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**A Cross-Cultural Examination of the Use of
Multimodal Metaphor in English and Arabic
Cartoons of the ‘Arab Spring’ in Egypt**

**Master Dissertation: Master en Lingüística Inglesa:
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Summary in Spanish/ Resumen en castellano

El estudio de Lakoff y Johnson *Metáforas de la vida cotidiana* (1980) ha dotado al campo de la metáfora de un renovado interés, y a éste siguieron numerosas publicaciones abordándolo desde diversas perspectivas. Lakoff y Johnson (1980) aseguran que la metáfora es, de hecho, una característica del pensamiento y, por consiguiente, ya no es una propiedad exclusiva del lenguaje. La metáfora sería en realidad un reflejo de cómo concebimos e interpretamos el mundo en que vivimos, en la medida en que está conformada por nuestras experiencias corporales, un fenómeno al que Lakoff y Johnson se refieren como la “mente corpórea”. La metáfora cumple la función de “comprender” y facilitar la interpretación de un ámbito o experiencia en los términos de otro ámbito o experiencia (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 36). Los conceptos abstractos son difíciles de ser pensados *per se*; consecuentemente, las personas recurren a la metáfora para concebirlos en los términos de otras nociones más concretas que están, en cierto grado, vinculadas a nuestras experiencias somáticas.

Si bien no escasean las investigaciones en el campo de las metáforas, parece haber, sin embargo, cierto vacío en lo tocante a la manifestación de la metáfora en modos distintos del modo verbal. Forceville (2009: 19) afirma que uno de los principios fundamentales de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual es la idea de que el variado empleo de metáforas por parte del ser humano sugiere “que piensa en gran medida metafóricamente”. Esto lleva a la conclusión de que la manifestación de la metáfora debería estar presente en los diversos modos del pensamiento, y no únicamente en el verbal. Estos otros modos de pensamiento incluyen, entre otros, las imágenes, la música, los sonidos y los gestos.

Asimismo, la mayoría de estudios que se han realizado en el área de las metáforas multimodales ha sido aplicada al terreno de la publicidad. Los anunciantes parecen advertir el

poder que se invierte en las metáforas, y las usan profusamente para transmitir mensajes a los consumidores. No obstante, recientemente existe un nuevo interés por investigar el uso de metáforas multimodales en las caricaturas (véase, por ejemplo, El Refaie 2003, 2009; Schilperoord y Maes 2009; Yus 2009; Bergen 2003; Marin Aresse 2008). Las tiras cómicas se distinguen de los anuncios principalmente por el hecho de que las caricaturas transmiten una postura negativa frente a un sujeto particular, mientras que los anuncios presentan una actitud positiva. Igualmente, les diferencia el hecho de que las tiras cómicas requieren un conocimiento social y político específico.

El presente escrito examina y compara el uso de metáforas multimodales en caricaturas políticas – tanto inglesas como árabes – que retratan la Primavera Árabe en Egipto, con el fin de determinar: (1) si la mayoría de caricaturas son conceptualmente específicas o culturalmente específicas; (2) los principales dominios fuente empleados por los caricaturistas ingleses y árabes para interpretar la Primavera Árabe; (3) si hay semejanzas o diferencias entre las caricaturas inglesas y las árabes en su elección del dominio meta; y (4) observar también cómo los distintos modos (aquí esencialmente los modos verbal y pictórico) contribuyen a representar la Primavera Árabe.

El corpus para este estudio se compone de un total de 50 tiras cómicas, 25 de ellas inglesas y las 25 restantes árabes. En cada una de estas tiras debe haber al menos una metáfora que representa la Primavera Árabe o alguno de sus subtemas. Las tiras han sido seleccionadas aleatoriamente a través de Internet. Para el análisis, la investigadora ha seguido el marco teórico propuesto por Bounegru y Forceville (2011) en cuanto a la determinación de metáforas en general, así como la determinación de metáforas multimodales de tipo verbovisual en particular. Por cada tira cómica se ha llevado a cabo un análisis independiente, determinando el dominio fuente y el dominio meta, las metáforas, las asignaciones, qué se está representando verbalmente y qué se representa pictóricamente. Además, la autora ha analizado

posteriormente si estas metáforas son culturalmente específicas o no, y/o si están relacionadas con metáforas más genéricas o universales.

El análisis que comprende este trabajo se divide en dos secciones. La primera parte es un estudio detallado de los dos corpora, abordando los distintos escenarios de los dominios fuente empleados por los dibujantes según su similitud. Esta sección presenta a su vez un análisis de los diversos modos que se utilizan para revelar el dominio fuente así como el dominio meta. Del mismo modo, se incluyen las metáforas específicas manejadas en cada tira cómica y, cuando se da el caso, aquellas metáforas genéricas o universales a las que remite.

La segunda sección del análisis presenta una comparativa entre ambos corpora basada en el análisis expuesto en la primera parte. Además, trata varios de los fenómenos lingüísticos a los que han recurrido frecuentemente los dibujantes ingleses y árabes. Estos fenómenos son principalmente la metonimia y la personificación. Igualmente, en esta sección la autora investiga en mayor profundidad las metáforas usadas por los dibujantes ingleses y los árabes, determinando si son ora conceptualmente específicas, ora culturalmente específicas, a partir del hecho de que las metáforas sirven como herramienta para reconocer la forma en que personas distintas, o bien culturas distintas, interpretan varias cuestiones. Por ejemplo, a la hora de conceptualizar el futuro, algunas culturas lo representan espacialmente como delante del hablante, mientras que otras se refieren al mismo como localizado detrás del sujeto (Lakoff y Johnson 1980: 14).

Este trabajo ha permitido varios hallazgos. En cuanto a las metáforas empleadas para representar la Primavera Árabe, tanto las tiras inglesas como las árabes han recurrido a una cierta variedad de metáforas. Algunas de las tiras presentan más de una metáfora operando a la vez. Los dibujantes ingleses y árabes parecen haberse apoyado siempre en el modo pictórico para presentar el dominio fuente, así como en el modo verbal para mostrar el dominio meta.

Además, respecto a la naturaleza de las metáforas que figuran en sendos corpora, casi todas las metáforas son conceptuales en cuanto que se corresponden con nuestras experiencias corporales; no hay, por otro lado, ninguna metáfora culturalmente específica. Asimismo, la única diferencia a este respecto entre ambos corpora es una variación en lo que constituye el prototipo de una categoría particular – aquí concretamente la categoría “primavera” en cada una de las culturas –. En las tiras inglesas, una flor es empleada para representar la primavera, mientras que en las árabes el elemento natural más frecuente para simbolizar la primavera es un árbol.

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Abstract:

The realm of metaphors has been extensively studied, especially after the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's monograph *Metaphors we live by*. Metaphor is designated as a property of thought and not a property of language as it has been regarded before. This means that metaphors are not ornaments or merely figures of speech, they actually shape the way we think and construe our everyday realities. This have been said, the field of multimodal metaphors is less extensively studied than its monomodal verbal counterpart. The present paper investigates and compares the use of multimodal metaphors of the verbo-pictorial type in English and Arabic political cartoons that deal with the Arab Spring revolution in Egypt. The method adopted for analysis is in accordance with the framework presented by Bounegru and Forceville (2011). The results of the study indicate that the almost all the metaphors used in the English and the Arabic cartoons are conceptual and no clear culturally specific metaphors has been detected. Also, there is a clear similarity in the source domains used in both corpora to construe the Arab Spring, as well as in the particular mode selected by the cartoonists to convey either the source or the target domains.

KEY WORDS: conceptual metaphor theory, monomodal metaphor, pictorial metaphor, multimodal metaphor, source/ target domain, cross-domain mappings.

1. Introduction:

The theory of conceptual metaphor has been regarded as one of the most interesting and most stimulating of investigations in the last decades. Linguists such as Black (1954) as well as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have observed that metaphors are not precisely a property of language. In *Metaphors we Live By* (1980: 153), Lakoff and Johnson claim that “metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language.” Metaphor is an area widely studied in linguistics in much the same way as in cognition. Many linguists have further elaborated on the theory of conceptual metaphor and have added an abundant amount of studies (see, for instance, Langacker, 1987; Lakoff 1987, 1989, 1990; Johnson 1987; Kovescses 2002, Gibbs 1999, 2008; Turner, 1989; Croft, 1993).

But, if, as explained by Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are a property of thought, consequently, the manifestations of metaphors should extend the level of the verbal mode to other modes of expression. To this end, Forceville (2009a: 19) highlights the observation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) that humans’ abundant use of metaphors strongly suggests that “they think largely metaphorically”. According to him “If this tenet of CMT is correct, metaphors should manifest themselves not just in language but also via other modes of communication, such as pictures, music, sounds, and gestures”. Forceville (2009a: 21) also stresses the need to demonstrate that metaphors exist multimodally in the same way that they exist verbally to further validate the idea that metaphors are “expressed by language”, and are not “necessarily linguistic in nature”. Later on, linguists have attempted to examine the manifestation of metaphor in other modes of expression such as the visual mode i.e. visual metaphor (see Carroll, 1996; Forceville, 1994, 1995, 1996; Morris, 1993; Kennedy, 1993). This also encompasses the work of social semioticians such as (Kress, 1994; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). Linguists have also investigated the manifestation of metaphor via more than

one mode at the same time i.e. multimodal metaphors (see, for instance, Forceville, 1996; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009).

According to Bounegru and Forceville (2011), in the realm of multimodal metaphors, advertisements seem to attract the majority of studies and research. However, in recent years, a newfound attention has been projected on the field of cartoons (see, for instance, El Refaie, 2003, 2009; Schilperoord and Maes, 2009; Yus, 2009; Bergen, 2003, Marin Aresse, 2008). Cartoonists rely heavily on metaphor to depict their intentions and messages. This could be probably because cartoons “represent the unknown, unresolved or problematic in terms of something more familiar and more easily imaginable” (El Refaie, 2003: 84). This criterion of cartoons seems to be in accordance with Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) portrayal of metaphors as representing the abstract in terms of the concrete. Despite the fact that the realm of cartoons is rich in metaphorical manifestations, the scarcity of studies has stimulated the researcher’s interest to further investigate this genre.

This paper is divided in to five sections. Section one is an introduction in which the researcher will discuss the aim of the paper, the main hypothesis, some research questions, and a brief presentation of the revolution that started in some of the Arab countries; later on, has been labeled as the Arab Spring. Section two is an overview of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the development that has taken place in this realm i.e. pictorial metaphor and multimodal metaphor. Moreover, this section also includes a brief presentation of the political cartoons as a genre. Section three comprises the method adopted by the researcher in this paper, a description of the corpus, the data collection process, and the specific procedure followed in the process of analysis. Section four contains the results of the analysis, and a discussion of the main points and the major findings. The last section in this paper is section five, which includes the conclusion, the limitations, as well as some suggestions for future research.

1.1. Aim of the research

This paper intends to shed light on the manifestations of multimodal metaphors in the genre of political cartoons. Most specifically, the researcher intends to examine the use of metaphors by English and Arabic cartoonists in their depiction of the Arab Spring revolution in the Middle East, and the main focus here will be on the case of Egypt. The revolution in the Middle East, with its mottos of freedom and equal rights, has had its influence in the Arab world, as well as in the Western world. Moreover, since it is something new and rapidly changing, many people have made recourse to metaphor to think about this phenomenon and ultimately to speak about it. Furthermore, it is also important to note the name of the revolution itself “The Arab Spring” instantiates a metaphor.

The main hypothesis is that although both the English and the Arab cartoonists will use an abundant amount of conceptual metaphors in their depiction of the Arab Spring, culturally specific metaphors that pertain to the culture of the cartoonists will be frequently used. In order to test the above-mentioned hypothesis, this paper will answer the following research questions:

1. Are the majority of metaphors conceptual or culturally specific?
2. What are the main conceptual source domains used by the English and the Arabic cartoonists to construe the Arab Spring?
3. Are there any clear similarities or differences between the English and the Arabic cartoons in the choice of target domain?
4. How do the different modalities (here, mainly verbal and pictorial modes) collaborate to depict the Arab Spring?

1.2. The Arab Spring:

The Oxford Dictionary defines the Arab Spring as “a series of anti-government uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, beginning in Tunisia in December 2010”. The same is described by the Merriam-Webster on-line dictionary which defines it as “a series of antigovernment uprisings affecting Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East beginning in 2010”. It also states that the first known use of this term dates to the year 2010. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that these protests are initiated by the frustration of a single man. The whole story started on the 17th of December (Aljazeera.net), when a young Tunisian civilian Mohammed Bouazizi who ran a fruit and vegetable stall on a side road is humiliated by police officers for not having a sales permit. As an act of protest to the humiliation and the loss of goods he suffered, Bouazizi set himself on fire and died a few days later affected by his own wounds. Massive protests spread throughout the main squares of the country calling for the resignation of the Tunisian President from office. People went out to the streets carrying signs and banners, and shouting the words “ the people want to topple the regime”. On January 17th, 2011, the Tunisian President Ben Ali resigned after 23 years of presidency.

The successful results of this protest gave hope to the people of the neighboring countries, and on January 25th, the first coordinated mass protest in Tahrir Square in Egypt took place. The protesters called for the resignation of the Egyptian President Mubarak. President Mubarak appeared on TV twice, first announcing that he was not stepping down from office, and then announcing that he was not running for office in the coming election. Nevertheless, this did not change anything and on February 1st, the Million-Man March took place. Over one million Egyptians gathered in Tahrir Square. Consequently, on February 11th, President Mubarak resigned from office and the army council was announced to run the country.

Influenced by the success of the protests in Egypt, similar protests spread throughout several

neighboring countries such as Yemen, Sudan, Bahrain, Syria, Morocco, and Libya. Some yielded successful results, others only destructions and a high death toll.

Maytha Alhassen (Huffington post.com: 2012) states that the term “Arab Spring” and the metaphor of spring and its connotations of revival and renewal are not new or pertaining the Arab World in particular. In fact, several liberal movements that took place in the Western World, such as “Prague Spring” of 1968 have made use of the same term and metaphor. According to a post by the U.N.'s Alliance of Civilizations, the term Arab Spring was first coined by the U.S Foreign Policy Magazine, and the journalist Marc Lynch, in particular, who wrote a post titled "Obama's 'Arab Spring'" (foreignpolicy.com). Later on, the term was adopted by many journalists and commentators around the world.

On a different perspective, what is unique of the Arab Spring is the avid use of the Internet and social networking in promoting and arranging the protests. A study by the University of Washington on the role of social media in the Arab Spring led by Philip Howard proves that social media has played a central role in promoting protests. According to the study, tweets about political change increased during the week before president Mubarak's resignation from “2,300” tweet a day to “230,000” tweet a day. Moreover, political videos and commentaries that went viral received “5.5” million views. Howard claims that protesters “used social media to identify goals, build solidarity and organize demonstrations” (Washington.Edu).

2. Theoretical Framework:

This section presents an overview of the conceptual metaphor theory and the recent development in the field. It will be divided into four sections; in section one, the researcher will provide a description on the theory of conceptual metaphor covering the main concepts and terminology. In section two, the researcher will present an account on the advancement in the study of metaphor, as well as on the new incorporation of the pictorial mode in its realm. The third section will discuss the theory of multimodal metaphor. The last section, however, is a presentation of the genre of political cartoons.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor theory:

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) flourished in 1980 with Lakoff and Johnson's publication of their monograph *Metaphors We Live By*. Since Classical theories, metaphor has been regarded as a subject solely related to language, more specifically, as a figure of speech or an ornament. However, Lakoff (2006: 185) claims that "the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another". This means that metaphor is a mirror to the way in which we conceptualize the world around us, and, consequently, how we speak about it. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as human beings we tend to think of abstract concepts in terms of concrete concepts. This notion is related to what Lakoff and Johnson refer to as "the embodied mind". Johnson (1992: 347) claims that "we are beings of the flesh". Accordingly, the meaning of words as well as the sentences we utter are not arbitrary and meaningless, but are actually "*motivated*, and grounded more or less directly in experience" (Ibarretxe-Antunano, 1999: 29-italics in the original). Johnson also claims that based on such view, imagination plays a central role in our understanding as well as in explaining our experiences. Moreover, Johnson (1992: 351) goes on to say that metaphor is "a basic imaginative cognitive mechanism", not merely a figure of

speech. Metaphor is a way “to ground our conceptual systems experientially and to reason in a constrained but creative fashion”.

In fact, Michael Reddy’s essay “The Conduit Metaphor”, that first appeared in Ortony’s (1979), is the first to shed light on this issue. Reddy was able to demonstrate how we conceptualize the concept of communication metaphorically. Eventually, this has paved the way for others to further investigate the field of conceptual metaphor. Before CMT, metaphor was defined as “a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of their normal conventional meaning to express ‘similar’ concept” (Lakoff, 2006: 185). Later on, when Lakoff and Johnson realized that the generalizations governing metaphorical expression are in thought and not in language, Lakoff (2006: 186) defines metaphor as a “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system.”

When speaking about a cross-domain mapping, Lakoff states that these mappings occur within two domains, the *source domain* and the *target domain*. On one hand, the source domain is the conceptual domain that a person utilizes in order to induce metaphorical expressions, which assist in the understanding of another conceptual domain. On the other hand, the target domain is the conceptual domain that is understood in the above-mentioned way. Lakoff (2006: 190) explains the notion of mapping as “a set of correspondences.” In addition, Kovecses (2010) defines cross-domain mapping in a more explanatory manner by saying that it is:

A set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that constituent conceptual elements of B correspond to constituent elements of A.

Technically, these conceptual correspondences are often referred to as mappings.

