VISUAL METAPHOR AND METONYMY IN FRENCH POLITICAL CARTOONS

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ABSTRACT. *In the last thirty years the development of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has led to a great amount of research into metaphor. Although the research focus has been on verbal metaphor, other types of metaphor such as pictorial metaphor (i.e. metaphor occurring in pictures) and multimodal metaphor (i.e. metaphor occurring in diverse modes) have been investigated. In contrast, metonymy has attracted less attention, and its presence in specialized genres has not been considered. The present contribution provides a corpus-based analysis of visual metaphors and metonymies in French political cartoons by Plantu. The following issues are addressed: (i) description of the image shown in the cartoon; (ii) identification of the metaphors and metonymies in terms of target and source; and (iii) the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. It is argued that metaphor and metonymy play a central role in the interpretation of political cartoons.*

KEY WORDS. *Visual metaphor, visual metonymy, source domain, target domain, metaphor-metonymy interplay.*

RÉSUMÉ. *Dans les trente dernières années le développement de la Théorie de la Métaphore Conceptuelle a fourni de nombreux travaux de recherche sur la métaphore. Bien que la plupart des travaux se soient focalisés sur la métaphore linguistique, quelques études ont porté sur d'autres types de métaphore tels que la métaphore visuelle et la métaphore combinant plusieurs modes de représentation. En revanche, la métonymie a attiré moins d'intérêt, et sa présence dans les langages de spécialité a été négligée. Cet article présente une analyse des métaphores et métonymies visuelles fondée sur un corpus de dessins humoristiques de Plantu. Trois questions y sont abordées: (i) description de l'image présente dans le dessin; (ii) identification des métaphores et métonymies en termes de source et cible; (iii) interaction entre métaphore et métonymie. Nous soutenons que la métaphore et la métonymie jouent un rôle fondamental dans l'interprétation des dessins humoristiques.*

MOTS-CLÉS. *Métaphore visuelle, métonymie visuelle, domaine source, domaine cible, interaction métaphore-métonymie.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last decades metaphor has been vastly investigated from both a theoretical and an applied perspective. On the one hand, the pioneering work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has led to the development of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Johnson 1987; Kövecses 1986, 2002; Lakoff 1987, 2006; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 2003; Lakoff and Turner 1989). On the other hand, a corpus-oriented approach to metaphor has been put forward (Cameron 1999a; Charteris-Black 2004; Deignan 2005, 2008) to analyse metaphor in actual discourse.

Although Lakoff and Johnson claim that the occurrence of metaphor is not confined to language, the bulk of investigations have discussed verbal metaphor. Nonetheless, if metaphors are "primarily a matter of thought and action" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5), then they should be present not only in language, but also in other sign systems. Yet non-verbal metaphor has been paid relatively little attention and only in recent years has research within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory been extended to other genres and other types of metaphor in multimodal discourse (Forceville 1996; Kaplan 1992; Messaris 1997; Phillips 2003; Scott 1994). Three research lines can be identified. One line focuses on gesture (McNeill 1992, 2005; Cienki and Müller 2008; Mittelberg and Waugh 2009). The second approach concentrates on music (Thorau 2003; Zbikowski 2009). A third line directs attention to visuals of different kinds. The present contribution lies within the scope of the third research line. The phenomenon of visual metaphor explored by Forceville (1994, 1996) and Carroll (1994) suggests that conceptual metaphors occur in various modes of representation, often in a range of combinations. In contrast, metonymy tends to occur monomodally, in the verbal or the visual code.

Advertising is the genre which has so far attracted most attention in the field of visual (and multimodal) metaphor[1], whereas there has been relatively little research into political cartoons (Bounegru and Forceville 2011; Forceville 2005; El Refaie 2003, 2009a,b; Yus 2009; Schilperoord and Maes 2009; Teng 2009). Studies in French have been primarily concerned with relevant cartoonists (e.g. Pézerat 2002; Albers and Witsch 2006; Doizy and Houdré 2008) This article aims to analyse visual metaphors and metonymies in political cartooning through a small corpus of French cartoons by Plantu mostly published in the widely read newspaper *Le Monde*.

