

**PICTORIAL METAPHOR IN THE PORTRAYAL OF CORRUPTION
IN THE DAILY NATION NEWSPAPER**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research thesis is my own original work and has never been presented for an academic award in any university or institution of higher learning.

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I thank the Lord for the far he has brought us.

I would also wish to appreciate my supervisors, Dr. Oloo Pamela and Dr. Magonya Lilian for the invaluable support they have given me. God Bless.

Thanks too to my friends and family who have stood with me against all odds. May honour and glory be given to God.

DEDICATION

To my family

ABSTRACT

Cartoons use language as an artistic medium in which various options are explored for effective communication. The language of cartoons is indirect unlike 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. Political cartoon therefore has 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. The present research studied the unique nature of the language of cartoons with focus on portrayal of corruption. It analysed pictorial metaphors in the portrayal of corruption in the print media cartoons. The specific objectives were: to examine the source-objects depicting corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper; to determine the modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper and 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 political cartoons depicting corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper in 2018 and 2019, a period characterized by mega corruption scandals in Kenya. This was also the period of the '*handshake*'; the advent of a new regime in Kenya that declared zero tolerance on corruption. The study adopted the analytical research design. The study population comprised 150 political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper in 2018 and 2019. Random purposive sampling technique was used to select the relevant cartoons and the sample size was dictated by saturation sampling. From the study population of 150 cartoons, a total of 41 political cartoons were sampled using saturation sampling method as some of the themes were repetitive. Based on the third objective of the study, which focused on metaphorical expressions, a total of 15 metaphorical expressions were purposively sampled from the 41 political cartoons. The present study employed corpus compilation checklist as data collection tool. To test reliability of the data compilation checklist, the researcher carried out a pilot study. The data was then coded and analyzed qualitatively into themes of the respective source-objects. The findings were that the source-objects that depict corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper are CORRUPTION IS DIRT, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL, CORRUPTION IS A GIANT, CORRUPTION IS CRIME, CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION, CORRUPTION IS GREED, CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE, CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY, CORRUPTION IS WAR, CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE, CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN and CORRUPTION IS A SHAME. It was also established that metaphorical expressions integrated in pictorial metaphors are dependent on the pictorial metaphors for accurate interpretation. The study concluded that the cartoonist has used varied source-objects including humans, objects, smoke, stench, filth, mud, worms, reptiles, birds, beasts, mythical beings and gluttonous animals and that pictorial metaphors of corruption are largely multimodal but there are a few mono-modal ones too. The present study contributes knowledge in the fields of semiotics and cognitive linguistics.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DCI	Director of Criminal Investigations
DPP	Director of Public Prosecution
EACC	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
EGH	Elder of the Golden Hearth
GOVT	Government
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
ICU	Intensive Care Unit
IG	Inspector General
KPLC	Kenya Power and Lighting Company
KTN	Kenya Television Network
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MPS	Members of Parliament
NACOSTI:	National Commission of Science Technology and Innovation.
NCPB	National Cereals and Produce Board
NEMA	National Environmental Management Authority
NHIF	National Hospital Insurance Fund
NMG	Nation Media Group
NTSA	National Transport and Safety Authority
NYS	National Youth Service
TV	Television
VIP	Very Important Person

OPERATIONAL DEFINATION OF TERMS

Cartoons:	Satirical artifacts used to lampoon political leaders and their contemptible policies.
Conceptual Metaphor:	Metaphor that constructs target domain (abstract concepts) in terms of a source domain (Concrete concepts)
Euphemism:	An indirect word or expression substituted for one considered to be too harsh or blunt when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing.
Language of cartoon:	Linguistic devices employed in a cartoon for communication.
Linguistic expressions:	Refers to both linguistic metaphors and metonymic expressions
Linguistic metaphor:	Metaphoric expressions that are evidence of conceptual metaphors in language.
Metaphor:	A figure of speech that makes comparison between two things that are basically dissimilar.
Metonymy:	A figure of speech that consists of the use of the name of one object or concept for that of another to which it is related or of which it is part.
Modality:	A particular mode in which a cartoon exists i.e. visual or text.
Mono modal metaphors:	Metaphors that have their target domain and source domains rendered entirely in visual terms.
Multimodal metaphors:	Metaphors that enlist more than one mode in communication.
Pictorial Metaphors:	Visual metaphors/Cartoons

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This section introduces the study. It focuses on background information on the language of cartoons, the language of corruption, print media, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study, the scope of the study, justification of the study and theoretical framework.

1.1. Background to the Study

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.

Cartoons are a form of visual communication. In print media, cartoons just like other forms of visuals provide a clear mental picture, quick understanding, enhance memory and provide a shared experience. “The cartoon serves as a capsule version of the editorial opinion meant for the reading public to swallow and probably get some societal ills cured. Cartoons are not only meant to entertain the readers, but they also seek to ginger their sense of reasoning into clamouring for positive change in the political structure” (Onakpa, 2014: 35).

The history of cartoons can be traced back to the 1840s. Cartoons were originally meant to be a drawing, a full size pattern for execution in painting and tapestry. In 1843, the British parliament ordered for designs in a competition for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament which were later parodied in *The Punch* magazine by John Leech. He used cartoons to satirize and lampoon socio-political abuses of that period. From that time cartoons acquired its present meaning of a humorous drawing or satirical parody. And over the years,

cartoons have been used widely in newspapers not only as a means of entertainment and education, but also as tools for enhancing the sale of the papers (Onakpa, 2014). This present study too is an analysis of cartoons in the print media but the focus is on how text and image integrate to portray corruption.

Adom (2016) distinguishes five types of cartoons. These are editorial or political cartoons, comic strips, animated or movie cartoons, gag cartoons and illustrative cartoons. Editorial /political cartoons appear in the editorial section of the newspaper. They may support the main editorial of the day or they may deal with other news items of the day. A political cartoon does not always show real people, it may use a personification of a country or organization as a person, an animal or a monster. Comic strips appear as regular features with known or established characters in newspapers. They are portrayed in series to illustrate or tell a story. Each strip includes a series of panels with the words of characters encased in a balloon. Animated or movie cartoons are brief, digitally created animations designed to mimic the appearance of hand-drawn artwork. They are produced in sequences to convey motion and dynamism. These cartoons are utilized in filmmaking and are crafted for viewing on audiovisual platforms. Gag cartoons on the other hand are single-paneled cartoons used to create fun about people in general. Gag literally means a 'joke'. Lastly are the illustrative cartoons, which portray specific ideas in a direct and simple manner. They help in explaining stories, teaching aids or advertisements. They explain further the text that accompanies them. The focus of this present study was political cartoons, as the study is an analysis of the portrayal of corruption – as a social ill – in cartoons.

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, 2000). 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.

Lawate (2011) in distinguishing between political cartoons and comic strips says that comic strips are merely for the provision of comic relief. Political or social cartoons are not used just for humour but also to create awareness. Comic strips are not specific to a country, while a political cartoon is derived and placed within a geographical context. For instance, a cartoon in *The Washington Post* on economy has little or no relevance in India, because of disconnect to the context. Lawate (2011) further explains that issues in India are corruption, cricket, population, congestion, rains, drought and the likes of the same are covered extensively in their political cartoons.

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).

Due to direct way of communication, cartoons address a problem for the ordinary people clearly. Unlike a classic newspaper editorial which is filled with excess words to impart information and ideas, a political cartoon condenses an entire article down to simple images.

It has been found that newspaper cartoons worldwide have shown an influential vehicle for credible public judgment and evaluating public statistics. Again it is explained that in contrast to a news article, the cartoon has the aptitude to almost promptly dissect a political issue as they have the power to provoke a diversity of reactions because cartoon articles craft their work to precise political opinions (Lawate, 2011).

Lawate (2012) reiterates that the job of a cartoonist is to tackle the represented phenomenon through satire and adds that political cartoon is a visual medium that engages the audience, helps them understand and interpret the political, social and economic scene in the country. Onakpa (2014) too, says that the political cartoon is often satirical in nature and castigates social misdeeds, sayings, views or events that have to do with highly placed personalities and that the cartoon is a vital tool employed by the press for its watchdog role in the society. The cartoonist acts as the conscience or voice of the people in that he speaks for and represents their opinion.

The present study is an analysis of the language of cartoons. To understand and interpret the content of political cartoons, Lawate (2012) proposes some features that make a political cartoon tick among its readers. It is stated that the content of the cartoon first is symbolic. Symbolism is important as even when people are uncertain of their feelings and are unable to decide on the cognitive perspective of their issues, it is explained that a certain level of emotional response to the issue at hand is obtained. Second, there is distortion which is an important aspect of cartoons. For example in Da Vinci's creative distortion where a figure is distorted intentionally to show art and creative gesture, cartoonist use exaggerations in size, emotions, and shape of a person or an object for effect. Third, there is the irony of words and images. Irony makes cartoons witty and point out flaws in the system by making a contradiction in an argument. The fourth point is that cartoons stereotype. Stereotyping is common in cartoons and it is in a stereotype that the cartoonist explains and simplifies a

largely applicable viewpoint. For instance, America is capitalist, or Indian politicians are corrupt. Lawate (2011) explains that although stereotypes are offensive they help the cartoonist establish an idea and make a strong point which can be debated upon and thus it opens grounds for discussion. Lastly, is the fact that cartoons are an argument and not a slogan. Cartoons tackle issues directly but it is not mere slogans that state a fact. Cartoonists try to explain whether something is achieved or not and in either case it is opinionated and blunt. So even though it is biased, the cartoon provides one grounds for responding and even arguing back.

The present study examines how cartoons are used in the print media to portray corruption. The reviewed researches have studied the nature of cartoons as a mode of communication, which gives a background to the present study. The present study however not only studies the images in cartoons, but also focuses on the text-image integration in multimodal cartoons. The linguistic metaphors in the cartoons are also analyzed to establish how they depict corruption. The present study is hoped to make a contribution in the field of Semiotics by giving more insight into cartoons as a mode of communication through both pictorial and linguistic metaphors.

1.1.2 Satire in Political Cartoons

Morris (1992) describes satire as a literary term used to refer to a witty criticism of behaviour aimed at ridiculing societal faults by the use of irony or sarcasm. Hence, satire is viewed as criticisms of various societal follies which are blended with humour or other comic elements such as hyperbole and irony. According to Bal et al (2009), satire is the use of ridicule, sarcasm or irony to criticize something or someone to expose his weaknesses or shortcomings. The prime goal of satire is to safeguard normative boundaries of society by denouncing societal follies and promoting standard of social norms and values of a given

society. Townsend et al (2008) say that historically political cartoon is recognized as one of the earliest forms of political satire.

In the 18th Century, political cartoons were simply referred to as 'satires' and broadly used to criticize English rule in colonies. Additionally, the basis of satire today largely depends on the criticism of the injustice and the abuse of power usually perpetrated by the ruling class or the dominant ruling party (Bal et al, 2009). Cartoons are a form of social artifact used to highlight how language is specifically used in society to reflect social realities. Giarelli and Tulman (2003) reiterate that using language resources to attract public attention and interest by the media, journalists especially cartoonists harness both linguistic and non-linguistic elements ingeniously and persuasively to create effect in a literary or dramatic passion and to evoke a particular response from readers. The study further notes that such devices are employed purposely to communicate with the public to persuade them towards considering a particular topic from a different point of view to make them more receptive and to provide rational argument for making public opinion that may bring positive change in the society.

Lamb (2004) considers political cartoons as satirical artifacts used to lampoon political leaders and their contemptible policies. Cartoons depictions are usually satirical; their militant effects are just like that of armory used for launching attacks on the political leaders and the democratic process through pictorial depictions. Akkari (1991) too looks at satire as a literary genre that tends to present ideas in a thought provoking way, resulting in astonishment and laughter. Akkari (1991) explains that satire can be considered a rebellion against reality and an intellectual revolution against traditional axioms. It is known as black comedy; it simply tries to laugh at sorrows. Satire aims at attacking the current state of morality, policy, behaviour and thinking, which are as a result of previous practices. All these foreshadow dangers which need warnings and the satirical art is one type of these warnings (Omari, 2005).

Alsharabi (2012) studies the role of satirical writing and states that writers use satire to achieve the following goals:

- i. To deal with political issues mockingly in an indirect way that helps them escape punishment as when a satirist ridicules dictators and corrupt figures.
- ii. To help achieve social reform and maintain social unity through laughter which psychologists claim is used by a society to attack the people who do not respect social rules and to help reform such people.
- iii. To protect society against 'cultural invasion'. Westernization, for example, can be resisted by mocking the people who adopt western customs which clash with the social traditions of a certain society.
- iv. To bring about social change by unsettling social sediment. This way, satire performs the role of both criticizing and reforming societies (Alsharabi, 2012:21).

