked through the pen in Figure 6.9 and through the newspaper object together with the verbal label 'press' in Figure 6.10. In contrast, in Figure 6.11, Maz chose to indirectly refer to censorship through the label 'APS' on the padlock, which is an acronym referring to the Algerian news agency which was given the task of prohibiting newspapers from publishing any accounts of the Civil War other than the government's official narrative, which it relayed to these newspapers (see Section 4.6). However, the discourse context and the world background information, which Forceville (2020: 171) calls 'encyclopaedic knowledge', are also crucial for determining this metaphoric topic. Only viewer-readers who read the newspaper articles addressing press censorship and have sufficient knowledge of the censorship practices at the time, particularly the involvement of the APS in the censorship of the press, can correctly interpret this cartoon.

As the target topic PRESS CENSORSHIP is very often not explicitly cued, the visual metaphors prevalent in my data (i.e., 23 out of 43 metaphors) may give rise to multiple possible interpretations. As we saw through Figures 6.9-6.11, the cartoons do not contain a verbal reference to the metaphor theme of censorship, which makes the metaphors quite implicit (and ambiguous). This finding echoes El Refaie's (2003: 89) suggestion that visual metaphors often have implicit meanings and 'tend to be open to quite a wide range of interpretations'. By their very nature, visuals have the potential to lead to endless meanings, implying an

uncertainty about which meaning to settle on. Owing to their polysemous aspect, images often need some form of verbal language, such as labels or captions, to guide viewers towards a correct interpretation of what the images depict. In his influential theory of text-image relations, the linguist Roland Barthes (1977: 39-40) refers to this function of the linguistic message as 'anchorage'. He argues that in anchorage, the text '*directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others' (emphasis in original). This quotation suggests that the denotative (i.e., surface) and connotative (i.e., implicit and underlying) meaning of an image is usually fixed by a linguistic message and points to the intricate text-image relationship for meaning making.

I suggest that the ability of the visual censorship metaphors to create polysemous meanings presented an advantage to the cartoonists by enabling them to convey more nuanced messages about censorship. It is, therefore, possible that the government censors or the reading committees, which the government appointed in printing houses, may have misconstrued the meaning intended by the cartoonists and potentially not suspected that the theme of the cartoons was state censorship. For example, they may have failed to establish a link between the locks and censorship. They may have wondered how it was possible to lock a newspaper or think that the printer was locked for safety reasons, in the sense that it is intended to deter other people from using it.

A further advantage of the implicit and polysemous visual metaphors identified in the data is that their intended meaning was easily deniable, offering the artists room for manoeuvre. This finding is backed up by the testimony of Ayoub (2020) who stated that

when I produced cartoons at that time, I always thought of ways to get around censorship, and I had to find justifications which I could use to defend myself in case I got arrested. I mean other ideas that would serve as alternative meanings or interpretations of the intended meaning of the cartoon. I always left a margin for the multiple meanings of the cartoon. And indeed, this margin once saved me from imprisonment.

This suggests that, in cases of likely harassment or arrest, the cartoonists would defend themselves by claiming that their cartoons are not about governmental censorship at all, but rather about other threats against the press. In this way, the polysemous metaphors used in the data embody a 'form of indirectness' (Steen 2007: 323) in the representation and denunciation of the target issue.

The following cartoon (Figure 6.12) offers another example of how the implicit reference to censorship and the resulting polysemous visual metaphors may, in some contexts, be advantageous to the cartoonists.



Figure 6.12: Maz, *El Watan*, 19/12/1995

Label: press

A journalist is shown in an office, trying to write despite his arm being cut into two halves. The drops of blood suggest that this is a recent injury that has not yet healed. The label 'press' serves as an implicit reference to the metaphoric target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP. The cartoonist's intention to visualise state censorship on the press is done so covertly that the potential censoring agents might not see the cartoon as an allusion to censorship, but rather associate the journalist's injury to Islamist violence, which targeted the press countless times. This second possible interpretation might have had the benefit of either making the cartoon go unnoticed or enabling Maz to deny his intended meaning if the censor became suspicious about the cartoon.

6.2.2 Metaphorical Entailments

The second way in which Maz and Ayoub appear to deploy metaphor for the purpose of evading censorship is by capitalising on the complexity of inferring the metaphorical entailments generated by the source domains VIOLENCE/HARASSMENT and IMPEDIMENTS to pass tacit messages about the target topic 'press censorship'. The data has shown that, in many cases, it is not sufficient to identify the source and target domains and to activate the mappings between them; rather, viewers need to derive the implied aspects of these source domains and to map this additional knowledge onto the target they describe: PRESS CENSORSHIP. My finding accords well with Evans and Green's (2006: 298) argument that, in addition to 'the individual mappings that conceptual metaphors bring with them, they [map] additional, sometimes quite detailed knowledge [onto the target]. This is because aspects of the source domain that are not explicitly stated in the mappings can be inferred'. These implications or entailments of a source domain for a given target are also called 'metaphorical inferences' (Kövecses 2017: 15) and can be hard to derive by the audience. My analysis

indicated that failure to draw the relevant entailments, which help make sense of the target topic 'press censorship', might lead to misunderstanding the cartoons' intended meanings.

The PADLOCK metaphors (Figures 6.9-6.11) effectively illustrate how the metaphors in the data seem to require censors to put in much cognitive effort for activating further source-domain knowledge and deciphering the cartoons' content. These metaphors present two possible entailments about censorship that enable the cartoonists to imply more and, hence, make the decoding of their metaphorical cartoons a very challenging enterprise for potential censors. The cartoonists seem to invite viewers/censors to draw a mapping about human agency: the human agent corresponds to the censor who put the locks on the objects, as padlocks are put by a human agent rather than a natural force. However, if censorship is regarded as a padlock (or padlocked objects), the audience needs to infer a possible metaphorical entailment about purposeful action. That is, censorship is an intended practice to prevent journalistic work being carried out properly at different stages: from the writing of articles, as indicated by the locked pen to the publication, to the printing of newspapers, which is suggested by the locked printer (PRINTER FOR PRINTING: OBJECT FOR ACTION metonymy) and the newspaper. This is because padlocks are commonly used to prevent others from accessing valuables, for example. Furthermore, likening censorship to a padlock generates a metaphorical inference that censorship has an enduring aspect. Viewers are required to use their further knowledge about padlocks, namely, that objects are sometimes left locked for quite a long time. Without explicitly evoking the duration of censorship practices, the cartoonists seem to imply that progress of the press is temporarily (and perhaps even permanently) blocked. This possible inference is reinforced by the image of the objects (pen, printer, and newspaper) being already locked. Drawing such inferences is by no means easy, especially because the analogy between censorship and padlocked objects is not signalled—due to non-referencing the target domain (see Section 6.2.1). This creates a complexity for decoding the cartoon theme which might have eluded censors.

In these cartoons, only two main metaphorical entailments are exploited for talking about press censorship. This finding is consonant with Kövecses' (2010: 132) suggestion that, in some cases, only one or a few entailments of a metaphor are carried over to the target domain. By contrast, in other cases, for example in ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS metaphors, the exploitation of the sources' metaphorical entailment potential is complete (pp. 122-129). The partial or full exploitation of the metaphoric entailments of a given source is determined by the 'invariance principle' that 'blocks the mapping of knowledge that is not coherent with the schematic or skeletal structure of the target concept' (ibid.: 131). While every source domain has a metaphorical entailment potential, the entitlements to derive vary depending on the source domain used in a metaphor.

According to Gibbs (2017: 22), every metaphor offers ‘varying entailments appropriate for thinking and talking’ about different aspects of a particular topic. There are several cases in point in my data. For example, the TARGET SHOOTING metaphors in Figures 6.1-6.2 provide entailments about the aggressive and coercive application of censorship, while the NIBS TRIMMING metaphor (Figure 6.4) generates entailments about the continuity of censorship restrictions. What brings these different entailments together is the difficulty of inferring them. However, as I have proposed, this complexity allowed the cartoonists to rely on an aptly crafted metaphoric discourse, a strategy to communicate cloaked meanings about censorship, but still maintain a plausible degree of indirectness to avoid censorship.

The coded allusions to press censorship which result from these two uses of metaphor discussed in Section 6.2.1 and this section might have led the censorship-themed cartoons to pass undetected because decoding cartoon content is challenging and requires a range of skills and literacies (Forceville 2020). The presence of visual metaphors adds another complexity (see Section 2.2.3). The difficulty of understanding metaphorical cartoons has been reported in the literature. For example, El Refaie (2009a: 173) has shown that, while her participants intuitively understood the simple metaphorical mappings linking SIZE to POWER or STATUS and the conceptual link between SPACE and TIME, they often interpreted complex structural metaphors in a way that diverged completely from the cartoonists’ intended meaning. Using thinking out loud experiments, Sorm and Steen (2013: 29-31) have similarly found that participants processed visual metaphors realised in visual genres, including political cartoons, in ambiguous ways, using ‘language not clearly belonging to either the target domain or the source domain’. What the results of these two studies suggest is that visual metaphor interpretation depends on the visual elements presented in the cartoons, as well as the audience’s familiarity with the cartoon genre, their educational level, and background knowledge (El Refaie 2009b: 191). This implies that the cartoons to be discussed can only be decoded by censors who are fairly well-educated, visually literate, and can “read between the lines”.

6.3 Formal Features of Metaphors in the Data

Attending to RQ 2, this section explores the main forms of metaphor in the data. Both monomodal visual and multimodal (verbal-visual) metaphors are identified, but visual metaphorical cartoons are more prevalent (23 out of 43 metaphorical cartoons), since metaphorical meaning tends to be expressed predominantly through the visual mode in political cartoons (El Refaie 2009a: 174). The visual and multimodal metaphors are particularly useful for offering indirect and vivid representations of the press censorship and self-censorship contexts. This is thanks to the communicative affordances of the visual mode and

the cartoon medium which allow detailed descriptions of the two issues in single panels. The visual mode, known for its great potential for implicitness (Forceville 2008: 462), helped the cartoonists imply many messages about censorship and self-censorship and made the visual metaphors apt in this context of control, as detailed in Section 6.2. The visual mode also helped show fine and rich details about censorship, e.g., its various forms, its victims, and their sufferings and, in some images, viewers can even see censors, which cannot be captured by purely verbal metaphors. El Refaie's (2003: 75) argument, in her study of visual metaphors in Austrian political cartoons, is that the main differences between visual and verbal metaphors arise from the communicative possibilities of the two modes. The different potentials of modes, El Refaie argues, may affect both the metaphor's meaning and impact. The metaphorical representations of censorship and self-censorship in my data may not have verbal equivalents. In theory, verbal metaphors can convey details about these target topics, but they would need to use long descriptions rather than a single verbal expression. This distinction is acknowledged by Forceville (2019: 368), who maintains that the meaning-making potentials of modes other than language help 'to metaphorise in ways that are difficult, or even impossible, to achieve in verbal form'. In addition, the cartoon medium in which the censorship and self-censorship metaphors occur can determine what these metaphors communicate. Forceville (2019: 374) asserts that 'metaphors may "behave" in slightly or vastly different ways depending on the medium' in which they occur. Political cartoons have their specific ways of cueing the metaphoric relationship between a source and target domain, through images and sometimes verbal cues, and can condense many details within single panels.

As the cartoons discussed in Sections 6.1 and 6.2 show, the types of pictorial or visual metaphor described by Forceville (1996; 2008) are manifested in my data, particularly contextual (e.g., Figure 6.4) and hybrid metaphors (e.g., Figure 6.3). This indicates that although Forceville's categories were initially developed from commercial advertising, they can capture metaphorical representations found in political cartoons. However, some realisations of these pictorial metaphors can diverge slightly from the original definition proposed by Forceville. A case in point is Figure 6.13, which realises a hybrid metaphor integrating three objects rather than the usual combination of two objects, as per the definition of this type of pictorial metaphors.

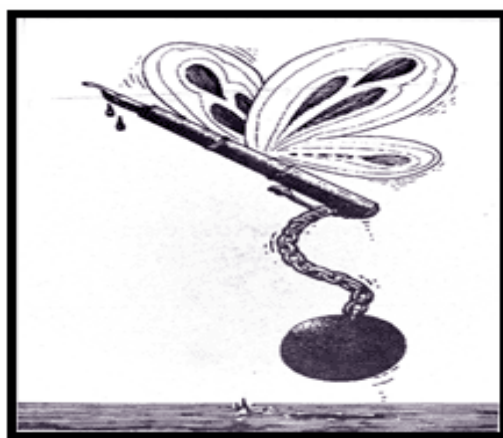


Figure 6.13: Maz, *El Watan*, 3/5/1999

Published on World Press Freedom Day, this cartoon evokes the Algerian press's failed attempts to become truly independent and liberal. This meaning is expressed through a hybrid pictorial metaphor which compares press censorship to a heavy ball and chain preventing a fountain pen (a metonym for the press, journalists, and principle of press freedom) from flying by pulling it down to earth. The flying action suggests the ideas of hope and flourishing, strengthened by the ink drops, which imply journalistic writing and freedom of expression. The cartoon's metaphor involves three different objects: a butterfly's wings are merged with the fountain pen, which is chained by a heavy prison ball. These three objects work together to construct the hybrid metaphor and, hence, convey the cartoon's message. This example indicates that this slight variation in the formal structure of the hybrid metaphor can enrich the definition of this metaphor type and inform future studies of pictorial metaphor that a hybrid metaphorical image can consist of three different parts, belonging to different domains.

6.4 Metaphor-Metonymy Interactions

This section addresses the combinations of metaphor with metonymy and attends to how such interactions may have assisted the cartoonists' purpose of covertly treating the issue of press censorship in my multimodal corpus of cartoons (RQs 2-3). As outlined in Chapter 2, I was interested in scrutinising manifestations of metaphonymy, a complex construct based on the incorporation of a metonymy in the metaphorical source and/or target domain, following Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) conceptualisation. The analysis of the 43 metaphorical cartoons about press censorship in my dataset has revealed that the dominant patterns that structure the representation of censorship are visual and multimodal metaphonymies. The analysed cartoons contain complex layers of metaphoric meanings, which contribute together to the overall meaning of the cartoon; that is, one overarching metaphor with its metaphorical mappings is used. All the metaphors in my data draw on one or more metonymies of the visual or verbo-visual types in their inner structure. Metonymy was found to be commonly

incorporated in one metaphoric domain, but, in some cases, both the metaphoric source and target are conceptually motivated by metonymy.

My analysis showed that, when they combine with metaphors, metonymies fulfil several functions. On the one hand, they mainly represent the metaphoric target domain in a way that is accessible to reader-viewers (Section 6.4.1). On the other hand, metonymies extend the metaphors: (1) by foreshadowing future metaphorical events in the imagined metaphorical events represented in the cartoons (see Section 6.4.2) and (2) by suggesting additional deep meanings for a better understanding of the target topic (see Section 6.4.3). In the following discussions, I consider the metaphor-metonymy conceptual interactions, their functions and illustrate them with concrete cartoon examples. I integrate insights from Chapter 5 to show that the ubiquity of visual metonymies in the data and their unique potential for specificity adds several advantages to the metaphonymies, which were found to mostly involve visual metonymies. As discussed in Section 5.4, visual metonymy has an advantage over verbal metonymy, since it can represent concrete instances of objects and characters and capture specific details about them in a way that cannot be attained by its verbal counterpart. Thanks to its communicative affordances, visual metonymy plays a major role in achieving the three functions mentioned above.

An important point to make before I start discussing my findings is that the present analysis is qualitative and, as such, it aims to provide a convincing account of a given phenomenon in a specific, unique context. Hence, while I may indicate in broad terms whether a particular pattern of metaphor-metonymy interaction is common or rare, I will not assess its prevalence in the data in precise numerical terms.

6.4.1 The Metonymic Representation of Metaphoric Target PRESS CENSORSHIP

My analysis has shown that, typically, the cartoonists used metonymy to implicitly indicate the metaphoric target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP. As discussed in Section 6.2, the context of control compelled the cartoonists to avoid referencing the target domain of their censorship metaphors in order to make their cartoons less susceptible to censorship. Press censorship is only explicitly referenced in rare cases (e.g., Figure 1.1), whereas the metaphoric source usually appears in the cartoons. The target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP and its constituent elements are identifiable through (1) representation or implicit cueing of the press, which is part of the target domain, via such metonyms as fountain pens, journalists, and newspapers; and/or (2) monomodal (verbal or visual) or multimodal (verbo-visual) metonyms that are closely associated with censorship (for example, the representation of censors whether in toto or through body parts, which I observed in Section 5.2); and/or (3) the metaphoric source

domain, which is metonymically represented. Indeed, as is the case in the following examples, the metaphoric source domains of the analysed cartoon data are sometimes accessible through metonymy. The analysis has, therefore, found metonymy to be a fundamental process which can play an important role in visualising both domains of a visual/multimodal metaphor.

The following examples (Figures 6.14 and 6.15) show clearly how the metaphors' target (and source) domains would be hard to identify without the help of metonymies. In this first cartoon, PRESS CENSORSHIP is evoked through the representation of the press, as well as the censor and his tools, which are important constituents of this metaphoric target domain.



Figure 6.14: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 3/5/1997

Label on the desk: 'Press'

Reader (left): 'Your newspaper is useless'

Censor (right): 'I must find out what he's thinking about?!...'