(Kovecses, 2010: 7)

As an illustrative example of the use of metaphor in conventional everyday language, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4) use the concept ARGUMENT, and the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, which in English generates several metaphorical expressions:

- Your claims are *undefensible*.
- He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
- His criticisms were *right on target*.
- I *demolished* his argument.
- I've never *won* an argument with him.
- You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*
- If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.
- He *shot down* all of my arguments.

These are ordinary everyday expression in which we speak about argument in terms of war.

The source domain here is war, and the target domain is argument. There is a set of mappings between the two concepts that facilitate and invite understanding the concept of argument, which is an abstract concept, in terms of a more concrete concept that is war. Below is an illustration of the set of possible correspondences between the two domains:

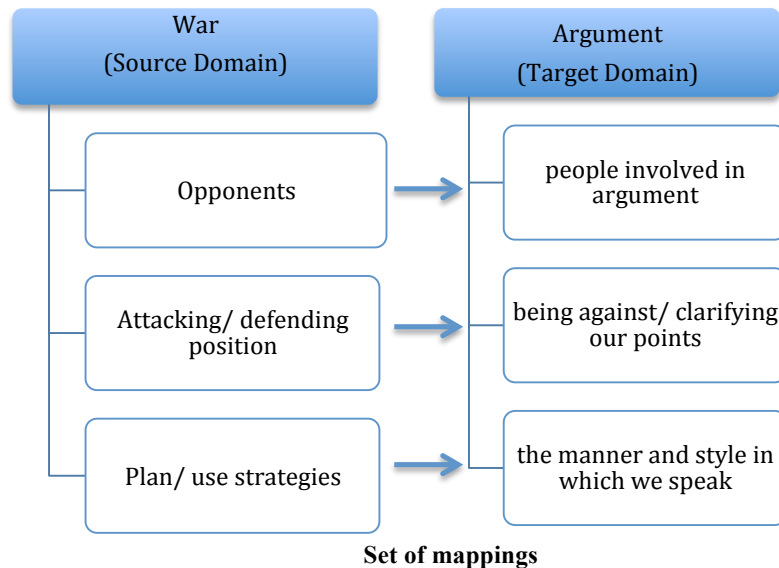


Figure.1: ARGUMENT IS WAR-Set of Mappings

There is no actual physical battle in arguments, however, there is a verbal one, and Lakoff and Johnson believe that our understanding of this verbal abstract battle is *structured* by our understanding of the physical one.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) divide metaphor into three main types on the basis of the nature of the source domain:

- *Ontological metaphor*: this type of metaphor pertains to *understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances*. Ontological metaphors provide *ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances*. In other words this type of metaphor allows construing emotions and ideas in terms of physical objects. An example of this type of metaphor is the metaphor INFLATION IS AN ENTITY, leading to metaphorical expressions such as (“*Inflation is lowering* our standard of living”, “If there’s much *more inflation*, we’ll never survive”, “we need to *combat inflation*”). It is important to note that this type of metaphor includes personification.
- *Orientalional metaphor*: *cases that organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another*. Most of these metaphors are based on source domains related to spatial orientation image schemas such as: (UP-DOWN, IN-OUT, FRONT-BACK, ON-OFF, DEEP-SHALLOW, CENTRAL-PERIPHERAL). These metaphors are there because of our physical nature and our bodies. The role of *Orientalional* metaphor is to give spatial dimension to our everyday concepts; for example: HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN, HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP, SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN, MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN. Thus, generating expressions such as: “I’m feeling *up*”, “He’s at the *peak* of health” etc.
- *Structural metaphor*: *cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another*. This type of metaphor includes various components and complex structures,

as opposed to the two types previously mentioned. An example of this type of metaphor is presented earlier with the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Another example is the metaphor TIME IS MONEY, thus, we have metaphorical expressions such as (“to waste time”, and “to invest time”).

2.1.1. Pictorial metaphor:

Based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is no more a property of language but it is a way of thinking, a way of understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another. Therefore, metaphors ought to be found in other modes of expressions besides language. Forceville (2007) argues that metaphors can be depicted pictorially. He also elaborates to distinguish between four types of pictorial metaphors. These are:

1. *Hybrid metaphor*: this is the case when a single object or *gestalt* is presented as if it consists of two different parts combined together. However, these two parts belong regularly to two different domains. Consequently, such metaphors are understood in the manner that one of the parts is understood in terms of the other part. To further illustrate this, Forceville (2007) provides the example, COMPUTER COMPONENTS ARE NOTES IN A MUSICAL COMPOSITION. (An advertisement for Intel), *figure.2* below:



Figure.2: Hybrid Metaphor

The source domain is the musical note, whereas the target domain is computer components. These components are presented by the heading on each of the musical notes. Therefore, the above advertisement clearly combines two unusually occurring together domains.

2. *Contextual metaphor*: according to Forceville, this phenomena occurs when an object or *gestalt* is understood to be something else as a result of the visual context in which it occurs. The example below (*figure.3*) provided by Forceville (2007) displaying an advertisement for the Lucky Strike cigarette, which displays the metaphor LUCKY STRIKE IS BAR OF SOAP:



Figure.3: Contextual Metaphor

The target domain is the cigarette that is clearly seen in the ads. However, the source domain is a bar of soap, which is not present in the picture. Nevertheless, it is strongly suggested by the pictorial context in which it occurs.

3. *Pictorial simile*: this is the case when two objects or *gestalts* belonging to two different categories or domains are juxtaposed. In such metaphors, the juxtaposition manages to invite the understanding of one object in terms of the other. The example

below (*figure.4*), DOMMELSCH BEER IS LIKE LEANING TOWER OF PISA, taken from Forceville (2007) illustrates such phenomena:



Figure.4: Pictorial Simile

Dommelsch beer is the target of the metaphor, and the source is the leaning tower of Pisa. Here, the two domains are juxtaposed to each other. According to Forceville, one of the features that can be mapped from the source to the target is “reason for national pride”.

4. *Integrated metaphor*: this is the case when an object or *gestalt* is represented in such a way that it resembles another object, whether there are contextual clues or not. The example (*figure.5*) is used by Forceville to illustrate this type of metaphor. The ad invites the metaphor SENSEO MACHINE IS SERVANT.



Figure.5: Integrated Metaphor

The target domain is Senseo machine, and the source domain is a servant. Nevertheless, the servant is not pictorially presented. But, due to the shape of the machine (bent shape- cup bearing plateau), it strongly suggests a servant, a waiter, or a butler.

However, one should pay attention that these examples are prototypical of each of the categories mentioned above. There are cases in which one or more of these categories are provoked by a single example. In addition, it is important to note that pictorial metaphors are just like verbal metaphors in the sense that they utilize a single mode. Therefore, they are referred to as monomodal metaphors.

2.1.2. Multimodal Metaphor:

As stated earlier in this section, verbal and pictorial metaphors are monomodal metaphors since they rely on one mode in their expression. Thus, when two or more modes are used to depict a metaphor, we switch from monomodality to multimodality. To clarify this, several issues need to be elaborated. First, what is multimodality? Second, what constitutes a mode? And third, what is a multimodal metaphor? On one hand, in his description of multimodality, Jewitt (2009: 14) states:

Multimodality describes approaches that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attend to the full range of communicational forms people use – image, gesture, gaze, posture and so on- and the relationship between them.

On the other hand, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001: 21) define modes as “semiotic resources which allow the simultaneous realization of discourses and types of (inter)action”. Kress

(2009: 54) elaborates more on this by claiming that “mode is a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning, *Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving images, soundtrack* are examples of modes used in representations and communication.”

Notwithstanding, deciding what can be a mode and what cannot be a mode is not an easy matter. Forceville (2009a: 22) notes that designating what is mode and what is not can be little tricky. He defines mode as “ a sign system interpretable because of a specific perception process”. But, then states that this definition would restrict mode to the five senses, and eventually would fall short in cases such as, for example, differentiating between written language where one is supposed to use the visual mode and the case of the Braille language where one normally uses the tactile mode. Therefore, further categorization is required, and an additional category should be taken into account, such as the way of production. Still, this is not enough because what might be considered music in one culture, or at one time, might not be considered in other culture or in later time. Having said that, Forceville (2009a) claims that this should not be an obstacle for admitting the presence of different modes, and that they include the following:

- 1) Pictorial signs
- 2) Written signs
- 3) Spoken signs
- 4) Gestures
- 5) Sounds
- 6) Music
- 7) Smells
- 8) Tastes
- 9) Touch

Each of these modes has a special way of expressing meaning, and according to Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 4) the meaning expressed in one mode is very hard to translate to other modes. He even suggests that such a translation can be “ downright impossible”. The same notion is expressed by Lemke (2002: 304). He stresses that this “incommensurability” of the semiotic modes is the reason behind the originality and the

uniqueness when they are combined together. Such is the case with multimodal metaphors, which can be defined as “metaphors whose target and source are rendered exclusively or predominantly in two different modes/ modalities” (Forceville Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 4). Multimodal metaphors allow a much wider opportunity for “creativity” than their verbal counterparts (ElRefaie, 2013: 239). Therefore, many advertisements have utilized them to sell products to consumers of various nationalities, cultures and interests, and the same is true in the case of political cartoons. However, this time to sell ideas and transfer messages.

2.2. The Genre of Political Cartoons:

Cartoons are regarded as an independent genre of art and fiction. They usually combine both the visual and the verbal modes in order to construe meaning and reality. Although, they are imaginative, yet, they are based on real life situations, events, and very often real-life personas. Edwards (1997: 8) states that cartoons are in fact “imaginative fiction”. However, they are based on “the facts of situations”. Therefore, one might look at cartoons as carriers of history, of how political events of a particular time were received and regarded during that time. A political cartoon can be defined as:

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

(ElRefaie, 2009a: 175-176)

There are two schools of thought on cartoons; one regards cartoons as “readily digested pictorial version”, while the other group believes that it is a complex genre. Nevertheless, they both, despite their differences, place their claims on the basis that cartoons use metaphors abundantly. Moreover, cartoonists use a lot of symbols, which make ideas and

meaning much easier to be grabbed and interpreted. (ElRefaie, 2009b: 181). In order to understand cartoons, a viewer has to be aware of the political or social issues, as well as to the people who are running the political life. Saraceni (2003: 36) describes cartoons by saying “cartoons are like single sentences: in order to understand them you need to have some extra-textual information.” He goes on and describes this “extra-textual information” as the people’s awareness and familiarity of the world.

Historically speaking, many major historical events have been captured by cartoons. These include, for example, The French Revolution, World War I, World War II, American Civil War, 9/11 attacks, War on Iraq, as well as others. In the U.S, the first political cartoon dates back to 1754. The famous “join or die” cartoon (*Figure.6*), by Benjamin Franklin in which he asks the eight colonies, represented in the cartoon by eight pieces of a single snake, to either join him in his fight against the French and Native American threat. The cartoon is based on the myth that a snake that is cut into pieces can only come to life if its parts are joined together before sunset. Later on, the cartoon has become a slogan of America’s unity and liberty. (Earlyamerica.com)

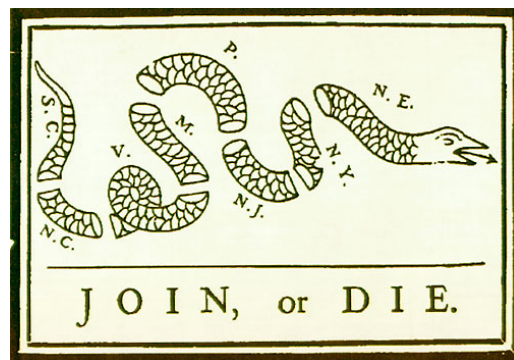


Figure.6: Famous Join or Die Cartoon By Benjamin Franklin, 1754

In developed nations, cartoons are regarded as instruments for political and social commentaries and caricature. However, in developing countries, they obtain a much more serious and educational role, because as Kleeman (2006: 145) claims these countries manifest a higher number of illiteracy among its citizens, and the visual mode constitutes the simplest and most direct means for instruction. Cartoons are used as “means of mass education”, especially when it comes to health and political issues.

Cartoons seem to derive its power and effectiveness from various elements. Several art historians and linguists differ, and sometimes even contradict each other, in their account of the source of efficiency of cartoons. Nevertheless, the combination of all these elements could be the reason behind the efficiency of cartoons. For example, art historian Gombrich (1963:131) claims that cartoons derive their power from their ability to infuse several intricate situations in one image, and consequently create in the audience a “quick insight” to the situation at hand. El Refaie (2009: 182) explains that what makes cartoons special is that they are not “easy to understand”. She goes on to say that if they were easy to understand, then the viewers of these cartoons would no longer establish “the same sense of pride and achievement to solve these intriguing mental puzzles.”

In the depiction of cartoons, cartoonists rely on several devices to help them construe and eventually transfer their message. Kleeman (2006:149) specifies eight elements/devices of editorial cartoon, illustrated by (*figure.7*) below:



Figure.7: (2006) Kleeman's Elements of Editorial and Gag Cartoons. P.149

These elements illustrated above are the strategies or devices used by the cartoonists to transfer his/her message and eventually his/her point of view. Moreover, Kennedy (1982: 600) introduces the idea of “pictorial rune” which is used heavily in cartoons as well as in comic books. “Runes” refer to the various non-iconic marks that indicate several elements in the pictures, such as, for example, the speed of movement of the different characters displayed in the cartoon. They are used especially with abstract concepts such as emotions i.e. the signs of surprise or disgust, signs of happiness, pain, and anger. Artists convey these abstract concepts by using different shaped lines, bubbles, stars...etc.

From (Figure.7) above, both *Visual Metaphors* (the visual mode), as well as *Caption* (verbal mode) are relevant to our study. Kovecses (2010: 64) stresses the fact that cartoons are rich in metaphorical representation. According to him, metaphors in cartoons are usually represented in a “ ‘literal’ way”. He elaborates on this by providing the example of the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Such a metaphor can be exemplified in cartoons by a man who is on the verge of exploding, or even by a man who literally bursts open. Bergen (2003: 2) affirms that political cartoons are “an independent source of evidence

on the creative use of cognitive mechanisms.” These mechanisms to which he refers include, according to him, conceptual integration, conceptual metaphor, as well as cultural models.

When comparing metaphors in the genre of cartoons to the metaphors used in advertisement, they actually vary slightly in the sense of what they convey. Schilperoord and Maes (2009: 216) claim that metaphor interpretation in cartoons differs from metaphor interpretation in advertisement. In advertisement, people expect something positive to be conveyed. However, “the reverse often holds for editorial cartoons.”

3. Methodology:

3.1. Data collection:

The data was collected via the Internet, using the search engine Google due to the easy access and the availability of materials there. The researcher used the words “Arab spring”, “Cartoon”, “Egypt”, first together and then separately to collect the English corpus. Then, using the Arabic translation of the same words "الربيع العربي", "كارتون", "مصر", the Arabic data was collected. Using the option “images” from the top display tab in the Google engine, the researcher randomly collected the first twenty-five relative cartoons that met the criteria (to be further elaborated in section 3.2). The corpus consists of twenty-five cartoons for each language. However, three more cartoons for each corpus were additionally collected as a precautionary measurement, if further analysis revealed any of the original data to be irrelevant or inadequate.