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 just like the reviewed studies 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 unlike the reviewed studies, the present study 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.

1.1.3 Language of Corruption

Language is a reflection of the society in which we reside. It is a reflection of societal ills, culture and the society's perception of the world (Trudgill, 1974). As language relays information, it demonstrates how a certain society takes in, processes, evaluates and conveys information. All the phenomena which develop in the society are relayed through linguistic resources and one of these phenomena according to Kamtchueng (2015) is corruption. The Oxford Dictionary (2002) defines corruption as perversion or destruction of integrity in the discharge of public duties by bribery or favour. According to the Anti-Corruption and Economic Act of 2003, corruption has been defined as an offence that involves bribery, fraud, embezzlement or misappropriation of public funds, abuse of office, breach of trust, or an offence involving dishonesty in connection with any tax, rate levied under any Act; or under any written law relating to the elections of persons to public office (The Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act, 2003).

Doig and Theobald (2000) distinguish types of corruption as political or grand corruption and bureaucratic or petty corruption. Political corruption takes place at the highest levels of political authority. In this case, the highly placed individuals exploit their positions to extract large bribes from national and trans-national corporations. These individuals appropriate significant pay-offs from contract scams, or embezzle large sums of money from the public treasury into private (often overseas) bank accounts. It is also noted that political corruption is not only about embezzlement of public funds, but also when policy formulation and legislation are tailored to benefit the legislators and politicians. Bureaucratic corruption also referred to as 'petty' or routine on the other hand, is the corruption in the public administration at the implementation end of politics. It is what citizens will experience daily in their encounter with public administration and institutions like hospitals, schools, customs offices and so on. Doig and Theobald (2000) however explain that bureaucratic and political

corruptions tend to go along and are mutually reinforcing. Political corruption is usually supported by widespread bureaucratic corruption in a pyramid of upward extraction. They also explain that corruption in high places is contagious to lower level officials, as these will follow the predatory examples of, or even take instructions from the principals. The present study majorly focused on political corruption as the corpus of analysis.

Corruption is an international concern and Africa has not been left out in the fight against corruption. Bayart (1993) argues that political office in Africa serves as an 'incubator' for the developing dominant classes. Bayart remarks that corruption is woven into the very fabric of the state in many African countries. Due to the frequent uncertainty surrounding holding office in these nations, numerous public officials may engage in a practice known as "straddling." This involves individuals and their families participating in various activities simultaneously to mitigate the risk associated with losing their official positions.

Wambui (2016) studies corruption in Kenya and points out that in Kenya, corruption manifests itself in both petty and grand corruption cases. She explains that petty corruption is where people have to pay money to obtain public services while grand corruption is a high level scandal that is often reported in Kenyan newspaper headlines involving substantial amounts of public funds. Wambui (2016) lists some of the scandals that have hit headlines since 2008 such as; The Maize Scam, Triton Oil Scandal, Free Primary Education Funds Misappropriation, The Eurobond Scam, Tokyo Embassy Scandal, Chicken Gate, National Youth Service Scandal, Ministry of Health Scandal, National Cereals and Produce Board Scandal among others and most recently the Arror and Kimwarer Dams Scandal where billions of public funds have been lost.

Wambui (2016) concludes that Kenya's image globally continues to deteriorate due to corruption hence losing the investor confidence and making development and

industrialization a pipe dream. Reported levels of corruption and bureaucratic interferences have negatively affected the performance of government institutions in Kenya. Therefore given the wide coverage that corruption gets in the Kenyan Daily Newspapers and the negative impact it has on the general populace, a lot of reactions have been elicited in a bid to lay bare what corruption is.

The studies cited above point to the fact that corruption is illegal and universally shameful and therefore people who engage in corrupt practices tend to be discreet. Agbota et al (2015) carried out an analysis of corruption metaphors language based on positive and avoidance contingencies of reinforcement. The study notes that parties to corrupt practices use expressions that accentuate this discreet behaviour, whether demanding or offering bribes. The language of corruption may share similarities with other verbal utterances, but functionally different depending on the context in which it is used. For instance, Henig (2013) says that “*beans for the kids*” in Kinsasha; “*a glass of wine*” in Paris and “*little carps*” in Prague do not only indicate something about local cuisines, but are also euphemisms for bribes (Henig, 2013:1). Both officials and clients use metaphors to avoid prosecution and social embarrassment.

Vian et al (2004) define the language of corruption as a figurative language of metaphors and euphemisms associated with soliciting and offering bribe. The use of language of corruption is a common phenomenon associated with the demand and supply sides of corrupt behaviour. According to Tagne (2015) the language of corruption in various countries is developing its lexicon and its linguistic features gradually and language users have developed myriads of ‘hygienic and camouflage ways’ to refer to the practice of this social ill. Patrick (2013) gives examples of various lexemes and expressions coined by language users in different countries in reference to bribe: ‘*cash for soup*’ in Turkey; ‘*token of gratitude*’ in China; ‘*money for tea*, in Afghanistan; ‘*beans for kids*’ in Kinsasha; ‘*gombo/kola*’ in Cameroon; ‘*glass of wine*’ in

Paris; ‘*chai yawazee/ tea for elders*’ Swahili expression in Kenya; ‘*something small/ kitu kidogo*’ in Kenya; ‘*gratitude/haalapenz*’ in Hungarian/ Mandarin; ‘*oiling money/ kanepenz*’ in Hungary (<http://www.pri.org/stories/2013-07-12/language-corruption-cash-soup-nokia-box>).

Tagne (2015)’s research project was aimed at showing how corruption has led to linguistic creativity in various parts of Sub – Saharan Africa, and it explains that this language also varies from one public domain to another, although there are some lexemes which cut across all the domains. The present study on the other hand, examines how corruption is portrayed in cartoons by establishing the source-objects of the pictorial metaphors.

Still on the language of corruption, Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007) observed that metaphors are euphemistic in that they are drawn upon in the conceptualization of corruption to hide the illicit nature of corrupt practices. They further note that a crucial factor contributing to the rationalization and normalization of corruption is the employment of euphemistic language. This allows individuals involved in corrupt activities to describe their actions in ways that downplay their offensiveness.

With regard to verbal behaviour, Skinner (1957) says that when a speaker uses a metaphor, the listener interprets it in a manner that reinforces the verbal response. It is further noted that metaphors can obscure the underlying factors of reinforcement for listeners who are not familiar with the social circumstances at play. Therefore ‘being in the know’ implies understanding a slang expression which is often metaphorical. It means to understand the actual factors governing a statement that is ambiguous, or that is structurally ambiguous, but still it is not taken literally. If one is a member of verbal community, one reinforces them according to the norms of the verbal community because one has learnt the behaviour of reinforcing metaphoric verbal behaviour from the members of the culture, and this is

especially relevant of corruption behavior, where metaphors serve to soften or obscure the true nature of actions through language (Skinner, 1957).

The present study just like the highlighted studies is on corruption but unlike the reviewed studies which have dealt with the semantics of language of corruption, the present study is an analysis of visual portrayal of corruption in Kenya through political cartoons of the Daily Nation Newspapers. At the same time, while the reviewed studies have analyzed the use of verbal metaphor in language of corruption to conceal its ill nature, the present study sought to establish how pictorial metaphors portrayed corruption with a view of highlighting the language of cartoon. The present study further examined the image-text integration in interpretation of the pictorial metaphors to establish how cartoons use language as an artistic medium in which various options of language are explored for effective communication.

1.1.4 Multimodality

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) define multimodality as the use of more than one mode of communication to a text to create meaning. According to Kress (2009), mode refers to a socially and culturally shaped resource for making meaning for instance, image, writing, layout, speech, moving images and so on.

Kress notes that people communicate in different ways, so it is important to be aware of the different modes used in communication to fully understand the meanings that are being conveyed. These can be broken down into five categories; First, linguistic mode which focuses on meaning of written or spoken language in communication, for example, choice of words, vocabulary, grammar, structure etc. Second, visual mode which focuses on the meaning of what can be seen by a viewer and this includes colour, layout, font type, and size et cetera. Third, aural mode which focuses on the meaning of what can be heard by a listener and it includes sound effects, music and voice. Fourth, is gestural mode which focuses on the

meaning of communication through movement which includes facial expressions, gestures, body language and interactions between people. Fifth, spatial mode which focuses on meaning of communication through physical layout which includes position, spacing, the distance between the elements in a text, proximity between people/objects and so on.(Kress, 2009 p. 20).

Adami (2015) too describes multimodality as a combination of different semiotic resources, or modes in texts and communicative events such as still and moving image, speech, writing, layout, gesture or proxemics. She further explains that the term is not only used by multimodal analysts, but also, by works in disciplines concerned with texts and meaning such as linguistics and communication studies, all of which, tend to devote their analytical focus on language.

Jewitt (2013) talks of four key assumptions with regard to multimodality. First, the study says that all communication is multimodal, though this is disputed by the present study which recognizes existence of mono-modal cartoons. Second, analyses focused solely on language cannot adequately account for meaning. Third, each mode has specific affordances arising from its materiality and from its social histories which shape its resources to fulfill given communicative needs. Lastly, modes concur together, each with specialized role to meaning making; hence relations among modes are vital to understand every instance of communication.

The views on multimodality are shared among many studies, and Bateman (2011) reiterates that communication always involves the use of multiple modes and their intermodal relationships contribute to meaning-making; and that meaning is construed through selection and configuration of different modes in interactions. The study also points out that resources

used by interaction are socially shaped over time to create a shared cultural sense of the way in which they can convey meaning.

In conclusion, it is therefore noted that multimodal expression, thus, is highly context-dependent, with multimodal meanings construed within specific social and cultural contexts, based on the communicative needs of different communities or cultures. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) posit that a text does not need to contain all the mentioned modes to be considered multimodal; it can contain two or more. This is a view that is also shared by the pictorial metaphor model.

This background information is important in the achievement of objective two of the present study which determines modality of pictorial cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. The information aids in giving knowledge on how different modes are identified in a text and how they integrate for the overall meaning of the text which is in line with the present study. The only parting point is that while this sub-section addresses multimodality in general, the present study focuses on multimodality specifically in political cartoons also referred to as pictorial metaphors.

1.1.5 The Media

According to Trotman (2000), media refers to TV, radio and print media. The concept of media typically includes print media (newspapers, magazines, books), electronic media (radio, TV, film, video, records) and the most recent is the online media that constitutes internet based forms such as blogs and websites.

Jukka and Kaale (2010) explain that the core function of media is journalism but it extends to entertainment, arts, education as well as business. The mass media play a role in facilitating social change and promoting national development. They are tasked with aiding the shift towards new customs, practices, and sometimes different social relationships. Jukka and

Kaale further state that the behavior change expected after interacting with media should include changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills and social norms.

Besides the broadcast media of television and radio, there exists print media that can be in the form of books, magazines and newspapers; newspapers being the focus of the present study. Tinega (2013) observes that throughout the world when one talks of journalism they predominantly have the press in mind – a term that generally means newspapers. The term press connotes the print media and more specifically newspapers (Merill, 1983).

Turrow (2011) defines newspapers as printed products created on a regular (weekly or daily) basis and released in multiple copies. Based on the definition, newspapers were nonexistent prior to Johannes Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in the middle 1400s and although this made it possible for newspapers to be produced, having the technical means did not lead to an immediate surge in newspaper publishing (Tinega, 2013). Printing with the Gutenberg press commenced in 1453 with the first English language newspaper appearing around the year 1620 (Loksley, 2009).

In Kenya, just like in all other countries, the media plays a crucial role in the development of the country. The Kenyan media is among the most vibrant in Africa and indeed in the developing world; as thus Kenyans have been accorded wide access to both broadcast and print media (MCK, 2011). The newspaper industry in Kenya has developed over the years with the readership and circulation being highly dependent on the type of newspaper and the target group (Tinega, 2013).

