

Original Research Article

## Metaphorical Meaning of Texts Integrated in the Multimodal Political Cartoons of Corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*

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**Article History**

Received: 07.01.2024

Accepted: 10.02.2024

Published: 15.02.2024

**Journal homepage:**

<https://www.easpublisher.com>

**Quick Response Code**



**Abstract:** The language of cartoons is not as direct as the language of news reporting in that it is characterized by satirical and metaphorical pictures; and codified and connotative wordings which makes it socially appropriate and relevant to inform, educate and entertain the general public. Cartoons are used to satirize and lampoon socio-political abuses like corruption. In Kenya, corruption poses one of the greatest challenges facing the Kenyan government and reports on corruption scandals in the media are the order of the day. The present research studied the unique nature of the language of cartoons with focus on portrayal of corruption. The specific objective was to establish the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multimodal political cartoons of corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*. The research was guided by the tenets of the pictorial metaphor model founded by Charles Forceville (2006) within the conceptual metaphor theory. The study was limited to multimodal political cartoons depicting corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper* in 2018 and 2019, a period characterized by mega corruption scandals in Kenya. The study adopted the analytical research design. The study population comprised 14 multimodal political cartoons with metaphoric expressions in *The Daily Nation Newspaper* in 2018 and 2019. Random purposive sampling technique was used to select the required cartoons and the sample size was dictated by saturation sampling. A total of 14 metaphorical expressions were purposively sampled from the 14 political cartoons. The data was then coded and analyzed qualitatively into themes of the respective conceptual metaphors. The findings were that the conceptual metaphors of corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper* are investigating corruption is turning a stone to reveal what is underneath, corruption is dirty money, corruption is stench, bribery is purchase, corruption is war, corruption is robbery, strategising is warming up, corruption is a movie, massive corruption is paradise, employment at national youth service is life transformation, corruption is cancer, corruption is a disease, fighting corruption is boxing and corruption is a burden. The study concluded that the metaphorical expressions integrated in the pictorial metaphors are dependent on the pictorial metaphors for accurate interpretation. The pictorial metaphor provides the context for interpretation and hence both the pictorial metaphor and the metaphoric expression have a shared source domain. The present study contributes new knowledge in the fields of semiotics and cognitive linguistics and at the same time contributes to the fight against corruption.

**Keywords:** Multimodal Political Cartoons, news reporting, Corruption.

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## INTRODUCTION

Cartoons are a form of visual communication. Encyclopedia Britannica (2018) defines cartoon as a pictorial parody which employs devices of caricature and analogy to sharpen the public view of a contemporary or topical issue, event, political or social trend. It further

elaborates that cartoon carries with it the caricature as an almost indispensable element and just as the caricature is for an audience that is familiar with the original, the cartoon is based on wide acquaintance with the subject.

According to Burack (2000), political cartoons are vivid primary sources that offer intriguing and

entertaining insights into the public mood, the underlying cultural assumptions of an age, and attitudes toward key events or trends of the times. It is also noted that they are complex visual or symbolic discourses which employ rhetorical devices that require rhetorical analysis in order to make sense of the messages and their impact on the public (Benoit *et al.*, 2001). Lawate (2011) reiterates that political cartoons or cartoons in newspapers, which is the focus of this present study, have a special place in our dailies; apart from the obvious roles they play cartoons are a reflection of society and provides for a point of view to the people reading it.

Another point to note is that political cartooning is inspired by the situations around the cartoonist, and what he sees and believes are portrayed through sketches he creates. Apart from a great sense of humour, a cartoonist is required to understand the political scene and make a commentary on the situation. The currency of the cartoons is what makes it different from other comic strips as a cartoonist tracks the stories of the day and makes his cartoons accordingly. Cartoons are often slapstick and exaggerated, yet aim at making a realistic appeal. To some, cartoons may appear silly and could even seem to underplay the severity of a situation, while in the actual case, they establish the severity of a situation (Lawate, 2011).