This cartoon is about the frustration of the press with governmental censorship (represented by the censor on the right), harassment by readers (on the left), and the ever-present threat posed by Islamists (represented by the shadowy figure in the background). It presents an overarching metaphor, which could be expressed as PRESS CENSORSHIP IS HARASSMENT. Without mentioning 'press censorship', Ayoub instead makes reference to the press using a personification metaphor (PRESS IS A PERSON), allowing the press to be construed as a living organism that can physically sit at a desk and think.⁷² This personification is reinforced by the PEN visual metonym that is clearly associated with the press. However, as the cartoon shows, Ayoub gives more prominence to the depiction of the censor, which can straightforwardly evoke the target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP in viewers' minds. The censor is partly

⁷² As stated in Section 5.1.1, I consider cartoons where a character is depicted and the label 'press' is included somewhere in the cartoon as being personification metaphors, whereas I regard characters represented with the inscription 'journalist' on their body as being metonyms for the press (i.e., JOURNALIST FOR PRESS).

recognisable visually from his 'tools of trade', namely scissors, handcuffs, and magnifying glass, all of which activate chains of metonymic meanings. A metonymic chain is a complex cognitive operation involving two or more metonymies: the domain that results from a first metonymic mapping becomes the point of departure for another metonymic operation (Barcelona 2005). The discussion of metonymic chains in Chapter 5 has shown such chains to be present in my cartoons. They were found to extend metonymic meaning in a cognitively efficient way. My analysis has indicated that most of the identified metaphonymies are based on a simple metonymic mapping, whereas in some cartoons, such as Figure 6.14, the construction of meaning relies on metaphonymies involving a chain of two metonymies.

Returning to the cartoon in Figure 6.14, the metaphoric target domain is conceptually grounded in several metonymic chains. The first metonymic mappings relate the three objects to the purpose of their use, that is, SCISSORS FOR SHREDDING, HANDCUFFS FOR ARREST, and MAGNIFYING GLASS FOR SPYING. Since these objects are commonly associated with censors, viewers need to activate a second metonymic mapping from these 'tools of trade' to the person using these tools, notably the censor. Ayoub used scissors, which are highly prevalent in caricatures about censorship (Goldstein 1989a; Brink 2015), as they are commonly used to cut from newspapers any materials judged to be unwanted or inappropriate. The scissors and the action of shredding stand in a metonymic relation to one another because they are based on the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION conceptual metonymy (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 37) and are, thus, easily identifiable metonyms. The fact that scissors are commonly used by censors adds another metonymic layer, giving rise to the SCISSORS FOR SHREDDING FOR CENSOR chained metonymy. Similarly, the handcuffs activate a straightforward metonymic chain, namely HANDCUFFS FOR ARREST FOR CENSOR because censors are notorious for arresting journalists and cartoonists. The use of the magnifying glass is more unusual and complex: it serves as a metonym referring to the idea of spying, which could be extended to the censor. The magnifying glass is also a metaphor, which visualises the censor's intention to read the mind of the personified press, as suggested by the laser-like lines directed towards the character's head. This interpretation is strengthened by the censor's comment, which implies his intention to control the thoughts of the personified press and censor them, if necessary. The caption is crucial for the activation of the metonymic chain MAGNIFYING GLASS FOR SPYING FOR CENSOR, as well as confirming the identity of the character as a censor. This caption, together with the image of the censor and his tools, hence, play a significant role in cueing the censorship part of the target domain of the metaphor presented in this cartoon.

The three chained metonymies in this cartoon can be described as cases of 'multimodal metonymic chains', which Pérez-Sobrino (2017: 102) defines as the 'interaction of several metonymies, which are exclusively or partially rendered in different modes'.

Although the metonymies SCISSORS FOR SHREDDING and HANDCUFFS FOR ARREST are purely visual, the MAGNIFYING GLASS FOR SPYING metonymy and the further metonymic link to the CENSOR, which creates the three chains, are multimodal because they draw on visual cues and verbal elements, namely the censor's comment which points to his identity and intentions.

These same metonymic chains also seem to motivate or relate to the overarching metaphoric source domain of HARASSMENT. This is because the censor is actively involved in the harassment of the press by inspecting and censoring any anti-government or sensitive topics that the press might think to address. As described earlier, these censorship practices are metonymically suggested through verbal and visual cues. The cartoon shows clearly that governmental censorship, represented by the censor, is just one of the pressures exerted on the press; other pressures include the readership's dissatisfaction with the press and the Islamist threats. These pressures leave the press caught in a difficult situation in which it is impossible to satisfy the government, readers, and the Islamists at once.

Another example of how metonymy combines with metaphor for the purpose of implicitly indicating the target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP can be seen in Figure 6.15 below.

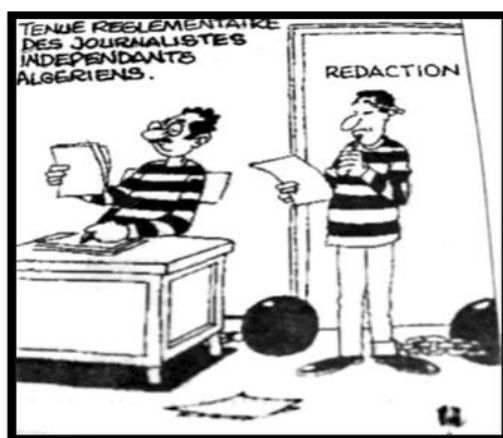


Figure 6.15: Maz, *El Watan*, 18/1/1995

Caption: Dress code for independent Algerian journalists

Label on the door: Newsroom

Maz's cartoon evokes the repeated incarceration of journalists through a multimodal metaphorical depiction of the target domain, PRESS CENSORSHIP, in terms of the source domain, IMPRISONMENT. However, nowhere it is stated explicitly that the cartoon is about press censorship; rather, to facilitate the identification of this target topic, Maz refers to the 'press' using visual and verbal metonymic cues. He visually represents journalists in a work setting, papers and pens in hand, and reinforces this image with the label 'newsroom' on the door, as well as the caption, indicating that the characters are journalists. The multimodal (verbo-visual) metonymy (JOURNALISTS AND NEWSROOM FOR PRESS), hence, provides partial conceptual

access to the target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP and creates a first complex metonymy-based multimodal metaphor, i.e., a multimodal metaphonymy. This is because Maz also evokes the censorship part of this target domain. In contrast to Figure 6.14, where censorship was visualised through the censor character and his tools, in this cartoon, the censorship part is only accessible through the source domain, IMPRISONMENT, which needs to be triggered in the viewers' mind through a metonymic mapping. Indeed, Maz uses metonymy to evoke the concept of 'prisoner', which is an important constituent of this metaphoric source domain. While viewers understand that the depicted characters are journalists, they have to infer that those journalists are imprisoned by activating metonymic connections. The journalists are cast as convicts, identifiable from the stripy uniform and ball and chain that act as visual metonyms. These still function as generic features typically associated with prisoners, although they are, in fact, no longer used in most prisons. In addition to these visual cues, the metonymic link between journalists and prisoners is reinforced by the caption which suggests that, due to repeated imprisonment, the prisoners' outfits have become the standard dress code for journalists. This cartoon is a good example in which textual elements are indispensable for the realisation of metonymy, whereas in other cartoons, the verbal mode serves a subsidiary function, that of fixing or 'anchoring' the cartoon's message (Barthes 1977). In this second case, the labels and/or captions deployed serve a confirmatory function. The activated metonymy, therefore, involves two sources, STRIPY UNIFORM and BALL AND CHAIN, that map onto the same target, PRISONER (i.e., STRIPY UNIFORM and BALL AND CHAIN FOR PRISONER). This metonymic mapping occurs in the metaphor's source domain and generates a second metaphonymy in the cartoon. The concept of prisoners, in turn, evokes the idea of imprisonment, which viewers knowledgeable of press censorship in Algeria can associate with censorship, since it was one of its forms. As the cartoon indicates then, due to the absence of censor characters, the censorship element of the metaphoric target domain, PRESS CENSORSHIP, is implied through metonyms referring to the metaphoric source domain, IMPRISONMENT. It is noticeable that metonymy not only visualises the analogy between censorship and imprisonment by creating intricate interactions with both of these metaphoric terms, but also refers to elements of one domain; in this case, the target domain, by means of another, i.e., the source.

The occurrence of metonymies in both the target and source domains of the metaphor in Figures 6.14 and 6.15 above accords well with Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) definition of metaphonymy. Furthermore, the interplay of the metaphor PRESS CENSORSHIP IS HARASSMENT with the metonymic chains explained in Figure 6.14 constitute a novel finding that has not so far been identified in political cartoons. As stated in Chapter 2, the paucity of research on metaphor-metonymy interactions has limited our understanding of the possible patterns of

interactions in political cartoons. The combination of metaphor with a chained metonymy has, however, been identified in advertising discourse. In her small-scale research of greenwashing advertisements, Pérez-Sobrino (2013) has shown how the interaction between the multimodal metaphor *PRODUCT IS X* and the *GREEN FOR NATURE FOR NATURE FRIENDLY* chain of metonymies constructs a positive image of products that are, in fact, not eco-friendly at all. However, Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) definition of metaphonymy does not allow for the possibility that a metaphor may interact with a metonymic chain. The interaction of metaphor with a metonymic chain in my data, therefore, suggests the need to extend Pérez-Sobrino's definition to include the important role of metonymic chains in the development of metaphonymies in multimodal discourse.

6.4.2 Foreshadowing Future Metaphorical Events through Metonymy

The second main function that metonymy fulfils when it interacts with metaphor is to expand and enrich the metaphoric meanings by suggesting future actions. My analysis indicated that, when it occurs in the metaphoric source, metonymy can foreshadow future events in the imagined metaphorical world represented in the cartoon. Since 'any individual image can only depict [...] a single action', as Painter et al. (2013: 58) claim, the cartoonists seem to compensate for this limitation by using visual metonymies to imply two related and successive actions. Markedly different from verbal metonymies, visual metonymies were found to offer cartoonists useful, visual shortcuts to imply a prospective event. Viewers, thus, need to infer future action from what is shown in the cartoon. A good example to illustrate my finding is the cartoon in Figure 6.16, which represents press censorship as an oversized pair of scissors dangling above the journalist's head, suggesting the idea that the press operates under the constant spectre of censorship.⁷³ In this cartoon, the representation of the personified press sitting underneath the scissors presumes that Maz merely likens press censorship to scissors. However, Maz implies the action of scissors falling down on the character, thereby suggesting that the scissors (by implication, censorship) represent a threat. This future action is not depicted and is not indicated verbally, but rather metonymically implied through the image of the scissors dangling from the thin thread, which is far too thin to hold the heavy scissors.

⁷³ This is an example of a metaphor scenario. A more detailed discussion of the narrative elements of metaphor scenarios is provided in Chapter 7.

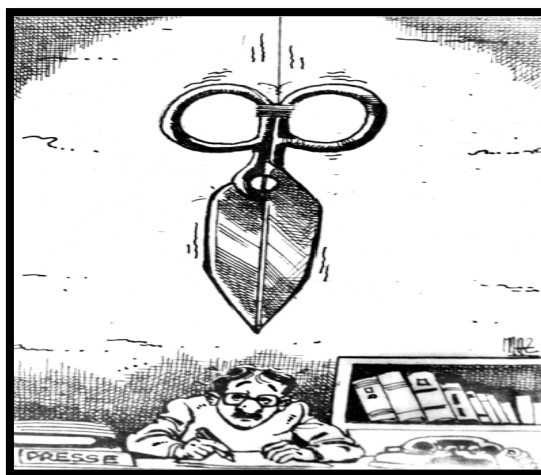


Figure 6.16: Maz, *El Watan*, 10/8/1992

Label: Press

This depiction invites viewers to infer that the thread can break at any time and cause the scissors to fall from the ceiling. It instantiates the conceptual metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE, where the cause of the action—the thin thread—stands for the result of the action—the fall of the scissors. This corroborates Radden and Kövecses' (1999: 38) suggestion that cause and effect are so interdependent that one of them implies the other. The conceptual metonymy POTENTIAL FOR ACTUAL is also at work here, as the discrepancy between the big, heavy scissors and the slender thread would lead viewers to think that the falling action is likely to happen. According to Littlemore (2015: 47), a potential event 'is metonymically linked to its occurrence in reality'. Therefore, the visual metonymic representations enable readers to predict what is likely to occur, based on their experience of real-life situations and the laws of physics.

Viewers play an important role in interpreting this cartoon. They need to actively interpret the actions being represented and/or implied, as well as the way that one event (i.e., the loosening thread) relates to the next (i.e., the prospective fall of the scissors). Indeed, Painter et al. (2013: 70-71) argue that, 'in a visual text, which does not have the same potential for explicitly specifying relations between events', 'a greater burden of interpretation is placed on the reader'. As is also the case with Figure 6.17, readers need to draw on their embodied experiences and the visual cues shown in the cartoon to deduce that the extreme pressure of the shoe crushing would smash the fountain pen and cause injury or even death to the journalist.

6.4.3 Expressing Implied Meanings of Metaphors through Metonymy

The second way in which visual metonymy extends metaphoric meanings in the cartoon data is by generating additional implied meanings which enable viewers to better understand the

target topic PRESS CENSORSHIP. The metaphor PRESS CENSORSHIP IS A SHOE CRUSHING A JOURNALIST in Figure 6.17 is a good case in point. Maz elaborates on this metaphor to express the power inequality between the censoring agent represented by its most salient feature, the foot (FOOT FOR CENSORING AGENT), and the censored press suggested metonymically by the fountain pen and the journalist, which activate the chain PEN FOR JOURNALIST FOR PRESS. To explain this asymmetrical power relationship, Maz exploits the conceptual metaphor IMPORTANCE IS SIZE (Grady 1997), which is motivated and visually expressed by metonymy. Visual metonymy is used for its ability to offer a concrete picture of the different sizes of the censor's shoe, fountain pen, and journalist relative to each other and highlight their respective significance. As noted by El Refaie (2009a), the cartoon genre frequently capitalises on size to indicate the relative importance of different visual elements. As it is clear from the cartoon, the image of the oversized foot crushing the tiny journalist and his tool of trade, the fountain pen, implies that the censor is big and powerful, whereas the press is small and helpless. As the cartoon shows, the journalist is struggling to withstand the pressure of the shoe. This is clearly indicated by the sweat droplets resulting from the strenuous physical effort which the journalist is making to resist censorship using his fountain pen. In accordance with the idea that, in the social and political domains, 'size is related to power and dominance' (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 47), the size of the three elements is related to the importance and, hence, the power of the censor versus the press.

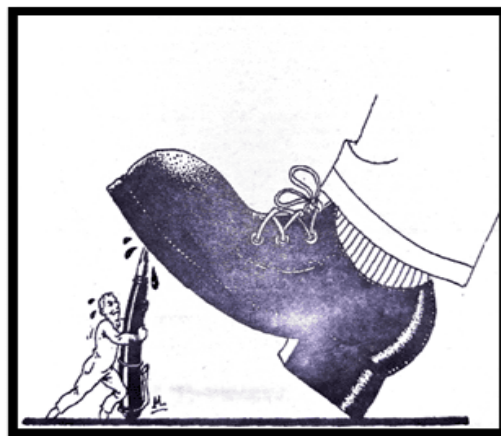


Figure 6.17: Maz, *El Watan*, 11/12/1998

The usefulness of visual metonymy for expressing this metaphoric meaning relates back to the argument discussed in Section 5.4 that, in contrast to verbal metonymies, visual metonymies can offer concrete representations and depict fine details. In addition to providing a more specific and detailed representation of the underlying meaning of the metaphor PRESS CENSORSHIP IS A SHOE CRUSHING A JOURNALIST, the visual form of the metonymies used simplify the identification of the metaphoric target. As the cartoon demonstrates, the

representation of the censoring agent's shoe (SHOE FOR CENSORING AGENT metonymy) is very specific and full of meaningful details: its shape, type, and cleanliness all provide clues as to the gender, type of person, and even the profession of the person to whom it belongs (see Section 5.2). Foregrounding the communicative affordances of the visual mode for meaning making in visual genres, El Refaie (2015a: 21) asserts that, because images always represent particular instances of people or objects, 'they are typically more specific than words, capturing nuances of meaning that would be hard to convey through language'. This is why Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 2) state that 'expressing something verbally or visually makes a difference'.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that metaphor provided the cartoonists with a useful tool for representing the abstract issues of censorship and self-censorship in easily imaginable ways. It has detailed how metaphors can capture the forms and effects of censorship on journalists and cartoonists, as well as involving a change of perspective from the censorship practices towards the agents responsible for censorship.

Considering the important role of metaphor use in helping the cartoonists outwit potential censors during the context of control of the 1992-2002 period, this chapter has indicated that the implicit reference to the target topic PRESS CENSORSHIP in visual metaphors offered the cartoonists an advantage to deny the intended meaning of their cartoons. Furthermore, the use of metaphors enabled the cartoonists to make the interpretation of the metaphorical cartoons challenging for potential censors, who need to derive and impart important metaphorical entailments or inferences of source domains to this target topic.

This chapter has also discussed how the combination between metaphor and metonymy results in complex patterns of interaction. The productive synergy of metaphor with metonymic chains found in my data constitutes an original finding which warrants the need to extend the definition of metaphonymy to include the possibility that metaphor can combine with metonymic chain(s) in multimodal contexts. The chapter has demonstrated that metonymy and metonymic chains play a vital role in the construction and comprehension of visual and multimodal metaphors by motivating the emergence of target (and source) domains of metaphors and enriching metaphoric meanings. It has highlighted that, thanks to the communicative potential of visual metonymy, political cartoons can visually emphasise and exaggerate essential features of the depicted characters and objects in metaphors. While this chapter has mainly focused on the study of simple metaphors, the next chapter will provide a detailed analysis of the use of metaphor scenarios in my cartoon data.