The Nation Media Group (NMG), which is the focus of the present study, started its publications in 1959. *The Daily Nation* is available from Monday to Friday while *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* are published on Saturdays and Sundays respectively. These publications provide news ranging from politics, business and sports in Africa and across the

world. NMG also publishes *The Business Daily* which concentrates on business news in Kenya and its neighbours in the East African region. *The East African* is another publication of the NMG which focuses on all aspects of news affecting the East African region. The group also publishes *Taifa Leo* which is a shorter version and Swahili equivalent of *The Daily Nation* and *Taifa Jumapili*, a *Taifa Leo* equivalent published on Sundays. Other publications in Kenya are *The Standard*, *The People*, *Kenya Times* and *The Star*. The largest newspaper circulation is *The Daily Nation* followed by *The Standard*, *Taifa Leo*, *The Star*, *Business Daily* and *The People* in that order (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013).

Zafar (2016) compared the effectiveness of the print media to that of the electronic media citing advertisement which represents other functions of the media. Zafar points out that the benefits of advertising through print media may outweigh those of advertising through electronic media. The unique visual appeal and language content conveyed through print media appear to be more effective compared to the audio-visual messages delivered through electronic media. The printed advertisements have a tendency to capture the attention of the reader subconsciously even when the reader is not consciously looking for them. Printed advertisements are more structured and therefore, will trigger controlled responses in the minds of the audience or reader. Print media provides the consumer with a cost-effective and portable choice of reading. Zafar (2016)'s views may not be totally supported by the present study which is of the opinion that audio-visual messages may have a longer lasting effect on the receiver and again with the advent of the mobile phones, electronic media could be more portable than the print media. However, the print media is still a suitable source of political cartoons as it gives the readers sufficient time to think, act and react.

Still, the lack of dependency on electronic modes of communication and easy availability gives the print media an edge over electronic media. Newspapers, flyers and product

packaging reaches the consumers' residence through newspaper vendors and home delivery, and they purchase magazines based on a conscious choice on their part, unknowingly bringing home advertisements which sponsors of the magazine promote. Tangibility remains to be an advantage for the customer. Whether the customer wants to see the advertisements or not, his gaze will cross it in the course of his scanning for the reading material he is actually looking for. He cannot flick the channel or click to remove the advertisement from sight like he could do with electronic media. Print media has a longer engaging power, which holds the viewer/reader's interest till he turns the page (Zafar, 2016). The present study thus is portrayal of corruption in print media cartoons, specifically in *The Daily Nation Newspaper* which has been the newspaper with the largest circulation translating to the widest readership in Kenya (Nyabuga and Booker, 2013). The present study gives the portrayal of corruption of the Kenyan citizens through the eyes of the cartoonist and subsequently; examines the text-image integration in the interpretation of the cartoons' language use.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Political cartoons are widely used by the media and it raises curiosity as to why it is given so much attention. The language of cartoons is indirect in that it is characterized by satirical and metaphorical pictures as well as codified and connotative wordings which make 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 cartoon therefore has 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. The language of cartoons makes use of different modes which include image, text, colour, sound, smell, size and syntactic structures which are carefully integrated to communicate the

intended meaning. Given the unique nature of the 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 therefore seeks to analyse the semiotic and the semantic aspects of the language of cartoons, with specific focus on portrayal of corruption 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.

1.3. Research Questions

- i. How do source-objects depict corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper?
- ii. What is the modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper?
- iii. How are texts integrated in the multi-modal political cartoons of corruption metaphorically used in the Daily Nation Newspaper?

1.4. Research Objectives

- i. To examine how the source-objects depict corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper.
- ii. To determine modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper.
- iii. To establish the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multi-modal political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper.

1.5. Scope of the Study

The study is restricted to cartoons depicting corruption in the Daily Nation Newspapers between 2018 and 2019. This is a period which marked the first years of president Uhuru's second term in office and the year of the '*handshake*'; the advent of a new regime in Kenya that declared 'zero tolerance' on corruption. Corruption is defined as the abuse of public office for private gain and includes both bureaucratic and political corruption. The analysis is carried out within the scope of pictorial metaphors model that explains the visual portrayal of abstract concepts like corruption in terms of more concrete concepts. Hence, it cuts across both semiotics as it analyses signs and symbols, and at the same time has aspects of cognitive linguistics in the case of metaphors.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

The major limitation of this kind of research is subjectivity. There may be subjectivity with regard to interpretation of the political cartoons. Cartoons are metaphoric in nature and hence need to be construed and interpreted by mapping features of the source onto the target. However, there are cases whereby a viewer/ reader may have idiosyncratic experiences with a phenomenon such that a particular juxtaposition with another phenomenon makes him/her have an individual interpretation. Interpretation of cartoons therefore depends on the reader's alertness, awareness of themes in a representation as a whole, extra-textual knowledge, personal experiences and beliefs. To guard against subjectivity, the researcher strived to bring out the most basic meaning of the sampled political cartoons with focus made on depiction of corruption which is the point of reference. The study avoided interviewing other individuals on their different interpretations of the cartoons as this could lead to linguistic fallacies. This is to say that it allows illegitimate arguments or irrelevant points that could undermine the logic of the researcher's arguments.

1.7. Justification

Cartoons function as communication tools in society. Political cartoons are widely used in newspapers not just to entertain but also to inform. They are satirical in nature and have rich linguistic structures that are creatively used by cartoonists to castigate social misdeeds like corruption and this made it a suitable corpus of study for the present study.

Corruption is a menace to Kenyan citizens. Reports on corruption scandals in the daily newspapers is the order of the day in Kenya and the country cannot afford the political, social and economic costs that it entails. The attention that corruption has elicited from both the political and the social arenas therefore made it a worthy topic for research.

The print media is one of the key champions in the fight against corruption. The choice of the Daily Nation Newspaper was not only informed by its audience base, agenda-setting influence and circulation reach in Kenya but because of its content too. The newspaper was established during the time of political turbulence and struggle for independence and Pan-Africanism as a voice for the majority African population and even after independence it has remained an effective voice of the people. The paper features an editorial section with cartoons which are not only a source of entertainment but also offer a forum for addressing social agenda like corruption. The Daily Nation Newspaper was thus the source of data for the present study.

Cartoons are based on current news and political cartooning is inspired by the situations around the cartoonist. The period of the years 2018 and 2019, which was a period characterized by mega corruption scandals in Kenya such as The Maize Scam, Triton Oil Scandal, Free Primary Education Funds Misappropriation, The Eurobond Scam, Tokyo Embassy Scandal, Chicken Gate, National Youth Service Scandal, Ministry of Health Scandal, National Cereals and Produce Board Scandal among others and most recently the

Error and Kimwarer Dams Scandal, was also the year of the ‘*handshake*’ therefore provided adequate data for the present study.

Semiotics as a linguistic choice is grounded on the fact that linguists argue that analyses focused solely on language cannot adequately account for meaning. Semiotics is multimodal but it has the weakness of the inability to distinguish between implicit and explicit messages. In filling this knowledge gap, the present study analyzed the implicit and the explicit messages in the political cartoons.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

This section covers the theoretical framework of the study. The present study is premised on pictorial metaphor model (Forceville, 2006), a model of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1981). Pictorial metaphor model, hence, cannot be discussed independently without reference to CMT.

1.8.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was primarily developed by George Lakoff within the field of Cognitive Linguistics. The main proponents of the conceptual metaphor theory are George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define a metaphor as a way of perceiving one thing in terms of another and that the primary function of a metaphor is to enhance understanding. It could also be defined as a figure of speech that makes a comparison between two things that are basically dissimilar. In other words, “A metaphor describes one object as being or having the characteristics of a second object, for example, *Life is a dream*” (Damrosch, 1985: 990).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that human communication is intrinsically metaphorical, and that human communication as we know it could not exist without metaphor. They add that our most essential mental concepts like time and space are inherently suffused with

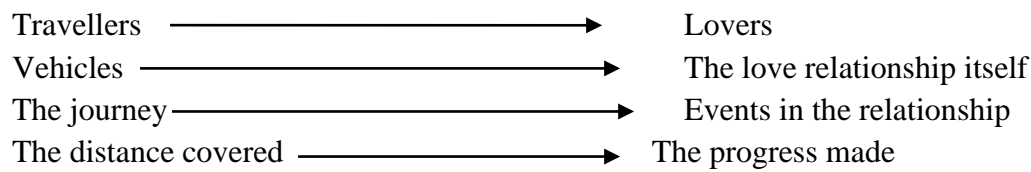
metaphorical descriptions, so that “The way we think, what we experience and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:3). A conceptual metaphor is defined as understanding a more abstract conceptual domain in terms of a less abstract and a more concrete domain 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.

Source Domain: Journey

Target Domain: Love



From these mappings, one thus gets linguistic metaphors such as, *Look how far we've come, We've hit a dead-end street, We can't turn back now* and so on (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:44).

C.M.T. states that conceptual metaphor is grounded to physical experience. Gibbs (2006) argues that conceptual metaphors enable us to quantify, visualize and generalize about the abstract, because they make use of relationships within source domains that we know well from our concrete experience. The theory further explains that we talk about mental processes in terms of physical perception. In other words, metaphors are basically motivated by bodily experience. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:21) give example of conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING from whose concept we have an expression like; *I could not grasp his explanation*. In this case, understanding is likened to grasping as with physical objects. Whenever one grasps something and holds it in the hands, one can look it over carefully and get a reasonably good understanding of it.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) assert that human cognition is organized, in skeletal form, in conceptual schemes which constitute cognitive models of some aspects of the world and that it is the models that we use in comprehending our experience and reasoning about it. Cognitive models are not conscious models and are used automatically and effortlessly. CMT further states that such schemes are constantly enriched and modified by people's interaction with the world. Language draws from these cognitive models but it is not identical with them. Consequently, verbal metaphors are surface manifestations of metaphorical thinking therefore it reiterates that metaphor is fundamentally conceptual and not linguistic in nature.

In conclusion therefore, metaphor occupies a central role in our conceptual structure. Rather than being simply aesthetic literary phenomenon, it is conceived a primarily cognitive device structuring human thought and action. CMT is based on the following principles: metaphor is primarily a cognitive mechanism; metaphor involves understanding a domain of experience; metaphor is to be regarded as a mapping and any linguistic metaphor or metaphoric expression is an instantiation of a conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, 2006).

1.8.2 Pictorial Metaphor Model

The present study is premised on the Pictorial Metaphor model by Forceville (2006) as already mentioned in section 1.8. According to Forceville (2006), all discourse is persuasive in the sense of aiming for some sort of cognitive, emotional or aesthetic effect, or all three together, in its envisaged audience. Verbal messages and texts in communication are often complemented, or even superseded, by information in other signifying systems. For instance, printed material like advertisements, manuals, instruction books, maps, graphics, cartoons et cetera usually combine, and establish interactions between verbal and pictorial information.

The pictorial metaphor model is based on conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), as earlier discussed. One of the tenets of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is that metaphor is not a figure of speech, but a mode of thought that can occur in other modes than language alone (Lakoff, 1993). More specifically, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson claim that human beings conceptualize abstract ideas in terms of concrete experiences, the latter being experiences that pertain directly to the body, that is, sense perception, motor activity, physical pain and pleasure, heat and cold and so on. This aspect of the theory is referred to as '*embodiment*' (Lakoff, 1993:102). Forceville (1996) submits that analyses are extended from merely verbal discourse to pictorial and multimodal discourse. The theory further points out that it is important to focus such analyses on discourses in a specific genre and political cartoon is one of the multimodal genres often addressed within CMT.

Black (1979), states that a metaphor imposes an identity relation between two ‘things’ that are conventionally considered as belonging to different categories in which the result is usually an untrue statement, for instance, “*MAN IS A WOLF*”. Each metaphor has two parts. According to Black (1979), the first ‘literal’ part was called the *tenor, topic or primary subject* and its second, ‘figurative’ part the *vehicle or secondary subject*. Forceville (2016) explains that these two are now called target domain and source domain respectively. In ‘*THE WORLD IS A STAGE*’ and ‘*FOOTBAL IS WAR*’, ‘*world*’ and ‘*football*’ are the metaphors’ targets, ‘*stage*’ and ‘*war*’ their sources. Both targets and source evoke a network of features and connotations. They are part of a ‘semantic domain’, as long as this labeling does not obscure the awareness that attitudinal, emotive, as well as belief-related dimensions are part and parcel of both target and source domains, moreover, pragmatic considerations such as genre attribution also play a role in interpretation.

Often, the underlying identity relation between target and source (‘A IS B’) is not already linguistically given in this form, but must be inferred from the metaphors’ surface manifestation. For instance, in the linguistic expression ‘If your heart surrenders, you’ll need me to hold’, cue LOVE IS A BATTLEFIELD without having the convenient “A IS B” surface structure.