Alsharabi (2012), remarks that satirical press is so implicit that it can say what it wants and at the same time hides beyond its linguistic and non-linguistic tools. That is to say that a satirical writer can convey what other writers cannot convey. This has made the satirical press the voice of the public, expressing the dreams and hopes of ordinary people. The present study is an analysis of portrayal of a social ill, in this case, corruption. The present study analyzes how cartoons are employed in the portrayal of corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*, and it does not only focus on satire as an aspect of cartoon language but also studies pictorial and linguistic metaphors and how the two integrate in the portrayal of corruption and its perpetrators in Kenya.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Cartoons use language as an artistic medium in which various options are explored for effective communication. The language of cartoons is not as direct as the language of news reporting in that it is characterized by satirical and metaphorical expressions; and codified and connotative wordings which makes it socially appropriate and relevant to inform, educate and entertain the general public. Cartoons are used to satirize and lampoon socio-political abuses like corruption. In Kenya, corruption poses one of the greatest challenges facing the Kenyan government and reports on corruption scandals in the media are the order of the day. Political cartoons therefore have enabled the cartoonist to deal with political issues mockingly in an indirect way through cross - domain mappings, to ridicule dictators and corrupt figures without fear of victimization.

Cartoons language makes use of both text and image which are carefully integrated to communicate the intended meaning. Given the unique nature of language of cartoons, it has become a vital tool employed by the press to castigate social misdeeds and given the watchdog role in the society. Cartoons may be overlooked by many, but just like other modes, cartoons can effectively tell a story and in this study it is corruption stories. The present study focuses on pictorial and linguistic metaphors; and how the two integrate in the portrayal of corruption and its perpetrators in Kenya as portrayed in *The Daily Nation Newspaper* cartoons. The study gives an insight into the language of cartoons as communicative tool in society with the hope of promoting semiotics as a key mode of communication.

### **Objective of the Study**

The objective of the study was to establish the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multi-modal political cartoons of corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This paper is premised on pictorial metaphor model (Forceville, 2006), a model of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Pictorial metaphor model, hence, cannot be discussed independently without reference to CMT.

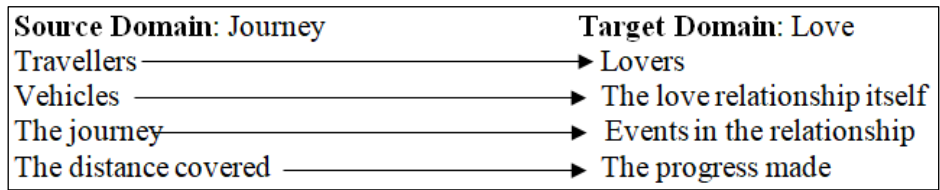
A conceptual metaphor is defined as understanding a more abstract conceptual domain in terms of a less abstract and a more concrete domain by using knowledge structures of a less abstract aspect of experience to reason about a more abstract aspect of experience. A conceptual metaphor is therefore the systematic structuring or restructuring of one conceptual target domain, a coherent organization of experience, in terms of a source domain through the projection of semantic features of one domain on to the other. Typically, target domains are abstract while source domains are concrete (Kövecses, 2002).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are the main proponents of conceptual metaphor theory (C.M.T) and they explain that conceptual metaphor operates at the level of thought and that metaphors link two conceptual domains, the 'source' domain and the 'target' domain. The target domain tends to be abstract, and takes its structure from the source domain, through the metaphorical link or conceptual metaphor. Target domains are therefore believed to have relationships between entities, attributes and processes which mirror those found in the source domain. At the level of language, entities, attributes and processes in the target domain are lexicalized using words and expressions.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), there are general mappings across conceptual domains and therefore they propose that linguistic metaphors are the main type of evidence given for the existence of

conceptual metaphors. Taking conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY as an illustration, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002), the structure of JOURNEY is used to metaphorically

understand the target domain LOVE in English with the following conceptual mappings that produce the metaphorical expressions.



Black (1979) explains that once target and source have been construed, the metaphor is ready to be interpreted. Interpretation of a metaphor boils down to mapping or ‘projecting’ at least one feature (connotation, value, attitude or emotion) associated with the source on to the target. Forceville, (2016) elaborates that often a set of features that are structurally related in a source domain is mapped as a whole or as far as seems relevant onto the target domain. In this way, well- chosen source domain can impose structure on an unknown target domain.

Forceville (2009) concludes that, we could have mono modal metaphors of the written-verbal, spoken-verbal, visual, musical, and gestures sub-types, while multimodal metaphors can draw on any permutation of two or more of these modalities. The focus of the present study is multimodal metaphors of the verbo-pictorial type.