The English data consists of twenty-five cartoons, the dates of these cartoons range from 2011 to 2014. There are seven cartoons that are published in 2011, seven are published in 2012, ten are published in 2013, and one is published in 2014. These cartoons belong to different cartoonists who have published their works in newspapers, magazines or cartoon blogs. These websites include, among others, The Guardian newspaper, The Morning Herald newspaper, and the online cartoon index Cagle.com. The table below illustrates the codes of the different cartoons, the date of publication, the name of the cartoonist, as well as the place of publication of the cartoon; or the website from which they were collected:

Code of the Cartoon	Date of Publication	Cartoonist	Place of Publication
E1	02/02/2011	Clay Bennet	http://www.timesfreepress.com
E2	19/06/2012	Robert Ariail	http://www.robertariail.com

E3	25/06/2011	Deng Coy Miel	http://www.truthdig.com
E4	28/07/2013	Daryl Cagle	http://www.cagle.com
E5	19/06/2011	David Simonds	http://www.theguardian.com
E6	11/08/2011	Eu Bouted	http://antiantiunderground.com
E7	08/12/2012	Nick Anderson	http://www.truthdig.com
E8	27/02/2012	Robert Spencer	http://www.hyscience.com
E9	20/05/2011	John Cole	http://blogs.thetimes-tribune.com
E10	01/06/2014	Schot de Volkskrant	http://www.politicalcartoons.com
E11	17/09/2012	A.F.Branco	http://www.commonsevaluation.com
E12	27/11/2012	Lisa Benson	http://www.truthdig.com
E13	13/07/2013	Daryle Cagle	http://www.allvoices.com
E14	07/07/2013	Monte Wolverton	http://www.batr.org
E15	23/08/2013	Alan Moir	https://www.nytsyn.com
E16	19/09/2012	Luojie	http://www.pri.org
E17	07/07/2013	Adam Zyglis	http://editorialcartoonists.com
E18	22/08/2013	Daryl Cagle	http://www.allvoices.com
E19	26/01/2012	Jonathan Shapiro	http://www.zapiro.com
E20	11/02/2013	Elena Steier	http://editorialcartoonists.com
E21	04/07/2013	Paresh Nath	http://www.cagle.com
E22	11/07/2013	Arend van Dam	http://www.cagle.com
E23	23/08/2013	Christo Komarnitski	http://www.deltaschools.com
E24	29/01/2011	Bryant Arnold	http://www.cartoonaday.com
E25	10/02/2011	Patrick Corrigan	http://obrag.org

Table.1: Description of the English Corpus

The Arabic data, likewise, consists of twenty-five cartoons; the dates of these cartoons range from 2011 to 2014, as well. Therefore, roughly speaking, the two corpora are published around the same time span. Five cartoons are published in 2011, four are published in 2012, thirteen

are published in 2013, and three are published in 2014. These cartoons are the work of different cartoonists. They are published in several newspapers and blogs, such as, Asharq Al-Awsat newspaper (Middle East newspaper), Aljazeera.net as well as AlAlam.net (The World.net). The table below illustrates the codes of the different cartoons, the date of publication, the name of the cartoonist, as well as the place of publication or the website from which they were collected:

Code of the Cartoon	Date of Publication	Cartoonist	Place of Publication
A1	09/09/2011	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.mahjoob.com/
A2	26/06/2012	Habib Haddad	http://www.ake1.info
A3	10/10/2011	Fahad AlKhameesy	http://islamstory.com
A4	05/01/2014	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.sawaleif.com
A5	25/09/2011	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.tt5.com
A6	24/08/2013	Habib Haddad	http://globemuslims.com
A7	24/08/2012	Yazeed Alia	http://www.aljazeera.net
A8	01/12/2013	Amjad Rasmi	http://www.aawsat.com
A9	02/05/2013	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.alalam.ir
A10	25/03/2014	Islam Jaweesh	http://www.kharejalserb.com
A11	29/03/2012	Yazeed Alia	http://www.aljazeera.net
A12	16/03/2013	Dr.Alaa El.Lagta	http://www.al-madina.com
A13	25/09/2011	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.tt5.com
A14	20/05/2013	Amjad Rasmi	http://www.aawsat.com
A15	14/11/2013	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.alquds.co
A16	24/03/2013	Hagid	http://www.alalam.ir
A17	26/05/2012	Amjad Rasmi	http://www.aawsat.com
A18	31/07/2013	Islam Rajab	http://mbasic.facebook.com/Caricature.Egypt

A19	24/03/2013	Osama Hajjaj	http://www.ain.jo
A20	10/04/2013	Imad Hajjaj	http://globemuslims.com
A21	31/01/2013	Khaldoon Gharaibeh	http://www.gharaibehweb.com
A22	15/04/2013	Amjad Rasmi	http://www.aawsat.com
A23	26/02/2013	Amer Alzoabi	http://www.el-wasat.com
A24	01/05/2014	Akram Rslan	http://www.alweeam.com.sa
A25	31/12/2011	Imad Hajjaj	http://www.mahjoob.com

Table.2: Description of the Arabic Corpus

3.2.The Procedure:

In the initial process of gathering the cartoons, the researcher randomly collected the first twenty-five cartoons that displayed a metaphorical representation of the “Arab Spring” as well as “revolution”, and their subthemes such as, for example, the outcome of the Arab Spring, the parties involved in the process, or the future of the Arab Spring. To identify something as a metaphor, the researcher used the criteria proposed by Bounegru and Forceville (2011: 213), which state that:

1. A relation between two phenomena that belong to two different categories is established.
2. These two phenomena are to be analyzed as target and source, nevertheless, this relation is irreversible.
3. At least, one characteristic or quality of the source domain is to be mapped in to the target domain.

Then the researcher used the test designed by Bounegru and Forceville (2011: 213) to distinguish between monomodal pictorial metaphors and multimodal metaphors. The first step

in the test is to erase all the verbal components in the cartoons, then:

1. If using only the visual components of the cartoons, a source and a target (which is always the Arab Spring) are identified, then this is a case of visual monomodal metaphor.
2. If the target and the source become unidentifiable through the visual, then it is a case of multimodal metaphor.

The second step is to remove all pictorial components and solely use the verbal components. If the cartoon caption allows the identification of a source and target, then it is a case of verbal monomodal metaphor. Applying this test, one of the cartoons that was initially chosen has revealed to be a pictorial metaphor, thus, it was replaced by another cartoon from the extra three cartoons that were gathered to replace irrelevant data.

It is important to note that as regarding the image/ verbal interaction in the type of multimodal metaphor that is the basis of this research, sometimes the verbal elements that are taken into consideration do not only belong to a caption added by the cartoonists in the cartoon itself. But, also, these verbal clues would include tags added by the Webmaster of the website from which the cartoons are retrieved. The same procedure is undertaken by Bounegru and Forceville (2011: 211) in their study of cartoons of the financial crisis. They claim that this step is necessary because of the shift in the medium of communication of cartoons from newspaper to the Internet. They state that this is essential to “compensate at least partially for the absence of the discursive context in online cartoon database.”

Afterwards, the researcher analyzed each of the cartoons independently in tables that can be found in the appendix section. For each cartoon, the following elements are described:

- Elements depicted via the pictorial mode
- Elements depicted via the verbal mode

- The source domain
- The target domain
- The features that can be mapped from source to target
- Verbalization of the metaphor

The determination of the source domain and the target domain, as well as the features that are mapped from the source to the target is done entirely by the researcher. Forceville (2011:213) indicates that:

Deciding what connotations have been mapped from the source to target is the interpretive part of metaphor analysis. This interpretation is governed by the assumption that the cartoonist tries to be optimally relevant to the audience, and is crucially constrained by the genre convention (shared by cartoonist and audience) that a political cartoon provides an often humorously designed criticism of a public figure or state of affairs in the world [...]. Even though this awareness constraints possible interpretations, different viewers may infer (slightly or fundamentally) different interpretations.

As a last step, the researcher decided what metaphors can be regarded as new, culturally specific, and those that belong to the category of universal (or at least general) metaphors highlighted by Lakoff in his study on metaphors.

4. Results and Discussion:

The results and discussion section is divided into two sections. Section one presents a detailed analysis of English cartoons, followed by a detailed analysis of the Arabic cartoons. Section two presents a comparison of the two corpora on the basis of several points. It is important to highlight, as mentioned earlier in the method section, that the standard for the analysis is based on the criteria proposed by Bounegru and Forceville (2011) for distinguishing metaphors, in general; as well as for distinguishing multimodal metaphors, in particular.

4.1. Detailed Analysis:

4.1.1. English Cartoons:

In this section, English cartoons will be discussed in five different groups. The cartoons are assembled in each particular group because they share, to some extent, the same source domain scenario.

4.1.1.1. The Source Domain Plant/Vegetation:

The most frequently recurring source domain in the English cartoons is the source domain plant/vegetation; whether it is a flower, leaves, or even simple plants. In seven cartoons of the English corpus, the Arab Spring is depicted as a plant. Although the same source domain is used, however, different connotations and features of the scenario of plant are mapped from the source domain to the target domain. Sometimes, the Arab Spring is depicted positively; other times, it is depicted negatively.

In cartoon E6 (*Figure.8*) below, for example, the Arab Spring is depicted in a negative manner as an evil flower:

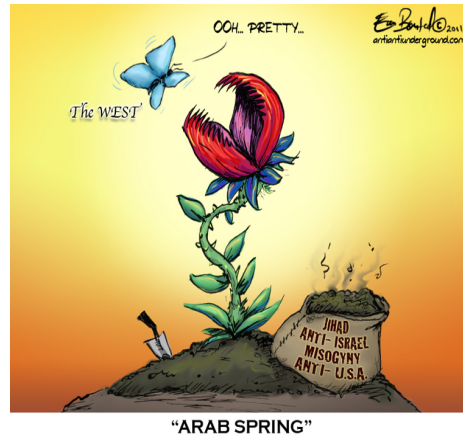


Figure.8: (2011) Re-Analyzing the ‘World Saving’ Arab Spring...That Wasn’t! By Eu Bouted

In the cartoon, there is a flower that has a mouth and sharp teeth. It is trying to catch with its mouth a beautiful blue butterfly. There is also a sack of smelly substance as can be detected from its color and the smoke that comes out of it. This substance looks like compost, which has recently been used to cultivate the plant. Pictorially, this is all what can be inferred from the cartoon. However, only after the verbal dimension is added, the cartoon starts to make sense. On the bottom of the cartoon, it is written the “Arab Spring”. The butterfly is designated as “the West”, and it says: “Oh, Pretty”. On the sack of compost “Jihad, Anti-Israel, Misogyny, Anti U.S.A” are printed. The metaphor that can be construed here is THE ARAB SPRING IS AN EVIL FLOWER. The features mapped are, for example, appearance vs. reality. Although the idea of the Arab Spring is beautiful as a flower can be beautiful; nevertheless, it hides evil thought. Or, as can be inferred from the cartoons it’s been fed bad compost, which is here evil ideology.

The metaphor THE ARAB SPRING IS AN EVIL FLOWER despite being specific to this scenario, actually has its roots in more universal conceptual metaphors such as:

- BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
- ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS CULTIVATING A PLANT

It is also important to mention that the same cartoon can invite the construal of the metaphor in a slightly different way, such as THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER CULTIVATED WITH HOSTILE

COMPOST. This metaphor is derived from the more universal metaphor MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS/ IMMORALITY IS UNCLEANLINESS.

Roughly speaking, the same metaphor of flower is used again in cartoon E2 (*Figure.9*), below:

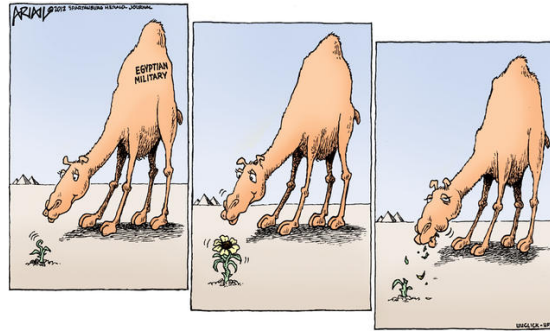


Figure.9: (2012) Egyptian Arab Spring By John Cole

However, this time, the metaphor of flower is used to convey the Arab Spring in a positive sense. In the cartoon, a single flower is growing in the desert and a camel looks at it in admiration. Nevertheless, in the third slide, it lunges to swallow the flower. On the camel's back it is written "Egyptian military". The metaphor that can be construed from the cartoon is THE ARAB SPRING IS A NEWLY GROWN FLOWER. The features that can be mapped are, for example, "newly grown", "rising", "glooming", "at its prime" as well as "food for animals" and "vulnerability" because the camel, which is designated as the Egyptian military, eats it at the end. Also, the cartoonist uses another metaphor in this cartoon, which is EGYPTIAN MILITARY IS A HUNGRY CAMEL.

As mentioned before, these metaphors derive from more general metaphor described by Lakoff, which are:

- BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
- CONSCIOUS IS UP/ UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN
- DESIRE IS HUNGER

Below in (Table.3) a description of the cartoonists' utilization of the domain of plantation in the construal of the Arab Spring:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
E 2	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A NEWLY GROWN FLOWER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ CONSCIOUS IS UP UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN
E 4	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A TANGLED AND THORNY PLANT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ PROBLEM IS TANGLE
E 6	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS AN EVIL FLOWER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEING WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS CULTIVATING A PLANT
E 7	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A PLANT OF WIRES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS CULTIVATING A PLANT ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ CREATION IS CULTIVATION
E 9	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB COUNTRIES OF THE ARAB SPRING ARE FLOWERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ DEVELOPMENT OF A BELIEF IS GROWTH OF A PLANT
E 10	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER THAT GET TANGLED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ DEVELOPMENT OF A BELIEF IS GROWTH OF A PLANT ➤ PROBLEM IS TANGLE
E 17	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A PERENNIAL PLANT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ PEOPLE ARE PLANTS ➤ DEVELOPMENT OF A BELIEF IS GROWTH OF A PLANT

Table.3: The Domain of Plantation in English Corpus

As clear from the table above, in each of these cartoons, the cartoonists present the source domain visually and the target domain verbally. Moreover, the scenario of plantation has been used to depict the Arab Spring. Moreover, almost all of these metaphors derive from more universal metaphors.

4.1.1.2. The Source Domain Climate:

The second most frequently used source domain is the source domain climate. Most of the cartoons derive from the metaphor EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE; whether these conditions refer to the Arab Spring as a revolution, to the outcome of the Arab Spring, or even to the different ideologies that manipulate the whole situation in the area. This can be illustrated in cartoon E8 (*Figure. 10*) below:

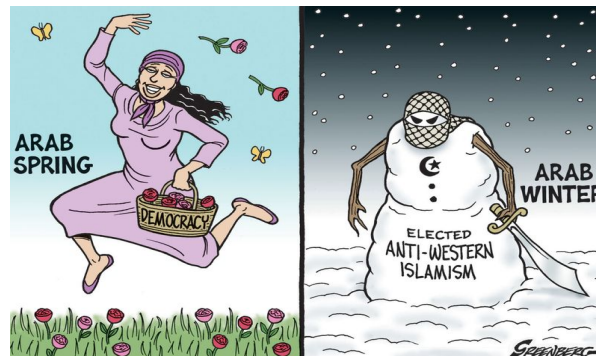


Figure. 10: (2012) Islamic supremacists win 80% of Egypt's parliament vote By Robert Spencer

This cartoon has two slides, in both; the cartoonist exploits the same general conceptual metaphor EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE in the depiction of the Arab Spring. In the first slide on the left, there is a woman in a green field filled with flowers. She is carrying a basket that is full of colorful flowers, as well. She is happy as clear from the big smile on her face and she is jumping. The sky is clear and it is morning time. On this slide the cartoonist adds the caption “Arab Spring”. The metaphor that can be construed is THE ARAB SPRING IS

SPRING SEASON. The features that can be mapped are “fruitfulness”, “youth” and “rebirth”. The source domain is presented pictorially, whereas; the target is presented verbally. There are other metaphors that can be construed from the cartoon, such as:

- HAPPY IS UP
- HOPE IS LIGHT

The initial success of the Arab Spring is presented as a woman jumping on a field, thus, the metaphor HAPPY IS UP. Moreover, when depicting the success of the Arab Spring, the cartoonists resided to morning time and clear skies, thus, the metaphor HOPE IS LIGHT.

Still, most of these metaphors become clearer when compared to the other slide of the cartoon. In the other slide, it is nighttime and there is an evil snowman carrying a sword and covering its face. Also, it has black eyes and has a sign of a crescent and a star, which usually relates to Islam. On the slide, it is written “Arab Winter”; and on the snowman “elected anti-western Islamism” is printed. The metaphor here is THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS WINTER. The features mapped are “decay”, “drought” and “death”. As the first slide, the source domain is presented pictorially and the target domain is presented verbally. Other metaphors can be construed from the same slide such as:

- COMPETITION IS WAR
- HOPE IS LIGHT/ LOSS OF HOPE IS DARKNESS

The snowman is carrying a sword and leaning down ready to fight. The snowman here is a representation of the newly elected government in Egypt, which is run by the Muslim Brotherhood who are considered radical Muslims. The metaphor here is COMPETITION IS WAR. Moreover, in this slide, it is no longer morning time. It is night time and this invites the metaphor HOPE IS LIGHT and derivatively LOSS OF HOPE IS DARKNESS.

Below, in (*Table.4*), is an illustration of the use of the domain of climate in the English corpora:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
E 8	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS SPRING SEASON ➤ THE AFTERMATH OF THE ARAB SPRING IS WINTER 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE
E 9	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS SPRING SEASON 	
E 12	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE AFTERMATH OF THE ARAB SPRING IS AUTUMN 	
E 15	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE AUTOCRATIC REGIME IS A SAND STORM 	

Table.4: The Domain of Climate in English Corpus

The table above displays the four cartoons that utilize the source domain climate, and more specifically, the general conceptual metaphor EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE. In all of these cartoons, the cartoonists depict the source domain pictorially and the target domain verbally.

4.1.1.3. The Source Domain Fighting (War):

Another domain/scenario that recurred in the English cartoons corpus is the domain of fighting/war. The Arab Spring is construed as fighting between the protesters and the police or official government in some cases; in others, it is fighting between civilians of different affiliations. In the English corpus, three cartoons display the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR in their depiction

of the Arab Spring. In addition, in cartoon E8, one slide of the cartoon invites the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Cartoon E24 (*Figure.11*) below is an example:



Figure.11: (2011) Egyptian people fight back with Facebook and Twitter By Bryant Arnold

In the above cartoon, there are two parties fighting. On one side, there is the police or the repression of riot police force with protection shields and weapons. On the other side, there are two men and a woman who are civilians (as can be inferred from their clothes). They are fighting the police with swords. Also, there is a man in a suit trying to escape the scene. “Egypt” is written on the ground, and “Mubarak” is written on the flag as well as on the protection shield held by the police. Moreover, on the swords of the civilians “Facebook” and “Twitter” are written. On the top right-hand corner, the cartoonist writes, “ the citizens of Egypt fight president Mubarak with social media”. Pictorially, the viewers can see the source domain, and only with the addition of the verbal dimension that the viewers can see the comparison and realize the target domain.

The metaphor that can be inferred here is THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING. The features that can be mapped are several. There are, for example, “opponents”, “weapons”, “aggressiveness”, “winning or losing”, etc. This metaphor, as mentioned before, derives from the universal structural metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. However, this is not the only metaphor

that the cartoonist uses. There is another related metaphor, which is SOCIAL MEDIA IS A WEAPON/ SWORD, which derives from the more universal metaphor WORDS ARE WEAPONS.

Below is (Table.5) illustrating the cartoons that use the domain of war:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
E 14	Visual	Verbal	➤ ARAB SPRING IS WAR AMONGST COUNTRYMEN	➤ ARGUMENT IS WAR
E 18	Visual	Verbal	➤ ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING AMONGST CIVILIANS	
E 24	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING	

Table.5: The Domain of Fighting/War in English Corpus

As clear from the table, here again, the source domain is depicted pictorially and the target domain verbally.