Chapter 7

Chapter 7: Narrative Analysis of Metaphor Scenarios

Introduction

The present chapter focuses on RQ 4 about the distinction between a metaphor and metaphor scenario. As discussed in Section 2.2.4, a metaphor scenario is a metaphoric complex which Musolff (2006) vaguely defines as a mini-narrative helping to make sense of a target topic, but which has not been examined in detail in terms of its narrative components. To address this research gap, this chapter critiques and redefines Musolff's concept by embedding the analysis of the 11 metaphor scenarios in my cartoon data within narrative theory. It draws on the notions of temporality (Abbott 2002) and causality (Adams 1989; Richardson 2005) to dissect the narrative structure of a metaphor scenario in political cartoons, developing an understanding of its integral narrative features and showing how these elements work together to articulate narrative meanings. To this end, the chapter starts with Section 7.1, which outlines the key narrative components constituting a metaphor scenario in political cartoons, before detailing them further in Section 7.2. The discussions demonstrate that narrative theory not only offers a novel and original approach to the study of metaphor scenarios, but also helps to systematically draw a sharp line between simple (visual and multimodal) metaphor and a metaphor structured as a visual narrative, i.e., a metaphor scenario.

Relating the use of the visual and multimodal metaphor scenarios to the political cartoonists' aims, I show that the scenarios help to better conceptualise press censorship. My discussion seeks to corroborate Musolff's (2006: 23) argument that the analysis of scenarios is 'a necessary complement to the study of source domains and of the main mappings in metaphorical language use'. Particular attention is also devoted to the evaluative function of metaphorical scenarios to address RQ 2 (see Section 7.3). Adopting Bamberg's (2005) concept of 'agency' and protagonist-antagonist character relationships, I attend to how the cartoonists created evaluative scenarios that invoke the involvement of government officials in the harassment of journalists and cartoonists. In so doing, I consider how the scenarios convey the victimisation and powerlessness of the press in the face of political censorship. I demonstrate that the metaphorical scenarios are highly rhetorical and 'carry evaluative and attitudinal biases' (Musolff 2006: 23).

7.1 The Structure of a Narrative

I ground my analysis of metaphor scenarios in narrative theory to explain how political cartoons, despite belonging to the realm of static images, can convey narrative meanings. However, it is particularly challenging to adapt narrative theory to a static, single-panel visual medium like political cartoons. This is because narrative theory has mainly been developed in

relation to sequential, temporal media, such as literature (Genette 1980; 1983)⁷⁴ and films (e.g., Lothe 2005). Nonetheless, narrative theory makes several important arguments about the underlying narrative structure that can be identified in many different forms of narratives, which renders it suitable to understand how the metaphor scenarios in my data are organised as mini-narratives.

As discussed in Section 3.4.4, my methodological approach to identifying scenarios in my data involved using a set of criteria that were informed by my consideration of a metaphor scenario as a visual and/or multimodal narrative that incorporates human and/or human-like characters engaged in dynamic actions or events occurring in an imaginary setting. A scenario involves two or more evoked or implied actions, which need to be connected temporally; that is, they must reflect temporal progression (past, present, and future). The actions also need to be cohesively and logically tied together through cause-effect relationships. In what follows, I draw on insights from narrative theory to discuss how a proper narrative, whether verbal or visual, has a clearly defined structure and key narrative features, namely actions, temporal and causal relationships, and characterisation. This discussion serves as a theoretical basis that will inform my detailed analysis of examples of metaphor scenarios across sections 7.2-7.3.

A narrative typically involves **actions**. As argued by Baldry and Thibault (2006: 12), actions are the 'hallmark of narrative', be it verbal or non-verbal. The events can be explicitly depicted or implied, inviting viewers to use any verbal or visual cues to infer them. These actions or activities not only shape the storyline, but also activate a sense of motion in the narrative. As Potsch and Williams (2012: 13) point out, dynamics and movement are key to 'mentally animating the narrated events'. More relevant to my discussion is how a character's movement can be depicted in static and visual narrative genres. Researchers have suggested the application of several representation techniques to achieve this narrative purpose. For example, according to the social semioticians Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 43-78), a narrative image includes visual 'vectors', i.e., explicit or implicit diagonal lines which serve as visual equivalents of action verbs. The vectors are usually given the task of linking the 'actor', the visual element from which the vector emanates, to the 'goal', the element to which the action is directed. Another important resource for suggesting motion is the use of 'motion lines' (Horn 1998: 136). In connection with action comics, Potsch and Williams (2012: 22) have highlighted the relevance of ribbon paths, which they describe as 'swathes of light colour

⁷⁴ Gerard Genette's works are regarded as theoretical references in narrative theory. They have been particularly used by literary critics to read texts in a rigorously analytical manner. His works have been later supplemented by concepts developed by other scholars.

drawn behind the character or object', creating the illusion of movement and high-speed actions.

Temporality is a further prerequisite for any narrative. According to Eisner (2008: 3), a narrative involves 'a beginning, an end, and a thread of events laid upon a framework that holds the two together'. Stressing the importance of temporal progression for structuring narratives, Aigner et al. (2011: 35) assert that 'time is the central thread that ties everything together in visual storytelling'. However, some narrative genres are more capable of visualising time sequence than others. For example, political cartoons are static and stand-alone images whose ability to indicate the passage of time is inevitably highly restricted. In the context of my data, it is, therefore, important to see how the cartoonists implied a sense of temporality in the metaphor scenarios. Although the events evoked in a narrative can reflect a passage of time which is not tied to a specific duration, sometimes they can span from seconds to days or even longer periods of time. In comics, for example, it is possible to find panels into which 'moments, hours, even days, are compressed' (Hartfield 2005: 58). This makes temporality a very flexible and malleable aspect which artists can expand or contract depending on their intentions.

The principle of **causality** is also central for creating a cohesive thread of narrative events. Narrative theorists Adams (1989: 150) and Richardson (2005: 48) consider causality as foundational and necessary for any narrative. Causal relationships capture the way in which successive actions are related to each other and contribute to the overall plot. Considering narrative as an 'act of explanation', Adams (1989) argues that past events provide causal explanations for subsequent happenings. Causes have effects that shape the course of the narrative. As Richardson (2005) notes, a cause in a narrative is 'an action or event that directly or obliquely produces a transformation'. This idea of change resulting from causal relations has been highlighted as central for narratives (Baldry and Thibault 2006: 12-13).

Finally, a typical narrative centres around human and/or human-like **characters**, which 'play a role, no matter how minor' in a story (Margolin 2007: 66). The type of characters depends significantly on their roles in the narrative. For Abdel-Raheem (2020: 28), the internal structure of a narrative 'which describes the cast of characters, their roles, identities, relations, and personal traits is crucial because it typically explains the goals, plans, actions of the characters as the story unfolds'. Of particular interest to the present analysis is the antagonist character, which is instrumental to expressing evaluative meanings in metaphor scenarios (see Section 7.3).

An important point to foreground before showing how these narrative features operate in my data is that the appreciation of a narrative is not contingent on the mere presence of

these features, but also requires reader-viewers' active participation in the conceptual 'acting out of the story' (Eisner 2008: 57). This is congruous with Abbott's (2002: 6) principle of 'narrative perception', by which he means the activation of a narrative in reader-viewers' mind. Audiences are required to take part in constructing the narrative conveyed in whatever medium, but their participation is even more significant in the case of media that are organised spatially rather than temporally. For example, Berger (1997: 6) and Bateman (2014: 51) assert that viewers tend to look for a story in any static image by trying to find answers to the who, what, when, why, where questions. Abdel-Raheem (2020: 28), on the other hand, argues that viewers have first to be familiar with the structure of narrative, namely that a story unfolds with a beginning, middle, and end. It could, therefore, be argued that a metaphor scenario relies largely on the audience's ability to identify the logical, temporal, and causal connections that clarify how the narrative characters, objects, and actions fit together. I elaborate on Abbott's principle by suggesting that viewers' narrative perception hinges also on whether the medium invites a narrative reading. Comics, for instance, exhibit a narrative structure because they are a sequential medium, i.e., their panels are arranged in a sequence and involve recurring characters, with each panel representing a different moment in time as the story develops (Cohn 2010; 2013). Hence, comics readers expect to identify a narrative. Studies by Edwards (1997) and Abdel-Raheem (2020) have demonstrated that political cartoons can also convey narrative meaning, even within the confines of a single panel. However, a caveat to keep in mind is that not all political cartoons tell a story and that only some of these stories are metaphorical. It is the aim of this chapter to build on this scholarly evidence to show that political cartoonists invite reader-viewers to complete in their minds the mini-narrative which each scenario tells.

7.2 The Narrative Elements of Metaphor Scenarios in Political Cartoons

In the following discussions, I demonstrate how the aforementioned narrative elements and relations play out in practice through the analysis of concrete examples of metaphor scenarios from my data. I start by illustrating how the scenarios evoke dynamic narrative actions or events (Section 7.2.1). I then show how the scenarios incorporate temporal and causal connections, generating a clear sequence of inter-related narrative actions. These relations are presented in Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3, respectively. Finally, Section 7.3 addresses how the metaphor scenarios perform an evaluative function by highlighting the role of antagonist characters in enabling the cartoonists to express a critical stance towards the government censor.

7.2.1 Implying Movement and Actions in Metaphor Scenarios

To understand how the narrative events involved in the metaphor scenarios are connected temporally and causally, it is important to first consider how these events are implied. My analysis has indicated that, despite their format as single-panel images functioning in isolation, the cartoons in my data are able to evoke 'dynamic events' (Bridgeman 2007: 52) that underpin all the identified metaphor scenarios. In the scenarios, the visual representation of dynamic events, such as walking or running, relies on various techniques, including particular types of pictorial runes, which Kennedy (1982) calls 'motion lines' and 'speed lines', respectively. Forceville (2011: 888) highlights the efficiency of pictorial runes in visualising movements in static genres like comics or political cartoons, arguing that they 'constitute a rudimentary "language" that is used to (help) visualise non-visible events and experiences understood to take place, or to have taken place, in a static medium'. Tasic and Stamenkovic (2017: 127) specify that motion lines are typically 'slightly curved and short lines, which have various orientations, they appear around or parallel to a body part or other object'. In line with this observation, the motion lines in my data are in the form of lines adjacent to the characters' body part(s) and suggest that the characters are moving. Figure 7.1 is a pertinent example which shows how the walking action of a journalist is evoked through motion lines which can be noticeable parallel to his back.

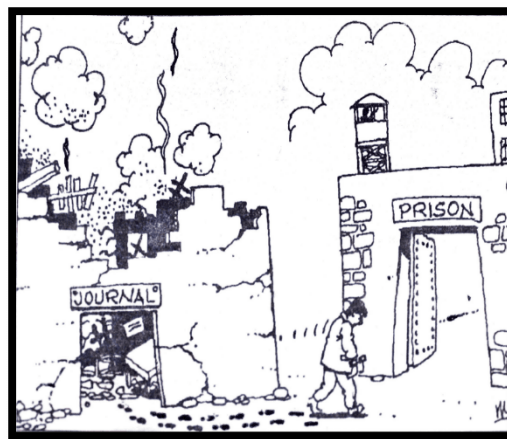


Figure 7.1: Maz, *El Watan*, 31/12/1996

Left: Newspaper; Right: Prison

Metonymy, as well as characters' directionality and gaze, were also found to be useful narrative techniques that create the effect of motion or dynamism in the scenarios. As this cartoon shows, the FOOTPRINTS visual metonym is an important visual resource which not only specifies that the footprints belong to the journalist-character through a FOOTPRINTS FOR JOURNALIST metonymic relationship, but also gives a clear indication of his trajectory from his

destroyed newspaper office (on the left) to prison (on the right). The use of a visual metonym to evoke a sense of movement is less preponderant in the data than the other techniques. It is only used in Figure 7.1. The character's directionality, which is represented by his body posture leaning towards the right, his slightly hunched shoulders and bowed head, as well as his gaze directed rightward seems to play an equally important role in hinting at the direction of his movement towards the prison.

The cartoonists' deployment of this variety of representational techniques confirms Edwards' (1993: 1) argument that 'cartoons are capable of movement'. However, a significant point to consider is that, although motion lines, speed lines, character's directionality and gaze, and the FOOTPRINTS metonym work perfectly well as representational devices in the scenarios, only the FOOTPRINTS metonym indicates both the motion and the path of the moving character. As Figure 7.1 shows clearly, the footprints denote the point from which the character started moving and the point to which he is heading. This makes the metonym a more specific and useful resource for the depiction of a character's movement through the space of the cartoon. Let us now turn to the temporal aspect of the metaphor scenarios.

7.2.2 Implying Temporality in Metaphor Scenarios

The chronological sequencing of actions has been found to be a significant characteristic of the metaphor scenarios in my data. The scenarios evoke a sequence of past action(s), actions occurring in the depicted moment, and implied future action(s). This temporal progression from past to future is woven into the scenarios in such a way that it is more than a background constituent of these mini-narratives, but rather 'part of [their] fabric, affecting our basic understanding of [them]' (Bridgeman 2007: 52). In the different scenarios which I examined, some of the events are made explicit to viewers and are a visible part of the visual mini-narratives, while others are implied and, hence, 'inferable from visual clues' (Toolan 2015: 237). This suggests that the cartoonists count on the audience's ability to build a coherent narrative structure in their minds based on what is suggested by the cartoon panels. In addition to arranging the consecutive events in such a way that they generate a meaningful mini story, the cartoonists sought to pull reader-viewers into the story and retain their interest. This is particularly suggested by the implied sense of future, which arouses the audience's curiosity and creates suspense about what will happen next to the characters and how the plot will develop.

My analysis has revealed that the three cartoonists found ways of exploiting spatial relations to convey the chronological flow of events in all the metaphor scenarios. This finding is backed up by McCloud's (2000: 2) argument that still images, such as cartoons and comics, substitute space for temporality. Before discussing the general patterns of temporality in the

data, I outline some theoretical insights about the conceptualisation of time in metaphor studies.

Conceptual metaphor theorists regard TIME as a good example of a domain which cannot be communicated straightforwardly and effectively without recourse to more concrete experiences. Particularly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 41-44) argue that the abstract notion of TIME is conceptualised through the concrete domain of SPACE, with most people often thinking of time as flowing along the sagittal (front-back) axis, imagining the past to be behind them, the present right by them, and the future ahead of them.⁷⁵ For example, 'we are *looking forward* to a brighter tomorrow', '*falling behind* schedule, or 'proposing theories *ahead of our time*' are common expressions which represent ordinary, everyday ways of thinking and talking about time (Boroditsky 2000: 4). In this sense, time is conceived as if it has 'physical dimensions or is physically located in space' (Knowles and Moon 2006: 35). Cognitive linguists distinguish between two major conceptions of time: time-moving and ego-moving metaphors. Time-moving metaphors, such as in 'Christmas *is approaching*', conceptualise time as moving toward a static observer. In contrast, the ego-moving perspective involves events which are stationary relative to the ego or the character who progresses 'along the timeline toward the future' (Boroditsky 2000: 5). The sentence 'I am *falling behind schedule*' is an example of an ego-moving metaphor of time.

Although the conventional conceptualisation of time is linear and sagittal (i.e., it flows along the front-back axis), cognitive scientists have provided strong evidence that in some contexts people also implicitly associate temporal sequences with the lateral (left-right) axis (Ouellet et al. 2010). Previous research has shown that different writing directions lead to culturally divergent representations of these imagined lateral timelines (Fuhrman and Boroditsky 2010; Casasanto and Jasmin 2012). In particular, Casasanto and Bottini's (2014: 143-146) empirical study indicates that the left-right mapping of time is independent from the way people who come from certain cultures or use particular languages actually think about time and that the way people talk does not always reflect the way they think; rather, the lateral representation of time can be shaped by culturally specific practices, especially our experience using a certain writing direction. As the scholars point out, 'the left-right timeline typically used to conceptualise temporal sequences is [...] determined by cultural practices: not by language, or by experience with the physical environment' (p.146). This implies that people can represent chronology across the lateral axis, while they conceptualise temporal events as flowing sagittally.

⁷⁵ This is particularly true for Arabic, English, French, and many other languages.

Returning to my analysis, the findings indicate that the spatial representation of time relations in the scenarios which appeared in both the French and the Arabic newspapers corroborates the conclusions of the empirical cross-linguistic and cross-cultural research which reported the conventional use of SPACE for the understanding of TIME in Arabic (Hamdi 2008: ii), English (Núñez and Sweetser 2006: 401), and in French languages and cultures (Borillo 1996: 123-127). This ubiquity can be justified by the embodied basis of the TIME IS SPACE conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). TIME metaphors derive directly from sensory-motor or experiential interactions with the physical world. In metaphorising time as space, most languages involve the simulation of movement along a path, either by the agent-time or a person, which corresponds to the time-moving and ego-moving perspectives, respectively (Martín et al. 2020). The findings of my analysis also reveal that the cartoonists Ayoub, Maz, and Dilem exploited complex, two-dimensional spatial orientations (left-right/right-left and front-back/back-front) in the metaphor scenarios to evoke the experience of time passing within the single panels.