## METHODOLOGY

The study adopted analytical research design to analyze the sampled political cartoons portraying corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*. Random purposive sampling was used to sample 14 multimodal political cartoons of corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*. A sample size of 14 metaphoric expressions from each cartoon was also purposively sampled. The data was analyzed qualitatively into themes, under different portrayals of corruption. The multimodal pictorial metaphors were coded to indicate the different types of pictorial metaphors according to the groups of

varied source- objects that were identified. Based on the tenets of pictorial metaphor model the data was identified and presence of linguistic metaphors noted, coded, grouped into themes and interpreted to establish the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multimodal political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. A total of thirteen conceptual metaphors evidenced by the metaphoric expressions were identified, which included: investigating corruption is turning a stone to reveal what is underneath, corruption is dirty money, corruption is stench, bribery is purchase, corruption is war, corruption is robbery, strategising is warming up, corruption is a movie, massive corruption is paradise, employment at national youth service is life transformation, corruption is cancer, corruption is a disease, fighting corruption is boxing and corruption is a burden conceptual metaphors.

## DISCUSSION

Texts in political cartoons were classified as captions, labels and speech bubbles, all of which play a complementary role to the pictorial metaphor. The study treats labels as texts that identify objects or people in the cartoon; speech bubbles as what is spoken by the characters and captions as textual comments by the cartoonist that further explain the scene to the reader. Labels were therefore not relevant in the discussion. It should however be noted that not all the texts are metaphoric. The metaphorical expressions identified were as follows:

**Table 4.2: Metaphorical Expressions**


Figure	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphoric expression
 <p>1</p>	Investigation is turning a stone to reveal what is underneath	<i>We left no stone unturned</i>





Figure	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphoric expression
 <p>May 5, 2019   SUNDAY NATION</p> <p>stop receiving politicians dirty money!</p> <p>stop using church as a political platform!</p> <p>MY TAKE</p> <p>2</p>	<p>Corruption is dirty money</p>	<p><i>Stop receiving politicians dirty money</i></p>
 <p>easy... act like it is not stinky!</p> <p>SOCIETY</p> <p>3</p>	<p>Corruption is stench</p>	<p><i>Act like it is not stinky</i></p>
 <p>Thursday, November 26, 2018   DAILY NATION</p> <p>PSSST... WE WANT SEA, OCEAN AND LAKES REPRESENTATION... HOW MUCH FOR THIS CREATURE?</p> <p>BLUE ECONOMY</p> <p>WHAT OTHERS SAY</p> <p>4</p>	<p>Bribery is purchase</p>	<p><i>We want sea, ocean and lakes representation How much for this creature?</i></p>
 <p>December 8, 2018   SATURDAY NATION</p> <p>WAR ON GRAFT</p> <p>IMPLUNITY</p> <p>MUNENE</p> <p>5</p>	<p>Corruption is war</p>	<p><i>War on graft</i></p>


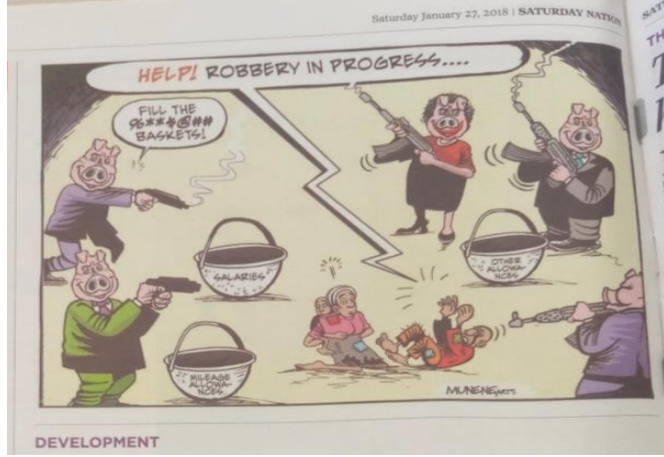
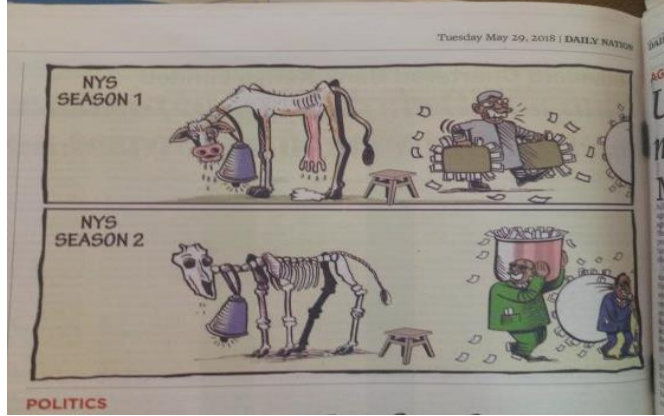