4.1.1.4. The Source Domain Circular Motion:

Another repeatedly occurring scenario is the domain of circular motion. This means that the course of the Arab Spring is like moving in circles. The Arab Spring in Egypt started as a very promising protest. However, after the initial success, it seems like everything went back to where it started, and no substantial change has occurred. Several cartoonists reside to this conceptual metaphor in their portrayal of the Arab Spring.

To illustrate the use of such domain in the portrayal of the Arab Spring is cartoon E19 (Figure.12) below:



Figure.12: (2013) Arab Spring theocracy autocracy desert storm Egypt By Jonathan Shapiro

In the cartoon, there are two tanks. On the top of the first one, a group of people stands celebrating as can be inferred from their smiles and from their hands that are raised in victory. But, in front of the other tank, the same group of people is sad and surrendering as indicated from their faces and their hands. Both tanks are driving in circles as is clear from the marks left behind. When adding the verbal mode to the cartoon, it becomes clear that the cartoonist is referring to the Arab Spring, to which the cartoonist designates as “revolution”. The first tank is marked as “2011”, whereas, the second is marked as “2012”.

The metaphor that can be construed here is THE ARAB SPRING IS MOVING IN CIRCLES. The features that could be mapped from the source domain to the target domain are “failure to reach the end”, “repetition”, as well as “back to the point of departure”. This metaphor is related to more universal metaphors, which are:

- MEANS OF CHANGE IS A PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS
- A PROBLEM IS A REGION IN A LANDSCAPE

The Arab Spring is a protest that asks for change; therefore, many construe the whole process as a path that needs to be crossed. Moreover, the Arab Spring can also be seen as a process to solve the problem in Egypt; therefore, failing to solve is failing to locate objects in the

landscape. Thus, people will be looked at as moving in circles and returning to square one or the point of departure. Another metaphor used by the cartoonist, yet; not related to the discussion of the metaphor above, is CONTROL IS UP. When the group of people had control, they were on the top of the tank. But, when they lost control they are no longer on it.

Below in (Table.6) is a demonstration of the cartoons that utilize this domain, the metaphors that can be construed, as well as; the universal metaphors that can be related to them:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
E 19	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS MOVING IN CIRCLES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ MEANS OF CHANGE IS A PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS ➤ A PROBLEM IS A REGION IN A LANDSCAPE
E 21	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS DRIVING IN CYCLES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ MEANS OF CHANGE IS A PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS ➤ LONG TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY
E 22	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS TURNING THE PYRAMID AROUND	➤ A PROBLEM IS A REGION IN A LANDSCAPE

Table.6: The Domain of Circular Motion in English Corpus

As shown in the table, here again, the cartoons rely on the pictorial mode to depict the source domain, and on the verbal mode to reflect the target domain.

4.1.1.5. Other Source Domains:

There are cartoons that utilize different metaphors, however, they cannot be grouped under any of the above-mentioned domains nor can they be grouped amongst themselves. Below, in

(Table.7), is a presentation of some other metaphors that are used by the cartoonists in the English corpus:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
E 1	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS REBUILDING A PYRAMID	➤ CHANGE IS REPLACEMENT ➤ IDEAS ARE OBJECTS
E 3	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A BROKEN SPRING	➤ ACTION IS MOTION
E 5	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS S A TORN FLAG ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A ROCKET	➤ BELIEFS ARE FASHIONS ➤ CHANGE IS MOTION
E 11	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A GHOST	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
E 13	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FOOD PROCESSOR ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A DANGEROUS BATHTUB	➤ HARM IS BEING IN A HAMFUL LOCATION
E 16	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A MOVIE	-
E 20	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS AN ISLAMIST DANCE	-
E 25	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A GIANT FOOT	➤ ACTION IS MOTION

Table.7: Other Source Domains in English Corpus

In the above table, there is reference only to the metaphors used to portray the Arab Spring. Nonetheless, cartoonists used an abundance of metaphors to depict other ideas and concepts.

To illustrate some of the other source domains used by the cartoonists Cartoon E3 (Figure.13) below is an example:

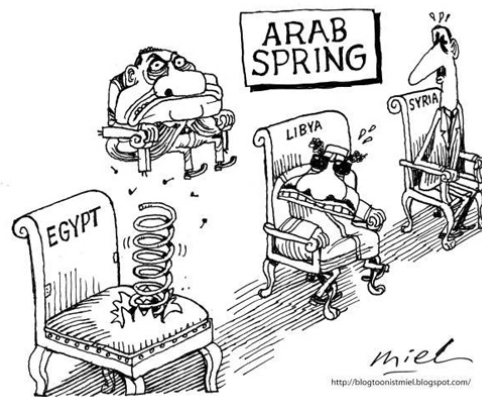


Figure. 13: (2011) Arab Spring By Deng Coy Miel

In the above cartoon, there are three people sitting on chairs. One of the chairs has a broken spring, and, as a consequence, the person sitting on it is thrown away from the chair. The other two people sitting next to him are watching scared and worried, as indicated from the sweat coming out of their heads. On the chairs, the name of the countries in which the Arab Spring protests occurred are written; these are Egypt, Libya, and Syria. The chair with the broken spring is designated as “Egypt”. Thus, the person sitting on the chair is President Mubarak. The other two are Al.Qathafi and Al.Assad.

The metaphor in this cartoon is THE ARAB SPRING IS A BROKEN SPRING. The features that can be mapped are “throwing away” and “rupture”. This metaphor derives from a more universal metaphor, which is ACTION IS MOTION. President Mubarak dethronement is an actual throw in the air. Moreover, there is another metaphor that can be inferred from the cartoon, which is INTENSE EMOTION IS HEAT. The other two presidents who are sitting on the chairs next to President Mubarak are scared and worried because of President Mubarak’ dethronement. Therefore, they feel hot and they are sweating.

4.1.2. Arabic Cartoons:

In this section, as well, an analysis of the Arabic cartoons is presented in five Groups. The cartoons are gathered in these groups because they share, to some extent, the same source domain scenario.

4.1.2.1. The Source Domain Plant/Vegetation:

The most frequently recurring source domain in the Arabic cartoon corpus is the source domain plant/vegetation. Most cartoonists depict the Arab Spring as a flower, a tree, or even a stem with thorns. Some present it as a positive and newly grown plant. Others, in contrast, present it as a dead or unusually weird plant. Thirteen of the cartoons in this corpus utilize this source domain. Most of the metaphors, although particular to each cartoon, are derived from the universal metaphor BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE. Moreover, the features that are often mapped from this domain are “newly grown”, “newly risen”, “expectation of offspring”, as well as “at its prime”. Furthermore, there are other features that can be mapped, especially when the metaphor is used in a negative sense to indicate “decay”, “drought”, or “unexpected/unusual offspring”.

In all of these cartoons, the source domain is presented pictorially and the target domain is presented verbally. Cartoon A10; (*Figure.14*) below, is a sample illustration of the Arab cartoonists’ use of the domain of plantation:



Figure.14:(2014) Arab Spring in Egypt By Islam Jaweesh

The cartoon is divided into two slides. The slide on the left shows a man wearing a traditional Egyptian hat watering a plant. The sun can be seen in the background. In the second slide, the plant has grown into a tree. Nonetheless, it is an unusual tree with the shape of a human head. Taking the beard into consideration as well as the white hat, the human head is metonymic of a Muslim. The man who was watering the plant earlier is surprised and shocked. He is jumping backward, and his mouth is wide open. There are no verbal clues, except for the caption on top “Arab Spring”, which sets the target domain.

The cartoon invites the metaphor THE ARAB SPRING IS WATERING A TREE. The features that can be mapped are “spending time and effort” and “expectation of outcome”. This metaphor derives from the universal metaphor ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS CULTIVATING A PLANT. Another metaphor that can be construed from this cartoon is THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE WITH A MUSLIM HEAD. The man in the cartoon has taken care of the plant and watered it. However, it bloomed unexpectedly. This is exactly what happened in Egypt. After the protests and the dethronement of the President, the newly elected government was against the expectations. This metaphor is related to the universal metaphor BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE. When someone fosters a belief, the expectation is that this belief will become stronger, spread amongst others, and then an outcome is anticipated. The same with the Arab Spring, young people believed in its slogans, it spreads, and then an outcome was expected. However, it was against the expectations.

In this cartoons, there are two other metaphors used by the cartoonist to support the presentation of the Arab Spring. The first one is CONTROL IS UP. The newly elected Islamist government is rising up above the ground. It is taller than the man who waters it. Therefore, it can be said that this invites the metaphor CONTROL IS UP. The other metaphor that can be detected is HOPE IS LIGHT. In the first slide, the sun is clear. Yet, in the other slide, after the rise of the tree, the sun is no longer visible.

Below in (Table.8) is a demonstration of the different cartoons that utilize the source domain plantation in the Arabic cartoon corpus, it also displays the different modes used by the cartoonists to manifest the two domains of the metaphors. Furthermore, it displays the metaphors used in each of the cartoons and, if possible, the universal metaphors to which they can be related:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
A1	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS CULTIVATING A PLANT
A2	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER WITH A MUSLIM HEAD	
A3	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A GREEN TREE ➤ THE INITIAL ATTEMPTS OF THE ARAB SPRING ARE STEMS	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
A7	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER WITH HUMAN BODY	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
A8	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE ➤ INCIDENTS AFTER THE ARAB SPRING ARE AXES	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ EXTERNAL EVENTS AFFECTING PROGRESS ARE FORCES AFFECTING FORWARD MOTION
A10	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE WITH MUSLIM HEAD ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS WATERING A TREE	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS CULTIVATING A PLANT ➤ CONTROL IS UP
A11	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER WITH HUMAN BODY	➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ ENCOURAGING A BELIEF IS

				CULTIVATING A PLANT
A14	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A DECAYING TREE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS AGRICULTURE
A16	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FIELD OF BLOODY FLOWERS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
A17	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE ➤ THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS VOTING CARDS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE ➤ TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS AGRICULTURE
A19	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS BRANCHES 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE
A22	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE 	
A23	Visual	Verbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER 	

Table.8: The Domain of Plantation in Arabic Corpus

4.1.2.2. The Source Domain Fighting/ War:

The Arab spring is construed as a fighting amongst civilians as well as fighting between civilians and official police. Cartoonists who utilize the source domain fighting often construe argument between the different parties in Egypt during the Arab Spring as war. Cartoon A5, (Figure.15) below, is an example of this category:



Figure.15: (2011) Arab Spring reached Abu Mahjoub house By Imad Hajjaj

As can be seen from the cartoon, there is a family of six members. The father is on the ground, the mother along with the three kids are beating him up. The mother is using a cooking utensil, the eldest son is using a mop, the other son is biting, and the young girl is using a knife. The father is holding his wallet. He is either surrendering or trying to protect his money. On the other side, there stands the grandfather motioning his hand asking them to calm down. The caption added by the cartoonist reads, “The Arab Spring reached Abu Mahjoub’s house”.

The metaphor that can be detected from the cartoon is THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING AMONGST FAMILY. The features that can be mapped are “disagreement”, “aggressiveness”, “trying to win”, and “stating enemies and alliances”. This metaphor is derived from the universal metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Moreover, the cartoon invites another metaphor which is THE ARAB SPRING IS A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE. This metaphor derives from the more general metaphor DANGEROUS BELIEFS ARE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES. The features that can be mapped are “contagious” and “sickness”.

Below, in (*Table.9*), is an illustration of the two cartoons in the Arabic corpus using the same source domain:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
A4	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND POLICE FORCES	➤ ARGUMENT IS WAR
A5	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING AMONGST FAMILY	➤ ARGUMENT IS WAR

Table.9: The Domain of Fighting/ War in Arabic Corpus

4.1.2.3. The Source Domain Instrument:

Another source domain scenario that has been used is in the Arabic corpus is the source domain instrument. The Arab spring is construed as an instrument. It is viewed as something that will facilitate the reaching of goals for the people. Below in Cartoon A9 (*Figure.16*), is an illustration of this group of cartoons:

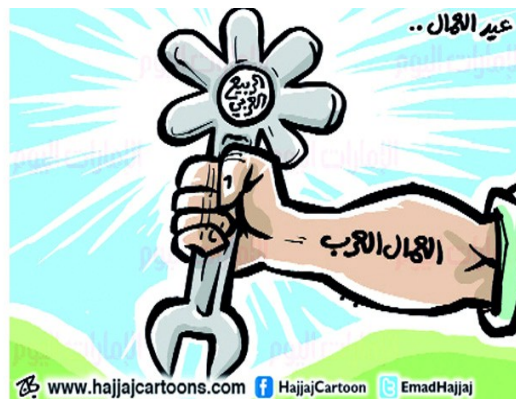


Figure.16: (2013) Labor Day in Arab Spring countries By Imad Hajjaj

In the cartoon, there is a human arm and the hand is holding a spanner, with a handle ending in a shape like a flower. The sunlight is so bright in the background. On the arm “Arab Workers” is written, and on the spanner “Arab Spring” is written. The cartoonist also adds the caption “Labor Day” on the top right corner.

The metaphor used in this cartoon is THE ARAB SPRING IS A SCREWDRIVER. It relates to two general metaphors, which are OPPORTUNITIES ARE OBJECTS and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. The features that can be mapped are “support” and “facilitation”. Moreover, there is another metaphor in this cartoon that support presenting the abovementioned one. This metaphor is HOPE IS LIGHT. In the cartoon, the cartoonist conveys the source domain using the pictorial mode and the target domain using the verbal mode.

Below, in (*Table.10*), is an illustration of the two cartoons in the Arabic corpus using this source domain scenario:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
A9	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A SPANNER	➤ OPPORTUNITIES ARE OBJECTS ➤ IDEAS ARE OBJECTS
A15	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A VEHICLE/FLYING CARPET	-

Table.10: The Domain of Instrument in Arabic Corpus

4.1.2.4. The Source Domain Climate:

Another source domain scenario that recurred more than one time in the Arabic corpus is the source domain climate. Two cartoons construed the Arab Spring as a change in climate, whether the change is caused by the Arab Spring itself or the change in climate is an indication of the aftermath. Cartoon A6 (*Figure.17*) below is a sample illustrating the Arab cartoonist construal of the Arab Spring as a change in climate:



Figure. 17: (2013) The Vortex, the Arab Spring By Habib Haddad

As can be seen in the cartoon, there is a vortex and several ships are caught in it. The ships are most probably going to sink. The cartoonist adds the caption “the Arab spring countries”.

The metaphor here is THE ARAB SPRING IS A VORTEX. The features that can be mapped are “being trapped”, “disaster”, “sinking” and “loss of control”. This metaphor can be related to the universal metaphor EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE CLIMATE. Furthermore, it relates to two other metaphors, which are

- LACK OF CONTROL OF ACTION IS LACK OF CONTROL OF MOTION
- CONTROL IS UP/ LOSS OF CONTROL IS DOWN

There is another metaphor that can be detected in the cartoon, which is THE ARAB SPRING COUNTRIES ARE SINKING SHIPS. The cartoonist uses the pictorial mode to represent the source domain and the verbal mode to represent the target domain.

Below in (Table.11), is an illustration of the cartoons that belong to this group, the metaphors each of these cartoons invites, as well as the different modes utilized and the universal metaphors to which they relate:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
A6	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A VORTEX	➤ EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE ➤ LACK OF CONTROL OF ACTION IS LACK OF CONTROL OF MOTION
A14	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS AUTUMN	➤ EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE

Table.11: The Domain of Climate in Arabic Corpus

4.1.2.5. Other Source Domains:

Seven cartoons in the Arabic corpus use several other metaphors that cannot be categorized under one group. Some of these metaphors are novel, while others can be related to more general metaphors. In all of these cartoons, the cartoonists use the pictorial mode to portray the

source domain and use the verbal mode to convey the target domain. Below, in (*Table.12*), is a manifestation of the different metaphors used by the cartoonists in the English corpus:

Cartoon	Source Domain	Target Domain	Metaphor	Universal Metaphors
A12	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS BONE FOR DOGS	➤ DESIRE IS HUNGER
A13	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A TRAIN	➤ ACTION IS MOTION ➤ LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY
A18	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING HISTORY IS BLEEDING BOOKS	-
A20	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A TORCH	➤ HOPE IS LIGHT
A21	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING A BLOODY PLAY	-
A24	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A WOODPECKER	-
A25	Visual	Verbal	➤ THE ARAB SPRING IS A RELAY RACE	➤ COMPETITION IS RACE ➤ COMPLIANCE IS FOLLOWING

Table.12: Other Domains in Arabic Corpus

The table above illustrates the different metaphors used by the cartoonists to construe the Arab Spring. It is important to note that there are other metaphors in some of these cartoons used by the cartoonist to support the main metaphor. However, they are not used to depict the Arab Spring itself.

To illustrate some of the other source domains used by the Arab cartoonists is cartoon A13 (*Figure.18*) below:



Figure.18: (2011) Arab Spring By Imad Hajjaj

In the above cartoon, there is a train in the middle of the desert. The train is in motion as can be inferred from the smoke that is coming out of it. Along the old tracks of the train, three different people are building new tracks. The first one on the right is wearing a white suit with red and blue hat. Therefore, one can say that he represents the U.S government. The other man is wearing regular clothes and a traditional Egyptian hat. Hence, it can be said that he represents the Egyptian people. The third man is wearing black clothes and a head cover that resembles what is usually worn by fanatic Muslims. Thus, it can be said that he represents the Muslim brotherhood organization. On the Smoke that is coming out of the train, the cartoonist adds the caption “Arab Spring”.