Three important points are to be made:

- i. A metaphor often needs to be construed; and not every reader/ viewer/ analyst will do so.
- ii. Sometimes, a target domain is to be recruited completely from extra-textual cues, for instance, when a textually presented and exploited source domain suggests a state of affairs in the world that is critically evaluated in the metaphor (BAD STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE WORLD) IS REPRESENTED ACTIONS. Among other things,

this is a way to escape censorship; for example, of animation films ‘for children’ in dictatorial regimes, or fables.

- iii. If the A and B are not already verbally given in the surface construction, the underlying A and B are to be labelled by the analyst, and this labeling may subtly ‘change’ the metaphor. LOVE IS A BATTLE is not exactly the same as LOVE IS WAR and LOVE IS A STRUGGLE (Forceville, 2016: 4).

Black (1979) explains that once target and source have been construed, the metaphor is ready to be interpreted. Metaphor interpretation 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.

Cameron et al (2009) remark that in view of the growing awareness that metaphors are dynamic, invited actions are capable of elaboration and refinement. Cameron et al note that it may be useful to replace the standard formula A is B by the formula A – ING IS B – ING, to emphasize that most metaphors function by inviting mapping what can be (mentally) done with/to/by ...the source domain onto what can be (mentally) done with/ to/ by ... the target domain.

Pictorial (or visual) metaphors are mono-modal, that is to say, their target and source are entirely rendered in visual terms, just as their verbal counterparts have a target and source entirely rendered in language. For anything to be a metaphor, pictorial or otherwise, the following three questions should be capable of being answered: (i) What are the two domains? (ii) What is the target domain?, and what is its source domain? (iii) Which feature or structured cluster of features can or must be mapped from source to target? (Forceville, 1996: 108). Forceville (2016) however, explains that identification of the target and source

domains and the mappings may pose challenges to non-verbal and multi-modal communication. In verbal metaphors, answering the first two questions is often considerably facilitated by language's combination of linearity and syntactic rules, which help distinguish between grammatical subjects "A" and the metaphorical predicates "B", for example in the expression '*butchers are surgeons*' and '*surgeons are butchers*'. BUTCHERS ARE SURGEONS has a positive connotation as it depicts butchers as being as skillful as surgeons while SURGEONS ARE BUTCHERS has a negative connotation portraying surgeons as unskillful and not caring about their patients. This makes it easy to assess the metaphors of each, and the difference between them. In pictures however, particularly static ones, there is no such linearity, nor grammatical 'rules' for disambiguating target and source, so that target and source must be identified as such on other grounds.

The second issue that makes pictorial metaphors different from verbal ones is the labelling of target and source. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) demonstrate that verbal metaphors of various syntactic are manifestations of a conceptual metaphor that can be captured in a paradigmatic A is B format. But in pictorial metaphors, these entities need to be 'translated' into the conceptual A IS B format for them to be academically discussable.

According to Jewit (2013), multimodality involves enlisting more than one mode in communication: spoken language, written language, visuals, music, sound, gestures, smell, taste and touch. On the basis of this subdivision, Forceville, (2016) proposes to distinguish mono modal and multi modal metaphor. The similarity between target and source in multi modal metaphor is cued by 'resemblance' between them; this resemblance can take many forms. The similarity between target and source in multimodal metaphor is cued by co-referentiality. An example is given of 'a seemingly smiling Orang – Utang accompanied by the text *Mona Lisa* in a billboard for the Amsterdam Zoo Artis, yielding ORANG – UTANG IS MONA LISA (Forceville, 1996:158). There is also co-occurrence, for instance; an

animated corn-cob and French bean solemnly stride toward a church – like package, accompanied by the tune of Wedding March, yielding CONCORB AND FRENCH ARE BRIDE AND GROOM, (Forceville, 2009:388). Forceville 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.

Forceville (1996) distinguishes four types of pictorial metaphor:

1. Contextual metaphor

An object is metaphorized because of visual context in which it is placed. An example is a *Dove hair-silk* advertisement from Holland, with the slogan, ‘*Your hair, too, sometimes deserve a treat*’, resulting in the metaphor HAIR-SILK IS ICECREAM. The spoon in the hair-silk advert is, in this example, the most important contextual element that cues the source domain ‘ice cream’.

The mapped feature is the notion of spoiling yourself with luxury food. The picture is shown in figure 1.



Figure 1. (Forceville, 1996:6)

2. Hybrid metaphor

Two objects that are normally distinct entities are physically merged to a single ‘gestalt.’ Two phenomena are visually represented as occupying the same space in a manner that is physically impossible. An example is an advertisement for the Dutch supermarket chain *Albert Heijn*, which shows CLOGS ARE RUNNING SHOES metaphor, with the headline ‘*There is a reason why our spinach is deep-frozen so fast*’, the body specifying that quick deep – freezing best preserves vitamins. The clogs metonymically refer to the farmer who harvests the spinach; the running shoes refer metonymically to a sprinting athlete, and thus cue the mapped feature of ‘speed’. The picture is shown in figure 2.



Figure 2. (Forceville, 1996:7)

Pictorial simile

Two objects are represented in their entirety in such a way that they are made to look similar. The techniques available to cue this similarity are manifold: similarity in form, position, colour, lighting and function. An example is an advertisement for Nokia mobile phones, featuring a matchstick and a phone against a white background. In between the two pictures there is the text ‘*Simply ingenious.*’ The resulting metaphor can be verbalized as MOBILE PHONE IS A MATCHSTICK. The features mapped from matchstick to phone are,

presumably, the proverbial brilliance associated with its invention and its small size. The picture is shown in Figure 3

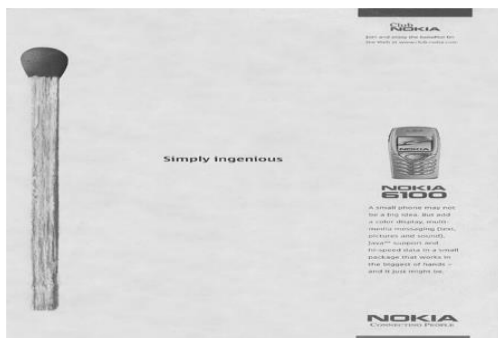


Figure 3. (Forceville, 1996:9)

3. Integrated metaphor.

A phenomenon experienced as a unified object or gestalt is represented in its entirety in such a manner that it resembles another object or gestalt even without contextual cues. *Philip's Senseo coffee machine* suggests, through the curved shape of the reservoir and a plateau on which the cups must be placed, a waiter or butler courteously serving coffee. Hence, A COFFEE MACHINE IS A WAITER conceptual metaphor. The picture is shown in figure 4.



Figure 4. (Forceville, 1996:10)

According to Forceville (2006), a distinction can be postulated between explicitly signaled metaphors and implicitly signaled metaphors. The implicitly signaled metaphors pertain to phenomena that can, but need not, be construed as a metaphor to make sense. Forceville notes that such freedom is mostly restricted to metaphors of the pictorial simile variety. In this variety, the presence of a certain phenomenon can sometimes be explained on other grounds than to serve as a metaphorical source. Whether viewers will construe a metaphor in this case

depends on their alertness, awareness of themes in a representation as a whole, extra-textual knowledge, personal experiences and beliefs.

Therefore, a metaphor is sometimes construable even though it was not consciously intended as such by its maker. For instance, a representation may be accessed in a different cultural context, where a source domain has mapped connotations not present in the cultural context in which the metaphor was produced. For example, a dragon, which in Western mythology is a scary creature whereas in Chinese mythology it is associated with luck. There are also cases whereby a viewer has highly idiosyncratic experiences with a phenomenon such that a particular juxtaposition with another phenomenon makes her construe a metaphor not available to anybody else. In short, the construal and interpretation of such implicitly signaled metaphors depends on the interpreter, including the interpreter's cultural background (Kovecses, 2005), while the responsibility for the derivation of explicitly signaled metaphors is the responsibility of the maker which in the case of the present study is the cartoonist (Forceville, 2006).

Forceville and Urios – Aparisi (2009) remark that most of the research on visual and multi-modal metaphor has focused its use in advertising where the communicative purpose is to attract the attention of potential customers to create cognitive links between the product and some desirable abstract quality. Because of this, visual metaphors in advertising are often highly creative and unusual. In the case of political cartoons, which is the focus of the present study, Forceville and Urios – Aparisi (2009) state that we are dealing with a completely different genre, with its own distinctive styles, conventions and communicative purposes. 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 tricky, original, and/or humorous way. The field of politics is often complex and bewildering, and cartoons offer a way of explaining the significance of real life events and characters through the means of an

imaginary scenario. A generic convention of cartooning, in contrast to advertising, is that the goal is generally to expose something bad or shameful rather than highlight the positive. It is further pointed out that cartoonists will thus often fall back on stereotypes and systematic metaphorical concepts that represent the complexity of the world in simpler and often very negative terms.

Oriental metaphors, which link spatial orientation with more abstract meanings, seem to be particularly common in political cartoons (Urios – Aparisi, 2009). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), our physical and cultural experience of the up – down orientation, for instance; motivates a whole range of common metaphors, including HIGH STATUS IS UP/ LOW STATUS IS DOWN and HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP/ BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN. In cartoons, size is commonly used to indicate relative salience or importance of the various elements and since a difference in size is closely linked to up – down orientation, it can also imply power differentials (El Refaie, 2003:85).

Edwards (1995), in her analysis of US newspaper cartoons about the '88 Primaries, for instance, found out that Democratic candidates were frequently represented as the Seven Dwarfs, which conveyed the message that they were all equally irrelevant, weak and powerless. Another example of how size can be filled with metaphorical meaning is a cartoon portraying the British Prime Minister Tony Blair as powerless by the American administration. There is the use of a giant boot intended to express the utter indifference of US administration toward the UK. The cowboy boot represents the whole administration and current US culture's attitude. In this case the intention was thus to use exaggerated size to signify the abuse of power and force, rather than simply increase salience of this visual element. The cartoon is shown in figure 5.



Figure 5. (Forceville and Urios – Uparisi, 2009:177)

Kress (2000) says that some authors believe that there are significance differences regarding what the visual and the verbal mode are able to convey effectively. For instance, the visual mode differs from language in that it is simply not possible to represent abstract meaning visually without recourse to symbols, metonymies, or metaphors (El Rafeie, 2003). For example, in the above example in figure 5, the concept of unequal relationship between the British Prime Minister and the American President could not have been expressed literally in pictorial format and had to be translated into a metaphorical image. Conversely, because images always represent a particular instance of someone or something, they are more specific than words, capturing nuances of meaning that would be hard to convey through language. The theory explains that images often evoke profound emotional responses which are hard to explain and of which the viewer may not always be entirely conscious. The precise look of the cowboy boot and Tony Blair's facial expression, for instance, speak volumes about the cartoonist opinion of both politicians (Forceville and Urios – Aparisi, 2009).

Cartoons also use foregrounding to indicate salience as given by Forceville and Urios–Uparisi (2009). The cartoon was published on the day of 2004 US Presidential elections.



Figure 6. (Forceville and Urios – Uparasi, 2009: 178)

Forceville and Urios – Uparasi (2009) explain that even at a glance, we recognize that the larger-than-life match box is clearly essential to the argument the cartoonist is trying to make. The central metaphor in this cartoon is based on the representation of George Bush as a small child, which could be conceptualized as **FORMER PRESIDENT BUSH IS A TODDLER** metaphor. In formal terms, this can be described as a mono-modal metaphor of the pictorial variety, or, more specifically, as a hybrid (Forceville, 1996) or fusion metaphor (Carroll, 1996) where the target and the source are visually amalgamated into one spatially bounded object. Bell (2004) explains that such fusion is very common in political cartoons, since caricatures often overlay the features of a famous personality onto any imaginable being or object. And provided the caricatured personality is recognized, this type of visual metaphor should work perfectly well without the support of a verbal label. Here the face of George Bush, the target of the metaphor, is amalgamated with the body of a toddler, which represents the source. Once both target and source have been identified, the reader is invited to map properties of a prototypical toddler.

The study concludes that the given examples demonstrate that newspaper cartoons are typically about more than just the characteristics of a person. Rather, they tend to represent a particular situation, event or action in terms of something else. This concept requires the

cartoon to be read as a narrative, representing not just participants, but also events and temporal sequence. Forceville (2006) submits that analyses are extended from merely verbal discourse to pictorial and multi-modal discourse and that it is important to focus such analyses on discourses in specific genre and political cartoon is one of the multimodal genres addressed within CMT.