Figure	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphoric expression
 <p>6</p>	<p>Strategising is warming up</p>	<p>Months later the Government is still warming up</p>
 <p>7</p>	<p>Corruption is robbery</p>	<p>Help! Robbery in progress</p>
 <p>8</p>	<p>Corruption is a movie</p>	<p>Season 1 and Season 2</p>
 <p>9</p>	<p>Massive corruption is paradise</p>	<p>Looters' paradise</p>




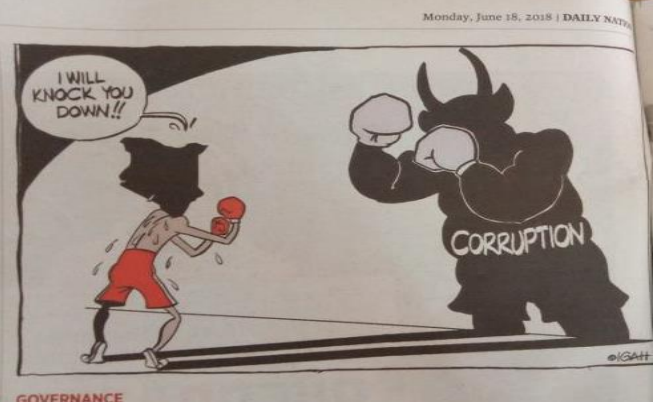

Figure	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphoric expression
 <p>Wednesday May 16, 2018   DAILY NATION</p> <p>ECONOMY</p> <p>10</p>	<p>National youth service employment is door to life transformation</p>	<p><i>Door of transformation</i></p>
 <p>Tuesday April 3, 2018   DAILY NATION</p> <p>ANY STRATEGY FOR CURING THIS CANCER?!</p> <p>CORRUPTION DEBT</p> <p>11</p>	<p>Corruption is cancer</p>	<p><i>Any strategy for curing this cancer?</i></p>
 <p>Tuesday, July 3, 2018   DAILY NATION</p> <p>ANYTHING YOU CAN DO TO HELP?!</p> <p>I.C.U</p> <p>DEEP DEEP</p> <p>DEEP DEEP</p> <p>DIAGNOSED WITH CORRUPTION, TOXIC SUGAR, TRIBALISM, DEBT, CARTELS</p> <p>POLITICS</p> <p>12</p>	<p>Corruption is a disease</p>	<p><i>Diagnosed with corruption</i></p>
 <p>Monday, June 18, 2018   DAILY NATION</p> <p>I WILL KNOCK YOU DOWN!!</p> <p>CORRUPTION</p> <p>GOVERNANCE</p> <p>13</p>	<p>Corruption is boxing/war</p>	<p><i>I will knock you down</i></p>

Figure	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphoric expression
	<p>Corruption is a burden</p>	<p><i>Everyone shall carry their own cross</i></p>

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### 4.3.1 INVESTIGATING CORRUPTION IS TURNING A STONE TO REVEAL WHAT IS UNDERNEATH

*'We left no stone unturned'*

This metaphoric expression is a speech bubble in figure 1 which is about sugar report following a corruption scandal in the sugar sector. The report metaphorically includes an assortment of waste materials symbolizing the dirty deals which the Sugar Commission has found out in their investigation. The investigation is likened to digging up dirt which is concealed underneath

the ground away from the curious eyes of the citizens. The speech bubble *'WE LEFT NO STONE UNTURNED'* complements the pictorial metaphor which depicted corruption as dirt. The metaphoric expression literally means rolling over a stone to expose what is hidden underneath hence investigation is turning a stone to reveal what is underneath conceptual metaphor. Features of the source domain (turning a stone) are mapped on to the target domain (carrying out an investigation), as follows:

Source Domain: Turning a stone	→	Target Domain: Investigation
Lifting a stone	→	Looking for evidence
Exposing materials underneath	→	Exposing the evidence
The unsightly, scary creatures underneath	→	Outrageous corrupt activities

The metaphoric expression is dependent on the pictorial metaphor for interpretation to understand its contextual use.

### 4.3.2 CORUPTION IS DIRTY MONEY

*'Stop receiving politicians' dirty money'*

The metaphorical expression has been integrated in the pictorial metaphor in figure 2. The cartoon in Figure 2 is about a wrangle between politicians and the clergy who both look at the other as the corrupt party. The cartoonist however, opines that

both parties are corrupt hence, symbolized by black containers. The expression *'Stop receiving politicians' dirty money'* is directed to the clergy by the politicians. The conceptual metaphor that has given rise to the metaphoric expression is CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor.

