Reading Figurative Images in the Political Discourse of the British Press

Cinzia Spinzi, Elena Manca*

Abstract
The present work aims to study visual metaphors and multimodal metaphors in the political cartoons published in the British press during the Brexit campaign. The theoretical approach adopted draws upon the theories elaborated by Halliday (1985), Forceville (2008; 2009), Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez (2002), and Hart (2016), with the objective of identifying the three analytical steps that lead to the conceptual frames structuring the political event under investigation. Results show the extent to which the visual representation of the Brexit campaign proposes novel and original perspectives of interpretation, and further evidence of the relevance of metaphors and metonymies in the narration of events and in the construction of public opinion.
Keywords: Brexit, metaphor, metonymy, political discourse.

1. Introduction

In his resignation speech after the referendum on Brexit on June 23 2016, David Cameron explained that he would do everything he could as Prime Minister "to steady the ship over the coming weeks and months", but decided to resign because he felt he could not be "the captain that steers our country to its next destination"[1]. Cameron compares Britain to a ship, an element often used as a prototypical source object for nations or parties (Schilperoord and Maes 2009:

---

[1] http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/25/world/europe/david-cameron-speech-transcript.html

227). Indeed, the sinking ship metaphor, which in Cameron's speech represents a verbal metaphor, is frequently represented pictorially in political cartoons, thus illustrating Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) crucial tenet that metaphors are not confined to language but are "a mode of thought". Likewise, the European Union flag standing metonymically for the institution exemplifies a mode of thought that is transposed to the non-verbal context. Therefore, verbal and visual metaphors and metonymies are relevant strategies in the cognitive process of meaning-making.

In political discourse, political cartoons are considered a critical locus for developing conventional but also novel metaphorical meanings that convey a "latent ideology" (Goatly 2007: 28) that have a greater impact on the lay public's emotions. However, in our view, cartoonists rarely provide new meanings because what they do is find new ways to present old meanings. Interestingly, by condensing reality and transforming it in an original and/or humorous way (El Refaie 2009: 175), political cartoons construct mini-narratives about political and social phenomena and, despite their transitory character, offer readers a meta-language through which to interpret and classify the issues visually represented (Greenberg 2002: 182).

This contribution aims to enhance the metaphorical relevance of these strategic means of communication in online news articles. Our objective is twofold: firstly, we aim for a better understanding of the role of the visual metaphor in the meaning construction of the 'in/out' campaign in the run-up to the EU referendum, regardless of the type of political affiliation of the newspapers and magazines considered for the analysis; secondly, we argue that the metaphor-metonymy interplay is crucial to the meaning-making construction in political cartoons. In order to address our research questions, a number of political cartoons have been selected and analysed following Forceville (2008; 2009), Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez (2002), and Hart (2016), i.e. the research approach used to deal with the analysis of visuals and metaphors in different genres and text types.

2. Political background and political cartoons

What Europe is today is the result of a gradual integration that has been ongoing since 1945. Due to the need to ensure lasting peace and stability on the continent and following the reconciliation between

France and Germany, in 1951 the leaders of six countries signed the Treaty of Paris, the first step in a series of agreements that led to the foundation of the European Economic Community in 1957. Britain entered the club hesitantly in 1973 in a moment of transient economic anxiety, and only two years later the British people were already given a chance to express their willingness to remain in Europe in the first ever referendum held throughout the UK. Albeit by only a slight majority, the country voted to stay in the Community (Milizia 2016: 302). After so many years it is therefore unsurprising that Euro scepticism has again come to the fore in British domestic politics. Evidence from the past shows that Britain has always had a transactional relationship with the Union; that is, a relationship based on the evaluation of costs and benefits (e.g. the Schengen agreement and the adoption of the euro currency). This anti-European sentiment became visible and more tangible with the success of Nigel Farage's Independence Party in the 2014 European Elections and later with the general election in 2015. When on February 20, 2016 the British Prime Minister David Cameron set the in-out referendum date on the country's membership of the European Union, his announcement was immediately followed by turmoil among government ministers about their decision to campaign for leaving the EU or whether to opt to remain. Whereas Cameron pointed out all the benefits for staying in the bloc, a number of MPs, including the former mayor of London, Boris Johnson, the Commons Leader Chris Grayling and the then justice secretary Michael Gove, started to campaign for a break from the European 'club' in order to "take back control" of their country, as the mantra of the Leave campaigners read. The day after the historic date of the referendum, Brexit turned 'Leave' into a firmer commitment and the new occupant of 10 Downing Street, Theresa May, pledged to respect the will of the people by taking the UK out of the Union.