The structure of the paper is as follows. The second section gives a brief overview of metaphor and metonymy and the interaction between them. This is followed by a characterization of the genre of political cartooning in the third section. The fourth section supplies a detailed analysis of several French political cartoons which instantiate visual metaphors and metonymies. The last section presents some concluding remarks.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section we will briefly survey some theoretical issues in the cognitive semantics literature which are of relevance to our study of pictorial metaphor and

metonymy in political cartooning: the notions of conceptual metaphor and metonymy, visual metaphor and metonymy, and the metaphor-metonymy interplay.

2.1. *Metaphor and metonymy*

From a cognitive linguistics perspective, metaphor and metonymy occupy a central role in our conceptual structure. They are conceptual mechanisms that contribute to providing structure to the human conceptual system[2]. A metaphor is a mapping (i.e. a set of correspondences) between two different conceptual domains, while a metonymy is a domain-internal conceptual mapping. Although metonymy has so far attracted less attention than metaphor, its ubiquity has been highlighted by some scholars (e.g. Goossens 1990; Niemeier 2000; Barcelona 2005). Kövecses and Radden (1998) provide a taxonomy of metonymic mappings based on a set of 'metonymy-producing relationships', i.e. generic principles motivating metonymies. Some metonymies are based on the part-whole organization of a domain, while others involve part-for-part relationships, i.e. one subdomain within a domain stands for another subdomain within the same domain. For instance, *There goes my knee* (= *the pain in my knee*) is an example of THE THING PERCEIVED FOR THE PERCEPTION, and *a gorgeous sight* of THE PERCEPTION FOR THE THING PERCEIVED.

Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal (2002: 58) suggest two types of metonymy based on the domain-internal nature of metonymic mappings:

a) Source-in-target metonymies are those in which the source domain is a subdomain of the target domain, e.g. SIGN FOR STATE ('to raise one's eyebrows'). They involve domain expansion.

b) Target-in-source metonymies are those in which the target is a subdomain of the source, for example the metonymies based on Kövecses and Radden's part-for-part relationship and those based on other frames like the product and the location frames, e.g. *The flute* (i.e. the person playing the flute) *isn't coming today*. They involve domain reduction and the consequent highlighting of part of a domain.

Metonymies and (less frequently) metaphors also occur within metaphoric and metonymic complexes (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007: 77), i.e. double metonymies and double metaphors. Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002) examine the patterns that arise when two metonymies work in combination. Since metonymy is based on domain-inclusion relationships where the source may be a subdomain of the target or the target a subdomain of the source, metonymy consists of domain expansion and reduction operations. Four double metonymy types can be put forward:

1. Double domain reduction, as in *Wall Street is in panic*. This pattern, illustrated by the double metonymy PLACE FOR INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE

(RELATED TO THE INSTITUTION), involves two subsequent reductions of the source domain (people).

2. Double domain expansion, as in *His sister heads the policy unit*. This type of mapping involves two subsequent expansions of the source domain, i.e. HEAD FOR LEADER FOR LEADING.

3. Domain reduction and domain expansion, as in *Proust is on the top shelf*. This pattern combines a target-in-source metonymy, AUTHOR FOR WORK –*Proust* standing for one of his novels, and a source-in-target metonymy, WORK FOR MEDIUM– the novel standing for the format in which it is presented.

4. Domain expansion and domain reduction, as in *He has too much lip*. This type of mapping combines a source-in-target metonymy, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION –the lip standing for the speaking action– and a target-in-source metonymy, ACTION FOR ABILITY –the action of speaking standing for a person's persuasiveness.

2.2. *Visual metaphor and metonymy*

A visual (or pictorial) metaphor "involves a mapping of information transferred from one image to another [...], the source image and target image respectively" (Yus 2009: 156). In the case of metonymy, the mapping takes place within a single domain. Since the target and source are rendered in a single code – the visual code, visual metaphors belong to the monomodal type. In line with this, Forceville (2006a, 2011) refers to pictorial metaphors as monomodal metaphors of the pictorial variety.

Following Forceville (1996) and Philips and Quarrie (2004), the target and source may interact in different ways:

a) Only one domain is expressed visually (i.e. replacement). Sometimes one of the images –generally the source image– is absent.

b) The two domains are expressed separately (i.e. juxtaposition)

c) The two domains are visually integrated (i.e. fusion). It has been noted that this form of interaction is very common in political cartoons, since caricatures often overlay the features of a famous personality onto any being or object (El Refaie 2009a: 177-178).