Therefore, based on the tenets of pictorial metaphor model, namely;

- i. Human beings conceptualize abstract ideas in terms of concrete experiences.
- ii. Metaphors have target domains and source domains, sometimes a target domain is recruited completely from extra-textual cues and once target and source domains have been construed, the metaphor is ready to be interpreted.
- iii. Interpretation of a metaphor involves mapping of features associated with the source on to the target.
- iv. There are both mono modal and multimodal metaphors.
- v. Mono modal metaphor could be 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 (Forceville, 2016:4);

The present study analyzed the visual portrayal of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper cartoons and the eventual realization of the study objectives by identifying the source and target domains of the pictorial metaphors, interpreting the metaphors by mapping the features of the source domains on to the target domain, categorizing the mono modal and multi modal metaphors basing the arguments on the definitions provided by the theory and finally interpreting the text-image integration in the multi modal metaphors.

In conclusion, in order to achieve the second objective of the study, a lot of inter-dependency was realized between pictorial metaphor model and multimodal theory by (Kress and Van

Leeuwen, 2006). Both theories consider the varied forms of meaning-making that extend beyond language and enhance the semiotic process. Multimodal theory states that multimodality refers to the use of more than one mode of communication to a text to create meaning, which is also the argument held by pictorial metaphor model. It is also noted that multimodality involves the interplay between different representational modes, for instance, between images and written/spoken word. Multimodal representations mediate the socio-cultural ways in which these modes are combined in the communication process (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001).

The discussions on the modality of the cartoons are therefore underpinned by both the pictorial metaphor model and multimodal theory. This study however noted that pictorial metaphor model is more limited in scope - which is a knowledge gap- but in achievement of the objectives of the present study, it sufficed.

This theoretical background information was important to the present study which analyzed the portrayal of corruption (abstract concept) in political cartoons (concrete concept) in the Daily Nation Newspaper.

1.9. Summary

Chapter one has focused on background information on the language of cartoons, the language of corruption, print media, multimodality, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study, the scope of the study, justification of the study and theoretical framework. The chapter has aided in identification of knowledge gaps and introduced key concepts in this study. At the same time it has defined and highlighted the language of cartoon, corruption, the media and multimodality. The chapter further gives explanation on the justification and the aim of the study. Hence, it grounds and introduces the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews literature on the portrayal of corruption in print media cartoons. The reviews include source domains of corruption metaphors, modality of pictorial metaphors and language of cartoons. The reviewed literature aided in the identification of knowledge gaps and gave insight into information that may have been overlooked by the present study.

2.2 Source Domains of Corruption Metaphors

This section reviews literature on source domains of corruption metaphor and aided in achievement of objective one. Metaphors figuratively show how we conceptualize phenomena, in this case, corruption. Forceville and Urios-Uparisi (2009) state that 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 tricky, original, and/or humorous way. They also point out that the field of politics is often complex and bewildering, and cartoons offer a way of explaining the significance of real life events and characters through the means of an imaginary scenario. The goal of cartooning is generally to expose something bad or shameful rather than highlight the positive. It is further pointed out that cartoonists will thus often fall back on stereotypes and systematic metaphorical concepts that represent the complexity of the world in simpler and often very negative terms.

Okunrinmeta and Alabi (2014) carried out an empirical study in Nigeria which showed that metaphors as *lion, dog, hyena, vulture, cobra, locust, leech, tortoise* and *virus* among others share some traits with the corrupt officials that they depict in the selected works. The study examines how corruption metaphors are conceptualized within Nigerian cultural setting as illustrated in Olafioye's *'The Parliament of Idiots'* which partly reads:

They shared the elephant: Arms, legs, and limbs flesh, carcass, and tusks. Its heart gulped in a flash. The foxes provided for themselves And over gorged their oesophagus Like dogs they barked backwards They played the lions, And wildebeests without tails. These tribal hyenas.....Are locusts that ruin the crops..... Abuja, round the clock Nothing went to sleep there In case he sneezed from his chain snore The madam too, her cortege of ghostly fops.....The vultures , tortoises and cobras

We know which way they flew, what leeches.....Sank sly proboscis deep in open veins And piped our life bloodThe python with which one sleeps at night on the same bed..... The virus that decimates a plant, Lives amidst its leaves, (Okunkrinmeta and Alabi, 2014: pp 34-39).

Corrupt officials just like the metaphors that represent them are greedy, selfish, dangerous, discriminatory, exploitative, oppressive, brutal, callous, cunning, wasteful, reckless, pretentious, unreliable and morally rotten. Okunkrinmeta and Alabi explain that according to the Yoruba, the dog which is meant to be loyal to its master, is identified as being unreliable in the sense that when lured with food, then it does things contrary to what it is told to do. The lion which is recognized as the king of the jungle, instead of using its power to protect the animals over which it rules, it hunts and kills them for food. The hyena too devours other carnivores such as dogs hence the metaphor expresses the feeling of oppression, terror and hatred that exist among the corrupt leaders. The vulture, a scavenger bird which devours carcasses, is known as being greedy and wasteful. Snakes such as cobras and pythons portray how dangerous and greedy the corrupt politicians are; keeping the prey in the mouth for themselves. Locusts invade farmland and ruin crops just the same way corrupt leaders squander the resources of the country. The leech metaphor also has been used to bring out the exploitative tendencies of the corrupt leaders who drain the treasury the same way a leech sucks blood from animals. Lastly is the tortoise metaphor which represents the cunning

nature of the leaders. The study therefore concludes that corrupt leaders are highly destructive to Nigeria as a nation. This is thus a study on conceptualization of corrupt officials in Nigeria while the present study on the other hand, is an analysis of how corruption is portrayed through cartoons in the print media in Kenya.

Isyaku et al (2016) studied the use of corruption metaphors in the online newspapers of three countries: Nigeria, Iraq and Malaysia in order to determine how the media of the different countries conceptualize corruption. The research adopted Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the framework for the study. It was understood that Nigerian online newspapers made use of more metaphors to capture corruption than the Iraq and Malaysian editorials. The three most frequent metaphors used by Nigerian editorials as brought out in the linguistic metaphors were those related to *concepts (The deep **stains** of corruption); war (This **battle** of the soul and survival of Nigeria) and man (I will bring corruption to its **knees**)* while for Iraq, it was the metaphors of corruption being a *culture (putting a stop to pervasive **culture** of corruption); war (Regulatory processes hampered joint efforts to **combat** corruption) and cancer (Iraq's political leaders have so far lacked will to fight **the cancer** of corruption)* that were frequently used in their editorials. The Malaysian editorials, however conceptualized corruption with the mappings of *an orientation (Inflation of resources is unlikely to **take toll** on Great Eastern Life as they could not afford to **take the path** of least corruption); virus (The economic situation is **recovering from the infection** of corruption) and war (He said these **attacks** on the nation are done by Malaysia's corrupt officials)*, (Isyaku et al, 2016: pp. 78-80).

The study findings therefore identified the conceptual metaphors: CORRUPTION IS WAR (destructive and devastating war, crusade, combating fighting); CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE (cancer, hemorrhage, bleeding, scourge, bad ulcer, comatose); CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL (cow, worm, monster, scavengers); CORRUPTION IS A PLANT (tree, crop

plant, seedling, seed and iroko); CORRUPTION IS DIRT (stains, sanitation, clean hands); CORRUPTION IS A DISASTER (plague, fire, disaster, earthquake, flames, core and epicenter); CORRUPTION IS A HABIT (culture, way of life) CORRUPTION IS A MAN (enemy, man, malevolence, harming, denying, malicious, native, birth and woman source domains).It was concluded that all the countries in their portrayal of CORRUPTION AS WAR that needs to be fought because of its evil nature and that online news media of Nigeria, Iraq and Malaysia have used corruption metaphors as the lens through which journalists report their news to the public. Just like this research which is a study on conceptualization of corruption, the present study analyzes portrayal of corruption in cartoons within pictorial metaphor model. While the reviewed study is a comparative study on conceptualization of corruption by three countries, the present study not only studies conceptualization of corruption in Kenya but also establishes how text and image integrate to bring out the message in cartoons.

Bratu and Kazoka (2018) just like other reviewed studies carried out a research on corruption metaphors. They explored the symbolic dimension of corruption by looking at the metaphors employed to represent corruption in the newspaper coverage in United Kingdom, France, Italy, Slovakia, Romania and Hungary during 2004 – 2013. It further uncovered metaphors used to portray the semantic complexity of corruption and to explore in which context those metaphors are evoked by the media. It focuses on the media practices in evoking corruption related metaphors and shows that corruption is a complex phenomenon with unclear boundaries, represented with metaphorical devices that not only illuminate, but also hide some of its attributes. The research argues that metaphors are ‘practical’ tools that construct the meaning of a complex phenomenon bottom –up, offering powerful templates for what corruption might look like. The article identifies the corruption metaphors by looking at their source and target domains, as well as analyses the context in which media evoke corruption -

related metaphors. In the analysis the research chooses nine corruption-related keywords: corruption, bribery, kickback, embezzlement, collusion, favouritism, nepotism, clientelism and familism which are referred to as target domains. There are five major source domains used by media to represent the meaning of corruption and the study explains that they relate to fundamental human activities and needs: CORRUPTION IS AGRICULTURE (eating), CORRUPTION IS DISEASE (medication), CORRUPTION IS WAR (militarization), CORRUPTION IS LEISURE/PLEASURE (prestige and accomplishment thought individualism) and CORRUPTION IS CULTURE (socialization). The study generalizes the picture of corruption as 1. It is widespread and intertwined in the society, rampant, ubiquitous, systemic; 2. It is out of control; 3. It thrives; 4. It is deeply entrenched in the society (Bratu and Kazoka, 2018: p.11).The article concludes that metaphors contribute to giving meaning to abstract terms, such as corruption by providing images to model their reality. This study too analyzes conceptualization of corruption in the print media but the parting point with the present study is that, while this research studies conceptualization of corruption through linguistic metaphors, the present study is an analysis of how corruption is portrayed in the print media cartoons.

Aunga and Okwako's (2020) paper explores the motivation behind a cultural specific bribe and bribery metaphors labelling in Kenya as seen from the conceptual metaphor viewpoint. The paper identifies and explains the different terms relating to a bribe and bribery, describes socio-cultural values in Kenya, and accounts for the cognitive processes involved in their interpretation. Terms relating to bribes and bribery were collected and classified under main themes of food, objects and game. These themes acted as source domains in the mapping process. The mappings gave rise to a number of conceptual metaphors such as BRIBE IS AN OBJECT - people use machines and tools or objects to work, play, fight and for pleasure, these things therefore show up as metaphorical expressions (Kövesces, 2010). The paper

elaborates that this metaphor also has several other lower levels or layers of schematic mapping, for instance, A BRIBE IS SOAP – it is something good which cleans or makes one pure; A BRIBE IS ‘SOMETHING SMALL’ – you offer a small fraction from whatever one has collected; A BRIBE IS A BLANKET – gives a picture of what is given to a traffic officer to make him ‘sleep’ (not to be vigilant); BRIBE IS AN ENVELOPE – a gift to whoever is receiving it as a favour; A BRIBE IS DUST- dust is meant to blind the policeman in order to avoid seeing the traffic offences; A BRIBE IS SOMETHING SWEET – ethnic groups refer to it as a sweet or chocolate because of its irresistible nature. Another set of conceptual metaphors identified were BRIBE IS FOOD, TAKING A BRIBE IS EATING FOOD and TAKING A BRIBE IS DRINKING A LIQUID (like water, beer, porridge, tea and coffee). We also have BRIBERY IS A GAME, PLAYING A GAME IS A PROCESS OF BRIBING SOMEBODY and so on. The paper reveals that language spoken by society is an essential part of its culture and the lexical distinctions drawn by each language tend to reflect the culturally important features of objects, foods, institutions and other activities in the society in which the language operates. While this research gives portrayal of corruption through linguistic metaphors, the present study analyzed portrayal of corruption in pictorial metaphors.

The present study notes that there are some conceptual metaphors that cut across the reviewed studies, for instance both Isyaku et al (2016) and Bratu and Kazoka (2018) have CORRUPTION IS CULTURE, CORRUPTION IS WAR and CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE conceptualizations. The same is realized in Okunkrinmeta and Alabi (2014) and Isyaku et al (2016) which both have CORRUPTION IS A VIRUS conceptual metaphor. Based on the reviewed researches, the present study has identified and generalized major source domains of corruption used in portrayal of corruption as: CORRUPTION IS WAR, CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL, CORRUPTION IS A

DISASTER, CORRUPTION IS A HABIT, CORRUPTION IS A MAN, CORRUPTION IS A PLANT, CORRUPTION IS AN ORIENTATION, CORRUPTION IS A HABIT, CORRUPTION IS EATING, CORRUPTION IS LEISURE/PLEASURE, CORRUPTION IS A GAME and CORRUPTION IS DIRT. These source domains acted as a guide to the present study with regard to the identification of source domains of corruption in pictorial metaphors. The knowledge gap was the varied conceptualizations of corruption by the different studies, though it was not exhaustive.