The intensity of the Brexit debate was widely covered in the British press and also visually represented in cartoons, which is one of the reasons why we decided to choose this form of communication to analyse the Brexit campaign and its most frequent metaphorical associations and realisations. The cartoon genre has gained attention from scholars for it is not just an illustration of a social or historical event, but offers a subtle criticism and, by means of caricatures, allusions, metaphors and humour, plays a role of utmost importance

in the process of constructing public opinion about salient events. Due to their power to address readers' inner emotions, political cartoons are "used for government propaganda, public catharsis, publicity stunt, or instructional aid" (Ashfaq and Hussein 2013: 265). Relying on the prolific literature on this intriguing genre (Edwards 1997; El Refaie 2009; Alousque 2013), different functions of cartoons may be yielded: cognitively speaking, political cartoons rely on relevant shared cultural elements that also make them highly persuasive. Furthermore, featured as allusive to real events and people, cartoons are descriptive and thus, by combining fact and fiction (Edwards 1997: 8), they may be considered knowledge-disseminating tools. Last but not least, cartoons are crucial to the construction of participants, places, and processes (i.e. Ideational meanings in Halliday's Functional Framework, 1985) in the political arena. Hence, this genre constitutes a "metaphor-rich communicative area" (Schilperoord and Maes 2009: 214-215) where factual knowledge is required for their accurate interpretation (Alousque 2013: 370).

3. Visual Metaphors and Metonymy at work

In Cognitive Linguistics metaphor and metonymy are cognitive processes of projection of a conceptual structure representing an area of knowledge or experience, called 'frame', which is reflected in and effected through metaphorical expressions in discourse (Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Fauconnier and Turner 2002). Embodied or culturally relevant frames are chosen in metaphors inasmuch as they activate links to other unfamiliar frames. In so doing, metaphors become powerful cognitive devices for understanding how social events have been framed and how everyday knowledge has been structured. Finally, they work as a valuable clue to the identification of ideologies (Van Dijk 1998) for they trigger a type of semantic associative process by which people interpret more abstract meanings through tangible representations (Charteris-Black 2011). To put it differently, selected metaphors account for how a particular issue is 'framed', which aspects are foregrounded, "what inferences are facilitated, what evaluative and emotional associations triggered" (Semino 2008: 91).

For the purpose of this study, both metaphors and metonymies are considered. Whereas in the case of metaphor correspondences between source and target involve two different conceptual domains, metonymy is a domain-internal conceptual, that is, the mapping from the source to the target is made within the same domain (Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez 2002: 491). As Bounegru and Forceville (2011: 5) maintain, since metaphors in cartoons can draw only on two modes (verbal and visual), the difference between monomodal and multimodal metaphor pertains to this genre. If monomodal metaphors deploy one modality, either verbal or visual, in multimodal metaphors "target and source are rendered in two different modes/modalities […] and in many cases the verbal is one of these" (Forceville 2009: 24). Another relevant cognitive operation is the distinction of metonymies in: a) *target-in-source* metonymies: the target domain is a sub-domain of the source as in the example "The flute isn't coming today", where the flute refers to the person playing it (Alousque 2013: 367); b) *source-in-target* metonymies: the source domain is a sub-set of the target as in "All hands on the deck", where 'hands' refer to the sailors doing hard physical work (Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez 2002). The interpretation of a metaphor will also rely on Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (1995:176ff), which can be synthesised in the assumption "relevance is always relevance to an individual". Political cartoons are usually addressed to a varied audience with widely different cognitive environments (see also Forceville 2005: 253), and this obviously influences the interpretation of cartoons and the metaphors they contain.