Forceville (2011: 464-468) distinguishes four types of visual metaphors:

a) In a contextual metaphor, although target and source are identifiable from visual information alone, no verbal anchoring being necessary for this, full interpretation may require the contextual information.

b) In a hybrid metaphor the target and the source are physically merged into a unified object.

c) In a pictorial simile the similarity between target and source is suggested by the formal resemblance between the two images.

d) In an integrated metaphor a unified object is represented in its totality in such a way that it resembles another object even without contextual clues.

2.3. *Metaphor-metonymy interaction*

Metaphor and metonymy often interplay. Some authors (Goossens 1990; Ruiz de Mendoza 1999a, 2000; Radden 2000; Barcelona 2000b; Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal 2002) have discussed the conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy[3]. We follow Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal's (2002) view that, whenever metaphor and metonymy interact, it is the latter that is subsidiary to the former. This claim results from the nature of the two mappings. While a metaphor involves two conceptual domains, a metonymy involves just one. Therefore, the two domains of metaphor cannot operate within the single domain of a metonymy. Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal (2002: 75-84) propose four patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy:

1. Metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source, as in "to close one's eyes to the facts". The eye-closing action in the metaphoric source domain is metonymically expanded onto a situation in which a person closes his eyes in order to ignore a problem or situation.
2. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target, as in "to clear one's throat". The correct interpretation of the idiom requires setting up a metaphoric correspondence between clearing one's throat (the source) and coughing (the target). The result of this metaphoric mapping is then expanded by means of a metonymy, coughing being understood as a sign to attract the audience's attention.
3. Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target, as in "to pay lip service". One of the aspects within the source domain ('payment') is mapped onto 'service with the lips' in the target domain and then reduced by means of a metonymy. The expression 'lip service' means 'providing support'. Literally, that support is provided with the 'lips', which metonymically stand for the speaking capacity. The implication is that, if help is provided only verbally, then it is not provided with real acts, which would be the suitable way to do it.
4. Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric source, as in "to stand up on one's hind legs". This expression stands metonymically for the scenario in which an animal (usually a horse) stands on its hind legs as if to attack. This metonymy only affects one of the elements of the source domain which is then projected upon a target domain in which a person stands up energetically to argue something in public.

In much the same vein, Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2007: 77) argue for the existence of conceptual chains where a metonymy is subsumed within a metaphor.

The theoretical issues discussed in this section are illustrated in the corpus analysed. As it will become apparent below, the analysis reveals several examples of

source-in-target metonymies, target-in-source metonymies and double metonymies, and a few cases of metaphor and metonymy subsumption.

3. THE GENRE OF POLITICAL CARTOONING

El Refaie (2009a: 175) suggests the following definition of a cartoon: "A cartoon is an illustration, usually in a single panel, published in the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper. Generally, the purpose of a political cartoon is to represent an aspect of social, cultural or political life in a way that condenses reality and transforms it in a striking, original and/or humorous way". A close look at the body of work on political cartooning yields the following definitory features of political cartoons:

1. They have a descriptive function inasmuch as they are characterized by allusion to a socio-political situation, event or person.
2. Since they are related to recent events, factual knowledge is essential for their correct interpretation.
3. Recent events are combined with an imaginary world in such a way that "cartoons act as a bridge between fact and fiction" (Edwards 1997: 8). The metaphorical process of transferring meaning from the imaginary to the real world is conveyed predominantly in the visual mode (El Refaie 2009a: 174).
4. Cartoons have a satirical nature. They are characterized by caricature, which parodies the individual (Negro 2010: 80).
5. The last feature stems from the previous one: Cartoons exemplify critical perspectives on recent events.
6. Metaphor is a recurrent device used in political cartooning (Edwards 1997; Philippe 1982; Morrison 1992; Templin 1999). As Shilperoord and Maes (2009: 214-215) remark, "editorial cartoons are a metaphor-rich communicative area". In this light, these authors (2009: 225-226) highlight the scenario character of newspaper cartoon metaphors, the most frequent scenarios being the hospital-scenario, the cooking-scenario, marriage, funerals and (boxing) games.

The remainder of this paper focuses on the analysis of visual metaphors and metonymies used in political cartoons.