Money acquired out of corrupt deals is equated to dirt, making 'dirt' the source domain while 'corrupt money' is the target domain. Features of dirt are mapped on to corrupt money as follows:

Source Domain: Dirt	→	Target Domain: Corrupt money
Soils clean hands	→	Tarnishes one's name
Unsightly	→	Embarrassing
Un Godly	→	Evil

The metaphorical expression helps or reinforces communication of the message in the cartoon.

### 4.3.3. CORRUPTION IS STENCH

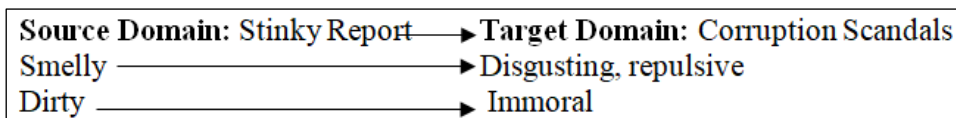
*'Easy..... Act like it is not stinky'*

The metaphoric expression is made by the Governor of Kiambu then, Ferdinand Waititu in

reference to the audit report that was written after corruption scandals in the county. The expression is integrated in the cartoon in Figure 3 which also depicts corruption as dirt. The Governor is carrying a copy of the report and says to the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission official carrying him *'Easy.... Act like it is not stinky.'* This metaphoric expression is meant to heighten

the repulsive nature of corruption, symbolized by the ‘dirty’ report. The metaphoric expression however, cannot be interpreted independently and reference has to be made to the visuals for meaning to be understood. When it talks of ‘it’ the reader has to study the pictorial metaphor, get the reference and understand what is going

on in order to comprehend the metaphoric expression. The expression is derived from the conceptual metaphor CORRUPTION IS STENCH and the features of the source domain are mapped on to the target domain as follows:

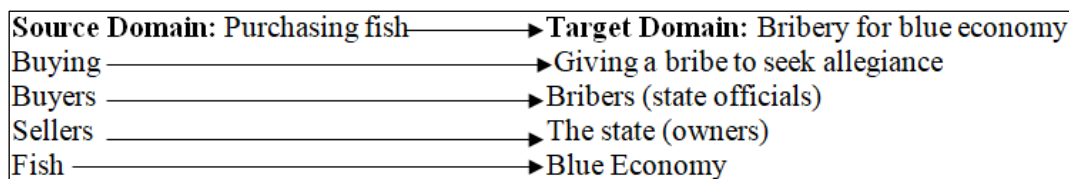


**4.3.4 BRIBERY IS PURCHASE**

*‘Psssit .....We want sea, ocean and lakes representation ..... How much for this creature?’*

The expression above is integrated in the cartoon in figure 4. The cartoon is based on Blue Economy which was a project brought to Kenya in order to harness the potential of the oceans, seas, lakes and rivers so as to improve the livelihood of the common man. It seeks to conserve marine and fresh water environments for economic growth. The corrupt state officials on the contrary see the project as another opportunity to enrich themselves. They intend to bribe their way into being put in charge of the project and they

ask ‘How much for this creature?’ This is a metaphoric expression which likens bribery to buying a good, and the project is referred to as ‘a creature’. The pictorial metaphor uses the image of fish to symbolize blue economy (FISH STANDS FOR BLUE ECONOMY) hence the metaphoric expression emphasizes the symbolism. In this expression bribing one’s way for appointment in key positions in the Blue Economy project is depicted as buying fish whose price can be negotiated, giving rise to BRIBERY IS PURCHASE conceptual metaphor. The features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain as follows.



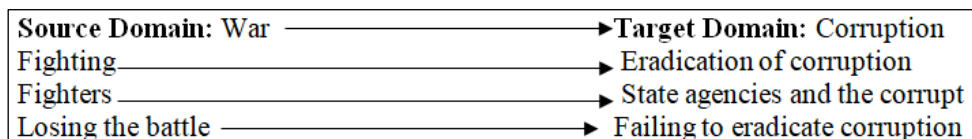
The metaphorical expression therefore reinforces the message in the pictorial metaphor.

**4.3.5. CORRUPTION IS WAR**

*‘War on corruption’*

This is a caption in the cartoon in Figure 5 which depicts corruption as a battle. The cartoon has a Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) camera which has been installed at a strategic position to capture corrupt

leaders. The cunning leaders however go on looting under the cover of an umbrella which they have installed showing the futility of the CCTV camera. The word ‘war’ is metaphorically used to refer to efforts put towards eradication of corruption which is met with resistance from the perpetrators. The two scenarios give rise to CORRUPTION IS WAR conceptual metaphor. The features of the source domain are mapped on to the target domain as follows:



The metaphorical expression is a general expression which can be interpreted independently but in this case it has been used to aid in the interpretation of the pictorial metaphor which would not make sense without the caption.