This cartoon is conspicuous of metaphorical thinking. There is the metaphor THE ARAB SPRING IS A TRAIN along with several others, such as:

- ACTION IS MOTION
- MEANS OF CHANGE IS A PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS
- OPPORTUNITIES ARE OPEN PATHS
- PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
- LONG TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY

The cartoonists portrays three people who are building three new tracks, each of these tracks leads to a different destination. Similar to what is happening in Egypt, each of the different

parties involved in the Arab spring in Egypt are trying to reach their own purposes. There is a huge opportunity awaiting them at the end of each path. Therefore, it can be said that the cartoon also invites the metaphor THE FUTURE OF THE ARAB SPRING IS TRAIN TRACKS.

4.2. Discussion Of The Results:

This section is further divided into two sections. In the first section, a comparison will be presented between the English and the Arabic cartoons. The comparison will cover various aspects in the two corpora. These aspects include the types of the source and target domains as well as the collaboration of the different modalities to illustrate those domains and the metaphors in general. Moreover, the comparison will take into consideration two linguistic and cognitive phenomena that have been recurrent in the two corpora. These phenomena are metonymy and personification. In section two, the researcher will examine the nature of the metaphors in the cartoons, and whether they can be regarded as conceptual or culturally specific.

4.2.1. Comparison of English and Arabic corpus:

4.2.1.1. The Types of the Source Domains:

As can be inferred from the detailed analysis section above, both the English and the Arabic cartoonists have used several metaphors in their construal of the Arab Spring. Moreover, the cartoonists have used a variety of source domain scenarios and some are; to some extent, universal, while other are not. In the English corpus, the cartoonists have used several source domains that can be summed up in the (*Figure.19*) below:

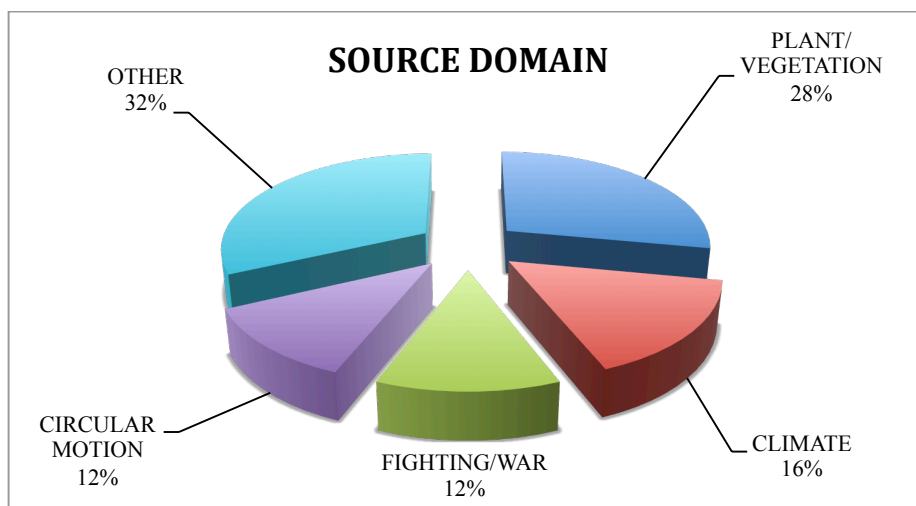


Figure.19: The Frequency of the Different Source Domains in English Corpus

The source domain plant/vegetation, as can be seen from the chart above, is the most used source domain to construe the Arab Spring in the English cartoon corpus, followed by the source domain climate, and followed by the source domain circular motion and the source domain war, equally. Then there are other source domain scenarios that are particular to each case and cannot be grouped under one title. In seven cartoons the Arab Spring or one of its subthemes are reflected as a plant, a flower, a field of flowers or even a bucket for the cultivation of some kind of plants. As a particular season, or as unusual weather conditions, the Arab Spring has been construed for four times. Moreover, the Arab Spring has been depicted as a war or as a fight between different parties in three cartoons. Also, in three other cartoons, the Arab Spring has been depicted as moving in the same circle. Furthermore, English cartoonists have used a variety of other source domains in the eight remaining cartoons.

Similarly, in the Arabic cartoon corpus, the Arab cartoonists have used an abundant amount of metaphors in their display of the Arab Spring. They have also utilized several source domain scenarios as illustrated in the chart below:

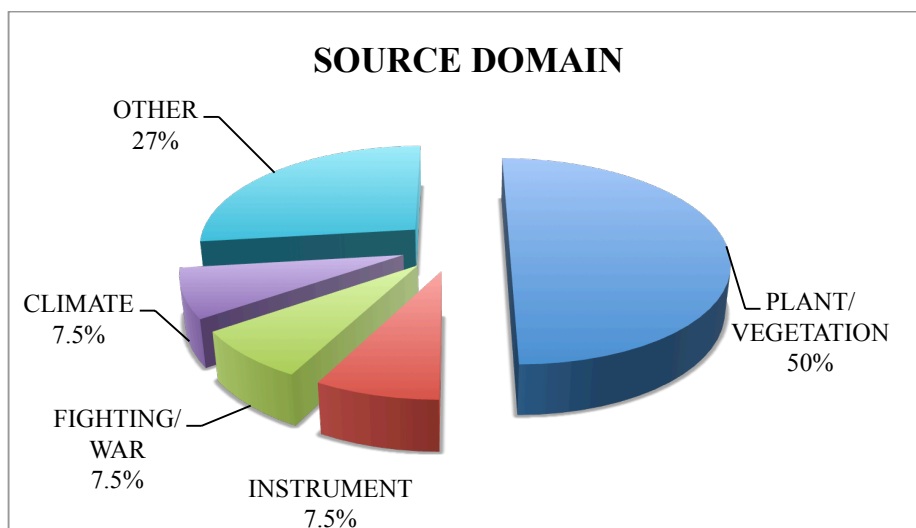


Figure.20: The Frequency of the Different Source Domains in Arabic Corpus

As explained in the chart above, the source domain plant/vegetation dominates half of the source domains used by the Arabic cartoonists to construe the Arab Spring, followed by the source domain climate, the source domain instrument, and the source domain fighting/war, equally. There are other source domains used by the Arab cartoonists; yet, none can be grouped under the same category of source domain scenario. To be more precise, the source domain plantation has been used in thirteen cartoons. While the source domain climate, instrument, and fighting/war have each been used two times. The other source domains used by the Arab cartoonist to display the Arab Spring but cannot be grouped under one category are seven.

In (*Figure.21*) below, a comparison between the English and the Arabic cartoons in the frequency and variety of the source domains used is presented:

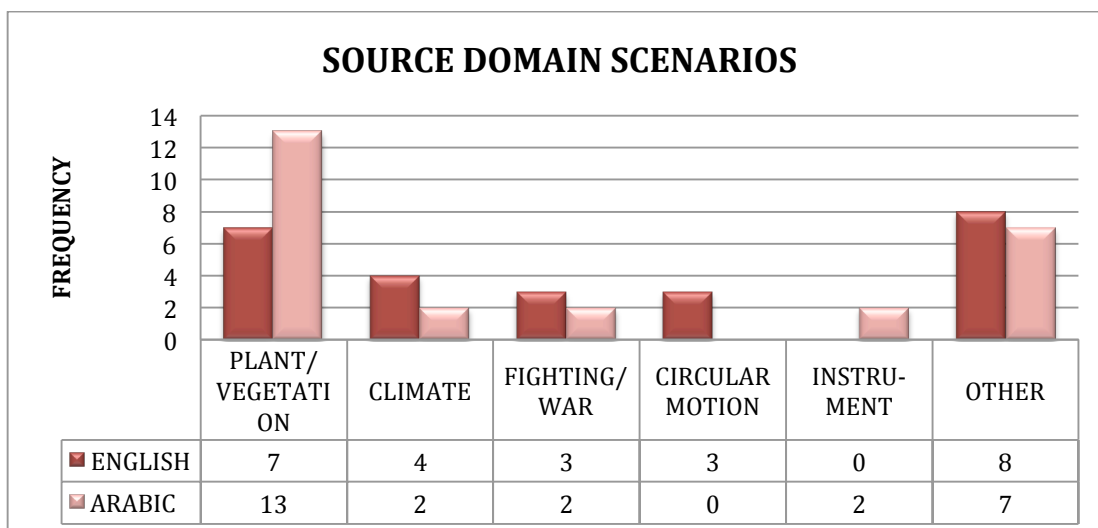


Figure.21: Comparison of frequency and variety of English and Arabic Source Domains

Comparing the English and the Arabic cartoons, it seems that the Arab Cartoonists have used the source domain plant/vegetation more than their English counterparts. Furthermore, in the Arabic corpus, the Arab Spring is construed six times as a tree, whereas, in the English cartoons, it has never been construed as a tree. Perhaps this is due to the nature in which both cartoonists live. In most Arab countries, spring season is the season for the revival of trees. However, when it comes to flowers, they are rare in most Arab countries.

Moreover, the Arab cartoonists have construed the Arab Spring as an instrument, and especially using the metaphor OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT. In contrast, such metaphor and source domain scenario in general has not occurred once in the English cartoons. Such a finding means that for Arabs the Arab Spring has been regarded as an opportunity for a better life and a better future. However, English cartoonists have never regarded it in the same manner.

Both English and Arabic cartoons have utilized the source domain climate. They have portrayed the changes that came along with the Arab Spring as a change in climate, whether they intended to depict the positive changes or even the negative ones. When portraying the

Arab Spring initial success, they have presented it as a spring season. In contrast, when portraying the negative outcome of the Arab Spring they have used a variety of weather conditions such as autumn, winter, vortex, as well as a sandstorm.

In addition to the above mentioned source domain scenarios, both the English and the Arabic cartoonists have represented the Arab Spring as fighting or as war. They have construed the different parties and the constant arguments during the Arab Spring as war. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 4) claim that almost all cultures view argument as war, and though “there is no physical battle, there is a verbal battle, and the structure of an argument- attack, defense, counterattack, etc.” This means that the people we argue with are our opponents and we try to win or lose the fight. They also claim that if there is a culture that views argument in a different way, for us, perhaps, they become something else and not an argument anymore.

Although there are some similarities in the construal of the Arab Spring in both corpora, there are some differences and peculiarities. The English cartoonists have construed the Arab Spring as a circular motion; whereas, in the Arabic corpus, there is no such source domain scenario. On the contrary, the Arab cartoonists have depicted the Arab Spring as an instrument, and such depiction have not occurred in the English corpus.

In the final group of metaphors, when no general source domain can be specified, both the English and the Arabic cartoons share a variety of scenarios. None, except two are similar in the two corpora. These are cartoons E1 and A13, in which the Arab Spring is construed as rebuilding, and both have used the metaphor CHANGE IS REBUILDING. Also, in cartoons E16 and A21, in which the Arab Spring is construed as a movie in the former and as a theater play in the latter.

4.2.1.2. The Types of the Target Domains:

The target domain has always been the Arab Spring or one of its subthemes such as the

outcome of the Arab Spring, the aftermath of the Arab Spring, the future of the Arab Spring, or the people who run the Arab Spring. The target domain in all of the cartoons is presented verbally by a caption added to the cartoon as well as by a tag added by the Webmaster. This could be due to the point that the Arab Spring is an abstract concept hard to be presented pictorially. Moreover, the function of metaphor is to “understand” and simplify some concepts in terms of other concepts and phenomena that are usually, but not always, more concrete. Therefore, the cartoonists seem to rely on the pictorial mode to facilitate and simplify the Arab Spring to the cartoon’s viewers; since, as affirmed by Kleeman (2006: 145) the visual mode constitutes the simplest and most direct means for instruction.

4.2.1.3. Metonymy

Both English and Arabic cartoonists have used metonymy in their depiction of the source domain. Metonymy differs from metaphors, as explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 36), in the sense that in a metaphor something is understood as another thing. Nevertheless, in metonymy something “stands for” for another. Therefore, the main function for metaphor is “understanding”; whereas, the main function of metonymy is “reference”. Forceville (2009b: 56) explains the phenomena of metonymy by comparing it to metaphors, as well. He claims “in short, in metaphor we get A-as-B; in metonymy B-for-A.” English and Arabic cartoonists have used metonymy for the purpose of referring to several concepts in their cartoons, especially, those concepts that are hard to be presented pictorially without any verbal clues. Forceville (2009b: 58) explains the role of metonymy by stating “the choice of metonymic source makes salient one or more aspects of the target that otherwise would not, or not as clearly, have been noticeable, and thereby makes accessible the target under a specific perspective [...]”

Furthermore, the frequency of the use of metonymy in the depiction of the source domain is quite higher. Perhaps, this could be due to the nature of both domains. The target

domain is usually an abstract concept such as the Arab Spring or one of its subthemes, and it is presented verbally. Nevertheless, the source domain is usually a more concrete concept, and in order to present it pictorially in a restricted space, the cartoonists have to rely heavily on metonymies. According to Bounegru and Forceville (2011, 220) this is due to the fact that in such genre as cartoons, an abstract domain has to be presented and grasped by the audience on visual basis alone, without verbal reinforcement. Therefore, metonymy and sometimes, even a sequence of metonymies from the portrayed domain has to be used; so, in the context of the cartoon, they have to be:

- *Strongly or even uniquely indicative of the domain.*
- *Eminently visualizable.*

(Table.13) below illustrates the list of metonymies used by the English cartoonists in the English corpus:

C/N	Metonymy
E1	➤ A pyramid stands for Egypt
E2	➤ Camel stands for the desert
E3	➤ Chair stands for presidency
E8	➤ Snowman stands for winter ➤ Flower stands for Spring
E9	➤ Flower stands for Spring
E12	➤ Yellow leaves stands for autumn. ➤ Cage stands for entrapment
E14	➤ White hat stands for fundamental Muslim ➤ Pyramid stands for Egypt
E16	➤ The statue of liberty stands for the U.S.A. ➤ Clapperboard stands for a movie in the making

E 17	➤ Cultivation equipment stands for a farmer
E19	➤ Tanks stands for army
E21	➤ Egyptian flag stands for the country i.e. Egypt
E22	➤ Pyramid stands for Egypt
E24	➤ Suit stands for officials ➤ Hijab stands for Muslim woman
E25	➤ Giant foot stands for the army

Table.13: Metonymies in English Corpus

Moreover, The below table (*Table.14*) illustrates the list of metonymies used by the Arabic cartoonists in the Arabic corpus:

C/N	Metonymy
A1	➤ Police hat stands for police members.
A2	➤ Beard stands for a Muslim
A4	➤ Dome of the Rock Mosque stands for Jerusalem ➤ Police hat stands for police members.
A7	➤ American flag stands for the country ➤ Traditional gulf clothes stands for people from the gulf
A9	➤ Screwdriver stands for workers/mechanics ➤ Arm stands for human workers
A10	➤ Beard stands for a Muslim ➤ White hat stands for a Muslim ➤ Traditional Egyptian hat stands for Egyptians
A11	➤ Crescent stands for Islam
A13	➤ Traditional Egyptian clothes stand for Egyptians ➤ Black hat and thob stands for fanatic Muslims ➤ Blue, white and red clothes stands for Americans
A14	➤ Hijab stands for a Muslim woman

	➤ Basket stands for picking up fruits
A15	➤ Black mask stands for Jihadists
A16	➤ Red stands for blood
A17	➤ Voting cards stand for democracy
A19	➤ Chair stands for presidency
A20	➤ Torch stands for triumph
A21	➤ Stage stands for a play
	➤ The map stands for the Arab countries
	➤ Blood stands for death
A22	➤ Beard stands for a Muslim
A24	➤ Chair stands for presidency
A25	➤ Flag stands for the country

Table.14: Metonymies in Arabic Corpus

4.2.1.4. Personification:

It is also important to mention that both the English and the Arab cartoonists have used personification in their depiction of the Arab Spring. Wales (2001, 294) defines personification as a “trope in which an inanimate object, animate non-human, or abstract quality is given human attributes.” Personification is considered, as based on Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980: 33) classification, a subtype of *Ontological* metaphor. They assume that personification can allow us to “comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities.” Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 13) claim that “*personification is a crucial variety of multimodal metaphor no less than verbal metaphor*”(italics in the original). They suggest that people do so because such domain is rich in mapping, whether the features that are mapped “idiosyncratic features”, or whether they are the features to which Black refers to as “implicative complexes.”

In the corpus, both the English and the Arabic cartoonists have portrayed the Arab Spring as endowed with human qualities. Notwithstanding, the frequency of this type of metaphor in the Arabic corpus is quite higher. In the English corpus, on one hand, there are two cases of personifications; in cartoon E17, and E22. In cartoon E17, the outcome of the Arab Spring is portrayed as a perennial plant with Morsi's upper body. Thus, we have the metaphor THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A PERENNIAL PLANT and the pictorial personification metaphor depicting Morsi as a plant. Also, in cartoon E22, the pyramid depicted has a human face. Thus, many human qualities can be attributed to it such as 'persistence', and 'greed'.

In the Arabic corpus, on the other hand, personification occurs six times. The instances of personification occur in cartoons A1, A2, A7, A10, A11, and A22. In cartoon A2, the Arab Spring is construed as a flower with human head; whereas, in cartoons A10, A22 the Arab Spring is construed as a tree with human head. The cartoonists reside to personification to add human characteristics to the flower as well as to the tree i.e. human beard. Moreover, in cartoons A7 and A11, the cartoonists construe the Arab Spring as a flower with human body. Also, it is used to add human qualities; and this time, more specifically, to convey human activity. In cartoon A7, the flower waters the tree; and, in cartoon A11, the flower threatens the current presidents of the Arab countries. Also, in cartoon A1, the corruption and suppression forces are construed as a police bee with a hat. Here, most probably, to fit the context of the flower.