4. SAMPLE SELECTION AND ANALYSIS

In order to provide a full account of visual metaphor and metonymy in political cartooning, a set of French cartoons by Plantu are used as illustrative examples. I shall mostly restrict my discussion to visual metaphors and metonymies since cartoon metaphors and metonymies are mainly pictorial in their mode of representation, in a way that visual information alone suffices to cue the conceptual link between source and target. However, some of the cartoons analysed contain a combination of pictorial and

verbal metaphor. I shall also consider cases in which there are several metaphors and/or metonymies present within the same image.

The following issues are addressed: (i) description of the image shown in the cartoon; (ii) identification of the metaphors and metonymies in terms of target and source; and (iii) the interaction between metaphor and metonymy.
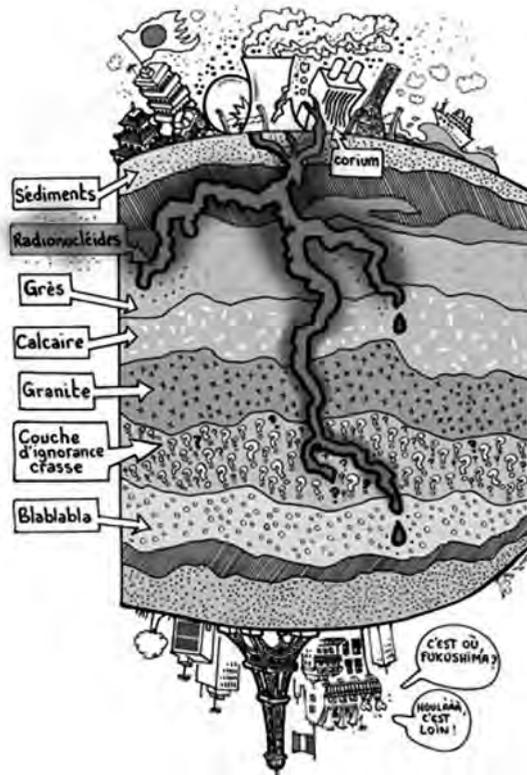

Figure 1. Plantu (March 2011).

The cartoon in figure 1 evokes the disaster in the Fukushima nuclear plant after an earthquake on March 11 2011 devastated the north-east of the country. The image of the globe as the conventional representation of the earth planet is to be labelled the source image, and the images of Fukushima and Paris are the target images. The latter images stem from a source-in-target metonymy, LOCALITY FOR COUNTRY, Fukushima and Paris standing metonymically for Japan and France respectively. It is worth noting that image position is of great relevance here: the position of Fukushima on the top shows that it is in the northern hemisphere, whereas the position of Paris at the bottom indicates that it is in the southern hemisphere.

Although radiation spreads mainly in air and water, the cartoonist chooses the source image of the earth's soil to reveal its invisible effects. The metaphor can be rephrased as NUCLEAR CONTAMINATION IS A BREACH IN THE SOIL. The breach goes through all layers (*sédiments* 'sediments', *grès* 'potter's clay', *calcaires* 'limestone', *granite* 'granit' , the lowest layers being *couche d'ignorance crasse* 'layer of cross ignorance' and *blablabla*. The metaphor that can be derived from the latter expressions is IDEAS ARE EARTH LAYERS, an ontological metaphor whereby abstract entities are metaphorically represented as concrete entities[4]. This metaphor is subsumed within the soil metaphor.

The expressions *ignorance crasse* and *blablabla* point to the people's lack of concern about radiation and their stupidity. Thus the image serves the purpose of raising awareness about the risk of radiation contamination. The position of the image of Paris has a metaphorical reading which backs the cartoonist's intention. The upside-down position of Paris seemingly presents France as the inverted image of Japan, highlighting the global impact of the Fukushima nuclear disaster.
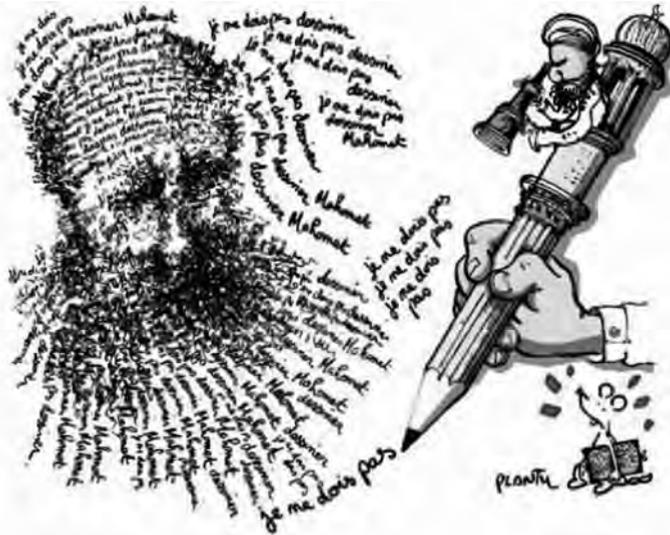