**4.3.6. FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IS A BATTLE**

*‘Months later, Government is still warming up’*

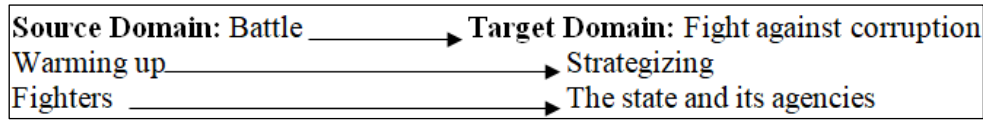
This metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon in figure 6 which depicts corruption as a dragon. The Director of Criminal Investigations, the Director of

Public Prosecutions and the President are supposed to fight corruption, but corruption is such a big and vicious animal that needs proper strategy to eradicate. What complicates the situation more is that the three agencies are preparing for the war oblivious of the fact that they are standing right in between the teeth of the dragon. The message in the cartoon is that the Government is dragging its feet in fighting corruption and this is captured in the statement ‘Months later, the Government is still warming up.’ The strategizing is compared to ‘warming up’ which literally means working out to make an individual fit for a strenuous task, in this case



symbolizing fighting corruption. The pictorial metaphor shows the individuals doing work outs and so the metaphorical expression is used to reinforce the message.

The features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain in the FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IS A BATTLE conceptual metaphor.



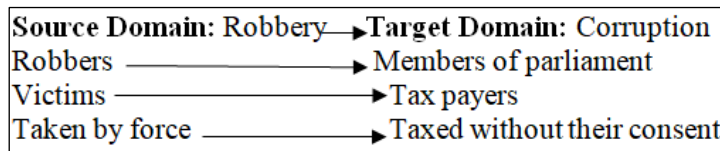
The interpretation of this metaphoric expression is dependent on the pictorial metaphor.

**4.3.7. CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY**

*‘Help! Robbery in progress ...’*

This metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon in figure 7. The cartoon portrays corruption as robbery at gun point. In the cartoon the members of parliament are symbolized as robbers pointing guns at

citizens in demand for money for their allowances. The metaphoric expression *‘Help! Robbery in progress.’* is a call from one of the citizens and it does the complementary role of explaining what the members of Parliament are doing with the guns. The conceptual metaphor CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY has the features of the source domain mapped on to the target domain as follows:



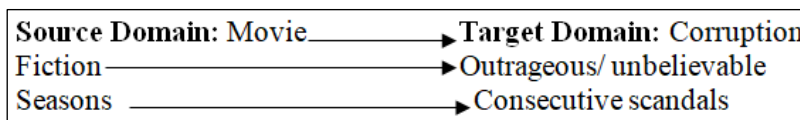
The interpretation of the metaphoric expression is dependent on the pictorial metaphor which explains the context of use.

**4.3.8. CORRUPTION IS A MOVIE**

*‘Season 1 and Season 2’*

The expression *‘season’* has been used metaphorically to refer to a series of corruption scandals. The cartoon in figure 8 is based on the corruption scandals at the National Youth Service in 2015 and a

repeat in 2018. The cartoonist satirizes the situation by referring to them as *‘seasons 1 and 2’*. Seasons literally mean a collection of episodes in a movie which has the same story being developed. Movies are fiction whose main purpose is to entertain and in most cases they are unbelievable thus satirizing the corruption scandals. Comparison of the two consecutive corruption scandals to movie seasons, gives rise to CORRUPTION IS A MOVIE conceptual metaphor. The features of the source domain are mapped on to the target domain as follows:



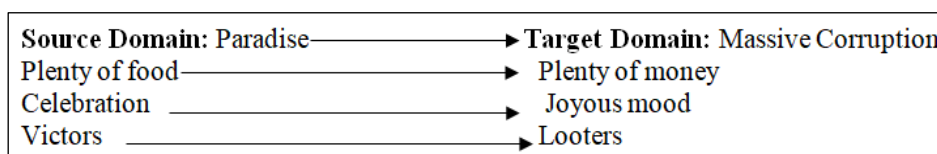
The interpretation of metaphoric expression is dependent on the pictorial metaphor and largely on the background knowledge of the cartoon.