Before I consider each of these patterns in turn and illustrate them with examples in the remainder of this section, I point out that my interpretation of the temporal progression of events through space in the narrative scenarios is carried out from my perspective as a viewer when looking at the cartoon. As Potsch and Williams (2012: 23-24) remark in relation to cartoons and comics, the reader is 'positioned as a viewer outside the action, viewing it as a kind of hidden spectator, whether near or far'. This perspective is completely different from when the actions are seen from the viewpoint of a character who is directly involved in the scene. This distinction is significant because it can shape and result in divergent interpretations of the temporal events. For example, a running action, which a reader-viewer or an analyst perceives as flowing from left to right, would be perceived as a running action towards the front for the character inside the scene. In this case, it is front and back orientations relative to the character.

My analysis showed that in the French language cartoons, the unfolding of actions is implied through the left-to-right orientation, with the past on the left and the future on the right. Conversely, in the Arabic cartoons, the orientation is reversed so that the right-hand side of the cartoon suggests the past, while the left-hand side evokes the future. The divergent representation of temporal flow of actions in the Arabic versus the French cartoons in the identified scenarios varies according to whether the language is written from left to right in the case of French, or from right to left such as in Arabic. The imagined progression of events in these scenarios, hence, confirms the scholarly observations discussed above: that the visual representation of time is often shaped by the writing-reading direction of a particular language. As the following cartoons (Figures 7.2 and 7.3) make clear, there is a divergence between the

visual representation of temporal relations in the Arabic and French scenarios on the left-right axis, and the actual (front-back) conceptualisation of time in the two languages, which (as stated above) is a near-universal pattern. A pertinent example of the left-right mapping of time is Figure 7.2, which appeared in the French-language newspaper *Liberté*.



Figure 7.2: Dilem, *Liberté*, 20/9/2001

Caption: Le Matin has turned 10

Islamist and Army general: Help!!! A suicide plane ...

To mark the tenth anniversary of the independent daily, *Le Matin*, Dilem produced this cartoon, which highlights the threat that this newspaper represented to the Islamists and army generals because of its overt opposition and criticism of both the Islamist movement and the government. Dilem uses a multimodal metaphor, where the newspaper *Le Matin* is folded in the shape of a suicide plane targeting an Islamist and an army general who are shown fleeing away from the threat. As can be noticed from the cartoon, both the flying action of the newspaper-plane and the action of the two characters running away flow from left to right. The left-to-right unfolding of these actions is consistent with the reading-writing direction of French. The same holds for the PRISON scenario above (Figure 7.1) where Maz exploited the left-to-right spatial orientation to produce the effect of chronologically organised events. In this scenario, the sense of past, present, and future events is arranged spatially in such a way that the handcuffed journalist leaves the ruined newspaper offices placed on the left and is depicted heading off rightward to prison. The story starts on the left-hand side of the cartoon panel with the destruction of the newspaper offices and the arrest of a journalist who is walking towards the prison on the right where he will be incarcerated, as indicated by his handcuffs.

In contrast, the VIOLENCE scenario shown in Figure 7.3 delineates clearly how Ayoub used the inverse direction, that is, right-to-left spatial orientation. Although the scene is frozen in time, it still suggests a temporal progression of events by portraying a journalist running away to escape from angry, dissatisfied readers threatening to assault him. The direction of

the running action is represented as unfolding from right to left in line with the writing direction of the Arabic language. What happened to annoy the readers is not visualised in the panel, but the right-to-left movement serves as a visual cue aiding reader-viewers to infer that a particular incident happened earlier. Inferring the sense of future seems to depend on readers' ability to interpret the leftward trajectory and to use their imagination to make two possible implications: either the journalist will continue running until he will be out of danger, or the readers will continue chasing the journalist until they catch him.



Figure 7.3: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 24/6/1998

Label: Journalist

A new finding in this study is that background-to-foreground and front-to-back spatial relations (i.e., the sagittal axis) are also used to evoke temporal progression in the metaphor scenarios. The background-foreground orientation was found to produce a temporal succession of narrative events, with the foreground suggesting future actions and the background implying the past. In contrast, a reversed orientation is exploited to visualise the imagined timeline of actions, activating background-future and foreground-past representations of time, as exemplified by the TARGETING/SHOOTING scenario (Figure 7.4). This cartoon introduces a scenario structured around targeting/shooting, which evokes a progression of events from the past to the depicted moment, as well as projecting into the future. The story starts with a hooded censor who has painted targets on the backs of several characters. We understand from the headline of the accompanying newspaper article that the topic of the cartoon is press censorship and that the characters represent journalists. Drawing on our encyclopaedic knowledge about shooting practice, we can infer the violent tone of the scenario, which suggests that the journalists are made into targets. Building on these details, we are invited to draw a metaphorical link between the image of the masked censor painting targets on journalists' backs and the actual shooting of journalists in real life at that time (see

Chapter 4). Unaware of the marks on their backs, the journalists carry on walking in the street and heading in different directions.

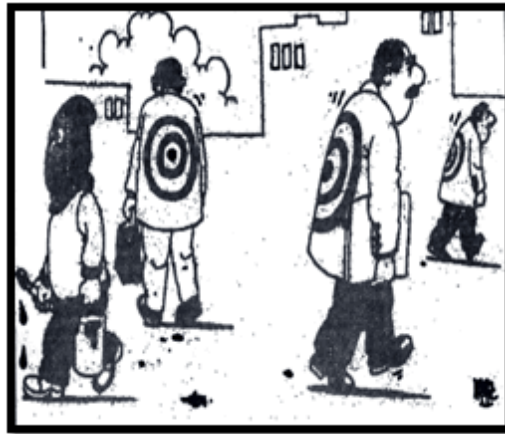


Figure 7.4: Maz, *El Watan*, 22/5/1996

The front-back spatial orientation plays a significant role in the representation of the chronological progression of events within this scenario. As the cartoon shows, this orientation is used to visualise the walking direction of the journalist behind, so that the background implies the future which the character is moving towards, whereas the front represents the start of his trajectory. The cartoon, therefore, manifests the PAST IS FOREGROUND and FUTURE IS BACKGROUND visual metaphors, respectively. This finding differs from that reported by El Refaie (2009a: 177-180) for background-foreground orientations. She explains that the sense of chronology is implied through 'the relative position of the main active participants', who, in the metaphorical cartoons she examines, are depicted as moving from the past towards the future, where the background represents the past and the foreground the future, or the other way around. For example, one cartoon, which appeared on the day of the 2004 US Presidential elections, shows the image of George W. Bush in the guise of a toddler crawling from a background of a wall of flames towards an open box of matches with the text '4 more years' on it. The forward motion of the character towards the box suggests a sense of future which can be interpreted as follows: if he wins the elections today, George W. Bush will govern the USA for four more years.

What makes this metaphor scenario even more interesting for discussion is that, in addition to the representation of time along the sagittal (front-to-back) space, a sense of time passing is also conveyed through motion along the lateral (left-right) axis. As can be seen from the cartoon, Maz used the lateral axis to represent opposing timelines of actions. Having painted bullseyes on the backs of the journalist at the front and the other journalists behind, the masked censor makes his way towards the left to target other journalists. This means that the past is on the right, whereas the future is on the left. In contrast, the walking action of the

journalists—at the front and back—seems to unfold in the opposite direction, i.e., from left to right. Maz also capitalised on the lateral axis to imply a sense of future. The censor's leftward movement and the paint drops falling from the brush serve as clues, implying that he will look for other victims to target by painting on their backs. The censor is depicted standing upright and looking forward, which reinforce the idea of purposeful action.

The chronological aspect of narrative events that I have discussed so far is the temporal successions of actions, realised by using the lateral and sagittal spatial axes. Another temporal relation between two actions is that of simultaneity. My analysis revealed that some scenarios imply only a sequence of events unfolding chronologically from past to future, whereas others show chronological events as well as evoking simultaneous actions which are performed by different characters within the single panels. In these cartoons, two or more actions take place simultaneously in the depicted moment. A good example of simultaneity can be seen in the TARGETING/SHOOTING scenario (Figure 7.4), which depicts several characters walking at the same time. The representation of the synchronous occurrence of actions in these scenarios differs from the medium-specific techniques employed in other graphical genres for the achievement of the same narrative effect. For example, in her analysis of autobiographical comics, El Refaie (2012: 129) has identified the spatial juxtaposition of panels on the same page or on opposing pages as a way of creating a sense of numerous actions happening at the same time. In such cases, the page layout or composition becomes the focus of reader-viewers' attention.

Unlike the scenarios discussed above, the STABBING metaphor scenario presented in Figure 7.5 evokes one prominent and complex action, which I call an 'overlap', emerging from the fusion of two actions that are performed by a single agent.



Figure 7.5: Ayoub, *El Khabar*, 4/5/1998

Caption: Encouraging freedom of expression...

Label: Journalist

In this cartoon, Ayoub provides a metaphorical account of World Press Freedom Day when a journalist is being awarded a medal, which turns out to be a dagger. Through this example, it is possible to see that what are ostensibly two separate actions (rewarding and stabbing) are, in fact, one complex action, which can be identified from the pictorial hybrid metaphor that merges the blade of the dagger with the medal in place of its hilt. In other words, the overlapping actions are cued by the different parts of the hybrid metaphor MEDAL IS DAGGER: if we focus on the medal part, the action is 'pinning on his chest', whereas if we focus on the dagger part, it becomes 'stabbing'. The depiction shows that the pinning of the medal on the journalist's chest to mark this occasion overlaps with the stabbing of the same journalist with a dagger, without time lag between them. This overlap activates an important temporal aspect in the scenario in that the rewarding-stabbing complex action occurs in the depicted moment and is performed by the same character. In the interview with Ayoub, he confirmed to me that the character serves to represent the government and is a personification of the government censor (GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON metaphor).

The direction of the rewarding-stabbing action is of interest here because it provides additional evidence of the spatial right-to-left mapping of time in Arabic cartoons. Therefore, it corroborates the findings presented earlier that the reading-writing direction of a language can shape the visual representation of a timeline of events. In addition to the overlapping action happening in the present moment, the scenario points to an implied future action by showing blood dripping from the dagger's blade. The drops of blood refer metonymically to the injury and probable death of the journalist and, hence, help reader-viewers imagine what will happen next in the scenario.

The analyses presented so far demonstrate the narrative potential of metaphor scenarios found in my corpus, particularly their ability to convey a chronological sequence of actions within the single cartoon panels. As we have seen in Figures 7.2 to 7.5, the spatial arrangement of characters and elements express not only actions unfolding over time (from past to future), but also actions taking place synchronously and overlapping actions happening in the depicted moment. Thus, in single-panel, static cartoons, space is a valuable resource which can represent different temporal relationships. This resonates with Kress's (2010: 82 emphasis in original) argument that a '(still) *image* is based on the logic of space' and that meaning is achieved by using the affordances of that space.

7.2.3 Causality in Metaphor Scenarios

Having discussed how different temporal relations are visualised, I now turn my attention to a further narrative feature of the metaphor scenarios: causality. My analysis has shown that the narrativity of the scenarios in my data is also achieved by creating causal relationships

between consecutive events. The cause-effect structure has 'significant effects or consequences' (Bridgeman 2007: 52), as it creates a chain of events in the mini-narrative. The events were either found to be direct causes available to perception or oblique causes which require reader-viewers to engage in an imaginative activity and draw on visual and/or verbal information to infer the cause-effect connections. This finding is in accordance with Adams's (1989: 151) suggestion that sometimes the link 'between cause and effect is not part of the events that we observe, but derived from the inference that pairs two events in a causal relation'. The principle of causality demonstrates that the events evoked in the scenarios are not isolated, but meant to be matched up conceptually. As such, the cause-and-effect structure is a significant way 'to conceptualise the sequence of connected events' in a narrative scenario (Potsh and Williams 2012: 26). A pertinent example of how causality works in practice is the MINEFIELD scenario in the following cartoon (Figure 7.6), which depicts several journalists, identifiable from the papers they carry, as victims of violent attacks.

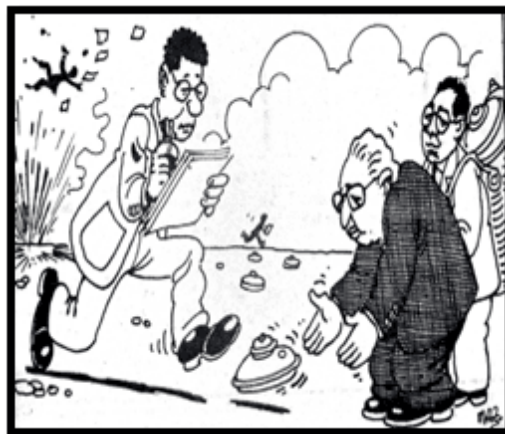


Figure 7.6: Maz, *El Watan*, 3/5/1993

This scenario demonstrates how events are woven together in a way that the perils of journalistic reporting are tied causally to the landmines being placed in the journalists' pathway by the then Prime Minister Belaid Abdessalam (1992-1993). The cartoon shows explicitly that the minefield is the prominent cause which has resulted in a set of direct, negative consequences. Notably, an explosion taking place in the background lifting the journalist up in the air and making his papers flutter away, another journalist running to escape from the explosions, and the probable death of the journalist at the front, because minefields are 'indiscriminate' in terms of who is blown up by them (Fowler 2007: 145). Similarly, the TARGETING/SHOOTING scenario (Figure 7.4) and the STABBING scenario (Figure 7.5) show how the cartoonists picked out and connected events together so that a given action provides a causal explanation for subsequent narrative incidents and has a negative impact on the characters involved in the scenarios. In Figure 7.4, the cause-effect structure helps viewers

understand how and why the target patterns appear on the journalists' backs, who has drawn them, and what the implications of this act are on the journalists' lives and/or professional careers. Cause and effect relationships are also at work and are easily noticeable in the STABBING metaphor scenario (Figure 7.5). The image establishes a strong connection between the principal cause (the stabbing action) and its adverse effects: the injury and probable death of the journalist, as the BLOOD DROPS metonym suggests. This causal link is reinforced further by the hypocrisy of the government censor with his deceitful look and cunning smile.

The MINEFIELD scenario offers a good example of a scenario where the representation of chronology rests on a back-to-front spatial orientation. The cartoon shows that the journalist at the front is moving diagonally from the background on the left to the foreground on the right. The character's walking direction points to the FUTURE IS FRONT metaphor, whereas the sense of past is in the background which marks the start of his trajectory. As can be noticed, this scenario makes use of a two-dimensional space to render the chronological aspect of the narrative events. In addition to the back-front space, the timeline of the journalist's running action, which is evoked in the cartoon background, appears to unfold along the left-to-right axis, so that the past is on the left and the future on the right. By exploiting such spatial relations, the scenario presents a clear perception of a sequence of temporally related events. Reader-viewers can perceive that the field is full of landmines already placed by the two politicians, who are, indeed, still shown to be placing landmines in the journalists' path. Having already stepped onto one of the landmines, the journalist in the background has been injured or probably killed by the explosion. This action co-occurs with another journalist running in the background and a third one scribbling in his notepad. The scenario also seems to project future events by implying that, unless they are forewarned about the dangers that lie ahead, the other innocent journalists may also die at any time. This is reinforced by the pile of landmines on one of the politicians' back, indicating that they intend to carry on placing more mines.

7.3 Evaluative Metaphor Scenarios

Following the foregoing discussion of the narrative components of the metaphor scenarios, I now consider how the evaluative aspect of these scenarios enabled the cartoonists to lambast the government censors. The fine-grained analysis of the metaphor scenarios has shown that they are full of negative overtones, which proves Musolff's (2006) argument that metaphor scenarios are inherently evaluative. It has revealed that the scenarios perform an important evaluative function through the interplay between the notion of narrative 'causality' (Adams 1989) and the attribution of 'agency' (Bamberg 2005) or responsibility to specific actors.

As several examples in the data show (e.g., Figures 7.5-7.8), the cartoonists produced metaphorical images which highlight the harassment of the press by government officials, who are depicted as culpable agents playing antagonistic roles. The government censors are shown engaged in oppressive activities, such as attacking journalists. This chimes with narrative theory, which describes the typical role of an ‘antagonist’ as that of a character who ‘works directly against and deeply challenges’ the main characters in the narrative (Linh Tu 2015: 218). In the case of the analysed scenarios, the protagonists are journalists, cartoonists, and/or the press more generally, as illustrated in Figure 7.7 below. By casting government officials into the role of antagonists, the artists assigned responsibility to the government censors and foregrounded their culpability in censoring the press. This finding is substantiated by Bamberg’s (2005: 10) argument that ‘agency’ focuses on ‘characters’ involvement in narrated events’ and creates ‘evaluations and stances with regard to who is morally right or at fault’.

The cartoonists’ construction of evaluative images of political censors in the metaphor scenarios is clearly consonant with the critical stance that is characteristic of the political cartoon genre. According to Forceville (2020: 177), a generic convention of political cartoons is the ‘criticising of politicians and states of affairs in the world’. The emphasis on the adverse consequences of the censors’ actions on the press reinforces the political cartoons’ aspect of negativity. This is reminiscent of Manning and Phiddian’s (2005: 34) assertion that ‘negativity is the normal fare of satire and cartooning, and that any competent reader takes this into account when reading these genres’.

Pertinent examples to illustrate these findings are the FUNERAL and PRISON metaphor scenarios presented in Figures 7.7 and 7.8, respectively, which reveal a negative evaluative stance towards the government censors.