Figure 2. Plantu (February 2006).

The image in figure 2 gives a metaphorical account of a news event that happened in January 2005, when the editor on the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* and the editor on the French newspaper *France Soir* were dismissed following the publication of controversial cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad. The target image is the pen, which is to be understood not as a literal description of this object but as invoking the realm of journalistic writing. It instantiates a target-in-source metonymy, INSTRUMENT FOR

ACTION, thus involving metonymic reduction. In Goossens' (1990) view, this metonymy is grounded in a part-part relationship within the domain of action[5]. Additionally, the pen is visually integrated with the image of a minaret. The fusion yields the metaphor WATCHING OVER IS CENSORING. Two pictorial details facilitate the correct interpretation of the cartoon: (1) the muezzin in the minaret watching over what is recurrently written - *Je ne dois pas* 'I shouldn't' instead of calling Muslims to prayer; (2) the sentence lines are metaphorically shaped into the hairs of the beard and head of Bin Laden, the leader of Al-Quaeda, the main Islamist terrorist organization. The cartoon thus conveys the message that violent Islamism as represented by Bin Laden is trying to destroy the freedom of the press. The position of the pen between the muezzin and Bin Laden backs this reading.

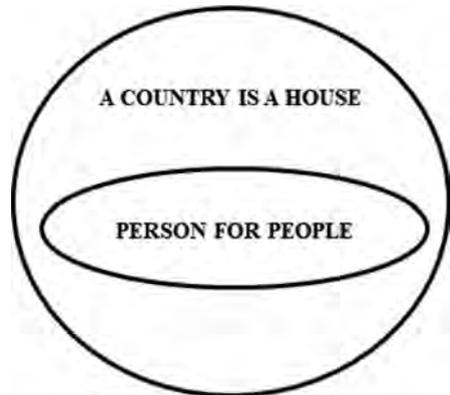Figure 3. Plantu (March 2009).

Figure 4. Metonymy subsumption within metaphor.

The image in figure 3 shows a case of juxtaposition. The topic of this cartoon is immigration. We see the target image of a black man with a suitcase standing at the door of a house, the source, waiting to come in. This image stems from a metonymic mapping of the source-in-target type, PERSON FOR (IMMIGRANT) PEOPLE. This metonymy is subsumed within the metaphor A COUNTRY IS A HOUSE. This conceptual chain is represented in figure 4.

It is worth mentioning that the metaphor relies on a verbal cue, the word *Bienvenue* 'Welcome' written on the doormat. This verbal label is used as a means of specifying an important aspect of the visual metaphor and hints at the critical instance of the cartoonist towards the French government's immigration policy, as there is a brick wall behind the door preventing the man from entering the house/country.

Figure 5. Plantu (October 2008).