4. Sampling procedure

In order to address our research questions, a corpus of 79 political cartoons was assembled. Eight online British newspapers and magazines were chosen as main sources for news articles containing cartoons illustrated by professional cartoonists. Representativeness in the corpus was ensured by the selection of politically differently-aligned newspapers and magazines. Relying on the statistics of their circulation and readership, three tabloids (*the Sun, the Mirror, the Daily Mail*), three broadsheets (*the Telegraph, the Guardian, the Independent*), and two weekly magazines (*The Economist* and the

New Statesman) were included in the sample. All the cartoons were retrieved by typing the keyword 'Brexit' into the search bar of the websites chosen and then a manual check of the matching between keyword and image was carried out. The time span of the cartoons collected lasts from January 1, 2016, one month before Cameron's official announcement of the EU referendum, to June 22, 2016, the day before the referendum.

5. Analysis of the 'in-out' campaign cartoons

Cartoons in our data constitute single episodes of the macro narrative of the Brexit campaign and visually represent some aspects of it by focussing on one or all of the following elements: participants, processes, and circumstances. Investigating the ideational function of the cartoons means understanding how they represent this 'external reality' (i.e. the Brexit campaign). In the case of metaphorical cartoons, such as those included in our data, we make this external reality coincide with the target.

   The first step of our analysis consists in the identification of the ideational function/target of all the cartoons in our corpus, that is to say, the politicians/participants involved in the Brexit campaign, the actions they are performing, and the setting in which they act and interact; secondly, the topics of these targets are classified in three main categories: the first category generally named 'Confusion' (53%) includes two sub-groups: 'Confusion and Fear' and 'Confusion and Ambiguity'. The first sub-category includes cartoons where allusion to uncertainty and fear is visible or triggered in order to make people feel worried about the UK's future; the second sub-category groups cartoons depicting unfair and ambiguous political strategies to trick and confuse both voters and political opponents. The second category, labelled 'Conflict' (38%), portrays tensions within the Conservative Party and among the other political participants. Finally, the 'EU's role and identity' (16%) is the third category that groups cartoons referring to the difficult relationship with the Union, its identity and attitude. As a third step, we identify and classify all the sources of the topics and the key images around which they are organised.

5.1. Confusion and Fear

As mentioned above, the 'Confusion and Fear' sub-category contains metaphors that communicate fear/anxiety/affliction. The sources that are mostly used include: 1. references to religion and Biblical events organised around some key metonymies such as heaven/hell, plagues, and calamities; 2. references to mythical and fantasy creatures such as aliens, the bogeyman, or a fake Loch Ness monster; finally, 3. references to war and conflicts through key metonymies such as bunkers and guns.

A multimodal example from the 'Confusion and Fear' sub-category is a cartoon published in the *Daily Mail* (June 15), where a couple is looking through a window: the clouds in the sky are black and it is raining hard. One of them remarks: "And the Prime Minister says if we vote Brexit it'll be a plague of locusts next". The source is cued by two modalities: the downpour, that is represented pictorially and the plague of locusts that is conveyed verbally. In the verbal modality, the source of locusts correlates with Brexit. The target is mediated by the verbal message and the intertextual reference to the Biblical event of the Ten Plagues of Egypt. As Kövecses (2000: 71) noticed, emotions are metaphorically conceptualised as natural phenomena (e.g. downpour or infestation in our data) to express lack of control over them. The characteristics of the source, namely evil, calamity and affliction are attributed to the target, i.e. Brexit, via association with the plague. The dominant metaphor, BREXIT IS CALAMITY/SCOURGE, is grounded in the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE, namely, the plague is caused by Brexit. Relying on Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal's (2002: 58) approach to the study of metonymy, this cartoon is an example of metaphor developed on a source-in-target metonymy, given that the plague of locusts is a subset of natural calamities. The general cognitive frame responsible for this interpretation is CHANGES FOR THE WORSE ARE CATASTROPHIC NATURAL FORCES.