2.3 Modality of Pictorial Metaphors

In line with objective two which involves interpretation of pictorial metaphors expressed either through text-image integration or purely through images, this sub-section reviews literature on modality of pictorial metaphors. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) define multimodality as the use of more than one mode of communication to a text to create meaning. They refer to mode as socially or culturally shaped resource for making meaning for instance, image, writing, layout, speech and moving images.

Negro (2014) carried out a study on political cartooning with the aim of establishing how mono modal and multimodal metaphors are manifested in the corpus and how image and text interact in the corpus in a concrete type of multimodal metaphor. Multimodal metaphors are metaphors whose target and source are rendered in two different modes (Forceville, 2009:24). Another definition is by Koller (2009) who claims that multimodal metaphor is constituted by a mapping, or blending, of domains from different modes. This research is closely related to the present study, but the parting point is that the present study further analyses texts, in political cartoons, which are metaphorical in nature to establish their cross-domain mappings.

Forceville (2009:21) proposes the following modes in the investigation of multimodal metaphor: pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, taste

and touch. According to Negro (2014), of all types of multimodal metaphor, multimodal metaphor of the verbo-pictorial variety has attracted most scholarly attention. Forceville (1996) defines a verbo –pictorial metaphor as a metaphor whose source is visually represented and the target is verbally represented and vice-versa. In a subsequent study, Forceville (2009) defines a verbo-pictorial metaphor as a metaphor that is always encoded visually and occasionally in an additional verbal form.

Based on the above definitions, Negro (2014) points out that such definition should be extended to embrace the following typical features of multimodal metaphor in political cartoon.

- a) Both the source and target are visually and verbally cued.
- b) The source is rendered visually and verbally and the target is rendered visually.
- c) The source is visually and verbally cued and the target is rendered verbally.
- d) The source is verbally rendered and the target is visually and verbally cued.
- e) The source is represented via language and the target is represented via image.
- f) The source is pictorially represented and the target is verbally represented.

(Negro, 2014: 65)

Negro (2014) uses examples of verbo-pictorial metonymy-based metaphors to demonstrate multimodality in political cartoons. For instance in Figure 7:



Figure 7:El Roto (Elpais, July 2007)

The political cartoon in Figure 7 is a picture of a cleaning lady mopping a muddy floor. The text and illustration reveals that they are meant to metaphorically represent political corruption. El Roto questions the fair practices of the Town Planning Commission. The target

is rendered by the expression *los de urbanismo* ‘the members of the Town Planning Commission’. The source object, mud, is represented verbally – the word *lodo* in the accompanying text, and pictorially – the image of the mud footprints left by the members of the commission on the floor. The connection between the verbal and the visual component is obtained via FOOTPRINT FOR PERSON metonymy, which is subsumed within CORRUPTION IS DIRT metaphor. Negro further remarks that it is worth noting the metaphor is sustained in a gender stereotype about male and female jobs, since it is a woman who cleans the dirt (corruption), (Negro, 2014:71)

Another illustration of a verbo-pictorial metaphor is shown in Figure 8.



Figure 8: Erlich (*El País*, 2 December, 2011)

The figure illustrates the role of the verbal message in the identification of the source and the target of the metonymy/metaphor that can be derived from the image. The text, a newspaper headline, refers to Sarkozy’s (the former French president) intention to restructure The European Union under Germany’s leadership, Germany standing metonymically for the German chancellor (A COUNTRY FOR ITS RULERS). The illustration shows two shaking hands. The connection with the image is established by means of a pictorial detail and a verbal cue. The former is the design of the jacket buttons shown in the picture – they are in the colours of the German and French flags, respectively. The latter is the idiom in the

headline, *de la mano de Alemania*. Negro (2014) comments that it is striking that the image triggers off the literal meaning the nuclear constituent *mano* ‘hand’ in the idiom.

The picture shows Sarkozy and Merkel handcuffed. This detail encodes the metonymy – based metaphor RULERS ARE HANDCUFFED (that is, ‘lacked freedom’) suggesting that RULERS ARE PRISONERS. The hands they are shaking reflect SHAKING HANDS IS A DEAL metonymy-based metaphor. This expresses the cartoonist’s view towards the French – Germany deal, suggesting France’s heavy dependence on Germany (Negro, 2014:73).

Negro’s study draws a number of conclusions that are relevant to the proposed study: political cartoons instantiate mono modal visual and multimodal verbo – pictorial metaphors and that personification is an essential variety of multimodal metaphor; in mono modal metaphor, both target and source are represented in the same mode, whereas in multimodal metaphor they are represented in at least two different modes; metonymy is found to be a very productive metaphoric activity, that is, a considerable proportion of metaphors are based on a metonymy; the image – text integration makes it possible to construe the metaphors underpinning the political cartoons, in as much as the source and target are not always encoded in both written and visual modes. The target and source of the metaphors are represented primarily in visual and verbal terms, whereas metonymies are encoded visually; and lastly, metaphor frequently carries a strong axiological value, thus revealing the cartoonist’s negative take on the news event depicted in the cartoon strip (Negro, 2014).

The reviewed studies are relevant to the present study as they both deal with modality in pictorial cartoons, however the present study deals with portrayal of corruption in Kenya and at the same time establishes whether pictorial corruption metaphors are multimodal or mono modal. The reviewed studies are however limited in scope with regard to the different modes employed in multimodality theories. The focus of the studies is on the visuals and the texts

while the theories allow for exploration of more modes such as the use of colour, sound and smell and how they create meaning.

2.4 The Language of Cartoons

This sub-section reviews literature on the language of political cartoons. Several studies have been carried out on texts of political cartoons with the aim of establishing the linguistic nature of the texts. The studies have analyzed graphological, syntactic, semantic, morphological as well as semiotic aspects of the language of cartoon. This review is in line with the third objective of the present study on metaphorical sentences as a linguistic feature of texts in political cartoons. Forceville (2006) explains that verbal messages and texts in communication are often complemented, or even superseded, by information in other signifying systems. For instance, printed material like advertisements, manuals, instruction books, maps, graphics, cartoons et cetera usually combine, and establish interactions between verbal and pictorial information.

Alimi (1991) discusses the stylistic characteristics of the language of cartoons in Nigerian newspapers. The analysis focuses on printing style, stylistic registers and textual features. The findings of the study are that various aspects of printing such as the relative sizes of different letters, positions of dots, capitalization, italics and different punctuation devices are stylistically significant in cartoons. This study also reveals that the meaning carrying units in sentences are often capitalized as a way of attracting and sustaining readers' attention. With regard to stylistic registers, the analysis discovered three types of sentences in the language of cartoons which included Pidgin English sentences, colloquial sentences and Standard English sentences. Alimi (1991) further explains that Standard English sentences conform to the grammatical norms of the world Standard English and that the cartoonist deliberately goes for the simple and compound structures which may be attributed to the need for creativity and maintenance of 'an air of simplicity'. Another feature of the Standard English sentences in

cartoons is their elliptical nature. The study notes that the language of cartoons is not as direct as the language of news reporting and that the style exhibited in cartoons may be described as an amalgam of forms. Alimi (1991) concludes that the informal style (Pidgin English, colloquial forms, loan blends, ellipsis and telegraphic sentences) characterizes the language of cartoons. Thus, cartoons use language as an artistic medium in which various options of language are explored for effective communication.

Alimi and Kassal's (1999) study examined features of discourse in cartoon texts which aid comprehension among other linguistic features and make cartoons socially appropriate and relevant as a means of communication. The objectives of the study were to identify features of discourse which make cartoon texts socially appropriate, examine the linguistic realization of certain features which transpose the message from the mundane or trivial to the serious and fundamental and to identify features which assist readers in the complex information processing task. The analysis of the study was carried out at three levels; Graphetics and Graphology, syntactic analysis with emphasis on sentences and their implications on meaning and the last was semantic analysis of the different forms of meaning including both contextual and pragmatic. Other significant features of the cartoon text identified in the study were in the use of humour and exaggeration for ridicule and satire. The findings confirmed that contemporary events are important to an appreciation of the cartoon text. The study also revealed that there are underlying patterns of meaning in cartoons which are derived by association.

Sani et al (2012) analyzed linguistic elements used in cartoon written texts to illustrate how Nigerian cartoonists specifically use language to construct satire as a means that could be used to initiate positive social and political reforms in Nigeria. The analysis focused on the cartoons' caption, thought bubbles or written texts. The study employed perceptual theory of satire and linguistic analytical framework within the realm of critical discourse analysis.

From the findings of the study, a distinct lexical typology for identifying lexical items was developed. The typology comprised five items, these were; loan words, coinage, word class, denotation and connotation. In addition, the study explains that the cartoonists also used interjections frequently in the cartoon written texts to create satirical impressions about political leaders because interjections are used to express strong emotions or feelings. The study at the same time focused on the choice of coined and loan words together with their connotations and how satire is constructed and pointed to politicians, parties and public officers through syntactic choices. Sani et al (2012) concludes that linguistic analysis therefore provides alternatives of language choices to a particular writer to construct and present his argument or point of view on particular issues while communicating messages to audience, hence the analysis specifically describes instances of language use and functions in a particular community.

Ekpe (2016) carried out a linguistic analysis of political cartoons published during the 2015 General Election in Nigeria. The study explains that cartoons were widely exploited to subtly inform, educate and entertain the politicians, their supporters, the electorates and the General public. The objectives of the study were, to find out the cohesive devices and the patterns used by cartoonist in relaying their messages, to investigate the patterns of communication used in the cartoons and to find out the linguistic features of these cartoons. The findings were that in capturing the attention of the audience, the cartoonist employs catchy phrases, different pen strokes and pans to depict a particular character or event. To achieve these some cohesive devices would be adopted for information flow such as lexical devices, grammatical devices (reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction) and pictorial devices. The study states that these devices make the information content of cartoons to be proactive and simple with symbolic meaning that make it easy for average reader to understand. The study also points out that the pictures are satiric and metaphorical and wordings in cartoons too are codified

and connotative. Another point worth noting according to the study is that meaning content of political cartoons can only be deciphered based on the audience' background knowledge of the displayed images, inscriptions and messages. Ekpe (2016) concludes that linguistic features were mostly declarative sentences, imperative sentences, phrases, ellipsis and metaphoric expressions. And that the metaphoric expressions cannot be understood in isolation, the reader has to go beyond the surface structure of the utterances into the deeper structure to decipher the speaker's meaning.

Kyalo (2020) carried out a study on the language of cartoons. The study was based on a semio-rhetorical approach and looked at cartoon as a caricature, that is, a drawing which belongs to the journalistic genre of comments functioning as a visual editorial. She proposes that caricatures use a particular visual language distinct from other images to relay their message. The study was based on caricatures published between 2000 and 2010 in the news magazine *Jeune Afrique*. The study objectives were to know the structure of the language of the caricature, discourse strategies caricatures employed to convey their message, thematic issues they addressed and the image of sub-Saharan Africa they portrayed. The study states that as a semiotic object, the caricature has a tabular syntactic structure composed of five components, namely the iconic figure, the plastic figure, the temporal component, *paratexts* and speech. The study explains that the informant (cartoonist) chooses to deposit messages in one or more of these syntactic units while using appropriate and effective discourse strategies to manipulate the *cognitive* observer to *see*, *know* and *believe* in what he observes. The study concludes that cartoonists employ all kinds of discourse strategies to make fun of the African situation. It also notes that several bleak images of SSA emerge from the caricature of J.A. Bleak images because a caricature is a tool for critic rather than praise. Unlike Kyalo's study, the present study adopted the pictorial metaphor theory which focuses on pictorial metaphors as well as linguistic metaphors as aspects of language of cartoons. These linguistic structures

fall under what Kyalo's study terms the iconic figure and the paratexts and the speech respectively. Both studies are based on the language of cartoons but another parting point is that while Kyalo's study focused on several themes with regard to portrayal of SSA, the present study focuses on corruption in Kenya and its different portrayal's in the cartoons.