Figure 7.7: Maz, *El Watan*, 9-10/2/1996
Label: Independent press

In Figure 7.7, Maz set up a FUNERAL scenario, in which the funeral arrangements are being managed by government officials. Based on our background knowledge about the government in 1996, we can recognise the ministers Ahmed Ouyehia and Belaid Abdesselam who are represented as digging a grave to bury the independent press, which is personified as a corpse inside a coffin. This interpretation is suggested by the politicians' rolled-up sleeves, shovels, and the grave, all of which stand metonymically for the burial process. The idea of death is strengthened by the vultures flying in the background, which are a common symbol of death (Werness 2006: 424). This scenario suggests a clear correlation between the attribution of agency and the cause-effect relationship. By explicitly depicting the censors and casting them into the role of grave diggers, Maz is accusing them of burying the press, which they themselves metaphorically killed by censoring it and curtailing its freedom in many ways (see Chapter 4). This sense of government culpability is further reinforced by the fact that in the scenario the ministers are the only people attending the burial. This goes against ordinary funeral conventions, where family members, relatives, and friends are typically in attendance.



Figure 7.8: Maz, *El Watan*, 16/5/2001

Similar observations apply to the PRISON scenario (Figure 7.8). As already mentioned in Chapter 4, imprisonment was a major sanction for oppressing and muzzling the press. Maz uses a prototypical image of incarceration, depicting a journalist looking out from inside his prison cell and clasping the bars of its window (BARRED WINDOW FOR PRISON metonymy), with a look full of frustration and helplessness. The scenario illustrates clearly that the government is to be accused of the situation of press censorship. It condemns the action of the then Prime Minister Ouyehia, who is shown crossing out the office name, '*Maison de la Presse*' (Press House),⁷⁶ and substituting it with '*Maison d'arrêt*' (prison), after having concreted over the door of the building. The crossing out action, which is built on the pun introduced by the multiple

⁷⁶ An office building in Central Algiers where the offices of some independent Algerian newspapers like *El Watan* are located.

collocations of the French word '*Maison*' (house), points directly to the metaphorical transformation of the newspaper offices into a jail and sets the minister as an antagonist whose main role is to set obstacles and be a barrier to the independent press. Just like in the FUNERAL scenario, the negative action of the censor and its detrimental impact on the press in this scenario are consistent with the conventional function of the cartoon medium, which generally aims 'to expose something bad or shameful', as stated by El Refaie (2009a: 176).

Before concluding the chapter, I draw the reader's attention to the fact that, despite the outright governmental censorship in place, and in contrast to the cartoons discussed in Section 5.2, the cartoonists sometimes produced explicit depictions of the political censoring agents and institutions. The cartoons feature mostly political censors: both government institutions represented through ministers and presidents, and various censoring agents. Dilem, who was the most explicit of the three cartoonists, also made overt references to army generals. The overtly explicit depictions of political censors across Figures 7.6-7.8, for example, are an unexpected finding, which can be explained in several possible ways. The post-publication nature of cartoon censorship might be a first reason. As mentioned in Chapter 4, editors-in-chief could approve cartoons for publication, but the cartoonists and/or the newspapers could be sanctioned afterwards. A further possible explanation is that Maz was torn between practising self-censorship to avoid potential troubles and venturing to practise his due right of free speech.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on key insights emanating from narrative theory to redefine Musolff's (2006) concept of 'metaphor scenario'. It has demonstrated that narrative theory is relevant to the study of metaphor scenarios in political cartoons, since it explains how single panel metaphorical cartoons can involve a mini-narrative which exhibits basic narrative features and relations, notably multiple (dynamic) events, causality, temporality, and protagonist-antagonist character relationships. The narrative analysis has revealed that such narrative components are integral to the structure of the metaphor scenarios, thus setting metaphor scenarios apart from simple metaphors which are limited to a set of isolated mappings to project onto a target domain, as the diverse cartoons discussed in Chapter 6 illustrate.

The chapter has shown how the cartoonists overcame the challenge of representing motion and dynamism in the narrative scenarios by means of visual resources, such as motion lines, speed lines, character's directionality and gaze, as well as the innovative deployment of visual metonyms, all of which add a sense of animation to the narrated events. Consistent with the arguments of narrative theorists Adams (1989) and Richardson (2005), the cause-effect

relationships guide the flow of narrative events in the scenarios and help viewers understand that the events are not separate, but rather tightly related to one another in a cohesive way.

The exploitation of the spatial dimension of cartoons was found to be a useful resource for the visualisation of various temporal relations, namely chronological, simultaneous, and overlapping actions in the metaphor scenarios. The analysis has highlighted that the scenarios incorporate the notion of temporality by making events unfold across the lateral (i.e., left-right) axis, but that this diverges depending on the writing direction of the Arabic and French languages. A striking and original finding in this study is the use of the foreground-background dimension (i.e., sagittal axis) for evoking sequential events in the scenarios.

Finally, the chapter has demonstrated how narrative theory can illuminate our understanding of the precise mechanism which enables metaphor scenarios to convey evaluation. It has particularly shown that what makes metaphor scenarios so useful to political cartoonists is that they are evaluative, clearly attributing agency to the government censors and highlighting their culpability in censoring the press.

Chapter 8

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis has investigated how the Algerian cartoonists Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz used visual and multimodal metonymy and metaphor to expose and condemn censorship against the backdrop of the Algerian Civil War (1992-2002). Besides these empirical objectives, the study has addressed a theoretical gap in our understanding of patterns of metaphor-metonymy interactions, adapted Musolff's (2006) concept of metaphor scenario to political cartoons, and related the use of these complex constructs to the cartoonists' communicative purposes. In this concluding chapter, I tie together the main findings of the study to answer the empirical and theoretical research questions one by one and discuss the findings' potential theoretical implications for the study of censorship, political cartoon studies, and metonymy and metaphor studies. I then outline the limitations of this thesis before suggesting possible directions for future research.

8.1 The Different Censorship Practices Which the Cartoonists Faced in Algeria Between 1992 and 2002, and Their Effects (RQ1)

Chapter 4 discussed the multiple forms of political cartoon censorship in Algeria during the 1992-2002 period, namely editorial, religious, and governmental censorship. Driven either by fear of government coercion or servility and political allegiance to influential figures (government officials and/or the army), editors-in-chief controlled cartoons' content before publication. Cartoons that breached the red lines or disparaged these people were, therefore, either modified or rejected by editors. A consequence of this censorship was tense relationships between editors and the investigated cartoonists. Notable examples of such quarrels are the cartoonists Dilem, who objected to his works being subject to prior censorship and quit *Le Matin* newspaper for *Liberté*, and Ayoub, who often came into conflict with the editors who suppressed his cartoons. The three cartoonists also grappled with religious censorship, which represented a constant threat to their personal lives and the safety of their families. Seeing the art of cartooning as going against Islamic law, the Islamists sought to eradicate it by repeatedly condemning political cartoonists to death and even assassinating two artists. As Gafaiti (1999: 61) notes, the Islamists 'proved themselves advocates of a form of censorship even more arbitrary than that of the regime, and far more brutal. This was demonstrated by their [...] attempt to destroy all intellectual and artistic production in the name of God'. A further major setback for the cartoonists was political censorship imposed by the government. My discussion outlined the peculiarities of political censorship in Algeria as occurring pre- or post-publication of cartoons, resting on arbitrary application, and involving the enactment of laws and regulations, notably the 2001 penal code that delineated personal penalties ranging from fines to prosecution and prison. This shows that up until 2001, there

were no explicitly formulated and/or written rules demarcating the acceptable thematic borders of cartoons. As I noted in Chapter 4, even some of the established red lines were blurred and changed depending on the needs and aims of the government in power.

Scholars have pointed out that political crises and wars usually provoke more government backlash against cartoonists, as governments become less tolerant of political dissent (e.g., Göçek 1998; Freedman 2012). This is clearly the case with governmental censorship imposed for the duration of the Civil War. The successive Algerian governments during this tumultuous period prohibited satirical magazines and left cartoonists with one single outlet for political comment, notably newspaper cartoons. They sought to constrain criticism of their members and policies, whereas they encouraged the mocking of the Islamist insurgents in political cartoons. This situation was notably evidenced by the ex-Minister of Defence's support of Ayoub's derogatory representations of Islamists. The implication is that the regime wanted the cartoonists to support its own propagandistic purposes by attacking the Islamists rather than the government. It is not uncommon for governments to ask or compel cartoonists to put their satirical art at the service of the nation in times of political unrest. Studies conducted by Coupe (1992: 24) and Simmons (1993: 47), for example, have shown that during WWI and WWII the German government ordered cartoonists of satirical journals, such as *Phosphor*, to deride the enemies and to influence public opinion in return for paper and print supplies. Such practices highlight the communicative and persuasive power of graphic satire in the eyes of governments and reinforce the idea that wartime political censorship tends to be characterised by governments' efforts to deflect political satire and criticism away from themselves and towards the opponent.

This challenging context of censorship had a profound impact on the lives and working conditions of Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz. The interview data indicated that the inhibiting circumstances perturbed these cartoonists and jeopardised their own and their families' safety. This climate of unsafety and control also forced some cartoonists, such as Dilem, into exile. In considering Dilem's highly critical cartoons about the press censorship and the Civil War in Algeria (see Chapters 4-7) and Benfodil's (2008) published interview, I deduce that exile offers better opportunities to political cartoonists. The absence of governmental and religious censorship gave Algerian cartoonists more freedom to maintain cartoons' outspoken style and presented fewer risks of persecution than in Algeria. This finding is mirrored by McGlade (2016), who showed that, during the Francoist regime (1939-1962), publishing in exile played a vital role in enabling the Catalan satirical tradition to survive. Nonetheless, the fact that editorial censorship could still be applied, as we saw in the case of Slim, suggests that the censorship of exiled Algerian cartoonists tended to focus on their works rather than their personal welfare.

In exploring the effects of censorship on Algerian cartoonists, I identified how the strong pressures from the government and editors led the cartoonists who remained in Algeria to self-censor certain taboo and sensitive topics, but to still politically challenge the status quo by developing innovative form-related and content-related tricks, for example the cat and mouse symbols created by Ayoub (see Figures 4.9; 7.5). These strategies served to afford protection against threats, providing the artists with some liberty to indirectly satirise and criticise the government and address sensitive topics with less fear of censorship. The development of such devious techniques demonstrates that censorship is a constraining and a constructive force in the sense that it can stimulate creativity. As Ayoub stated when I interviewed him in 2020, 'when pressures are imposed, the cartoonist finds innovative tricks which might not be thought of in normal or ordinary circumstances'. Examining the effects of censorial practice on humour production is thus important for revealing how cartoonists operate under constraints and how such contexts can drive artistic creativity and lateral thinking to counter cartoon censorship. The ability of Ayoub, Dilem, and Maz to resist censorship is also noted in their reaction towards the Islamists' threats of destroying the Algerian cartooning tradition. As illustrated in Chapters 4-5, religious censorship failed to prevent the production of political satire. The three artists did not give in, but rather documented the Civil War violence and defied the Islamists by ridiculing them and downplaying their power. They also exposed the Islamists' harassment of the press, highlighting it as an assault on freedom of expression.

8.2 The Main Functions and Forms of Metonymies and Metaphors in Political Cartoons about Press Censorship Published During the Algerian Civil War Period (RQ2)

My thesis reported on the qualitative analyses of the use of metonymy and metaphor in a cartoon dataset about press censorship in Algeria. The discussions were reinforced with the cartoonists' stated intentions collected through personal interviews. Central to my analyses have been Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT and Radden and Kövecses' (1999) conceptual theory of metonymy, which both stress the fundamental nature and the pervasiveness of metaphor and metonymy in everyday life, thought, and action. My study has demonstrated that metaphor and metonymy can fulfil several important functions which make them useful rhetorical tools for cartoonists, particularly in times of control and censorship.

Firstly, I have established that the cartoonists were able to translate censorship into understandable images and to capture its various forms or aspects by means of visual and multimodal metaphors. The use of visual metonymy helped to visualise the feelings of both the censors and the censored, thereby vividly encapsulating what it was like to operate under

constant threats. In particular, visual metonymy represented how political and religious censors reacted with anger to the work of the press and gave a glimpse into journalists' and cartoonists' fear of censorship (see Section 5.1.2).

Secondly, my study has shown that the cartoonists condemned press censorship through metonymic evaluations of censors. It has addressed a significant gap in the scholarship, which has tended to focus on the evaluative potential of linguistic metonymy (e.g., Barnden 2018; Pennain 2018), thus enriching our understanding of how evaluative meanings can be conveyed through visual metonymy. My findings revealed that the abstract moral attributes of the religious censors (i.e., Islamists) were implied by reference to the censors' physical characteristics, attire, and paraphernalia (see Figures 5.16 and 5.17).

Thirdly, as seen through my analyses, metaphor and metonymy allowed the cartoonists to embed latent meanings about press censorship in their works. I indicated that the cartoonists' intended meanings may not be immediately obvious, as there are insufficient clues in the cartoons to allow censors to disambiguate the metonymic and metaphoric meanings. This renders ambiguity an extremely useful anti-censorship strategy in situations where cartoonists' ability to openly address objectionable topics is restricted. This finding fits with Göçek's (1998: 3) discussion, which points out how political cartoons with their 'ambiguous and hidden meanings [...] help protect the cartoonists [working in the MENA] in their attacks'. At the same time, the potential of metaphor and metonymy for indirectness raises an important question about whether the use of these two rhetorical figures was the sole reason that cartoonists were able to publish their censorship-themed cartoons. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, the very existence of these works is surprising and is substantive evidence of the cartoonists' resistance against—and successful circumvention of—(pre-publication) censorship that was in force. However, explaining the publication of these works on the basis of the deployment of these rhetorical figures risks oversimplifying the complex situation of censorship at the time, as other factors may have been involved as well, such as the inefficient and arbitrary exercise of censorship. As I stated in Chapter 4, the major concern of the reading committees appointed by the government was (at least initially) to control newspaper journalists, so cartoons may have slipped through the net. Another piece of evidence that censorship might not have been so strict or so consistent is the highly explicit critical cartoons of government officials (e.g., 5.2 and 5.8). In addition, there may have been financial or political interests and/or relations between newspaper editors and/or directors and government officials, such as ministers, which meant that cartoonists working in these newspapers were not censored. Having summarised the main empirical findings of my study, I will now provide more details of their theoretical implications to cognitive linguistics scholarship.

A key finding of my study is that both metaphor and metonymy have a unique ability to visualise abstract and complex phenomena and to make these accessible and relatable for viewers. In accordance with the CMT tenet that invisible and complex concepts are metaphorically structured, I indicated that censorship was not fully described by a single metaphor, but was rather represented through a set of source domains, ranging from animate to inanimate objects. For example, drawing censorship as a crocodile in Figure 6.5 and as scissors in Figure 6.16 presents a succinct commentary on its danger for journalists and cartoonists alike. My study has also established emotions as another good example of a complex area of experience that cannot be conceptualised and represented easily without recourse to metaphor and metonymy. It casts light on the visual metonymic representation of characters' emotive states in the genre of political cartoons, which has remained largely unexplored to date as a result of the exclusive scholarly focus on emotion concepts in verbal discourse (e.g., Kövecses 2003). My findings have indicated that characters' various physiological reactions to emotions, in this case anger and fear, give metonymic clues about their emotional state. As I outlined in Section 5.1.2, these bodily reactions are visualised in the cartoons through a set of cues: for example, character's sweating and body shaking are represented as droplets and squiggles around the body, respectively. These could form the basis for further research, including the possibility of developing a systematic analytical tool to analyse metonyms of emotions in other visual/multimodal graphic genres, such as comics. In addition to bodily effects of emotions, the eliciting conditions or causes triggering anger and fear are valuable metonyms referring to the emotions in question. These two visual metonymic operations (i.e., REACTION FOR EMOTION and ELICITING CONDITION FOR EMOTION) are exemplified in Figures 5.10 and 5.7, respectively.

My study has also identified that characters' observable physiological reactions to anger and fear in the cartoon data provide concrete evidence to substantiate the embodiment principle underlying metonymy. Specifically, a central postulate of the cognitive theories of metonymy is that the conceptualisation of human emotions depends on embodied cognition, i.e., the idea that a person projects their bodily experiences onto abstract emotions (Maalej 2007). For example, viewers can notice that the facial expressions (bulging eyes) and sweatiness of the journalists depicted both in *El Watan's* cartoon (Figure 5.7) and in *El Khabar's* cartoon (Figure 5.9) reflect some of the ways that the body reacts in response to fear. Such physiological manifestations chime with the embodied and widespread conceptual metonymies for fear identified by Kövecses (1990: 70-73). To illustrate, sweat droplets realise the metonym SWEATING FOR FEAR, body shaking squares with the metonym PHYSICAL AGITATION FOR FEAR, and bulging eyes together with raised eyebrows relate to paleness caused by blood leaving the face (i.e., BLOOD LEAVES FACE FOR FEAR). These findings support

Maalej and Yu's (2011: 14) assertion that metonymy is mainly rooted in physiological embodiment, according to which humans share a basic body structure and similar bodily experiences. This principle can account for why behavioural responses to emotions are (near-)universal (Ansah 2014: 44-45). Evidence of such (near-) universality are the similarities in characters' bodily effects of fear and anger in the French and Arabic cartoons, as well as the fact these behavioural responses are in accordance with what has been noted in previous studies. For example, the frequent use of bulging eyes and wide mouth identified in my data has also been found both in Forceville's (2005) inventory of pictorial signals of anger in the *Astérix* comics *La Zizanie* and in Diez-Vera's (2015) study of anger in the Bayeux Tapestry. These findings lead me to suggest that there should be an increased awareness among metonymy scholars of the metonymic nature of emotions' signals (i.e., both bodily expressions of and causes of emotions), which enable a better appreciation and understanding of how emotive meaning is expressed in political cartoons, as well as in other visual/multimodal genres.