In much the same way, the interpretation of the cartoon in figure 5 is dependent upon verbal information. The target domain is anchored by the image of a crying milk cow representing European farmers. The cartoon evokes the difficult financial situation that farmers in the European Union countries are going through as a result of the EU's agricultural policy. The target image manifests the metonymy POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR. A pictorial detail helps to the correct reading of the cartoon: the cow is wearing earrings with the stars of the European Union's flag drawn on them. What is most interesting here is that the text, *La vache qui pleure* 'The crying cow', is a case of intertextuality, inasmuch as it is reminiscent of a cheese brand name, *La vache qui rit* 'The laughing cow', which has been adapted to fit the situation depicted in the cartoon.
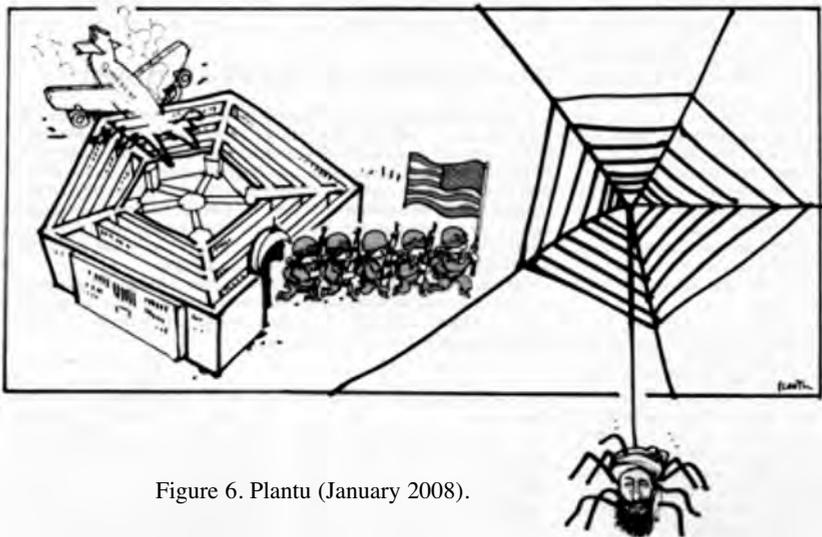

Figure 6. Plantu (January 2008).

Consider next figure 6. The target image of the Pentagon on the left profiles a metonymy of the target-in-source type, INSTITUTION FOR COUNTRY, which involves a reduction of the source domain. The image on the right illustrates a hybrid metaphor (Forceville 1996, 163) where the target and the source objects are fused into a semantically bounded object. The target image, Bin Laden, is visually amalgamated with the spider, which represents the source. This fusion creates an object that has Bin Laden's face and a spider's legs. Once the target and source have been identified, the properties of a prototypical spider – it traps prey in webs – are mapped onto the target. The analogy between the two images expresses the power and influence of Islamist terrorism, which extends like the web of a spider. The metaphor that can be verbalized is MAKING A WEB IS EXTENDING ONE'S POWER.

Figure 7. Plantu (1983).   Figure 8. FACE FOR PERSON FOR
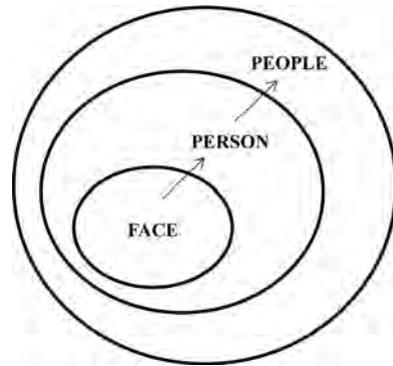   PEOPLE metonymy.

Figure 7 illustrates another hybrid metaphor. The two target objects, a human face and the African continent, are fused in such a way that the face is amalgamated with the northern part of Africa and the neck with the southern part. There are two part-for-the-whole metonymies which are linked in such a way that the target domain of the first metonymy works as the source of the second metonymy: FACE FOR PERSON FOR (AFRICAN) PEOPLE. Hence, this is an instance of double domain expansion, as illustrated in figure 8.

The person, who is apparently a man, has his mouth open to drink the water symbolized by a drop. This gesture establishes a connection between the target and the source. The visual referent of the drop provides a further example of source-in-target metonymy. At the same time, the drop triggers the metaphor WATER IS LIFE. The metonymy is subsumed within the metaphor.

Figure 9. Plantu (May 2011).

A similar metonymy is to be construed in the next cartoon (see figure 9). The cartoon depicts the terrorist attack led by Bin Laden on the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001. Three elements of this action frame are shown: the agent, the event and the goal. On the left we see the planes crashing into the Towers. The image of one of them is fused with that of a gun with which someone shoots Bin Laden. The image of the hand holding the gun allows for construing the double metonymy HAND FOR PERSON FOR COUNTRY (the United States), a further case of double domain expansion.

Figure 10. Plantu (July 2007).