**4.3.9. MASSIVE CORRUPTION IS PARADISE**

*‘Looters’ paradise’*

This metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon in figure 9 which presents the numerous corruption scandals witnessed in 2018. The scandals which the cartoonist calls looting are so massive and uninterrupted that it is likened to paradise. In religion *‘paradise’* is a place of exceptional happiness and delight. It is a land of luxury and fulfillment and is

always associated with plenty of good foods. The cartoon captures looters in celebratory moods carrying loads of money in bags, cartons and briefcase in droves. In the cartoon there are two citizens engaged in a conversation over corruption scandals while one is reading a newspaper captioned *‘Looters’ paradise.’* This is a metaphorical expression that compares the looting spree to paradise. This metaphoric expression emphasizes the intensity of the looting and its careless nature. Hence, MASSIVE CORRUPTION IS PARADISE conceptual metaphor. The features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain as follows:



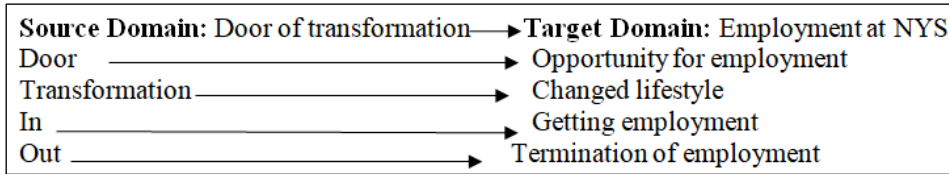
The metaphoric expression plays a complementary role to the pictorial metaphor and it is used to reinforce the message.

**4.3.10 EMPLOYMENT AT NYS IS LIFE TRANSFORMATION**

*‘The door of transformation’*

This expression is got in the cartoon in figure 10 which also talks about corruption scandals at the National Youth Service (NYS). The pictorial metaphor shows two people getting in to NYS offices as employees. When they get in, they are small, slender

figures carrying small bags but when they come out their bodies are transformed into fat, oversized figures carrying huge bags overflowing with money. The door in which they go through is written ‘*The door of transformation.*’ This is a metaphorical expression that captures the changed lifestyles and body sizes of those who got employed at the NYS where there was massive looting of public money. The expression gives rise to EMPLOYMENT AT NYS IS LIFE TRANSFORMATION conceptual metaphor and has the features of the source domain mapped onto the target domain as follows:



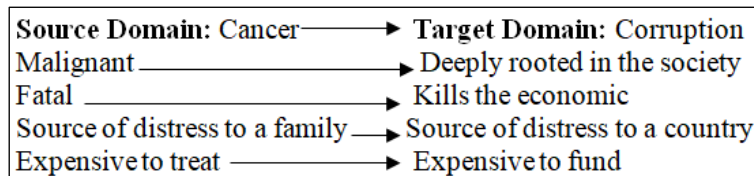
The expression is integrated in the pictorial metaphor to further explain the significance of the door and aid in the interpretation of the cartoon. The interpretation of the metaphoric expression is dependent on the pictorial metaphor.

**4.3.11 CORRUPTION IS CANCER**

*‘Any strategy for curing this cancer?’*

The metaphoric expression is integrated in figure 11. The cartoon captures corruption scandal that hit the country regarding the importation of Cuban doctors. The exercise was perceived as another avenue for corruption given that Kenya had many qualified

doctors who were unemployed. In the pictorial metaphor the cartoonist compares corruption to cancer. The visual metaphor has a picture of Kenya with a huge tumour on the back and then the speech bubble from the Kenyan doctor asking the Cuban doctor ‘*Any strategy for curing this cancer?*’ further explains that the tumour is cancerous. The expression therefore plays a complementary role to the pictorial metaphor and cannot be interpreted independent of the pictorial metaphor. The conceptual metaphor giving rise to the metaphoric expression is CORRUPTION IS CANCER and the features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain as follows:



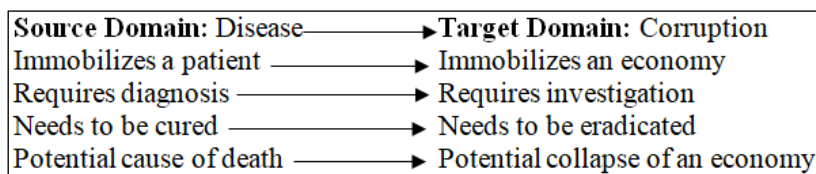
**4.3.12 CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE**

*‘Diagnosed with corruption, toxic sugar, debt, tribalism, cartels’*

The expression is integrated in figure 12 which still depicts corruption and other societal ills as diseases. The cartoon captures ‘Kenya’ as a critically ill patient lying in an Intensive Care Unit (ICU) bed. The bed is captioned ‘*Diagnosed with corruption, toxic sugar, debt, tribalism, cartels*’ these are metaphoric expressions that explain what is ailing the country. The literal meaning of diagnosis is to identify the nature of an illness and the

cartoonist believes that Kenya is sick, suffering from the identified illnesses and is in need of intensive medical attention in order to come back to life. The pictorial metaphor shows medics in the ICU room monitoring the patient most likely deliberating on the best kind of treatment. The conceptual metaphor hence is CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE which has given rise to the metaphorical expression.