The studies in the preceding sections are relevant to the present study in that just like the reviewed studies the present study too is an analysis of linguistic features in the cartoon text: metaphorical sentences. The parting point is that while the reviewed studies analyzed cartoon texts focusing on the lexical items, grammatical devices and the types of sentences with the aim of establishing the communicative function of cartoons and the social relevance, there is no mention of the connection between the devices and the pictorial metaphors. The present study, however, analyzes metaphorical sentences and whether their interpretation is dependent on the pictorial metaphors or not and further examines the contribution of the integrated sentences to the depiction of corruption in the multi-modal pictorial metaphors.

2.5. Summary

This chapter covered the literature review on the portrayal of corruption in print media cartoons. The reviews include source domains of corruption metaphors, modality of pictorial metaphors and language of cartoons. The chapter allowed the researcher to gain familiarity with the current knowledge in the field of pictorial metaphors and the limitations therein. The reviews also aided in understanding the theories that guide the studies which was vital for the present study in the identification of the knowledge gaps.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section describes the research design, study population, sample size and sampling techniques, data collection procedure, data analysis and ethical consideration.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted analytical research design to analyze the sampled political cartoons portraying corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. According to Wimmer and Domnick (2011) analytical research design seeks to describe or explain why situations exist. It has to do with examining two or more variables to investigate research questions or test research hypothesis. The results got from analytical research designs are used to examine and determine the relationships between variables as well as to make explanatory inferences. Based on the research objectives, the study identified the pictorial metaphors signifying corruption and analyzed the cross domain mappings of each pictorial metaphor with the aim of establishing how cartoons are employed in portrayal of corruption in the print media cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper. The research further examined modality of political cartoons to ascertain whether they are mono-modal or multimodal and how text-image integration aided in interpretation of the cartoon messages in the case of multimodal cartoons..

3.3 Study Population

The study population comprised 150 political cartoons on corruption in the Daily Nation Newspapers between 2018 and 2019; a period of renewed fight against corruption. Out of the 150 political cartoons, 105 were from 2018 while 45 of them were from the 2019 Daily Nation Newspapers. The unit of analysis was pictorial metaphors depicting corruption and metaphorical expressions in the case of multimodal cartoons.

3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The present study employed sampling techniques which included random purposive sampling and saturated sampling methods. Random purposive sampling was used by the researcher to sample the political cartoons depicting corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. Patton (1990) describes random purposive sampling as choosing cases at random from the sample frame consisting of purposefully selected sample. Purposive sampling is defined by Kombo and Tromp (2009) as picking a small sample with similar characteristics to describe some particular sub-group.

A sample size of 41 cartoons was dictated by the point of saturation as the themes in some of the 150 cartoons were repetitive. From the 41 cartoons, 15 metaphorical expressions were purposively sampled. Saturated sampling is whereby the sample size is dictated by theoretical saturation and researchers cannot make judgment regarding sample size until they are involved in data collection and analysis as the data dictates the sample size. Saturation is the point at which no new information or themes are emerging from the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

3.5 Data Collection

The data collection method was corpus compilation method. The researcher collected Daily Nation Newspapers of the period between 2018 and 2019 from the library, went through the editorial section and identified the political cartoons of corruption. Then from the sampled political cartoons, the researcher still employing corpus compilation method and further collected metaphorical expressions from the texts in the multimodal cartoons.

Identification of the pictorial metaphors was guided by pictorial metaphor model. It explains that for anything to be a metaphor, pictorial or otherwise, the following three questions should be answered:

- i) What are the two domains?

- ii) What is the target domain, and what is the source domain?
- iii) Which feature or structured cluster of features can or must be mapped from source to target? (Forceville, 1996:108)

The researcher also made reference to the background information of the cartoon because cartoons are derived from everyday happenings which make news items of a certain period in the newspapers (Forceville, 2006) and so interpretation of cartoons also depended on the extra-textual knowledge of the cartoons.

The background information of cartoons in newspaper was considered the metadata in the analysis of the cartoons because it provides contextual information that helps readers understand and interpret the cartoons more effectively (Jonathan and Derek, 2013).

Then with the aid of a digital camera, the researcher took photos of the cartoons from the dailies and stored in a USB flash drive for ease of analysis.

3.5.1 Reliability and Validity of Instruments

According to Hughes (2008) reliability is the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study given. Therefore a reliable instrument for research gives similar data from similar respondents over time (Louis, Lawrence & Keith, 2005). Validity, on the other hand, is the degree to which results obtained from the data analysis actually represent the phenomenon under study. The present study employed corpus compilation checklist as data collection tool. To test reliability of the data compilation checklist, the researcher carried out a pilot study. The researcher piloted the checklist with a small sample of cartoons of corruption from the Standard Newspaper. The researcher was able to examine how source- objects depict corruption, determine the modality of the political cartoons and extract metaphorical expressions from the cartoons in the Standard Newspaper. The researcher was therefore able to collect pre-test data, analysed

it and drew conclusions on portrayal of corruption in political cartoons. The pilot study at the same time assisted the researcher in testing validity of data obtained through random purposive and saturated sampling methods. This process was then repeated to guarantee reliability and validity of the data of the present study.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed qualitatively into themes, under different portrayals of corruption. The pictorial metaphors were coded to indicate 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 metaphors noted, coded, grouped into themes and interpreted to establish how source domains were mapped to depict corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper cartoons. A total of twelve source-objects themes were identified, which included: CORRUPTION IS DIRT, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL, CORRUPTION IS A GIANT, CORRUPTION IS CRIME, CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION, CORRUPTION IS GREED, CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE, CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY, CORRUPTION IS WAR, CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE, CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN and CORRUPTION IS A SHAME. The modality of the pictorial metaphors was also analyzed concurrently with the source-domains whereby the two modes: pictures and words were identified and interpreted, based on the tenets of pictorial metaphor model, to establish how image and text integrate to contribute to the final portrayal of corruption metaphorically. The metaphoric expressions too were analyzed with the aid of Conceptual Metaphor Theory which states that interpretation of metaphor boils down to mapping features associated with the source domain onto the target domain. The analysis was thus guided by the tenets of the pictorial metaphor model which include:

- i. Human beings conceptualize abstract ideas in terms of concrete experiences.

- ii. Metaphors have target domains and source domains. Sometimes a target domain is recruited completely from extra-textual cues and once target and source domains have been construed, the metaphor is ready to be interpreted.
- iii. Interpretation of a metaphor involves mapping of features associated with the source on to the target.
- iv. There are both mono modal and multimodal metaphors.
- v. Mono modal metaphor could be 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 (Forceville, 2016:4).

The findings were then presented in written prose based on the research objectives.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to all the ethical concerns. Ethical clearance was obtained from Maseno University Ethical Review Board before proceeding with the present research. The researcher also sought approval to conduct research from National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) by applying for a research license. Another ethical concern was ensuring that plagiarism was guarded against by including all quoted materials in the reference section. Confidentiality was not required for this research because the data collected was secondary, that is, it was got from the mass media and so was already in the public domain and posed no risk of harm but still the researcher ensured the cartoonist was protected by not capturing his/her pseudonym. The data too needed to be protected from theft and therefore was stored in the researcher's personal computer and a strong password installed to ensure security.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the data used in this study, the analysis and discussion of findings. There are a total of one hundred and fifty political cartoons, out of which one hundred and five were from 2018 while forty five from 2019 Daily Nation Newspaper (all attached at the appendix section). The cartoons were photographed, printed, coded and grouped into themes based on the different source domains of corruption, for instance CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor. The data is therefore presented with respect to the identified source domains of corruption as guided by pictorial metaphor theory. The data is presented, analysed and the findings discussed with the aim of meeting the following objectives:

- (a) To examine how the source-objects depict corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper.
- (b) To determine the modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper.
- (c) To establish the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multi-modal political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper.

4.2. Source-objects depicting corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper

The data presented is categorized according to the source-objects of corruption in the pictorial metaphors (cartoons) which is the first objective of the study. A total of twelve source-objects themes were identified by the present research and these included: CORRUPTION IS DIRT, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL, CORRUPTION IS A GIANT, CORRUPTION IS CRIME, CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION, CORRUPTION IS GREED, CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE, CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY, CORRUPTION

IS WAR, CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE, CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN and CORRUPTION IS A SHAME. Brief background information of every cartoon is given after the data presentation to aid the reader in interpretation of the pictorial metaphor and to avoid ambiguity.

The frequencies of the different source – objects are varied, with some domains tending to be used more frequently by the cartoonist than others. The present research does not assume that the dominant source domains depict the wider perception of corruption among the masses but it could be attributed to the nature of corruptions highlighted during this period given that cartoons draw from the news of the day. The frequencies are presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: *Frequencies of the Source- objects*

S.No	Source-Object	Frequency	Percentage
1	CORRUPTION IS DIRT	17	11
2	CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL	50	32.3
3	CORRUPTION IS A GIGANTIC MAN	11	7.1
4	CORRUPTION IS CRIME	2	1.3
5	CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION	8	5.2
6	CORRUPTION IS GREED	23	14.8
7	CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE	4	2.6
8	CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY	5	3.2
9	CORRUPTION IS WAR	12	7.7
10	CORRUPTION IS INFLUENCE	1	0.6
11	CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE	9	5.8
12	CORRUPTION IS BURDEN	4	2.6
13	CORRUPTION IS A SHAME	2	1.3
14	CORRUPTION IS DESTRUCTION	7	4.5

The second objective of the study which is to examine modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper is closely related to the first objective. In the interpretation of the pictorial metaphor in order to determine the source-objects, the researcher analysed the use of image and text in the cartoons in order to interpret the meaning. It is however noted that the modes used in transmitting the meaning, that is the images for mono-modal metaphors or both the images and texts, sound, colour, smell and size in the case of multimodal metaphors have been discussed in detail in section 4.3 that deals with modality of political cartoons. In discussing the first objective, therefore, some aspects of the second objective are mentioned and some data is duplicated as the two objectives are inter related.

4.2.1 CORRUPTION IS DIRT

CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor was discussed earlier in section 2.0 in Isyaku et al's (2016) and Negro's (2014) studies. They draw an analogy between corruption and dirt by mapping of the negative attributes of the source domain, for instance bad smell, on to the target domain. The studies compare biological decomposition (rot) to moral decadence (corruption), which is a confirmation of pictorial metaphor theory's explanation that human beings conceptualize abstract ideas in terms of concrete experiences. CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor is therefore not unique to the present study.

The cartoon in Figure 9 is based on the then Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, Dr. Fred Matiang'i's attempt to streamline services at the National Transport and Safety Authority (NTSA).



Figure 9. 7th February, 2019

NTSA is an agency mandated with road safety in Kenya by offering services like motor vehicle inspection, driving license renewals, issuing *boda boda* rider registration certificates and so on. The sector had been marred by corruption allegations among its officers who frustrate clients and solicit for bribes in order to access services, is likened to a can of worms. In the pictorial metaphor is a caricature of Matiang'i sweeping after opening the 'can of worms.' He is holding a broom and next to him is a dust pan which he is using to collect the

worms back into a huge can labelled 'NTSA'. The act of collecting the worms back to the can could be interpreted as a warning that is conventionally given to individuals that, in opening a can of worms, one may get into a complicated or difficult situation than they realize and so it might be better left alone. The can is overflowing with maggots, a symbol of the massive rot at NTSA. Evidence of the rot at NTSA is further explained by the stench coming from the can and flies milling around it. The pictorial metaphor likens streamlining of services and corruption eradication at NTSA to sweeping a dirty room. Corruption is compared to filth infested by maggots giving rise to the MAGGOTS FOR ROT metonymy. The source object of corruption in the cartoon is a can of worms hence, CORRUPTION IS A CAN OF WORMS conceptual metaphor. The conceptual metaphor is closely related to 'Opening a can of worms' idiom which is a common expression that means getting in to a complex, embarrassing situation that may further complicate issues. It thus shows how complex and messy corruption is and Matiangi' is regretting opening it; presumably, it is too much for him to handle alone. This is a multimodal pictorial metaphor of the verbo-pictorial variety, whereby the text and the images interact to give the meaning.

The cartoon in figure 10 is based on a report on sugar scandal.