4.2.2. Conceptual vs. Culturally- Specific Metaphors:

As detailed above, both the English cartoonists and the Arabic ones have used a variety of source domains, and have used an abundance of metaphors to display different aspects of the Arab Spring. The metaphors that they have used can be considered under the universal, or at

least general, metaphor umbrella described by Lakoff. There is no particular metaphor in the corpora that pertains to a particular culture.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the majority of the cartoons require prior knowledge of the political, social, as well as the geographical nature of Egypt. Understanding the Egyptian culture and geography is essential in cartoons E1, E14, E22 where there is a depiction of the pyramids. Moreover, in cartoons E2, E15, and A23 there is a depiction of the desert nature in Egypt. In addition, there is a reference to the typical Muslim figure in cartoons A2, A10, A22, that differs from the typical representation of the typical Muslim fanatics such as in cartoons A15, E8. Also, there are different representation of Muslim woman in cartoons E24, E5, E20, and E19, in which they appear wearing different types of Hijab.

It is also important to note that there hasn't been any remarkable difference in the source domains used by the two groups of cartoonists for the depiction of the Arab Spring. But, there are some differences in the nature of the source domain. This means that, for example, in the source domain plantation, English cartoonists have used the flower element or the plant element as a reference to the Arab Spring or one of its subthemes. However, in the Arabic cartoons, the most recurring element to depict it, in the domain plantation, is the element of a tree. This could do, partly, to the nature of the Arab countries, as well as to how the Arab cartoonists construe the spring season. Therefore, it can be said that some of the metaphorical representations of the Arab Spring in the Arab corpus have revealed the element of tree to be the prototypical element of the category spring in the Arab world.

5. CONCLUSION:

This paper is an examination of the use of multimodal metaphors in the genre of political cartoons. And, more specifically in this paper, the focus is on the political cartoons that portray the revolution in Egypt starting in the 25th of January 2011; which later on has been known as the Arab spring. The main hypothesis, as mentioned in the introduction, is that there will be an abundant use of metaphorical expressions in the cartoons; also, that there will be many metaphors that fall in the category of universal or general metaphors described by Lakoff, as well as, more culturally specific metaphors that pertain to the cultural background of the cartoonists. To test the aforementioned hypothesis the researcher examined the corpus analyzing several issues.

First, cartoons were analyzed separately, and all the metaphorical expressions, whether verbal or pictorial, are explained as well as the connotations and the features that are mapped from the source domain to the target domain. Second, cartoons were divided and organized on the basis of the source domain scenarios they depict. Third, the researcher observed the different modalities that are used in the depiction of the Arab Spring in each cartoon, and then, decided which mode was used by the cartoonist to display the source domain and which was used to depict the target domain. The fourth step was to decide whether each metaphor is new or not, also whether they belong to the category of universal metaphors or are they more culturally specific. The last step was to draw a comparison between the English and the Arabic corpora regarding all of the abovementioned features.

The paper has arrived at several major findings. First, both the English and the Arabic cartoonists have used several metaphorical expressions, and sometimes more than one in their depiction of the Arab Spring. In doing so, they have tapped on a variety of source domain scenarios. The most frequent source domain used in both corpora is the source domain plant/vegetation, in which, the Arab Spring or any of its subthemes are construed as a plant, a

flower, or a tree. Moreover, the English cartoonists have used four major source domain scenarios in the depiction of the Arab Spring; those are the source domain plant/vegetation, the source domain climate, the source domain fighting/war, and the source domain circular motion. Besides, they have used many other source domains that cannot be grouped under one scenario or category. The Arab cartoonists, also, have used a variety of source domains that can be summarized in four categories; which are the source domain plant/vegetation, the source domain climate, the source domain fighting/war, and the source domain instrument. Furthermore, they have used other source domains that cannot fit any of the categories mentioned above, or form a new category by themselves.

Second, in the depiction of the Arab Spring, both the English and the Arabic cartoonists seem to rely on the pictorial mode to depict the source domain; and on the verbal mode to provide the cue to access the target domain. This could be due to the nature of the concepts of the two domains. The target domain is always the Arab Spring or one of its subthemes, which means that it is an abstract concept that needs to be made easier and more understandable. Here comes the role of metaphor as mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) who state “*the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*” (italics in the original). The source domain is usually a more concrete concept that facilitates the understanding of diverse elements of the Arab Spring revolution.

Third, there is a significant use of personification when depicting the Arab Spring in both corpora. Nonetheless, the Arab cartoonists use of personification is much higher. This could be a result of the status of several Arab countries, including Egypt. They are considered developing countries, and the percentage of illiteracy is somewhat high. Thus, endowing the Arab Spring with human qualities, and characteristics would make it easier to be grasped. In addition, when using cartoons, the visual mode constitutes the simplest and most direct means for instruction as stated by Kleeman (2006: 145). Fourth, metonymy is a recurrent phenomenon

in most, though not all, of the cartoons in both corpora. All these metonymies are presented pictorially. They are used to refer to institutions, organizations, and countries; as well as to the affiliations of the different people portrayed in the cartoon.

Lastly, although the initial assumption is that more culturally specific metaphors will be used by the cartoonists; yet, after the analysis of the data, it turns out that almost all the cartoons belong to the category of universal (or general) metaphors described by Lakoff. There are no culturally specific metaphors. Nonetheless, there are some elements in the source domain scenario that can be referred to as culturally specific. This does not mean in any way that all the metaphors used here are conventional. There are new metaphors. However, they could be incorporated under the realm of conceptual metaphors.

At the end of this paper two things remain to be said. First, this work could be an addition to the studies that reinforce the conceptual metaphor theory and the universality of its nature, especially since it deals with the Arabic language. Second, it also adds to the theory of conceptual metaphor in the sense that it strengthens the claim that *metaphor is not a matter of language but thought*, as it deals with the non-linguistic manifestation of conceptual metaphor.

Some of the limitations that could be mentioned here is that the researcher has paraphrased the metaphorical manifestation in these cartoons. But, it is worth noting that the combination of the pictorial and the verbal mode in the depiction of the Arab Spring in these cartoons has endowed them with uniqueness and meaning. Thus, any paraphrase of these multimodal metaphors to a basic verbal formula, will eventually fall short to convey the wider and rich meaning presented by the cartoonists. El Refaie (2013: 246) states that this is because “such paraphrases do not even come close to the shock of recognition that people are likely to experience upon viewing this cartoon.”

Further studies could be conducted to investigate the differences in the ways in which people construe political revolutions and protests across nations; thus, studying intercultural

variations. Also, another study could compare the construal of political events across time in the same nation i.e. intra-cultural variation. Moreover, a study can be done to compare the monomodal manifestation of the particular event with the multimodal manifestation of the same event; Such as, for instance, comparing the monomodal verbal manifestation of metaphor in newspapers of a particular political event, with the multimodal manifestation of the same event in cartoons or any other pictorial genre.

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Figure.2: Hybrid Metaphor:

http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/semiotics/cyber/CForceville_files/Fig2.1.htm

Figure 2.1 COMPUTER COMPONENTS ARE NOTES IN A MUSICAL COMPOSITION, Advertisement in PC Magazine (1999)

Figure.3: Contextual Metaphor:

http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/semiotics/cyber/CForceville_files/Fig2.2.htm

Figure 2.2. LUCKY STRIKE IS BAR OF SOAP. (The Dutch text underneath this advertisement contains the mandatory warning text ⓈCauses serious health damage.Ⓢ)

Figure.4: Pictorial Simile:

http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/semiotics/cyber/CForceville_files/Fig2.3.htm

Figure 2.3. DOMMELSCH BEER IS (LIKE) LEANING TOWER OF PISA. The text underneath translates as ⓈBut we have Dommelsch!Ⓢ

Figure.5: Integrated Metaphor:

http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/semiotics/cyber/CForceville_files/Fig2.4.htm

FIGURE 2.4 SENSEO COFFEE MACHINE IS SERVANT (PHILIPS)

Figure.6: Famous Join or Die Cartoon:

Bergen, Benjamin (2003) “ To Awaken a Sleeping Giant Cognition and Culture in September 11 Political Cartoons”. In Achard, Michel; and Kemmer, Suzanne (Eds) *Language, Culture, and Mind*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

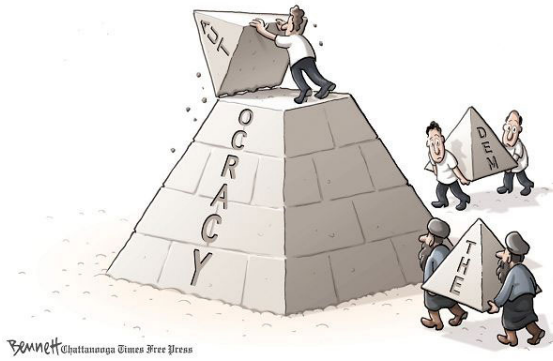
<http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/firsts/cartoon/snake.html>

Figure.7: Kleeman’s Elements of Editorial and Gag Cartoons:

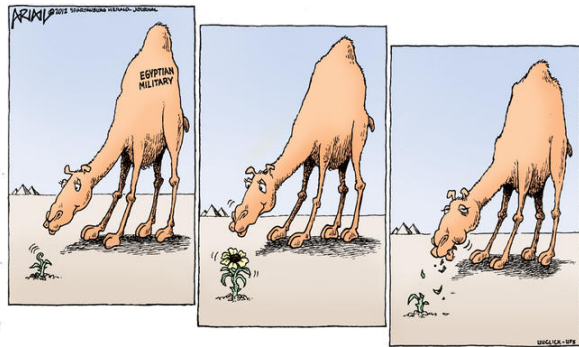
Kleeman, G. (2006) “Not Just For Fun: Using Cartoons to Investigate Geographical Issues” *New Zealand Geographer*. 62: 144-51.

APPENDIX-1 ENGLISH CARTOONS

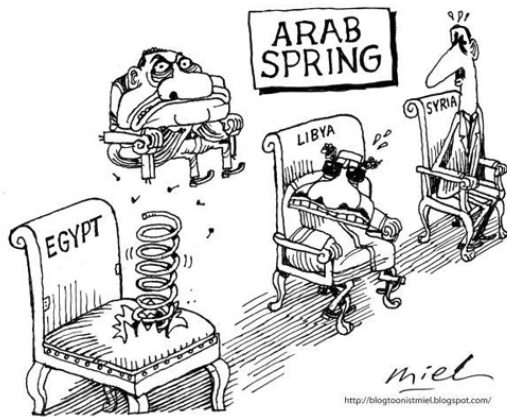
E1:



E2:



E3:



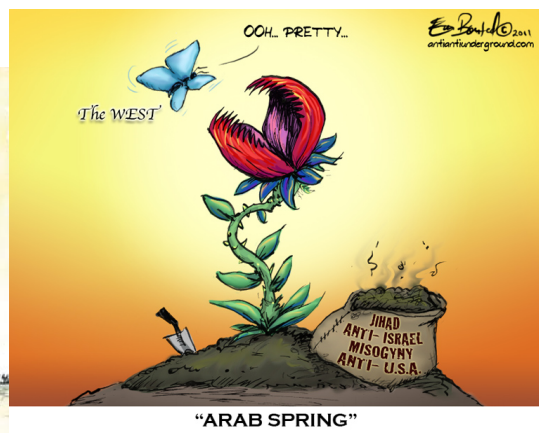
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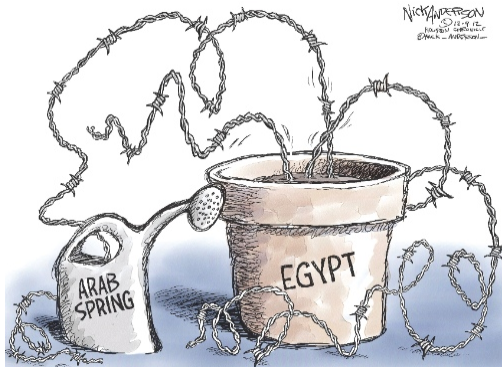
E5:



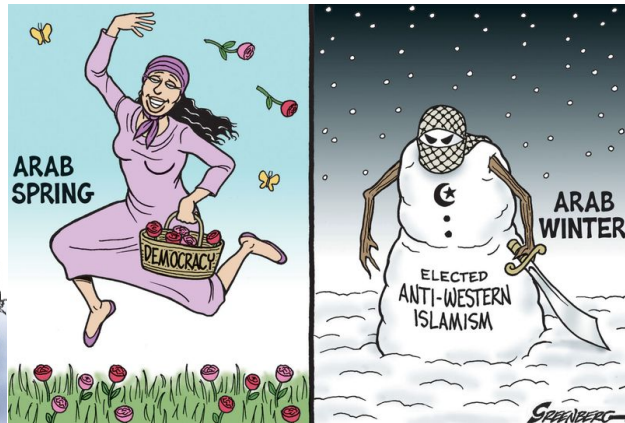
E6:



E7:



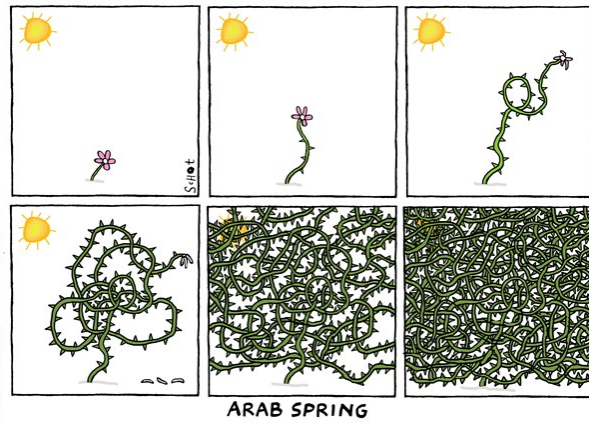
E8:



E9:



E10:



E11:



E12:



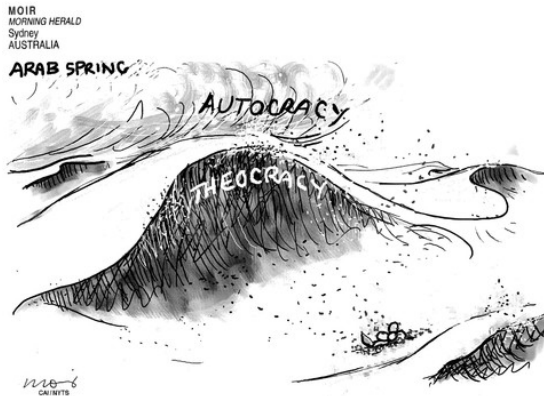
E13:



E14:



E15:



E16:



E17:



E18:



E19:



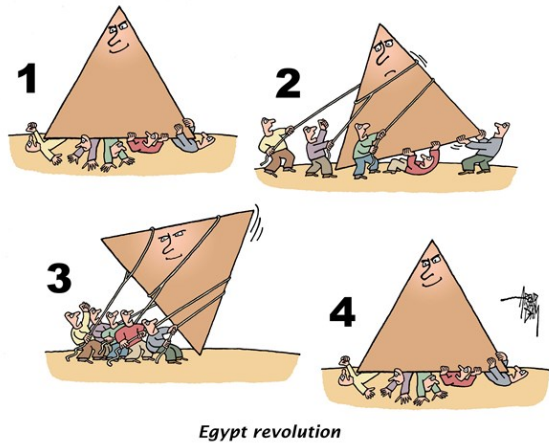
E20:



E21:



E22:



E23:



E24:

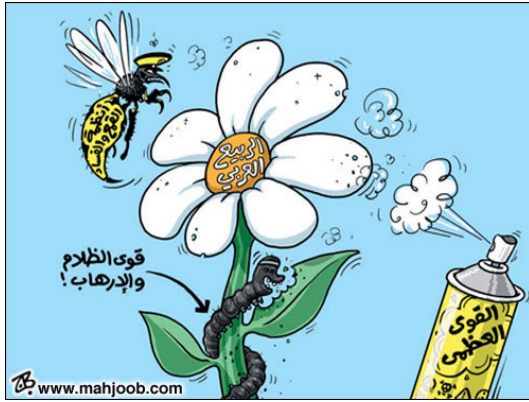


E25:



APPENDIX-2 ARABIC CARTOONS

A1:



A2:



A3:



A4:



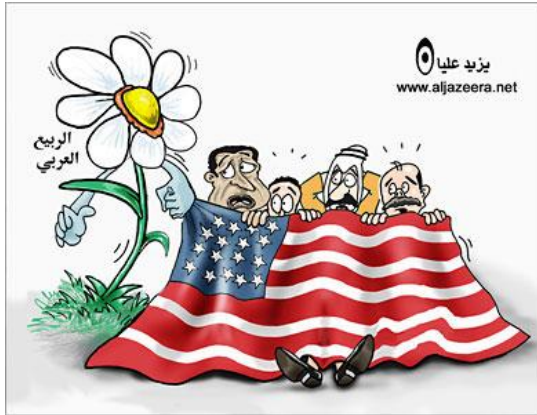
A5:



A6:



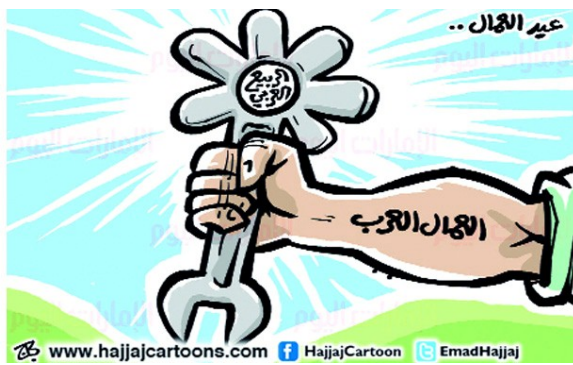
A7:



A8:



A9:



A10:



A11:



A12:



A13:



A14:



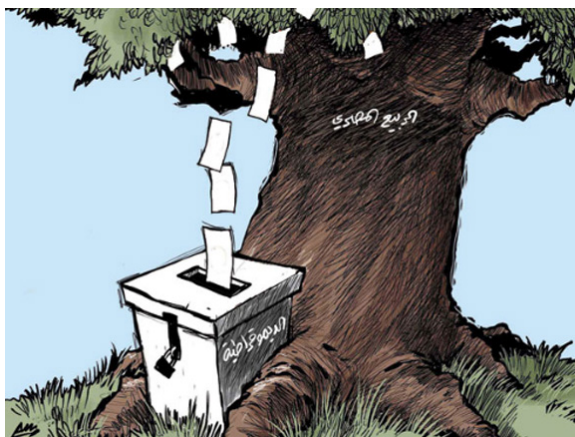
A15:



A16:



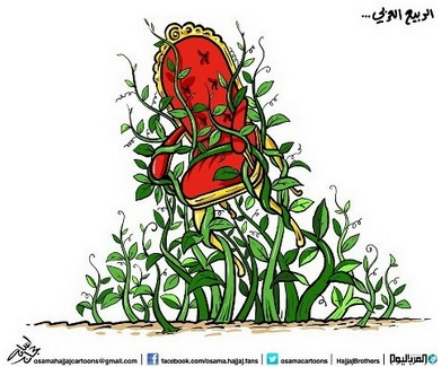
A17:



A18:



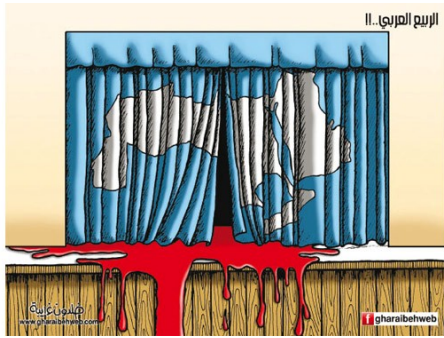
A19:



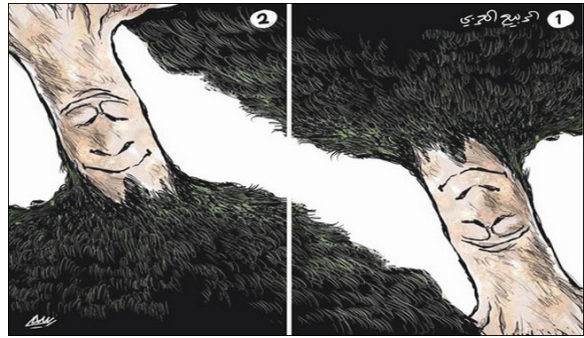
A20:



A21:



A22:



A23:



A24:



A25:



Appendix 3: Tables for Analysis- English Data

E1:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a pyramid • A man is pushing over the top of the pyramid • Two groups of men are carrying brick replacement for the top of the pyramid • Group one: two normal young people • Group two: two men with beards. Apparently, they are affiliated with Islamist organizations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the pyramid: “Autocracy” • Group one rock: “Dem” • Group Two rock “The” • Webmaster tag: The Egypt situation summed up in a single-frame cartoon. Well, at least how Americans view the situation in Egypt. 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Rebuilding the top of a pyramid	The Arab Spring in Egypt	“change”, “transformation”, “being on top”.
Metaphor		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EGYPT IS A PYRAMID <p>CHANGE IS REPLACEMENT/REBUILDING IDEAS ARE OBJECTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE REVOLUTION IS REBUILDING THE PYRAMID <p>HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE TOP OF THE PYRAMID IS AUTHORITY 		

E2:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are three slides. In each, there is a camel. • He is looking at a growing flower in the middle of the dessert, where there are no other flowers. • It appears to admire the growing flower in slide one and two. • However, in slide three, he lunges to eat it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On camel: “Egyptian Military”. • Webmaster tag: Egyptian Arab Spring. 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A single growing flower in the middle of the dessert.	(1) The Arab Spring movement.	(1) “growth”, “rising up”, “food for animals”, “vulnerability”
(2) A hungry camel in the middle of the dessert.	(2) The Egyptian military	(2) “hunger”, “destruction”
Metaphor		
<p>BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE CONSCIOUS IS UP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A GROWING FLOWER. <p>DESIRE IS HUNGER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EGYPTIAN MILITARY IS A HUNGRY CAMEL 		

E3:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are three chairs and each of Mubarak, the former president of Egypt; AlQathafi, the former president of Libya, and AlAssad the president of Syria are sitting on them. • Mubarak’s is thrown off his chair by a spring. • Mubarak is still holding to the arms of the chair. • Both AlQathafi and AlAssad look worried and scared as indicated by the sweat dripping out of their faces. • Both Mubarak and AlAssad are holding tight to their chairs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the first chair: “Egypt”, the second “Libya”, and the third “Syria”. • On the sign “Arab Spring”. • Webmaster tag: Arab Spring. 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped

Broken springs in the chairs of the presidents	The outcome of the Arab Spring	“throwing away”, “rupture”
Metaphor		
ACTION IS MOTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A BROKEN SPRING. • MUBARAK’S DETHRONEMENT IS A THROW IN THE AIR. INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FEELING SCARED IS HEAT 		

E4:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President Barack Obama is playing a game of pluck daisy. • He looks worried. • There is a twisted and tangled plant that wraps him up around his legs, neck and arms. • The plant is made mostly of long thick stems, and there are only five daisies in total. • The stems are full of thorns. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the plant: “Egypt” • Obama says: “It’s a coup...A coup not...A coup...A coup not...A coup...” • Webmaster tag: Obama and the Arab spring in Egypt.
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A twisted and tangled plant with long stems (2) A game of pluck daisy	(1) The Arab Spring in Egypt (2) Speculation of the outcome of the Arab spring	(1) “complication”, “unclearly” (2) “cannot be expected”
Metaphor		
PROBLEM IS A TANGLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A TANGLED PLANT DIFFICULTY IS DIFFICULTY IN MOVING <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OBAMA INVOLVEMENT IN EGYPT AS HE IS BEING TIED UP. 		

E5:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a rocket with three seats ready to be set off. • Two people in an official dress and carrying suitcases. • There is a group of two men and two women carrying a torn flag and are about to get on the rocket. • Far away, just in the direction of the rocket, there is smoke coming from a rocket that had already been shot, and human bodies scattered on the ground. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the missile: “Neo-liberal reforms” • On the two suitcases “ IMF”, and “World bank” • On the flag “Arab Spring” • Webmaster tag: Arabs demand new freedoms but the west offers old economic blueprint Western powers are pushing their economic blueprint for north Africa without asking Egyptians and Tunisians what they want for themselves.
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A torn down flag. (2) A soon to be crashed rocket	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring	(1) “out of fashion”, “suffered a lot” (2) “doomed to failure”
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE FASHIONS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A TORN DOWN FLAG. CHANGE IS MOTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A SOON TO BE CRASHED ROCKET. 		

E6:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a flower that looks evil and dangerous. • A Butterfly is flying close to the flower • There is a sack of compost next to it, and some of it is already used to cultivate the flower. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The butterfly says: “Ohh.. Pretty...” • On the butterfly “ The West” • On the sack of compost “ Jihad, Anti-Israel, Misogyny, Anti-USA” • The bottom of the cartoon:“ Arab Spring” • Webmaster tag: Re-Analyzing the ‘World Saving’ Arab Spring...That Wasn’t! 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) An evil flower (2) A butterfly (3) A sack of compost	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Western World (3) Hostile and violent beliefs	(1) “appearance vs. reality” (2) “innocence” (3) “badness”
Metaphor		
ENCOURAGING A BELIEFS IS CULTIVATING A PLANT BELIEFS ARE BEING WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS AN EVIL FLOWER • THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER CULTIVATED BY HOSTILE BELIEFS MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS/ IMMORALITY (BADNESS) IS DIRTINESS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HOSTILE AND VIOLENT BELIEFS ARE DIRT/ COMPOST • THE WESTERN WORLD IS A BUTTERFLY 		

E7:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a pot usually used for plantations. • There is a water bucket • There is what looks like a plant/ wire growing from the plant pot. • It is full of thorns and knots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the plant pot: “Egypt”. • On the water bucket: “ Arab Spring” • Webmaster tag: Arab Spring 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A plant that looks like a protection wire (2) A water bucket (3) A plant pot	(1) The outcome of the Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring (3) Egypt	(1) “unusual outcome” (2) “feeding”, “nurturing” (3) “containment”
Metaphor		
ENCOURAGING A BELIEFS IS CULTIVATING A PLANT BELIEFS ARE BEING WITH A LIFE CYCLE CREATION IS CULTIVATION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS WIRES • THE ARAB SPRING IS A WATER BUCKET • EGYPT IS A PLANT POT 		

E8:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are two slides in this cartoon • On the left: A happy woman is jumping on a field of flowers and throwing flowers from a basket full of flowers. • On the right: an evil looking snowman holding a sword amidst a field of snow • He has the symbol of crescent and star...usually symbolizes Islam. • It is morning on the left slide and night in the right slide. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the left: “Arab Spring” • On the basket: “ democracy” • On the right: “Arab Winter” • On the Snowman: “Elected Anti-Western Islamism” • Webmaster tag: Islamic supremacists win 80% of Egypt's parliament vote 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped

(1) A happy woman enjoying the flowers of democracy (2) Spring (3) An evil Snowman (4) Winter (5) Flowers of different colors	(1) The initial success of the Arab spring (2) The success of the revolution (3) Newly elected Anti-Western government (4) The disappointing outcome of the elections (5) Democracy	(1) "happiness" (2) "fruitfulness", "rebirth" (3) "evilness", "viciousness" (4) "decay", "drought" (5) "variety", "beauty"
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Metaphor

COMPETITION IS WAR

- THE NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT IS A SNOWMAN WITH A SWORD

HAPPY IS UP

- THE SUCCESS OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A WOMAN JUMPING IN A FIELD

HOPE IS LIGHT /LOSS OF HOPE IS DARKNESS

- THE SUCCESS OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A BRIGHT MORNING

E9:

Visual	Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A man in a suit who looks like the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu. • His eyes and nose are red. His eyes are watery. He is sneezing. • He is holding a napkin • There are several bloomed flowers around him • There is yellow drizzle all around him 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background: "Ahhhchoo!" • Next to the nose: "Sniff" • On flowers: names of Arab countries, such as "Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Tunisia, Bahrain, Algeria as well as Iran" • On the bottom: "the Arab Spring" • Webmaster tag: Gesundheit!

Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) The spring season (2) Spring flowers	(1) The Arab Spring revolution (2) The Arab Countries of the Arab Spring	(1) "fruitfulness", "rebirth" (2) "beauty", "rebirth"

Metaphor

EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE

- THE ARAB SPRING IS SPRING SEASON

BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE

DEVELOPMENT OF A BELIEF IS GROWTH OF A PLANT

- THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE NEWLY BLOOMING FLOWERS

E10:

Visual	Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It consists of six slides: • The first is a simple flower; in the second the stem grows longer; and in the third it grows even longer and starts to twist in circles like a wire. However, you can still see the sun in the left hand corner. • In the fourth, it gets more twisted and tangled, there are more thorns on it, and the flower is decaying. • The fifth: the sun is covered and the whole slide is covered with wire-like stem. • In the sixth: the sun is completely covered and there is nothing to see but the twisted and tangled stem full of thorns, like a wire with spikes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At the bottom of the cartoon: "Arab Spring" • Webmaster tag: Arab Spring

Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
A flower with a stem with thorns that turns into a wire with spikes	The progress of the Arab Spring	"initial beauty", "later complications"

Metaphor

BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE

DEVELOPMENT OF A BELIEF IS GROWTH OF A PLANT

PROBLEM IS A TANGLE

- THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER THAT GROWS AND GETS TANGLED

HOPE IS LIGHT

- THE BEGINNING OF THE ARAB SPRING IS LIGHT
- THE AFTERMATH OF THE ARAB SPRING IS DARKNESS

E11:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a man with his head in a box. (The tie's colors, as well as the White House picture on the box indicate it is President Obama). • Behind him a black ghost with red evil eyes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the box: "donate", and below it "forward" • Obama says "Intel briefing?! I have a campaign to run!" • The tag on his suit " Now I love Vegas" • On the Black ghost/ creature, the words "Arab Spring, Muslim Brotherhood and Radical Islam", "US ambassador to Libya", and "US embassies to Egypt and Yemen" • Webmaster tag: I have a campaign to run. 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A ghost/ an evil creature with red eyes (2) President Obama's head in a box of his campaign	(1) The Arab Spring. (Also, the other issues that worries the US president as a consequence of the Arab Spring such as radical Islamist and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the US embassies and ambassadors in the region). (2) President Obama is concerned about his campaign.	(1) "evil", "scary" (2) "being always on the mind"
Metaphor		
<p>CONTROL IS UP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A GHOST/ EVIL CREATURE <p>EXISTENCE IS VISIBILITY</p> <p>PROBLEMS ARE CONTAINERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRESIDENT OBAMA'S HEAD IS A CAMPAIGN BOX 		

E12:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a decaying tree. • It looks like winter; there is wind as well as yellow leaves falling. • Hanging from the tree is a bird cage • The bird looks troubled. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the cage: "Arab Spring" • Webmaster tag: Arab Spring 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A bird's cage (2) Autumn	(1)The Arab Spring (2) the consequences of the Arab Spring	(1) "confinement" (2) "decay"
Metaphor		
<p>DIFFICULTIES ARE CONTAINERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A CAGE <p>EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARAB SPRING IS AUTUMN 		

E13:

Visual	Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President Obama is in a bath tub • The bathtub is full of electronic devices such as a coffee maker, toaster, radio, and food processor. • There are several wires connected to the devices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the toasters: "Egypt" and "Syria" • On the coffee maker: "Iran". • On the food processor: "Arab Spring"

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Webmaster tag: Arab Spring bathtub Obama
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A food processor (2) A dangerous bathtub full of electrical devices	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring	(1) "multiple issues" (2) "imminent disaster"
Metaphor		
HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A FOOD PROCESSOR THE ARAB SPRING IS A DANGEROUS BATH TUB FULL OF ELECTRICAL DEVICES 		

E14:

Visual	Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A giant head comes out from beneath the earth. He looks like a Zombie with white eyes. But, has a head cover similar to the one worn by Islamists. There are several pyramids and one is on top of the giant head. People who are fighting behind the head. The time is dawn as clear from the skies color 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the ground: "Rise of religious extremism". On the people who are fighting written: "Egyptian revolution" Webmaster tag: Totalitarian Collectivism, Arab Spring Chasing Consensus. 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) People fighting each other (2) Zombie coming to life	(1) The Egyptian revolution (i.e.) Arab Spring (2) Rise of religious extremism	(1) "opponents", "different opinion", "winning and losing" (2) "coming to life/ returning"
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE CONTROL IS UP <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING AMONGST COUNTRYMEN EXISTENCE IS LIFE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> RISE OF RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM IS ZOMBIE COMING TO LIFE 		

E15:

Visual	Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the middle of the dessert as clear by the sand dunes. There is a sand storm. On the bottom right corner appear a single, partially submerged flower. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the top: "Arab Spring". On the sand storm: "Autocracy" On the sand dune: "Theocracy" Webmaster tag: Arab Spring theocracy autocracy desert storm Egypt. 	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
A partially submerged flower in the middle of the dessert	The Arab Spring	"complexity", "scarcity of chances of to live"
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A PARTIALLY SUBMERGED FLOWER. EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE AUTOCRATIC REGIME IS A SAND STORM THE THEOCRATIC REGIME IS A SAND DUNE. 		

E16:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The statue of liberty with sign of pain on its face. Its finger is caught in a movie's clapperboard. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the clapperboard: "Movie: Arab Spring" <p>Webmaster tag: Is freedom to speak the freedom to provoke?</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped	
A movie	The Arab Spring	"having a plot", "being manipulated"	
Metaphor			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A MOVIE/ A MOVIE CLAPPERBOARD <p>HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY</p>			

E17:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a gardener with scissors in his hands. A plant with upper human body. It belongs to Morsi, the newly elected president of Egypt. There are some scattered flowers. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the plant: "tyranny". The gardener says: "perennials..." and on his shirt: "Egypt". On the bottom: "Arab Spring" <p>Webmaster tag: Morsi cut down</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped	
(1) A gardener (2) A perennial plant of Morsi	(1) Egypt (2) The outcome of the Arab Spring	(1) "cultivating", "managing different types of issues" (2) "keep returning"	
Metaphor			
<p>BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE PEOPLE ARE PLANTS DEVELOPMENT OF A BELIEF IS GROWTH OF A PLANT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> EGYPT IS A GARDENER THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A PERENNIAL 			

E18:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four persons are fighting with guns and knives. President Obama is watching disappointed as clear from the way he bents. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the four people: "Arab Spring" The four people say: "*@ (bomb), (knife), (planet), (gun) Americans". It could also be read as kill all Americans or wipe Americans from the planet. <p>Webmaster tag: Anti American Arab Spring and Obama.</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped	
People killing each other	Arab Spring	"opponents", "different opinion", "winning and losing"	
Metaphor			
<p>ARGUMENT IS WAR</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS KILLING 			

E19:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are two tanks: on the first one: there is a military man and four other civilians; three men and a woman. On the other one: only a military man, and the four people are walking in front of it raising their hands as a sign of surrender. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the top right: "revolution" On the first tank: "2011" A sign carried by the man on the tank: "down with Mubarak" On the second tank: "2012" A sign carried by the man in front of it: "down with the military" <p>Webmaster tag: Egypt: A Year Later</p>	

Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Going in circle	Arab Spring	“failure to reach an end”, “repetition”, “back to point of departure”
Metaphor		
A PROBLEM IS A REGION IN A LANDSCAPE CONTROL IS UP MEANS OF CHANGE IS PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS GOING AROUND THE SAME CIRCLE. 		