The features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain as follows:

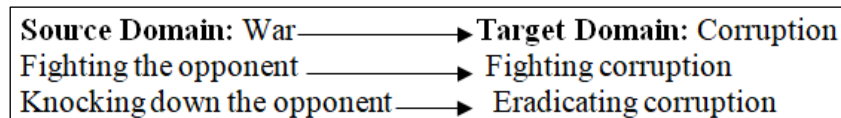


The metaphoric expression too does a complementary role to the pictorial metaphor and cannot be interpreted independent of the pictorial metaphor.

#### 4.3.13 FIGHTING CORRUPTION IS WAR

*'I will knock you down'*

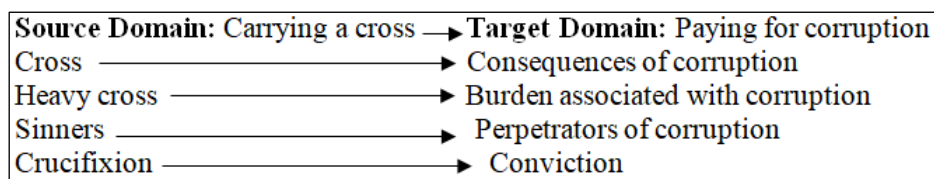
The expression is integrated in the cartoon in figure 13. It is a cartoon depicting corruption as war in which there is a frail man symbolizing Kenya in a boxing arena with a gigantic man symbolizing corruption. The speech bubble *'I will knock you down'* is directed to 'corruption' by 'Kenya'. It is a metaphoric expression



#### 4.3.14 CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN

*'Everyone shall carry their own cross.'*

The cartoon in figure 14 is a mockery of the state officials who get involved in corruption scandals and when caught up with, they turn to the community to support and side with them. The above metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon. In the cartoon the accused official says *'Everyone shall carry their own cross!'* yet himself he is being helped to carry his. The pictorial metaphor depicts an individual literally carrying



The metaphoric expression is a common expression that is applicable in many contexts but in this particular context, the reader needs to make reference to the pictorial metaphor and the background knowledge of the cartoon to fully understand the intended meaning. Integration of the text therefore complements the pictorial metaphor.

In conclusion, texts play a complementary role in cartoons as cartoons are primarily known for their drawing. The discussion explains that texts are integrated in the cartoon either to explain what is occurring in the cartoon, for instance *'war on corruption'*; who the characters are, like *'Sugar Commission'*; or they can do the role of enhancing the joke or humour in the cartoon, for instance *'I will knock you down'*. The metaphorical expressions integrated in the pictorial metaphors are dependent on the pictorial metaphors for accurate interpretation. That is to say, the pictorial metaphor provides the context for interpretation and they have the same source domain. The only difference is that the pictorial metaphor is visual while the metaphoric expression is verbal. Other than the pictorial metaphor,

reinforcing the message in the pictorial metaphor that the fight against corruption in Kenya is mere wishful thinking. To *knock down* literally means to bring down the opponent to the ground which in this case is metaphorically translated to eradicating corruption. In both cases there is an enemy who needs to be fought. The expression has been motivated by CORRUPTION IS WAR and WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IS KNOCKING IT DOWN conceptual metaphors. The features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain as follows:

a cross which calls for the interpretation of the reader to get the intended meaning. The metaphoric expression too talks of carrying a cross, and a cross literally means an object for crucifying those who are convicted of sin. Just like sinning, corruption is a wrong doing and in both cases one has to face the consequences of their actions. The metaphoric expression is triggered by CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor and has the features of the source domain mapped onto the target domain as follows:

the metaphorical expression also requires background knowledge of the cartoon to be accurately understood.

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**Cite This Article:** Lydia Adhiambo Akuno, Oloo Pamella, Magonya Lilian (2024). Metaphorical Meaning of Texts Integrated in the Multimodal Political Cartoons of Corruption in *The Daily Nation Newspaper*. *East African Scholars J Edu Humanit Lit*, 7(2), 76-87.

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