Another significant finding to emerge from my study is the fact that visual metonymy is a useful tool to convey negative evaluation(s) of people/characters. As I showed with reference to Figure 5.16 and 5.17, the visual metonymy APPEARANCE AND PARAPHERNALIA FOR MORAL ATTRIBUTES enabled the cartoonists to criticise the moral attributes of the Islamist censors. The Islamists are clothed in Afghan-like garments and are heavily armed with bloody axes, which indicate the wickedness and violent traits of these characters. This lends credence to Littlemore's (2015: 5) assertion that metonymy provides an important form of evaluation. What is more, the cartoons I examined appear to reinforce existing stereotypes about the Islamists, as the cartoonists not only repeatedly highlighted the aggressive attributes of specific Islamist characters in Algeria at the time, but also seem to associate the same negative characteristics with all Islamists. In this way, the cartoons corroborate Brown's (2010) argument that stereotypes underscore generalisability rather than individuality. A further observation to point out is that this visual metonymy helped to stereotype the Islamists, even though they presented a very real threat to the defenceless cartoonists. The stereotyping of the Islamists implies that powerless people can stereotype powerful people through metonymy and perhaps create mischief. This raises an important point about the relationship between negative stereotyping and power asymmetry. Stereotyping is generally considered harmful because it tends to involve powerless or voiceless groups, while in this particular case the cartoonists showed their irreverence to the armed and powerful Islamists. My findings seem to refute the claim that 'if the powerless do stereotype, their beliefs [...] have less impact' (Anderson 2010: 48). This is because by drawing on existing stereotypes of aggressivity which were entrenched in Algerian people's memory during the Civil War, the cartoonists appear to play a key role in

creating an “us versus them” dichotomy over time. This dichotomy distinguishes the in-group (the cartoonists and their like-minded audience) from the out-group (the Islamists), as well as forming a bond between the artists and reader-viewers, who share similar biased perceptions of the Islamists, against the common enemy: the Islamist insurgents. This is echoed by the psychologists Denmark and Williams (2014: 1860), who argue that ‘stereotypes are often used to separate one’s own group from another group. This is often referred to as ingroup-outgroup differentiation’.

Therefore, it becomes clear that metonymy researchers should give close attention to metonymy-based stereotyping in graphic political discourses. The study of graphic political texts, such as political cartoons, is central because by expressing tacit ideological meanings, cartoons have a more subtle persuasive power and cannot be easily denied by the argument that it is ‘just entertainment’ (Van Leeuwen 2014: 288). This type of political discourse can continue to communicate stereotypes in such a way that they become part of the next generations’ background. As Van Leeuwen (ibid.) notes in relation to racist and colonialist discourses, they ‘persist much longer in visual communication than in [their] verbal equivalents’. He gives the example of the *Blue Lotus* (1946) album of the popular comic strips, *Tin Tin*, which perpetuates nineteenth-century orientalist stereotypes. It is possible to see, through these examples, both the power of seemingly entertaining visual/multimodal representations and the inextricable relationship linking popular culture to politics, mediated by visual stereotyping.

The study has further revealed that there is a strong relationship between the quality of indirectness inherent in metaphor and the need to draw inferences from the visual censorship metaphors prevalent in my data. As I explained in Section 6.2, the fact that the cartoonists drew metaphorical cartoons that do not reference the target domain PRESS CENSORSHIP indicates that implicit and nuanced meanings are conveyed. The interpretation of such meanings requires a substantial degree of inference. This, in turn, left room for individual interpretation and, therefore, misunderstanding and deniability.

To date, most studies have shown how PLACE NAME metonymies can convey a sense of indeterminacy (e.g., Halverson 2012; Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2021). For example, Brdar-Szabo and Brdar found the place name ‘Budapest’ in news headlines creates an uncertainty by its ability to have different possible metonymic referents: the government or the city council. My finding that BODY PART metonymies can fulfil a similar function is new. Specifically, I revealed how the partial depictions of political censors (i.e., the government) through BODY PART metonymies resulted in indeterminacy about the identity of these characters. This finding confirms Littlemore’s (2015: 96) argument that ‘the referent(s) in metonymy can often be vague and unclear’. However, it also extends the argument by positing that targets of certain

metonymies are nebulous because the metonymic sources are manipulated to suit the communicator's purpose(s). In this study, the metonymic representation of censors by showing just a hand or foot rather than *in toto*, for example in Figures 5.11 and 5.13, may have been motivated by the cartoonists' decision to conceal the characters for fear of persecution. As the cartoonists declared, the sense of indeterminacy, in turn, increased the chances of denying the cartoons' intended meanings. The cartoonists' motive, hence, differs from what Forceville (2009: 63-65) reports in connection with the frequent use of this technique in cinema. The dramatic films that Forceville analysed suggest that the representation of characters through their body parts (e.g., hands, feet, and legs) is driven by several narrative purposes, including highlighting characters' secret or illegal actions, such as stealing or stabbing. By demonstrating how the cartoonists' fear of attracting the government's attention led them to disguise the identity of the political censoring agents, my study has discovered another function of BODY PART metonymies that has not been described previously.

While it is established that indirectness is an intrinsic feature of metonymy and metaphor (e.g., Colston 2015), my findings indicate that the indirectness function of metonymy and metaphor played a particularly important role in the specific socio-political context of censorship in Algeria between 1992 and 2002. As I showed, the fear prevailing in this context prompted the investigated cartoonists to err on the safe side of caution. They capitalised on the polysemous and ambiguous metaphoric and metonymic meanings of their anti-censorship cartoons to represent their tribulations and prevent cartoon censorship. This finding highlights that studies of how metonymy and metaphor convey more or less indirect meanings should be grounded in historical context. The combination of the notion of indirectness and historical context can help explain how the indirectness function is context-specific.

In addition to the historical socio-political context, another level of context that should be given more attention is 'discursive context' (El Refaie 2003), as it affects the production and interpretation of the indirect uses of metonymy and metaphor. This context helps to construct meanings which are vaguely implied in the censorship cartoons and allows readers to interpret the cartoons as intended. For example, my analysis in Section 5.2 has revealed that the newspaper articles published on the same page or in the same edition, which provide contextual information about press censorship, are an important element that enabled the cartoonists to extend the chain of targets in their cartoons and to indirectly refer to any referent target on the chain of responsibility, i.e., from censoring agent(s) to the government institution. In other words, the cartoonists were able to refer to censoring agent(s), who are represented through body parts, as well as direct reader-viewers' attention to the intended referent: the government, which is hinted at in the accompanying articles (see Figure 5.15). Similarly, the identification of the target domain, PRESS CENSORSHIP, in the metaphors used in my data is

often reliant on reader-viewers' ability to read the cartoons in conjunction with the newspaper articles and editorials published in the same issue (Section 6.2.1). My findings, therefore, point to the need for further research on how the indirectness function of metonymy and metaphor in political cartoons is closely related to these different levels of context.

The fact that visual metonymy and visual metaphor are prevalent in my data indicates the importance of the visual form in making metonymy and metaphor subtle ways of providing an increased sense of specificity in political cartoons. By expanding the research of visual (and multimodal) metonymy into the realm of political cartoons, my discussion has contributed to a redressing of the current logocentric focus in metonymy research. Owing to its capacity to offer a quick cognitive access to the targeted concept, visual metonymy should be treated as an effective means helping cartoonists streamline their imagery. It represents concrete instances of source entities (objects or characters) and captures more specific details about them than verbal metonymy would do. Similarly, the visual mode in which the censorship metaphors are expressed shaped the amount of detail that the metaphorical representations reveal about censorship. The censorship metaphors, discussed in Chapter 6, visualise much details about important facets of censorship, including the victims of such practices and their sufferings. This is because modes have particular potentials for representation and communication. As Kress (2000: 157) puts it, 'semiotic modes have different potentials, so that they afford different kinds of possibilities of human expression'. Given this, a particular point that is illuminating for the theory of non-verbal metaphors is that my findings suggest that El Refaie's (2009a: 175) argument on the influence of genre in which metaphors occur on the metaphors generated, their structural forms, and their interpretation needs to be revised to consider the mode of communication in which metaphors occur and how this can also affect the richness of meaning conveyed by the metaphors.

8.3 Metaphor-Metonymy Interactions and Their Significance for Meaning Making (RQ3)

To date, the combinations of metaphor and metonymy in political cartoons have remained largely unexplored. This has constrained our understanding of the structural patterns that emerge when metaphor combines with metonymy, as well as the communicative functions which such combinations can fulfil in this genre (see Chapter 2). To address this concern, this study examined metaphor-metonymy interplay in a multimodal cartoon corpus about press censorship (see Section 6.4). Specifically, it highlighted the efficacy and greater explanatory power of the cognitive-linguistic approach to gain a deep understanding of how meaning is created through combinations of metaphoric domains with metonymic operations. I demonstrated that metaphor is not used on its own in political cartoons; rather, it usually

operates jointly with metonymy, giving rise to complex interactions, which have implications for cognitive linguistics. Notably, I found metaphonymy (i.e., metonymy-based visual and multimodal metaphors) as the main pattern of interaction. This finding leads me to corroborate the usefulness of the metaphonymy concept, which was originally proposed by Pérez-Sobrino (2017) in relation to advertising, to capture the types of interactions in political cartoons. Another theoretical finding to have emerged from my study is the identification of metaphonymy involving metonymic chains as a new multimodal conceptual complex. The discovery of this new pattern suggests that Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) definition of metaphonymy should be refined to include cases where a metonymic chain is integrated within the source and/or target domain of a metaphor. This extended view of metaphonymy can help future research explain more patterns of interaction in visual and multimodal genres.

My analysis also indicated that the joint use of metaphor and simple metonymic mappings or chained metonymies achieves significant communicative effects. These combinations played an important role in supporting the cartoonists' purpose of covertly addressing press censorship. Particularly, the process that enables viewers to identify the target domain of censorship metaphors—which, as the artists confirmed, had to be kept intentionally implicit due to the censorship context—is driven by inferences based on monomodal (visual or verbal) or multimodal (verbo-visual) metonymies. The metonymic representation of the metaphoric target accords well with Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) assertion that, in political cartoons, the identification of metaphors' target domains often relies on metonymies. However, my findings go beyond what these scholars claim because the metaphoric target PRESS CENSORSHIP can often be inferable from a metonymic chain, and metonymic operations (whether simple metonymy or chained metonymy) fulfil other functions when they are coupled with metaphors. In effect, the cartoonists drew on metaphor-metonymy interactions to extend the cartoons' meanings as well. As I showed in Section 6.4, metonymy was used to enrich metaphoric meanings by foreshadowing future narrative events and conveying implied meanings that help readers better understand the target topic. Figures 6.16 and 6.17 are good examples illustrating these uses.

It is significant that metaphor-metonymy interactions in my data involve only a metonymic operation (i.e., simple metonymy or metonymic chain) extending a metaphor. This is because the very nature of these rhetorical figures makes the reverse operation impossible (i.e., a metaphor extending a metonym). As I mentioned in Section 2.4.2, some scholars (e.g., Negro Alousque 2020: 4) claim that the double-domain structure of metaphor cannot fit into the single-domain metonymic operation. To the best of my knowledge, no study has yet reported a case where metonymy is expanded by metaphoric mappings. The implication of my finding is that in metaphor-metonymy combinations, metonymy is at the service of

metaphor and not vice-versa. This finding, therefore, dovetails with cognitive linguistic discussions on the status of metonymy in relation to metaphor by confirming that whenever metaphor and metonymy interact, metonymy is subsidiary to metaphor (e.g., Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011).

What these findings also foreground is that meaning in political cartoons is rooted in the interplay between metaphor and metonymy. The fact that the productive combination of metaphor and metonymy adds more meanings to the political cartoons further indicates that my study can strengthen Lemke's (1998) argument that meaning making in multimodal texts is a process of 'meaning multiplication'. Lemke argues that the combination of semiotic resources (e.g., language, depiction) does not just add meaning to a text, but rather multiplies the set of possible meanings that can be made (p.92). Given this, my study suggests the need to extend the application of this theoretical insight to explain how meaning multiplication can also arise from the combination of verbal and non-verbal forms of metaphor and metonymy (or other figurative devices) in multimodal genres.

More importantly, my findings highlight that the communicative functions of metaphor in combination with a metonymy or a metonymic chain are determined by the communicative purposes of the cartoon genre. As I demonstrated, the artists exploited metaphor-metonymy interactions to indirectly expose press censorship. This aim chimes with the main purpose of political cartoons, which involves commenting on socio-political or other topical affairs (Charteris-Black 2017b). In contrast, in advertising, where such interactions have been mostly studied, metaphor-metonymy interplay contributes to the promotion of the advertised product (Hidalgo Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic 2011). These differences are in keeping with a foundational principle of genre theory that a defining characteristic of a genre is its communicative purpose (Swales 1990). This means that the study of metaphor-metonymy interactions must also include a consideration of the communicative intent of the genre in which such interactions occur. Given that the choice and uses of metaphor and metonymy in isolation have been shown to be heavily influenced by genre (see Forceville 2009b; Deignan et al. 2013; Caballero 2017; Littlemore 2017), it follows that future research should consider communicative purposes as a determining factor of genre, which can explain variation in the use(s) of metaphor-metonymy combinations across various communicative contexts.

8.4 The Distinction Between a Simple Metaphor and a Metaphor Scenario (RQ4)

In Chapter 7, I engaged critically with Musolff's (2006) notion of 'metaphor scenario', which was originally developed in relation to the verbal mode, and which some metaphor researchers have applied to political cartoons without due attention to its specific narrative features (e.g., Negro Alousque 2020; Viràg 2020). This has meant that the difference between a metaphor

scenario and a simple visual/multimodal metaphoric mapping has not been sufficiently clear. To address this gap in the study of metaphor scenarios in political cartoons and in visual media, more generally, I showed that, in contrast to a simple metaphor, a metaphor scenario can be distinguished by its narrative element(s). I proved that narrative theory provides a relevant framework to account for how the metaphor scenarios in my data involve the basic properties of visual narratives, evoking multiple (dynamic) events, temporal and causal relationships, and protagonist-antagonist character relationships.

My narrative analysis of metaphor scenarios enabled me to provide rich details about the construction of narrative meanings in terms of how events are linked together, the types of relationships between different characters, and the way the depicted characters contribute to the plot. My study, therefore, adds to metaphor studies by suggesting that scholars studying metaphor scenarios in political cartoons can unravel important narrative meanings which cannot be captured by simple metaphoric mappings and by challenging some of the claims in the scholarship. Notably, in contrast to the claim that static, single panel political cartoons (and images more generally) cannot express narrative meanings (e.g., Edwards 1997; El Refaie and Hörschelmann 2010), my study highlighted that political cartoons have an ability to express 'narrative meaning through the depiction of movement' (El Refaie 2009a: 178). I identified that the scenarios in my data depict dynamic actions through metonyms, motion lines, and speed lines. This means that there are several conventional ways available to cartoonists and visual artists to suggest movement and characters' activity in static images.

I also demonstrated that political cartoons in my dataset, despite belonging to a static genre, are capable of implying various types of temporal information, namely chronology, overlap and simultaneity, within the space of a single panel. Starting with chronology, my findings showed clearly how the investigated cartoonists implied the temporal unfolding of narrative events in the scenarios by exploiting two spatial dimensions of cartoons: lateral axis (i.e., left-right/right-left) and sagittal axis (i.e., front-back/back-front). The lateral axis was found to suggest the temporal flow of events from past to future. My finding that time flows from left to right in French-language cartoons (i.e., LEFT IS PAST versus RIGHT IS FUTURE) and vice versa in Arabic cartoons is significant because my data offers further concrete evidence to substantiate the theory that the writing direction of a particular language influences spatial representations of time (Casasanto and Jasmin 2012; De la Fuente et al. 2014). This horizontal structure of information also seems to relate to Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996: 186-192) claim about the 'information value' principle underlying the composition of single multimodal images. These scholars argue that one of the predominant types of information value is the Given/New structure, whereby, in many communicative contexts, the known and past element is placed on the left side of the image, whereas the new information is often

placed on the right. This principle can explain the temporal information organisation in the French-language cartoons, but it does not work for the Arabic-language cartoons in which chronological sequence flows in the opposite direction. The close connection between the left (past)-right (future) temporal structure in the French cartoons and the left (given)-right (new) information ordering warrants close attention. Future researchers could integrate these insights to better understand how narrative meaning can be evoked and read in political cartoons produced in English or in any other Western languages, or they could adapt this Given/New order to Arabic-language cartoons where the information structure and reading process of given and new elements is right to left, suggesting that an action progresses from right to left.