5.2. Confusion and Ambiguity

The second sub-category labelled 'Confusion and Ambiguity' refers to unfair and deceitful political strategies that aim at tricking both voters and opponents, and causing confusion. The sources mainly

employed to convey this metaphor are religion and entertainment, organised around key concepts such as hell and heaven, singing or puppet shows, unfair play.

A multimodal example of this cluster (Figure 1) is a cartoon published in *The Mirror* (June 11), in which Michael Gove, Nigel Farage, Boris Johnson and David Cameron are depicted while singing and playing on a stage. Cameron is wearing an EU flag as a headband, which metonymically points to the Union and metaphorically represents his campaign against Brexit and his willingness to stay in the EU. Michael Gove is playing drums (on which a red forked tongue is drawn), where the choice of instrument is linked to the idiomatic phrase 'bang/beat the drum', whose definition may be worded as 'to speak eagerly about something that you support'. Indeed, the article in which the cartoon is included talks about politicians and their banging the drum noisily over Brexit, thus making the link between the musical instrument and the campaign clear: POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS PLAYING MUSIC/A SHOW. The audience looking on is clearly annoyed and confused, and the caption under the cartoon helps readers interpret what is metaphorically conveyed by the source (the show): "Many voters don't understand the messages politicians are putting across". This means that the political strategies adopted, as well as the politicians' talk, are not clear and fair and are consequently perceived as obscure, confusing, and annoying. The final interpretation of this metaphor in terms of brexit is playing annoying and confusing music is grounded in the interplay between metaphors and metonymies and develops as follows: the one-correspondence matrix metaphor 'BREXIT IS PLAYING MUSIC/A SHOW' is based on a set of source-in-target metonymies: the politicians/players (participants in the show) stand for parties; the musical instruments (instruments of the politicians/players) stand for communication, music being a mode of delivering a message. The result of playing confusing music ('RESULT FOR ACTION' metonymy) is ambiguity and confusion, also visible in the audience/voters' attitudes. The foregrounded forked tongue constitutes a kind of brand for the musical instruments and thus its mapping on the target of the metonymy (e.g. action) results in connotations of ambiguity.
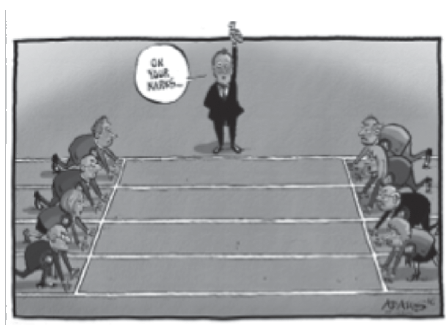
The correspondent phrase "speak with a forked tongue" in the spoken language is a further confirmation for this interpretation,

which shows the high axiological value of this metaphor as a whole.

FIGURE 1
From *the Mirror*, 11.6.2016

FIGURE 2
From *The Telegraph*, 17.2. 2016

5.3. Conflict

The second category, 'Conflict', groups cartoons in which the Brexit campaign is depicted in terms of war (POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS WAR), including its concrete and abstract negative effects such as conflicts, contrasts, divisions, and fear.

The third example comes from a cartoon in *The Mirror* (February 13) and depicts six politicians sitting at a table that has a big crack right in the middle. These politicians, as the title of the article suggests ("Tory Civil War looms as Eurosceptic Roundheads threaten David Cameron and his Cavaliers"), are depicted in such

a way as to resemble the protagonists of the Civil War that tore the nation apart in the 1640s. Cameron looks like Charles I whereas the then Secretary of State for Work and Pensions Iain Duncan Smith resembles Oliver Cromwell. The source domain is pictorially represented (the table divided into two parts); the target domain, i.e. the civil war, can be easily understood by the resemblance of Cameron with Charles I and of Iain Duncan Smith with Oliver Cromwell. The interpretation of the POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS WAR/ CONFLICT metaphor is mediated by the reference to the historical event that provides the source of the connotations mapped onto the target (e.g. controversy).