The following cartoon (see figure 10) exemplifies the way in which a visual metaphor is shaped and combined with words, thus yielding a verbo-pictorial

metaphor (Forceville 1996). The cartoon refers to the state-sponsored proposal for a merger between two utilities, Suez and Gaz de France (GDF) in February 2006. The proposal was deadlocked after sixteen months. The image is activated by a game scenario as suggested by the header text *Les Jeux Le Monde de l'été* ('Summer Games'). This scenario involves persons, roles, objects and attributes. The cartoon not only maps attributes of the maze onto the target domain of business but also maps certain typical roles, as explained below:

- Persons:
  – One participant in the maze: *le petit Nicolas*
  – Main participant in the merger project: Nicolas Sarkozy
- Roles
  – The participant in the maze has to find a way out of the maze.
  – Sarkozy has to find a way to get out of the deadlocked negotiations.
- Objects
  – In the maze there are different paths and one has to find the right one.
  – Sarkozy has to find the most suitable deal.
- Attributes
  – Since the task is difficult, the participant in the maze feels confused and needs the reader's help.
  – Sarkozy is faced with several outcomes of the negotiations and is not sure about what to do. The reader is required to think about this issue.

The French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, is referred to and portrayed as *le petit Nicolas,* the main character of a series of French children's books that describe the adventures of a naughty nine-year-old schoolboy. This metaphorical view relies on the fact that the book character and the French president have the same name and they are both short. The mapping certainly leads to an unfavourable attitude towards Sarkozy.

The target image of the maze instantiates a metaphor that can be rendered as ACHIEVING A GOAL IS REACHING A DESTINATION. This metaphor is motivated by the PATH schema, an image schema[6] that involves metaphorical movement from place to place (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The structural elements of the PATH schema (see Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987, 1989) are a starting point, an end point, and a direction. If you want to move from a source to a goal (the destination) along a path, you must pass through each intermediate point on the path (Lakoff 1989: 19) and any obstacle may prevent you from reaching your goal.

Mapped features include the following:

- The source is the merger proposal.
- The destination is the deal made by Suez and GDF.
- The points on the path are the stages in the negotiation.

The choice of the maze scenario is very relevant. On the one hand, it shows that there are several paths leading to different destinations. The three possible outcomes of the negotiations are *gaz* (Suez's sale of its gas distribution business, Distrigaz, to GDF as a requirement for the merger), *fusion* (a merger) and *confusion* (no agreement between both parties). On the other hand, it suggests the difficulty in finding the best alternative.

Figure 11. Plantu (March 2010).

The next cartoons illustrate the use of animals and ships as prototypical source objects for nations, states or political parties (Shiperoord and Maes 2009: 227).

The cartoon in figure 11 draws on the suggestion made by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, at a European Union summit held in March 2010 concerning the exclusion of a country from the Eurozone if it did not satisfy certain conditions. The European Union is depicted as a ship. Thus, this image profiles the metaphor ORGANIZATIONS ARE SHIPS. We see Angela Merkel and four men standing on the ship on which the EU flag –a circle of gold stars– is drawn. The target images of the men representing the EU leaders and the flag reflect source-in-target metonymies, PEOPLE FOR INSTITUTION and OBJECT FOR INSTITUTION, respectively. On the right we see a section of the ship that has broken off with two people on it. This image activates another source-in-target metonymy, PERSON FOR COUNTRY, the two people metonymically representing the countries which may be forced to leave the EU. This image provides the link with the topic of the cartoon.
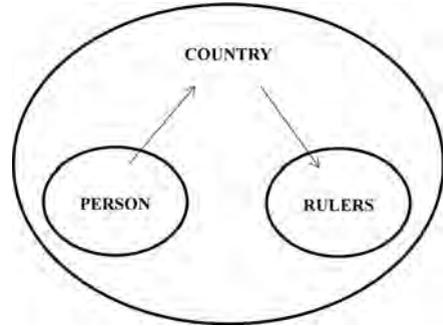
Figure 12. Plantu (August 2008).

Figure 13. PERSON FOR COUNTRY
FOR ITS RULERS metonymy.

The cartoon in figure 12 profiles a conceptual complex (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007). The cartoon refers to the opening between China and Taiwan, traditional rivals. These countries - the target objects - are metonymically represented. China is represented by a giant panda[7] and the country's flag (a yellow star with four smaller stars in a semicircle in a red field), whereas Taiwan is only represented by its flag (a white sun in a blue field). The panda and the flags are the source for the target countries, which in turn become the source for a second metonymy COUNTRY FOR ITS RULERS. This double metonymy involves a domain expansion followed by a domain reduction, as described in figure 13.