In some cases, time passing was also found to be represented on the sagittal axis, where the future is in front of characters and the past is behind them. The use of this spatial orientation for conveying temporal sequencing is unusual and does not comply with the writing direction of the French language. It could be said that this constitutes a creative visual realisation of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE (Lakoff 1993: 218). As I showed with reference to Figures 7.4. and 7.6, the cartoonists were able to encourage a novel thought pattern—even in this case where the time metaphor is relatively conventional—by visually representing time sequence through a character's movement along the sagittal spatial axis. This finding can feed into the recent scholarly discussions on metaphorical creativity in visual and multimodal genres, such as advertising, comics and graphic novels, or animation films (e.g.: Forceville and Renckens 2013; Hidalgo-Downing et al. 2013; El Refaie 2014, 2015a; Pérez-Sobrino et al. 2021; 2022). It suggests that metaphor scholars should direct their attention to explore how political cartoonists capitalise on the formal properties of the genre to transform a conventional and highly entrenched metaphor in an original and creative way. Such research would advance our knowledge of how the distinct characteristics and multimodal aspect of political cartoons can increase their potential for 'metaphor creativity at the level of representation' (El Refaie 2015a: 18).

Taken together, the two spatial representations of temporal progression in my data (i.e., along the lateral and sagittal axes) go against the idea, noted by Forceville (2015: 37-39), that time-space relations can only be represented on a vertical spatial dimension. In his study, Forceville has examined how temporal sequence in animation films takes place on a vertical dimension, with characters shown going down from one floor of a house to the next (each floor represents an episode of their lives) to dig into their memories, suggesting that past is down, whereas future is up. I did not find an instance of temporal succession being implied vertically in my data, although this is theoretically possible in political cartoons as well

because they have a vertical dimension which enables elements to be arranged and information to be communicated from top to bottom (i.e., top-down or bottom-up).

Also of note was the ability of metaphor scenarios to suggest other temporal relations between events. My analysis has reported that static cartoons can evoke (two) overlapping actions being performed by the *same* character within the *same* cartoon (see Figure 7.5). Another important temporal relationship is simultaneity. As exemplified in Figure 7.6, simultaneity is when several actions are represented in a way that suggests they are occurring concurrently. This is a novel finding which differs from the way in which simultaneity is implied in other static visual genres. In picture books, for example, Painter et al. (2013: 75) have found that temporal simultaneity is evoked by implied actions of different characters that are shown either in two panels on a single page or two images on facing pages. Another genre is comics, where the juxtaposition of panels on the same page or on a two-page spread provides a sense of simultaneous actions (El Refaie 2012: 129). There is also a suggestion that comics can easily capture relations of simultaneity within a scene by using word balloons, which allow for 'a number of conversations, speech acts, or separate thoughts to occur during the same diegetic time frame' (Pratt 2009: 115). This shows that word balloons can perform an important narrative function. The main difference between Pratt's finding and the results of my analysis is that the metaphor scenarios in my data do not contain speech or thought balloons; rather, they draw on visual information, namely implied actions, which help readers understand the sense of simultaneous actions in the cartoon panel. However, I acknowledge that other political cartoons may well use speech balloons to suggest temporality.

Another important theoretical contribution that this study makes to the field of metaphor studies is in revealing how political cartoonists can criticise political figures through evaluative metaphor scenarios. While some previous work exists on the evaluative function of metaphor scenarios in verbal discourse (e.g., Musolff 2006, 2010, 2016; Deignan 2010), no previous study has attempted to explore how metaphor scenarios express evaluative meanings in multimodal contexts, such as political cartoons. My analysis in Chapter 7 stressed the usefulness of the narrative notions of 'causality' (Adams 1989), 'agency' (Bamberg 2005), and antagonist characters to systematically explain how the Algerian cartoonists accused government officials of censoring the press. Specifically, the cartoonists cast the officials into the role of antagonist characters, who evoke a sense of opposition by their attempt to work against the leading characters or protagonists in the scenarios, namely press staff. This finding allows us to understand better the importance of antagonist characters in metaphor scenarios and to highlight the inter-relationship linking the role of such characters to the ideas of negative evaluation or criticism and culpability.

Finally, the introduction of a narrative perspective to the study of metaphor scenarios is one of this study's most important contributions to CMT, and specifically multimodal approaches to CMT. My study places considerable value on cross-fertilisation between narrative theory and CMT for the advantages which such theoretical cross-fertilisation provides to scholars working with CMT. As my study has demonstrated, narrative theory is a promising approach which provides relevant concepts that can help develop a systematic analytical tool to identify a metaphor scenario. In particular, the narrative analytical procedure, which I developed (see Section 3.4.4), could both provide a useful tool in future research and perhaps form the basis for future research on metaphor scenarios in political cartoons as well as having the potential to be adapted for other visual/multimodal (and perhaps verbal) discourses. The narrative notions I used in my research also enable metaphor researchers to consider the narrative elements and internal, structural relations of metaphor scenarios in such genres. Equally important, the narrative approach helps look at evaluative meanings which cannot be derived from a metaphor-mapping analysis, as I have shown in my study.

8.5 Limitations

Due to accessibility issues, this study focused only on cartoons published in independent newspapers with a more liberal orientation. An inclusion of cartoons published in state-owned newspapers would have allowed me to compare the extent of self-censorship practised by cartoonists in such newspapers on exposing press censorship. Second, despite attempting to contact him, I was unable to interview the cartoonist Dilem to hear about his experiences with censorship. I, nevertheless, referred to several of his published interviews, which helped me learn about his struggle for freedom of expression and offer an informed discussion of his cartoons. Another limitation concerns the fact that the use of a large volume of cartoon data led me to select a limited number of cartoons for detailed discussion. This limitation is, however, common to most studies that seek to provide in-depth analyses of large corpora of cartoons.

8.6 Future Directions

This study makes several suggestions for future research. First, the most straightforward research direction to follow would be to investigate how the forms and functions of metaphor and metonymy found in this thesis compare to anti-censorship cartoons produced in other highly controlled political contexts. Researchers could also explore whether cartoonists might deploy other techniques, such as punning and/or symbolism, to treat politically sensitive issues, or whether they resort to other outlets like producing a clandestine press or working in exile.

Another potentially useful direction would be to examine the structural forms and function(s) of visual irony, which Scott (2004: 32) defines as a mismatch between what the text (integrated in some form into a picture) says and what the surrounding picture shows. Visual irony is an important figurative device seen in my cartoon data (e.g., Figure 7.5) and has been identified as a recurrent feature of the political cartoon genre (e.g., El Refaie 2005; Monje 2011). The study of visual irony is still a growing field compared to the well-established research of verbal irony (e.g., Burgers et al. 2012a; 2012b). This logocentric bias has hampered the development of irony studies beyond the verbal realm and has resulted in theories which are 'at once too narrow to reveal what irony is, and too broad to illuminate what it does' (Clift 1999: 523). Therefore, looking closely at visual irony will contribute to our knowledge of the concept of irony more generally.

Existing research on interactions of figurative devices has, to date, focused mainly on the interplay between metaphor and metonymy (e.g., Goossens 1990/2003; Pérez-Sobrino 2017), and—to a lesser extent—on the combination of metaphor and irony (Dae-Young 2013; Barnden 2021) and the metonymic basis of verbal irony (Athanasiadou 2017). Contributing to this scholarship, my study analysed the patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction in my multimodal corpus of cartoons. It would be useful for subsequent studies to address how metaphor, metonymy, and irony interact in this or any other corpus of cartoons and to consider the roles performed by each of the rhetorical figures in their interaction. Research in this area would offer invaluable insights into how meaning in cartoons often rests on the synergy of all three devices simultaneously.

Finally, the narrative potential of political cartoons warrants further research. While this thesis addressed how political cartoons can contain a single, separate metaphor scenario, future research could examine how cartoonists often create a sequence of narrative events which unfold across multiple cartoons published on different days, or sometimes even in different months. In this case, every cartoon is a portion of a bigger narrative (Abdel-Raheem 2020: 23). Abdel-Raheem explains that the progress of the storyline in such cartoons relies on narrative elements like characters, objects, and settings, which are 'cohesively tied together as cartoon stories unfold' (ibid.). In Figures 8.1-8.3, for example, the story starts in a cartoon published on 5th July 1996 about the incarceration of the ex-cartoonist Chawki Amari, depicted inside a prison cell. Then, the story continues in a cartoon published 24 days later, showing journalists organising demonstrations to protest the imprisonment of their colleague and, finally, the story ends with the liberation of Amari, who is shown trying to break free from the barred prison window in a cartoon which appeared on 30th July 1996. Hence, future research could investigate how newspaper cartoons can have features of continuation usually identified with narrative comic strips, for example.



Figure 8.1: Maz, *El Watan*, 5-6/7/1996
Prison officer A: Let me think! ...

Prison officer B: Look! He's drawing a cartoon again...Who does it criticise?

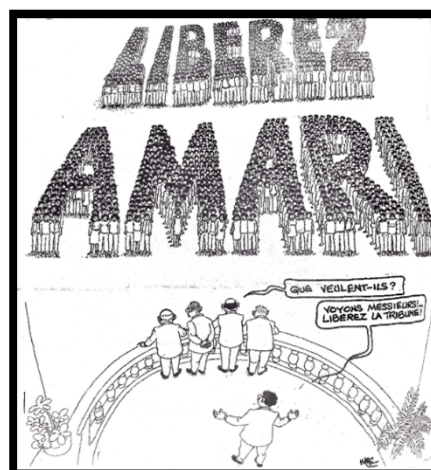


Figure 8.2: Maz, *El Watan*, 29/7/1996
Crowd: Free Amari
Politicians: What do they want?
Gentlemen! Free La Tribune!



Figure 8.3: Maz, *El Watan*, 30/7/1996
Chawki! Stay with us at least until Wednesday!...

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form

- I understand that my participation in this project will involve answering questions on the different sources of pressure which Algerian political cartoonists faced between 1992 and 2002, how these affected us as cartoonists as well as shaping the stylistic aspects and the communicative purposes of the cartoons which we produced during the respective period in *El Khabar* and *El Watan* newspapers. I will be involved in two different but complementary interviews. My involvement in each interview will require approximately 40 to 60 minutes of my time.

The information that I will provide in the first interview will help the researcher understand the cartooning tradition in Algeria. Also, I will inform the researcher about the circumstances of socio-political turmoil that swept the country during the 1990s as well as the challenging working conditions of cartoonists at that time. And how these factors might have influenced the content and the style of the cartoons which I produced at that time.

In the second interviews, I will enlighten the researcher about the constraints which the state imposed on cartoonists at that time, particularly the issue of censorship, how we reflected that in our cartoons, and how these pressures affected our practices. During this interview, the researcher will bring some specific instances of my cartoons to elicit further information on these topics.

- I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can refuse to answer any questions I am not comfortable with during the course of the interview.
- I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I can discuss my concerns with the researcher Miss Sabrina TOUMI, or withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.
- I understand that the data will be recorded and transcribed.
- I understand that information provided by me for this study, including my own words, may be used in the research report.

- I understand that the transcription will be sent to me upon request, and I can request the removal or reformulation of any information I do not wish to be included in the research report.

- I understand that the full transcripts of the interviews will be held confidentially, such that only the researcher Miss Sabrina TOUMI can trace this information back to me individually. I understand that I can ask for any information I provide to be deleted/destroyed at any time.

I, _____ consent to participate in the study conducted by Miss Sabrina TOUMI working under the supervision of Dr Lisa El Refaie at the School of English, Communication and Philosophy, Cardiff University.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 1: Debriefing Form

Thank you for taking part in this study.

The aim of this research was to explore the pressures imposed on Algerian political cartoonists between 1992 and 2002 and how the restrictions affected our cartooning practices. Being a cartoonist, you were asked to answer a set of questions related to the political cartoons you published in *El Khabar* and *El Watan* newspapers during the specified period. The details you have provided in the first interview will, on the one hand, help the researcher understand the cartooning tradition in Algeria. On the other hand, your information will explain the general working conditions of Algerian cartoonists during the tumultuous period which Algeria faced at that time as well as the effects of the severe circumstances on the cartoonists and on their works.

In the second interview, you clarified the constraints, mainly censorship, which you and other cartoonists were subjected to, and how you reflected that in your cartoons. You also answered questions related to specific cartoons that the researcher brought.

- You still have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.
- The information you have provided for this study, including your own words, may be used in the research report.
- The information you have provided will be held confidentially. You can withdraw these information without explanation and retrospectively, by contacting the researcher named below.

If you have any questions about this study or your participation in it, please contact:

Miss Sabrina Toumi (ToumiS@cardiff.ac.uk)

Or alternatively:

Dr Lisa El Refaie (Refaiee@cardiff.ac.uk)

School of English, Communication and Philosophy

John Percival Building

Appendix 2: Interview Guide 1

Part 1: Background Information

1. When did you start cartooning? And how did you first get into this career?
2. What can you say about your artistic background?
 - What kind of training, if any, did you undertake to be a professional cartoonist?
 - If not, how did you develop your style of drawing as an auto-didact?
3. Can you describe your drawing routine?
 - How many cartoons do you draw per day?
4. What tools/materials do you use, and what makes them the 'right tools' for you?
 - traditional pencil/pen, or digital software?
5. Tell me about the thinking process which precedes drawing.
6. What is involved in the drawing process?
 - Do you draw a sketch or make up the drawing as you go?
7. How much revision/editing do you do in your work?
8. What are your favourite subjects to draw about?
9. What sources do you get your drawing inspiration/ideas from?
10. How do you identify yourself? (As a journalist, as an artist, or maybe both?)
11. Do you have to be skilled in drawing to be a cartoonist?

Part 2: Cartooning Tradition and Readership in Algeria

1. Algeria has a rich tradition of cartoons and social satire.
 - What do you think is the role of political cartoons in society in general, and in Algeria in particular?
 - What have you learnt from your career as a cartoonist about the communicative power of political cartoons in Algeria?
2. What are the distinguishing features of Algerian cartoons?
 - What are the typical traits or style of Algerian cartoonists in general? And of your own works specifically?
 - In comparison with the neighbouring countries in North Africa?
 - And compared to western countries like France?
3. From your experience as a cartoonist, what can you say about Algerians' degree of appreciation of the cartooning art in general, and of your own works in particular?
 - Who you think are the main audiences of political cartoons in Algeria? (intellectuals/ not educated)
 - And do you think the level of readership is constant or has it dropped or increased in the last few years compared to the past?

4. What can you say about the relationship cartoon/audience?
 - How easy is to understand (your) cartoons? (recurrent themes/jokes)
 - Do readers have to learn to interpret cartoons?

Part 3: Threats and Pressures during the 1990s

1. What can you say about the socio-political turmoil during the Algerian civil war?
2. How did the circumstances affect you as a cartoonist?
3. Did you face any pressures from politicians, your editors, family members, or anyone else?

Part 4: Political Cartoons of the Civil War

1. What do you think is the role of political cartoons in such times of turmoil?
2. How did you reflect the severity of the situation in your cartoons?
 - What did you try to achieve through your cartoons during that period?
 - What were the emotional and intellectual responses you wanted to trigger in the audience?
3. Were there any topics or personalities you could not draw about?
4. What are your feelings when looking at your cartoons of that time?
5. Which area(s) of cartoons can be impacted by political pressure and turmoil: content and/or style?
6. Has any aspect of your cartooning changed since that period?
 - If yes, in what way?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide 2

Part 1: Cartoons and Newspaper

Q1- What is the conventional place for cartoons in a newspaper?

- 1.1 I discovered that they are typically published on either the front page or the editorial page of a newspaper. Are there any other options?
- 1.2 Who decides about the placement of cartoons in a newspaper?

Q2- Are you free to decide what to draw about, or do you get suggestions/instructions from anyone?

- 2.1 What type of article (if any) are your cartoons related to in the newspaper? E.g., is it a front-page news article or an editorial?

Part 2: Cartoonists and Editors

Q1- If you could think back to the 1990s, what was the professional relationship between the editor-in-chief and you?

- 1.1 What was it like before that period? Was this relationship influenced by the political regime in place at the time?

Q2- To what extent did the editor interfere with the content of your cartoons?

Q3- Did the editor need to approve your cartoons before being published?

- 3.1 What if the editor did not approve the cartoon, for any reason, what did you do?

Part 3: Censorship and Constraints

Q1- What was the role of the press code between 1992 and 2002?

Q2- What was the role of the APS at that time, and what is it now?

Q3- Were you censored or monitored? If yes, what were the forms of state censorship that you faced?

- 3.1 Why did the government impose censorship on the press at that time?
- 3.2 How did governmental censorship affect you?
- 3.3 Were any of your cartoons censored at that time?
- 3.4 Were you aware of any other cartoonist's work that was censored?
- 3.5 Were there any cartoons that you did not publish for fear of repression?
- 3.6 Do you think there were more or different restrictions on journalists than on cartoonists?
- 3.7 Were there any explicit guidelines for cartoonists (either as part of the censorship code, or by your newspaper) for what/who not to draw about? Or was it up to you to interpret the code?
- 3.8 Were there any periods/years during the Algerian civil war when the censorship was more stringent or more relaxed?

Q4- A common theme in your cartoons at the time was the censorship imposed on the press.

- 4.1 What were your motives for drawing such cartoons? what did you intend to communicate through them? And who was/were the targets of your criticism?
- 4.2 Did you face any issues before/after the publication of these cartoons on censorship?
- 4.3 Were there any other cartoons on censorship which you could/did not publish?

Q5- Throughout your career as a cartoonist, were there situations when you felt the need to be implicit for any reason?

5.1 Did you feel the need to comment on events in a subtle way to avoid any kind of harassments or censorship?

5.2 Did you feel the need to resort to self-censorship at some point?

Q6- Were there any other sources of constraints apart from (official) state censorship?