Another group of metaphors which instantiates the category of Conflict is POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS SPORT, which is organised around some metaphorical key images such as race, team, players, sparring, game, playing field and so on. Interestingly, *The Telegraph* depicts the beginning of the campaign by proposing a sprint race cartoon on February 17 (Figure 2). Instead of pointing in the same direction, the runners representing the 'in' campaign on the left are lined up facing the 'out' campaigners on the right. The interpretation of the metaphor is verbally mediated by the starter/David Cameron who, standing between the two teams and holding the starting pistol, says "On your marks". The cartoon evokes the final phase of the British negotiations with the EU and encourages the Prime Minister to officially start the in/out campaign. The short distance between the two lines of runners is of great relevance in the cartoon since it implies an inevitable strategical/ideological clash. The mapped connotations from source to target can be formulated as "disagreement with high-impact negative consequences".

Another race is offered by *the Daily Mail* on June 16, where a more complex metaphor is at work. The cartoon shows a horse race taking place in the small town of Ascot, in Berkshire, famous for its horse racing. The field at Royal Ascot is pictorially represented as being full of obstacles, such as a massive fence, barbed wire, a pit of snakes, and a series of landmines. All these obstacles are on the Brexit side of the race course and metonymically cue war, with the snakes representing evil and the 'Spirit of Resistance' (see Monod 1989). One of the two horses, the 'out' horse, is a short way ahead of the 'in' horse and the interpretation is mediated by the speaker's verbal comment that reveals the identity of the horse

gaining advantage. The jockey is the former Chancellor and First Secretary of State George Osborne, who faces the last obstacle, represented by landmines. The mapping from "two battling horses" to the Brexit campaign is "very close people in competition" and one way of profiling the CAMPAIGNING IS SUFFERING A LOT OF HARDSHIP metaphor. The metaphor is motivated by the PATH image schema (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), which involves movement from source to final destination along a path that may be full of obstacles (here stages in negotiation inside the party) preventing the jockeys/politicians from achieving their goal.

The intensive use of varied sports metaphors in our corpus (political campaign is also boxing; playing rugby; roller skating) serves the scope of emphasising the strong rivalry between the 'ins' and 'outs' and the strong partisan division, and it reinforces the skills and strategies (more ethical) necessary to win the race/campaign. These sports metaphors are deliberately exploited to set up a strong connection with the readers since certain sports, soccer in particular, are widely followed in the UK.

5.4. EU's role and identity

The pervasive idea of division in our data returns in the cartoons where the EU flag represents a metonymic relationship with the Establishment. Interestingly, all these monomodal metaphors come from *The Guardian, The Independent, The Economist*, and *The New Statesman*, which took the side of 'Remain' in the campaign. For example, a cartoon from *The Economist* (February 27) depicting the image of a burnt flag missing some stars conveys a strong feeling of disintegration. The missing stars mean fragmentation and loss of the principles of solidarity, harmony and peace that those stars symbolise. The metaphor may be profiled as A RIPPED FLAG IS A BROKEN EUROPE which is activated by a set of many-correspondences metonymies of the source-in target type where the OBJECT/SYMBOL (FLAG) STANDS FOR INSTITUTION (EUROPEAN UNION). Relying on the same metaphor/metonymy interaction, a sense of protection is evoked by a cartoon from *The New Statesman* (June 11), where a man is holding a blue umbrella with a circle of stars drawn on it to protect himself from the rain. Once again, the rain (source) calls the emotion-based metaphors back to mind. The mappings on the

target are feelings of safety, safeguarding, and reassurance. The metonymies are keys to the understanding of the EUROPE IS A SAFETY-PROVIDING INSTITUTION metaphor.

These metaphors highlight the theme of reunification against fragmentation started by the Brexit rupture and are best epitomised by another cartoon (from *The Independent*), where the European Union flag (metonymy) shows cogs in place of stars. A hybrid metaphor (Forceville 2008) is at work here: a spanner with Cameron's face on it indicates that he has 'put a spanner' in the European works, causing nothing to go as planned. This metaphor, pictorially cued and pertaining to the domain of 'tools', maps on the target allusion to fixing something that is broken, namely a desperate attempt to 'repair' the Union.