E20:

Visual	Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A woman in abaya and neqab. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She says: “I perform to you the dance of the Islamic awakening-which you in the west refer to as the Arab spring. I hope you are enjoying my dance.” • Webmaster tag: Dance of the Islamic Awakening.
Metaphor	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A DANCE BY ISLAMISTS. 	

Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
A woman in traditional Islamic attire who is about to dance	The Arab spring	“awkward”, “unexpected”

E21:

Visual	Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five men in a car holding Egypt flag as well as a sign. • They are at a crossroads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sign: “Egypt’s revolution” • On the road sign: “Tahrir Square” • The road arrows: “economic prosperity- democratic system- polls” • One of the men says: “back to square one...” • Webmaster tag: Egypt back to square one.
Metaphor	
LONGTERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY MEANS OF CHANGE IS PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS GOING IN CIRCLES. 	

Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Going in circles.	Arab Spring	“failure to reach an end”, “repetition”, “back to point of departure”

E22:

Visual	Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are four slides: • In slide one: a pyramid with a face is sitting in a group of people • In slide two: the people have ropes and they are trying to turn it • In slide three: they are able to turn it but they are shocked with the results as indicated by their faces • In slide four: the pyramid turns to its initial position and crushes the people under it again. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the bottom: Egypt revolution • Webmaster tag: Egypt revolution
Metaphor	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Arab spring is turning upside down a pyramid 	

Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Turning up side down a pyramid	Arab spring	“back to point of starting point”

E23:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three rooms with blood and smoke coming out of them. • President Obama as a bellboy carrying his shoes and suitcase as if he is fleeing the scene quietly. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the doors: “Syria”, “Egypt”, and “Libya” • On the door knobs, hand the sign “ do not disturb” • On the bottom of the cartoon: “Arab Spring hotel” • Webmaster tag: Arab Spring: not a breath of fresh air.
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) Hotel (2) Rooms in a hotel	(1) The Arab spring (2) Arab countries of the Arab Spring (Syria, Egypt, Libya)	(1) “confinement”, “containment” (2) “confinement”, “containment”
Metaphor		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A HOTEL • THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE HOTEL ROOMS 		

E24:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are two suppression of riots police • There two men and a woman fighting but with swords. • There is an official man probably Mubarak who is trying to run away. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The flag held by the police: “Mubarak” also on the protective shield • On the swords: “Facebook”, “Twitter” • On the bottom of the cartoon: “Egypt” • Webmaster tag: Egyptian people fight back with Facebook and Twitter
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) Fighting (2) Social media	(1) The Arab Spring (2) Swords	(1) opponents”, “weapons”, “aggressiveness”, “winning or losing” (2) “effectiveness”
Metaphor		
<p>ARGUMENT IS WAR</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING <p>WORDS ARE WEAPONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SOCIAL MEDIA IS WEAPONS 		

E25:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mubarak is hanging on with one hand • A giant foot is about to step on him 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the wall: “Leave” is written several times • Mubarak says: “that’s not the national dialogue I want...” • Webmaster tag: Is Egyptian dictator Mubarak about to resign?
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
A giant foot	The Arab Spring	“ability to push away” “throw”
Metaphor		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A GIANT FOOT • MUBARAK OVERTHROW OF OFFICE IS A WIPE OUT 		

Appendix 4: Tables for Analysis- Arabic Data

A1:

Visual		Verbal		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a flower a “daisy” Its leafs are eaten by a black worm, which looks as if wearing a hat on its head. There is what looks like a police bee, as can be referred from the police hat. There is also a spray that is sprayed on the flower. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the flower: “Arab Spring” On the worm: “Darkness and Terrorism Forces” On the bee “corruption and suppression forces”. On the spray: “the great powers” <p style="text-align: right;">Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>		
Source Domain		Target Domain		Features Mapped
(1) A flower a “daisy” (2) A black worm (3) A police bee (4) Spray/ pesticide		(1) The Arab Spring (2) Darkness and Terrorism Forces (3) Corruption and suppression forces (4) The great powers		(1) “rebirth”, “new life” (2) “feeding on others” “evil” (3) “sting”, “hurt” (4) “protection”
Metaphor				
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER ENCOURAGING A BELIEFS IS CULTIVATING A PLANT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE GREAT POWERS ARE A PESTICIDE CORRUPTION AND SUPPRESSION FORCES IS A BEE. DARKNESS AND TERRORISM FORCES IS A BLACK WORM 				

A2:

Visual		Verbal		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A flower with a human head. “The beard” as well as “ the Muslim hat” fits a stereotype of a Muslim. A group of young adults (three men and one woman) One of the men is carrying a water bucket. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the top right: “Arab Spring” <p style="text-align: right;">Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>		
Source Domain		Target Domain		Features Mapped
A flower with Islamist head		The outcome of the Arab Spring		“rebirth” “shape”
Metaphor				
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A ISLAMIST FLOWER ENCOURAGING A BELIEFS IS CULTIVATING A PLANT				

A3:

Visual		Verbal		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A tree with green leafs Scattered around it some stems and leafs. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the tree: “2011” On the two other stems: “2009” and “2010” On the sign: “The Arab Spring” <p style="text-align: right;">Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>		
Source Domain		Target Domain		Features Mapped
(1) A tree with green leafs (2) Stems with leafs		(1) The Arab Spring (2) Initial attempts that lead to the Arab Spring.		(1) “rebirth” (2) “rebirth”
Metaphor				
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE INITIAL ATTEMPTS THAT LEAD TO THE ARAB SPRING ARE STEMS 				

A4:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two people fighting each other with scattered guns, bombs and rockets. One appears to be a civilian, the other is an official force member. Next to them, An Israeli man in a suit as indicated by the David Star on the tie as well as the Yamaka on his head. He looks like the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. The prime minister is swallowing the Dome of the Rock mosque. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the dust: "Arab Spring" On the Dome of the Rock mosque: "Jerusalem" <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring, ten unexpected results.</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) Fighting (2) Swallowing the Dome of the Rock mosque	(1) The Arab Spring (2) Occupying Jerusalem.	(1) "opponents", "winning or losing", "different opinions" etc. (2) "desiring", "wanting"
Metaphor		
ARGUMENT IS WAR COMPETITION IS WAR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING GETTING IS EATING <ul style="list-style-type: none"> OCCUPYING JERUSALEM IS SWALLOWING 		

A5:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A woman fighting a man with kitchen utensil. The same man is attacked by a young boy, two kids, and an infant. An old man is standing on the side, and by his hand motion it seems that he ask them all to calm down 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the top: "The Arab Spring reached Abu Mahjob's house" <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring reached Abu Mahjoub house.</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A contagious disease (2) Fighting	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring	(1) "contagious", "sickness", "spreading" (2) "disagreement", "aggressiveness", "trying to win" "stating enemies and alliances".
Metaphor		
DANGEROUS BELIEFS ARE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE. ARGUMENT IS WAR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS FIGHTING BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS. 		

A6:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a vortex in the sea. Several ships are caught in it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the top left: " Arab Spring Countries" <p>Webmaster tag: The Vortex, the Arab Spring</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) Vortex (2) Sinking ships	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring Countries	(1) "being trapped", "disaster" (2) "sinking" and "loss of control"
Metaphor		
CONTROL OVER ACTION IS CONTROL OVER MOTION/ LACK OF CONTROL OF ACTION IS LACK OF CONTROL OF MOTION EXTERNAL EVENTS THAT AFFECT ACTION ARE FORCES THAT AFFECT MOTION CONTROL IS UP/ LOSS OF CONTROL IS DOWN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A VORTEX THE ARAB SPRING COUNTRIES ARE SINKING SHIPS. 		

A7:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A giant flower (daisy) that looks like a man with two hands. Four men scared and are covering themselves up with the American flag. The first one on the left looks like President Mubarak. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Next to the flower: “the Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: The Arab Spring uncovered the hidden.</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A flower (2) A strong man	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring	(1) “new life”, “beauty” (2) “strong”, “scares others”
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER THE ARAB SPRING IS A STRONG MAN FEAR IS COLD		

A8:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a tree The tree has green leaves on one side On the other side, there is none. It has, instead, branches of axes. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the left side of the tree: “Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A tree of good and evil sides (2) Tree branches of Axes	(1) The cycle of the Arab Spring (2) The corrupters of the Arab Spring progress	(1) “starting good and turning bad” (2) “evil”, “harm”, “death”
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE CORRUPTERS ARE AXES 		

A9:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A hand holding a spanner A bright light in the background 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the rest: “ Arab workers” On the spanner: “Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: Labor day in Arab Spring countries</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
A spanner	The Arab Spring	“helpful”
Metaphor		
OPPORTUNITIES ARE OBJECTS IDEAS ARE OBJECTS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE ARAB SPRING IS A SPANNER HOPE IS LIGHT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> THE SUN IS HOPE 		

A10:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cartoon has two slides: In the first: a man with a traditional Egyptian hat is watering a plant In the picture also appear some scattered clouds as well as the sun. In the second slide: the plant grows to a tree that takes the shape of a Muslim head with a beard and the Islamic hat. There are scattered clouds, but the sun is not seen anymore. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the top: “ Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped

(1) A man watering a plant (2) A tree with Islamist's head	(1) The Arab Spring (2) The outcome of the Arab Spring	(1) "taking care of something", "nurturing" (2) "rebirth", "unexpected"
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE		
CONTROL IS UP		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE • THE OUTCOME OF THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE WITH AN ISLAMIST HEAD 		
ENCOURAGING A BELIEFS IS CULTIVATING A PLANT		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS WATERING A PLANT 		

A11:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a tree and in top of it, a big crescent. • A flower (a daisy) is watering the tree. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Next to the flower: "Arab Spring" <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A blooming tree (2) A flower (3) A man	(1) Islamist Regimes (2) The Arab Spring (3) The Arab Spring	(1) "rebirth", "new chance" (2) "beauty", "rebirth" (3) "ability to nurture"
Metaphor		
ENCOURAGING A BELIEFS IS CULTIVATING A PLANT		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER 		
CONTROL IS UP		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ISLAMIST REGIMES ARE NEWLY BLOOMING TREE 		

A12:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A man in a suit holding an aggressive dog. • He is pointing in the direction of the room. As if asking the dog to go inside, alluring it by the idea of a bone. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the door of the room: "Arab Spring" • On the body of the dog: "Sectarianism" <p>Webmaster tag: Sectarianism...Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) Food (bone) for aggressive dogs (2) An aggressive dog	(1) The Arab Spring (2) Sectarianism	(1) "desirable", "vulnerable" (2) "viciousness", "evil"
Metaphor		
HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SECTARIANISM IS AN AGGRESSIVE DOG 		
DESIRE IS HUNGER		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A BONE 		

A13:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a train in the middle of the dessert • There are three people who are building three different train tracks that lead to three different directions. • The first man is an American as inferred from the colors of his cloths • The second one is an Egyptian as indicated by the traditional clothes he is wearing and the traditional Egyptian hat • The third is an Islamist as can be inferred from the black "thob" he is wearing and the head cover. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above the smoke that is coming from the train: "Arab Spring" <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A train (2) Train tracks	(1) Arab Spring (2) The different	(1) "can lead to many ending/destinations/outcomes"

	possible future of the Arab Spring	(2) “different ending”, “paths”
Metaphor		
ACTION IS MOTION MEANS OF CHANGE IS PATH OVER WHICH MOTION OCCURS LONGTERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A MOVING TRAIN OPPORTUNITIES ARE OPEN PATHS PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE POSSIBLE FUTURE OF THE ARAB SPRING IS TRAIN TRACKS • PLANNING THE FUTURE IS BULIDING 		

A14:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A decaying tree; leafs are falling. • A woman is standing in front of it carrying an empty basket and wondering (as can be inferred from the question marks and the exclamations marks) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the tree: “The Arab Spring” • Above the old woman: “ The Palestine Issue” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain		Target Domain
(1) A decaying tree (2) An old woman		(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Palestine Issue
Features Mapped		
		(1) “death”, “decay”, “end” (2) “weakness”, “old”
Metaphor		
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A DECAYING TREE. TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS AGRICULTURE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE OUTCOMES OF THE ARAB SPRING ARE FRUITS • THE PALESTINE ISSUE IS AN OLD WOMAN 		

A15:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A man covered in black. He is covering his face, and carrying a firing weapon as well as a black flag. • He is sitting on a cloth sign and riding it as if it is a vehicle or a magical flying carpet. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the cloth flag: “The Arab Spring”, “freedom”, “equality”. • On the fag: “ Jihadist Organizations” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain		Target Domain
(1) A magical flying carpet (1) A vehicle		(1) The Arab Spring (2) The Arab Spring
Features Mapped		
		(1) “fast”, “magical” (2) “assistance”, “take to new destinations”
Metaphor		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A MAGICAL CARPET • THE ARAB SPRING IS A VEHICLE 		

A16:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a field of red flowers • Something is written on the sky with dripping blood 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the sky: “Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>
Source Domain		Target Domain
A field of bloody flowers		The Arab Spring
Features Mapped		
		“death”, “blood”, “disagreement”
Metaphor		

BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE

- THE ARAB SPRING IS A FIELD OF BLOODY FLOWERS

A17:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A tree with pieces of papers falling from it. • A box that looks like a voting boxes with a lock. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the tree: “Egyptian Spring” • On the box: “democracy” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring and democracy</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
(1) A tree (2) Voting cards	(1) Egyptian spring (2) The fruit of the Egyptian Spring	(1) “rebirth”, “new life” (2) “results of taking care of something”
Metaphor		
<p>BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EGYPTIAN SPRING IS A TREE • THE FRUIT OF EGYPTIAN SPRING IS VOTING CARDS 		

A18:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a library • The bookshelves are full of books. However, one of the shelves is full of pouring blood • There is a librarian pointing and another man. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the signs: : “science”, “literature”, and on the one with blood: “Arab Spring Books” • The librarian says: “your order is there, the last to your right” <p>Webmaster tag: Egypt</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Bleeding books	The history of the Arab Spring	“disagreement”, “fighting”
Metaphor		
<p>ARGUMENT IS WAR</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING HISTORY IS BLEEDING BOOKS 		

A19:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are green leafs • The green leafs holds up high a chair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • on the top right: “Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Green leafs	The Arab Spring	“rebirth”, “new life”
Metaphor		
<p>BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS GREEN LEAFS. 		

A20:

Visual		Verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a torch that is on its highest level • It is held by a human hand • It resembles the torch of the statue of liberty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the torch: “Arab Spring” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring</p>	
Source Domain	Target Domain	Features Mapped
Starch of liberty	The Arab Spring	“light”, “success”, “hope”
Metaphor		
<p>HOPE IS LIGHT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A STARCH OF LIBERTY 		

A21:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is theatre • The curtains are shot down • On the curtains: there is a map of the Arab World • On the stage: there is dripping blood 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the top right: “Arab Spring” Webmaster tag: Arab Spring	
Source Domain		Target Domain	
A bloody theatre play		Arab Spring	
Features Mapped			
“disagreement”, “manipulated”			
Metaphor			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A BLOODY PLAY 			

A22:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It consists of two slides: • In slide one: there is a tree with a face and the tree bush is the man’s face • In slide two: the tree is up side down, and the man’s hair is now a beard. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On top right: “Arab Spring” Webmaster tag:	
Source Domain		Target Domain	
Tree		Arab Spring	
Features Mapped			
“same shape”, “rebirth”			
Metaphor			
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A TREE 			

A23:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A group of six men with aloe heads. • They are gathering around a man whose head is a flower 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the top right: “Arab Spring” Webmaster tag: Arab Spring	
Source Domain		Target Domain	
A flower		Arab Spring	
Features Mapped			
“new life”, “new thinking”, “beauty”			
Metaphor			
BELIEFS ARE BEINGS WITH A LIFE CYCLE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A FLOWER 			

A24:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a man who resembles President Mubarak on a chair that is about to fall • There is a woodpecker that is pecking the chair 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the woodpecker: “Arab Spring” Webmaster tag: Arab Spring	
Source Domain		Target Domain	
(1) A woodpecker (2) Falling from a chair		(1) Arab Spring (2) Overthrown from office	
Features Mapped			
(1) “cutting down”, “breaking” (2) “movement from up to down”			
Metaphor			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A WOODPECKER ACTION IS MOTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OVERTHROWING FROM OFFICE IS FALLING 			

A25:

Visual		Verbal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are two athletes running as in a relay race • One hands the other what looks like a baton but with a flower in it. • On the background: there are the flags of the Arab countries of the Arab Spring. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the shirts: “2011”, “2012” • On the top right: “Arab Spring continues” <p>Webmaster tag: Arab Spring continues..</p>	
Source Domain		Target Domain	Features Mapped
A relay race		The Arab Spring	“collaboration”, “good spirit”, “compliance”
Metaphor			
COMETITION IS A RACE COMPLIANCE IS FOLLOWING <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE ARAB SPRING IS A RELAY RACE 			