In the image the flags are connected by a branch of laurel – a symbol for peace – that the panda is holding. The source image of a branch tree works as the link with the topic of the cartoon. The metaphor that can be construed is PEOPLE (TAIWAN'S and CHINA'S RULERS) ARE PLANTS. We see two pairs of hands emerging from two branches that shake each other. This gesture meaning closeness stands metonymically for the positive feelings about Taiwan recently developed by the Chinese government. Thus, we have a metaphor subsuming the metonymy GESTURE FOR FEELING.

Figure 14. Plantu (October 2005).

As a final example, let us consider the cartoon in figure 14, which refers to Hewlett Packard's 2010 plan to make almost 7,000 employees redundant. The printer is the target image; it instantiates the target-in-source metonymy PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER. The machine is printing many copies of the same picture. The picture shows somebody being kicked. The metaphor that can be derived is KICKING SOMEBODY IS MAKING HIM/HER REDUNDANT. Each copy thus represents one redundancy.

In conclusion, the empirical analysis gives evidence of the presence of monomodal visual (and multimodal verbo-pictorial) metaphor and visual metonymy in political cartooning. The corpus exemplifies the two types of metonymy, i.e. source-in-target metonymy involving domain expansion, and target-in-source metonymy involving domain reduction, as well as double metonymies. Some cartoons show cases of conceptual chains where a metonymy is subsidiary to a metaphor or a metaphor is subsumed within another metaphor.

5. CONCLUSION

The present article has explored the significant role of metaphor and metonymy in political cartooning, a genre which has so far been paid relatively little attention. It has been demonstrated that the interpretation of political cartoons frequently involves the activation of two basic cognitive mechanisms: metaphor and metonymy. Cartoon metaphors and metonymies have different discursive instantiations, visual metaphor and metonymy being our research focus. Although visual metaphors share many of the features of verbal metaphors, they differ from them in several ways (Forceville 2011: 463-476):

1. They have a high degree of specificity resulting from their perceptual immediacy.
2. They are more easily recognized across languages and cultures, since they do not rely on language codes. However, visual metaphors used in political cartoons are frequently related to events whose knowledge is essential to understand them.
3. They have more subtle ways of cueing the similarity between target and source.
4. They have a stronger emotional impact.

The study has also yielded a few verbo-pictorial metaphors based on the integration between the text and the image.

The contribution highlights the following facts:

a) There is a high proportion of source-in-target metonymies as compared to target-in-source metonymies. This seems to be partly accounted for by the purpose of political cartoons, namely to represent an aspect of political life in a general way.
b) The prevailing source-in-target metonymy is PERSON FOR COUNTRY. This reveals the role of personification in processing and understanding the image. In this sense, personification renders an abstract object or situation concrete and thus more easily graspable.
c) The interpretation of political cartoons requires factual knowledge.
d) Meaning frequently derives from the interplay between metaphor and metonymy, as shown in the cases of metaphors with a metonymic basis.
e) Metaphor and metonymy in political cartooning often have an axiological value inasmuch as they highlight the critical position of the author about the topic.

The scope of this contribution being limited, I believe that there is need for further research into non-verbal metaphor and metonymy in a wider range of domains. Such investigation will certainly enrich cognitive linguistics studies.

NOTES

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1. (Forceville 2006a, 2011) calls visual metaphor pictorial metaphor or monomodal metaphor of the pictorial variety.
2. Lakoff (1987) postulates four principles underlying conceptual structure: propositional structure, image schemas, metaphor and metonymy.
3. Goossens (1990) postulates four ways in which metaphor and metonymy interact: (1) metaphor from metonymy, i.e. a metaphor is grounded in a metonymic mapping; (2) metonymy within metaphor; (3) demetonymization inside a metaphor; and (4) metaphor within metonymy.
4. The conceptualization of abstract entities in terms of concrete entities is a universal tendency.
5. The domain of action involves instruments, an agent, a patient, a result and so on.
6. Image schemas are cognitive mechanisms grounded on our bodily experience that give structure to a range of cognitive domains (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987). They play an essential role in the construction of metaphor.
7. The giant panda is considered to be China's national treasure and is a symbol of peace.

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