6.1 What were the implicit and explicit threats and/or punishments during that period? And from whom?

Q7- Does the ideological stance of a newspaper impose restrictions on the people or subjects that can be depicted in the cartoons?

7.1 What about the situation of *El Watan* and *El Khabar* during the 1992-2002 period? What were the subjects you were/ were not allowed to draw about?

Q8- Did the state-owned press face the same restrictions as the independent press at the time, or were there any differences?

Part 4: Cartoons and Rhetorical Figures

Q1- What are the forms of indirect communication which you use in your cartoons? and how frequently do you use them?

Q2- Tell me about the effectiveness of indirect communication in cartoons?

Q3- In some of your cartoons on censorship, you depicted a hand and or a shoe. What did you intend to communicate with this?

3.1 Why did you use a hand or a shoe instead of depicting the entire person/censor?

3.2 Who were you targeting/ who was your intended referent?

3.3 What did you want to achieve by depicting a hand or a shoe?



Extra Questions for Ayoub

Q1- Why did you leave for Kuwait?

1.1 Because of fear/ threats or for personal reasons?

Q2- What do the cat and mouse refer to in your cartoons? Why do you use them?

Q3- You often depict a woman draped in an Algerian flag. What does this character stand for, specifically?

Q4- What does the lion represent in the following cartoon? What can you tell me about the relationship between the character and the lion?



Q5- What did you intend to convey through the cartoon below? Is the arrangement of the guillotines random or purposeful?



Q6- What drove you to draw the following cartoon? And what is its meaning?



Extra Questions for Maz

Q1- Do you think that the role of cartoons differs depending on the situation?

1.1 Do you feel your role is different during peaceful periods, compared to periods of turmoil as during the Algerian civil war?

Q2- Did you feel any danger when depicting the Islamists?

Q3- What can you tell me about this cartoon?

3.1 Who are these characters?

3.2 Does this cartoon clearly reflect the relationship between a journalist and their editor?



Q4- What does the crocodile represent? What does it imply?







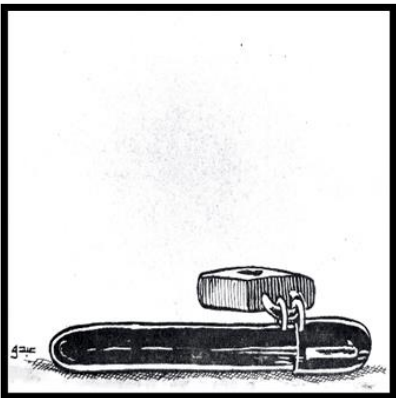

Q5- Who are these characters?

5.1 What did you intend to imply by depicting a jacket made of a newspaper?



Appendix 4: Thumbnails of Political Cartoon Corpus

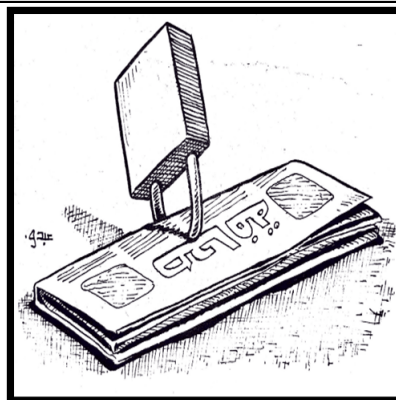
The following are the 95 political cartoons studied in this thesis. These cartoons are organised according to the newspapers in which they appeared.

<i>El Khabar (Ayoub) 1992</i>	
	
(1) 25/1/1992	(2) 26/1/1992
	
(3) 30/1/1992	(4) 18/3/1992
	
(5) 19/3/1992	(6) 25/3/1992

El Khabar (Ayoub) 1992



(7) 6/7/1992



(8) 7/7/1992

El Khabar (Ayoub) 1996



(9) 4/5/1996

El Khabar (Ayoub) 1997



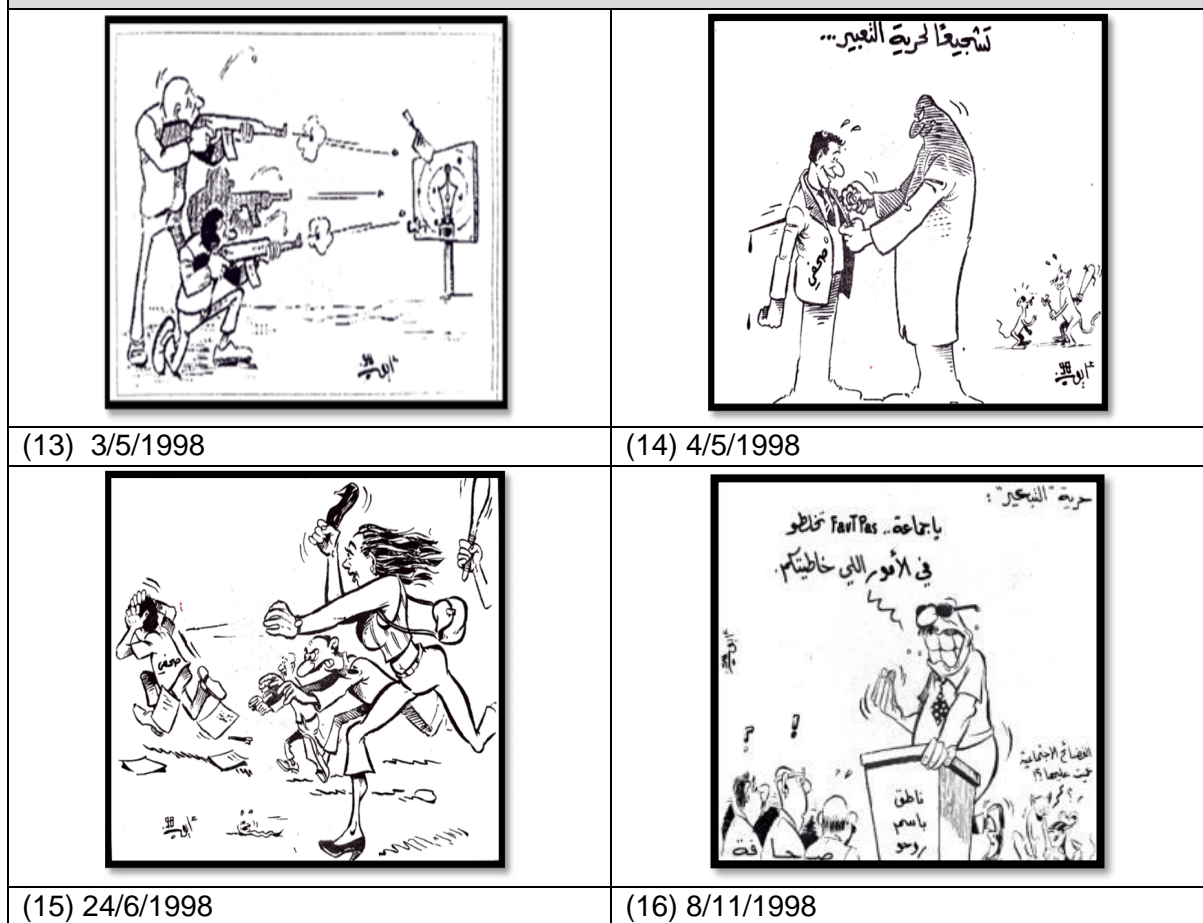
(10) 4/5/1997


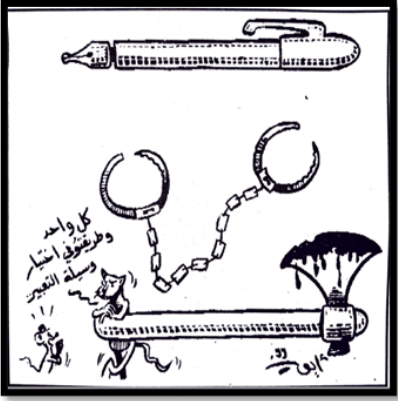



(11) 30/11/1997

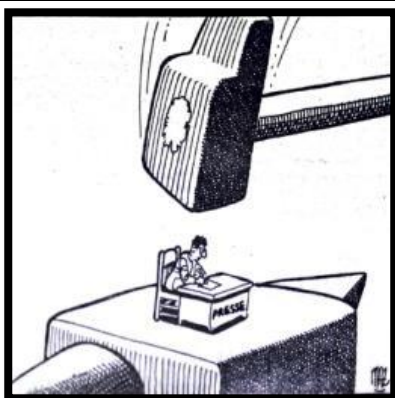


El Khabar (Ayoub) 1998

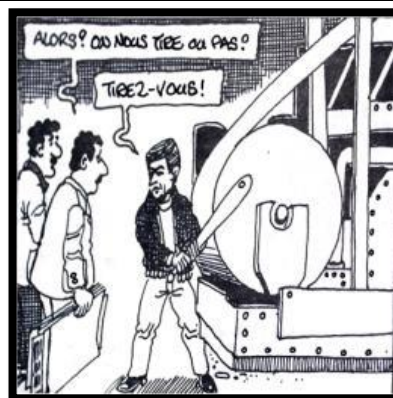


<p>حرية التعبير:</p> <p>يا جماعة... Fast Pas تخلطو في الأمور اللي خاطيتكم.</p> <p>الضاح الاجتماعي حيث عايناهم</p> <p>ناطق باسم روحو</p> 	
(17) 10/11/1998	
<p>El Khabar (Ayoub) 1999</p> 	<p>El Khabar (Ayoub) 2001</p> 
(18) 4/5/1999	(19) 30/5/2001

El Watan (Maz) 1992



(20) 24-25/1/1992



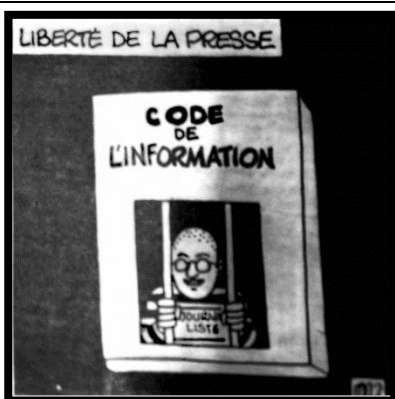
(21) 7-8/2/1992



(22) 9/3/1992



(23) 11/3/1992



(24) 12/3/1992



(25) 18/3/1992



(26) 6/5/1992



(27) 12/5/1992



(28) 10/8/1992

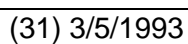


(29) 17/8/1992



(30) 15/12/1992

El Watan (Maz) 1993

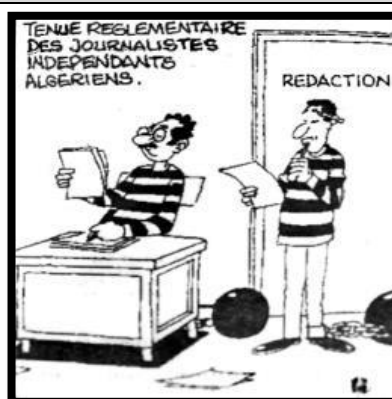


(32) 18/9/1994



(33) 17/11/1994

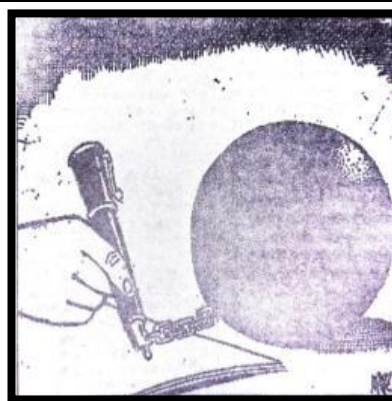
(34) 18/1/1995



(35) 18/1/1995



(36) 5/3/1995



(37) 14/5/1995



(38) 6/6/1995



(39) 8/6/1995



(40) 16/7/1995



(41) 9/10/1995



(42) 17/12/1995



(43) 19/12/1995

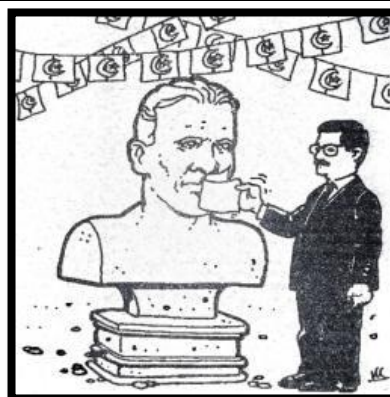


(44) 19/12/1995

El Watan (Maz) 1996



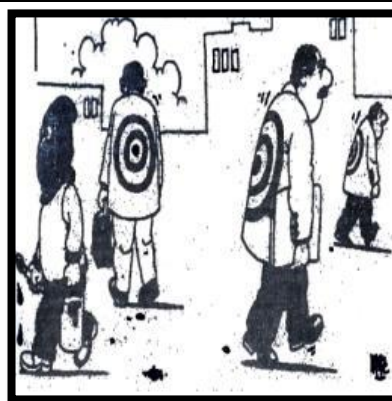
(45) 9-10/2/1996



(46) 1/4/1996



(47) 22/4/1996



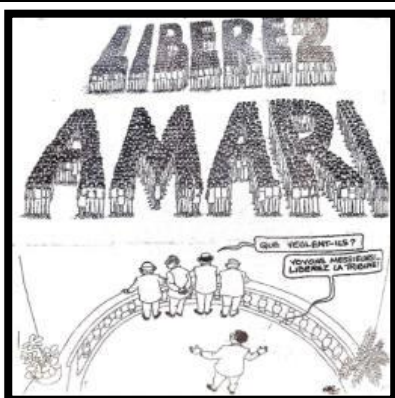
(48) 22/5/1996



(49) 5-6/7/1996



(50) 9/7/1996



(51) 29/7/1996



(52) 30/7/1996



(53) 31/7/1996



(54) 4/8/1996



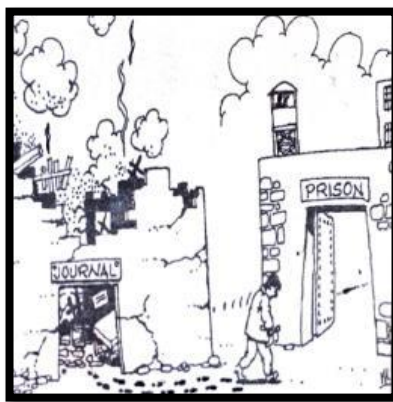
(55) 6/8/1996



(56) 13/8/1996



(57) 4/9/1996

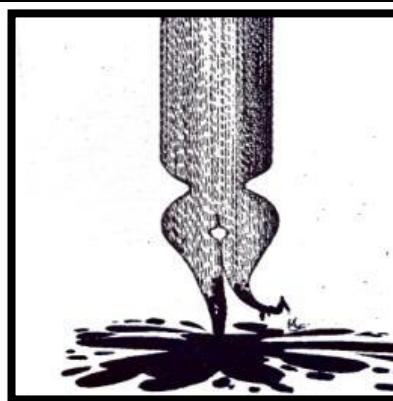


(58) 31/12/1996

El Watan (Maz) 1998



(59) 17/5/1998



(60) 14/7/1998



(61) 15/7/1998



(62) 19/7/1998



(63) 15/10/1998



(64) 11/11/1998

El Watan (Maz) 1999



(65) 4/5/1999

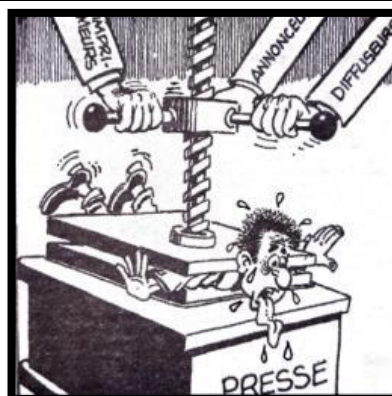


(66) 23/12/1998

El Watan (Maz) 2000



(67) 3/5/2000



(68) 8/10/2000



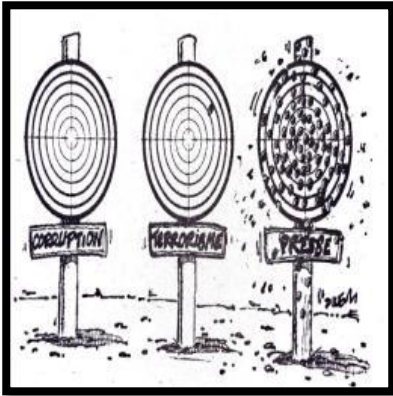
(69) 8/10/2000

El Watan (Maz) 2001



(70) 16/5/2001

Liberté (Dilem) 1996



(71) 10/8/1996



(72) 29/12/1996

Liberté (Dilem) 1997



(73) 2-3/5/1997



(74) 16/12/1997

Liberté (Dilem) 1998



(75) 4/5/1998



(76) 4/6/1998



(77) 19/7/1998



(78) 22/7/1998



(79) 12/10/1998



(80) 10/11/1998



(81) 2/12/1998

Liberté (Dilem) 1999



(82) 16/5/1999



(83) 28/7/1999

Liberté (Dilem) 2000



(84) 3/5/2000



(85) 3/5/2000



(86) 3/5/2000

Liberté (Dilem) 2001



(87) 10/1/2001



(88) 10/1/2001



(89) 22/2/2001



(90) 20/9/2001

Liberté (Dilem) 2002



(91) 27/1/2002



(92) 31/1/2002



(93) 31/1/2002



(94) 25/2/2002



(95) 26/2/2002