6. Final observations and remarks

Due to space constraints, we have reported an in-depth analysis of only some case studies, wherein we claim that the Brexit campaign has been framed as a conflictual and alarming political and social phenomenon. As a matter of fact, Brexit was profiled both as a natural force that turned up unexpectedly and spread confusion and fear, and as an ambiguous phenomenon due to internal divisions and unforeseen developments. Results from our analysis demonstrate that the 'metaphors we live by' when conflicts emerge mainly rely on sports and war as source domains, and historical intertextual elements function as carriers to sustain thorough comprehension of the metaphor. Moreover, uncertainties and ambiguities, as well as fear, tend to become less abstract through the use of cultural symbols (e.g. Loch Ness) or religious elements (e.g. heaven and hell) or events (e.g. the plague of Egypt), which strike the inner chords of our unconsciousness.

As El Refaie maintains (2003), in visual materials the source prevails on the target and, since images are more immediate than words, visual metaphors are emotionally stronger. In line with this, pictorial cartoons constitute a locus for creating metaphorical messages that are both ideological and axiological: every 'image' has constructed an evaluative position with respect to other images (e.g. the Civil War) and implied more than what is visualised (e.g. implied clash in Figure 2).

Furthermore, all the individuals in our data are associated with representations of politicians in the external world, as well as events and circumstances, so factual knowledge was critical to understanding.

With respect to our second research question, metonymy-based multimodal metaphors with the prevailing source-in-target metonymy have proved to be instrumental devices for pointing out the negative emotions behind this historical decision, above all feelings of uncertainty about the 'effects' of such an unprecedented event. The interplay between metaphors and metonymies was found to be ideological in formulating meanings of anxiety as responses to the unknown consequences of Britain's jumping off the European boat. Our findings suggest that metaphor and metonymy play a crucial role in deriving the central implicature of how the Brexit campaign has been described and perceived, and that they interact in order for the readers to activate a mental process through which the intended message can be achieved with the least cognitive effort. In all the examples analysed, the source of the metonymies was a subdomain of the target and this relationship between source and target has provided us with the main elements of the metaphorical mapping, the input to the metaphor being the output of the metonymic mapping (see Herrero Ruiz 2006: 174). By relying on a metonymical process, the main characters in the cartoons selected for analysis, that is to say British politicians, have been used as references to a political party or a political group (the 'in' or 'out' groups, for example). Similarly, source-in-target metonymies (e.g. the European flag; the plague of locusts) have made the interpretation of the two conceptual domains in the metaphors represented in the cartoons easier and more immediately accessible, but they have also been crucial to the construction of the metaphor itself. Thus, metaphor and metonymy lie at the basis of this mental process (Herrero Ruiz 2006: 185) that, in terms of relevance (c.f. Sperber and Wilson, 1993, 1995), tries to achieve the greatest cognitive effect using the least cognitive effort.

Although the analysis of systematic differences between the metaphors and metonymies in political cartoons and their correspondence with the political affiliation of newspapers was not an objective of this study, nevertheless we noticed that feelings

of confusion and ambiguity emerged systematically in all the publications analysed regardless of their political slant. Finally, metaphors in our data are located along the continuum between the monomodal and multimodal type even though a good amount of background knowledge is of utmost importance to their understanding; otherwise further textual elements such as the content of the articles are needed for a better understanding of the metaphor.

References

ASHFAQ, AYESHA and HUSSEIN, ADNAN B. 2013, "Political Cartoonists versus Readers: Role of political cartoonists in Building Public Opinion and Readers' Expectations towards Print Media Cartoons in Pakistan", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 4:3, pp. 265-272.

ALOUSQUE, ISABEL NEGRO, 2013, "Verbo-pictorial metaphor in French advertising", *Journal of French Language Studies* 24:2, pp. 155-180.

BOUNEGRU, LILIANA and FORCEVILLE, CHARLES, 2011, "Metaphors in editorial cartoons representing the global financial crisis", *Visual Communication* 10(2), pp. 209-229.

CHARTERIS-BLACK, JOHNATAN, 2011, *Politicians and Rhetoric. The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

EDWARDS, JANIS, 1997, *Political Cartoons in the 1988 Presidential Campaign: Image, Metaphor, and Narrative*, New York, Garland Publishing.

EL REFAIE, ELISABETH, 2003, "Understanding visual metaphor: the example of newspaper cartoons", *Visual Communication* 2 (1), pp. 75-95.

EL REFAIE, ELISABETH, 2009, "Metaphor in political cartoons: Exploring audience responses", in C. Forceville and E. Urios-Aparisi (eds) *Multimodal Metaphor*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, pp. 75-95.

FAUCONNIER, GILLES and TURNER, MARK, 2002, *The Way We Think*, Basic Books, New York.

FORCEVILLE, CHARLES, 2005, "Addressing an audience: time, place, and genre in Peter VanStraaten's calendar cartoons", *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 18, pp. 247-278.

FORCEVILLE, CHARLES, 2008, "Pictorial and multimodal metaphor in commercials", in F. Edward McQuarrie and B. J. Phillips (eds), *Go Figure! New Directions in Advertising Rhetoric*, Me Sharpe, Armonk NY, pp. 272-310.

FORCEVILLE, CHARLES, 2009, "Non-verbal and multimodal metaphor in a cognitivist framework: Agendas for research", in C. Forceville and E. Urios Aparisi (eds), *Multimodal Metaphor*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, pp. 19-42.

GOATLY, ANDREW, 1997, *Washing the Brain. Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

GREENBERG, JOSH, 2002. "Framing and Temporality in Political Cartoons: A Critical Analysis of Visual News Discourse", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 39-2, pp. 181-198.

HALLIDAY, MICHAEL, A. K., 1985, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Edward Arnold, London.

HART, CHRISTOPHER, J., (2017), "Metaphor and Intertextuality in Media Framings of the (1984-1985) British Miner's Strike: A Multimodal Analysis", *Discourse and Communication,* 11, 1, pp. 3-30.

HERRERO RUIZ, JAVIER, 2006, "The Role of Metaphor, Metonymy, and Conceptual Blending in Understanding Advertisements: The Case of Drug-prevention Ads", *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 19, pp. 169-19.

KÖVECSES, ZOLTÁN, 2000, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*, C. U P., Cambridge.

LAKOFF, GEORGE and JOHNSON, MARK, 1980, *Metaphors We Live By*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL.

LAKOFF, GEORGE and JOHNSON, MARK, 1999, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*, Basic Books, New York.

MILIZIA, DENISE, 2016, "A bilingual comparable analysis: The European Union in the Speeches of British and Italian Ministers", in G. Garzone, D. Heaney, G. Riboni (eds), *LSP research and translation across languages and cultures.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, pp. 301-325.

MONOD, PAUL KLÉBER, 1989, *Jacobitism and the English people 1688-1788*, C. U. P., Cambridge.

RUIZ DE MENDOZA, FRANCISCO J., 2000, "The role of mappings and domains in understanding metonymy", in A. Barcelona (ed), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, pp. 109-132.

RUIZ DE MENDOZA, FRANCISCO and DIEZ VELASCO, OLGA, I. 2002, "Patterns of conceptual interaction", in G. R. Dirven and R. Pörings, *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*, pp. 489-532.

RUIZ DE MENDOZA, FRANCISCO and OTAL CAMPO, JOSÉ LUIS, 2002, *Metonymy, Grammar and Communication*, Comares, Estudio de Lengua Inglesa, Granada.

SCHILPEROORD, JOOST and MAES, ALFONS, 2009, "Visual metaphoric conceptualization in political cartoons", in C. Forceville and E. Urios-Aparisi (eds), *Multimodal Metaphor*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 211-238.

SEMINO, ELENA, 2008, *Metaphor in Discourse*, C.U.P., Cambridge.

SPERBER, DAN and WILSON, DEIRDRE, 1995, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, 2nd edn, Blackwell, Oxford.

VAN DIJK, TEUN, 1998, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Sage Publications, London.