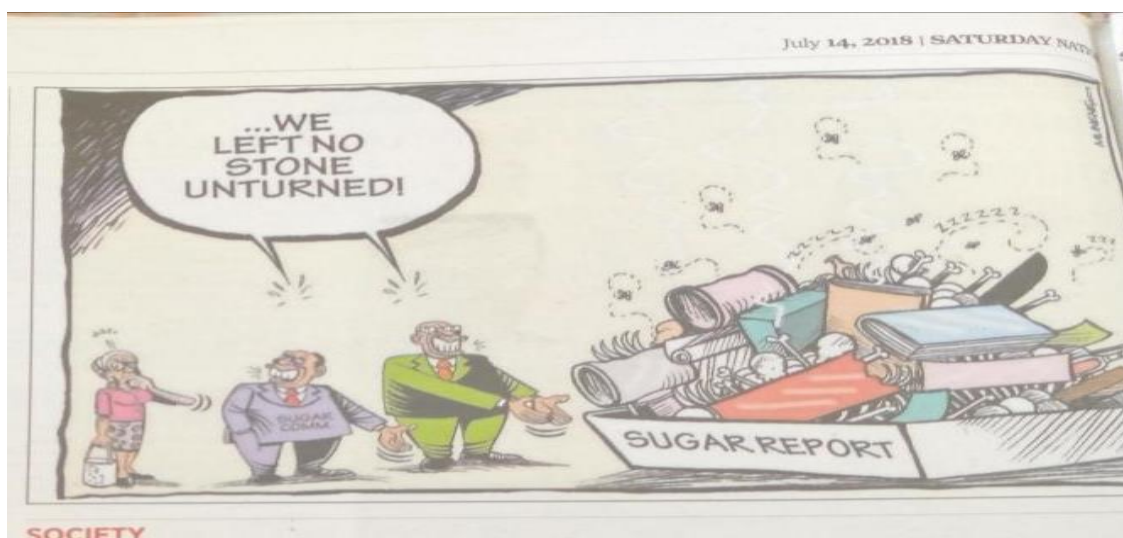


Figure 10: 14th July, 2018

The sugar sector was riddled with corruption scandals and mismanagement of the institutions connected to the sugar sector. Mega corruption had been reported to occur between Kenya Sugar Board officials, managers of mills, managers of out-grower institutions and senior ministry officials. The cane growers are usually at the bottom of the power chain. In this instance, the scandal involved importation of duty free sugar into the country which prompted the probe. In the pictorial metaphor, there is a tray containing *SUGAR REPORT* (text). The report includes an assortment of waste materials, symbolic of the corrupt deals unearthed. The garbage consists of all types of decayed materials such as cans, boxes, machetes and skeletons which the cartoonist uses to communicate the ugly nature of the scandals. At the same time, the large quantity is a representation of the massive nature of corruption in the sector. Over the garbage are flies milling around and this further depicts corruption as filth, symbolic of moral decadence. The report has been carried out by Sugar Commission, labelled as (SUGAR COMM.), represented by the men in suits and in the speech bubble they say ‘...*WE HAVE LEFT NO STONE UNCOVERED*’ – an common saying that implies that one has done everything possible to solve a problem. This means that the Sugar Commission is of the opinion that it has done its best and deserves credit for the job. The report however, is a disappointment to *Wanjiku* who is watching in disbelief at the findings. The source object of corruption is garbage which stands for dirt, giving rise to GARBAGE FOR DIRT metonymy and CORRUPTION IS GARBAGE conceptual metaphor. This is closely connected to figure 9, in that with time garbage rots and extremely rotten garbage produces maggot hence still an extension of CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor.

The pictorial metaphor in Figure 11 was based on the general opinion that the church was being hypocritical when it outwardly condemned politicians labelled as corrupt but accepted money from them. It addresses corruption of both the clergy and the politicians.



Figure 11: 5th May, 2019

In Figure 11, which is also a multimodal pictorial metaphor, are two black containers, one a pot and the other a kettle. The pot represents politicians and this can be told from the caricatures of the political personalities (Honorable James Orengo, Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka) in it while the kettle represents the clergy evidenced by the dressing. The texts read ‘*Stop receiving politicians’ dirty money*’ and ‘*Stop using church as a political platform*’, other than relying on the background information of the cartoon, which according to pictorial metaphor theory is a requirement for interpretation, the texts confirm that the cartoon is on corruption. The two groups are trading accusations with each seeing the other as the corrupt party. The cartoonist is of the opinion that both parties are corrupt and none deserves to call the other ‘*black*’; the reason they are both in black containers. It is a case of the pot calling the kettle black and vice versa, which is an idiom that means someone is criticizing another person for a fault that they also have. The pictorial metaphor was based on the general opinion that the church was being hypocritical when it outwardly condemned politicians labelled as corrupt but accepted money from them. The church was meant to help fight against corruption and called on Kenyans to shun and shame the corrupt. Black is a colour associated with dirt and evil and the dirty nature of corruption is further heightened by the

fact that if a pot or a kettle is black then the assumption is that it is sooty and can soil clean hands. Corruption is associated with dirt, in this case the black pot covered with soot. The source object for corruption in the pictorial metaphor is sooty pot giving rise to CORRUPTION IS SOOT and CORRUPTION IS BLACK conceptual metaphors. The features of a black, sooty pot (source domain) are mapped onto corruption (target domain).

The cartoon in Figure 12 was based on corruption scandals among governors.



Figure 12: 11th July, 2018

The media reported many graft scandals involving state agencies and officials since President Uhuru Kenyatta was re-elected in 2017 and he promised a renewed crackdown on graft. With devolution in Kenya, the Legislature and the Executive were devolved to the forty seven political and administrative counties headed by governors. Devolution of government resulted in the devolution of corruption as the local governments became prone to corruption challenges. Reports from the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission (EACC) and Kenya National Audit Office indicated the prevalence of corruption in counties, ranging from bribery, nepotism, and embezzlement and mismanagement of public resources. In the pictorial metaphor is a picture of governors flying on a poorly maintained and defective

plane. The plane written *GOVERNORS* is worn out, from the numerous patches and the black smoke emitted from the exhaust pipes. The plane metonymically represents the county governments which are piloted by governors and its poor condition symbolizes the near collapse of the counties due to mismanagement.

The mismanagement is as a result of corrupt deals further symbolized by the black smoke labelled *IMPUNITY* emitted from the plane. The text, which is a remark by the pilot '*WE SHOULD NOT FACE PROSECUTION*' is an indication of the ignorant nature of the governors who do not realize the immense danger they are subjecting themselves and the counties to. The plane could crush any time given its defectiveness (the black smoke). Hence *CORRUPTION IS BLACK SMOKE* conceptual metaphor. The conceptual metaphor, just like *CORRUPTION IS SOOT* conceptual metaphor is referred to as colour metaphor. Gibbs (1999) argues that certain connotative values are generally associated with colours and carry certain resonances in a given culture. He further states that colour metaphors deal with abstract associations for instance white is associated with *eternity, virtue, innocence, purity, heaven* and *light*, while black is associated with *death, mourning, murder, sin* and *devils* which explains the choice of black by the cartoonist to symbolize corruption which is considered as evil by the society. Features of the black smoke (source domain) are mapped onto corruption (target domain).

The cartoon in Figure 13 is a pictorial portrayal of corruption in Kiambu County.



Figure 13: 7th May, 2019

Kiambu County under the governorship of Honorable Ferdinand Waititu at that time was among the counties that were riddled with corruption scandals. This necessitated an audit by EACC which unearthed corruption in the systems. In the cartoon is a tattered report written ‘*Kiambu Audit Report*’ trickling wet with dirty water. Around the report too are flies milling; an indication of the presence of dirt – corruption. The person carrying the report is Waititu himself, symbolized by the caricature, but he is holding it at an arms-length because of the stench emanating from it. The stench from the report is so unbearable that Waititu has to avoid it by facing away. The person carrying Waititu is presumably an official from EACC taking him for prosecution and he is equally very uncomfortable with the stench, clearly from Waititu’s words ‘*EASY...Act like it is Not stinky!*’ which translates to BEING CORRUPT IS IGNORING THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF CORRUPTION conceptual metaphor. The cartoonist therefore likens the report on massive corruption in Kiambu County to unbearable, dirty stinky pieces of paper, hence CORRUPTION IS STENCH conceptual metaphor. The pictorial metaphor also gives rise to the metonymy STENCH STANDS FOR DIRT.

It is a multimodal pictorial metaphor, for instance, identification of Waititu is aided by both the image and the text which places the audit report in Kiambu County in which Waititu was the governor.

Figure 14 is based on corruptions scandals handled at the Inspector General’s office in Kenya.



Figure 14: 23rd February, 2019

Figure 14 captures CORRUPTION IS UNSIGHTLY RUBBISH conceptual metaphor. The cartoon contains rubbish in a room which makes the occupants uneasy and so there is an

attempt to hide the mess under a carpet. In the cartoon is a vacant seat for the Inspector General (IG) who later turned out to be Mr. Hillary Mutyambai appointed into office on 8th April, 2019 to replace Mr. Joseph Boinnet. The IG, (THE SEAT FOR THE OCCUPANT metonymy) brought out in the cartoon through a text, is charged with the overall administrative management of the police force which is one of the sectors that had also featured prominently in corrupt scandals. The seat is placed on a heap of rubbish covered with a green carpet marked *POLICE*. Under the carpet one can see images of skeletons spilling over and leaflets written *Rogue cops, Brutality, Dishonesty* and *Indiscipline*. These are atrocities committed by the police force and have gone unresolved. The atrocities, symbolised by rubbish are instead swept under the carpet so that the new office holder does not notice how messy the office he is inheriting is. This is a case of the idiom, sweeping matters under the carpet, which means to hide a problem instead of dealing with it. In the cartoon again, there are two people representing the common citizen walking away from the scene engaged in a dialogue. One says ‘*WELL, I’D RATE HIM FAIRLY.....*’ meaning he understands the complexity of the office and could be the previous occupants performed worse. The other says ‘*GOOD LUCK TO HIS SUCCESSOR*’, again confirming that it is a hopeless situation and they do not expect much from the current change but all they can do is wish the new IG luck in the fight against corruption. In this pictorial metaphor, the features of the heap of rubbish (source domain) are mapped on to corruption (target domain).

In summary, CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor has been addressed by a number of source objects giving rise to: CORRUPTION IS A CAN OF WORMS, CORRUPTION IS SOOT, CORRUPTION IS MUD, CORRUPTION IS BLACK SMOKE, CORRUPTION IS STENCH and CORRUPTION IS UNSIGHTLY GARBAGE. All these different types of dirt have been used to castigate corruption which is a discomfort to the common citizen; pollute the environment, a source of embarrassment and even a danger to lives. Interpretation of

these pictorial metaphors has been achieved through cross domain mappings of the features of the source objects on to the target domain.

4.2.2 CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL

CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL conceptual metaphor too is not unique to the present study. Isyaku et al. (2016) and Okunkrinmeta and Alabi (2014) conceptualized corruption as an animal in which features of animals like the pig, hyena, python, vulture, worms and other scavengers are mapped on to corrupt leaders depicting them as greedy, selfish, exploitative and a danger to the citizens. Lakoff and Turner (1989) in *The Great Chain of Being* explain that humans can possess all of the properties of animals as they have the capacity to accept the transfer of any of the animal properties which is not the case with the animals given that humans sit above the animals in the hierarchy. This explains why humans are given animal qualities. The present study draws a lot of similarity with the reviewed studies regarding the source-objects of CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL conceptual metaphor as discussed.

Figure 15 is a cartoon based on the Sustainable Blue Economy conference hosted by Kenya from November 26th to November 28th 2018 at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre.



Figure 15: 29th November 2018

The cartoon in Figure 15 is a multimodal pictorial metaphor. Kenya hosted the Sustainable Blue Economy conference from November 26th to November 28th 2018 at the Kenyatta

International Conference Centre. The conference was to build a blue economy that harnesses the potential of the oceans, seas, lakes and rivers to improve the lives of all people in developing states particularly women, youth and indigenous people. Just like other development projects started in Kenya, the politicians only saw an opportunity to steal and enrich themselves.

In the cartoon, there is an immaculately dressed fish in an aquarium carrying a brief case overflowing with money. The picture of the man symbolized by a fish indicates a well off donor (evidenced by the dressing) who has arrived in the country for the welfare of aquaculture. He is standing on a pedestal written '*BLUE ECONOMY*', symbolizing the Blue Economy project. Anxiously waiting are political leaders lobbying for opportunities to be put in charge of the project. They are carrying a briefcase of money marked '*GRAFT*,' and in the speech bubble they are calling out the person in charge and asking how much it would cost to own the project, meaning they intend to give a bribe.

The source objects of the corrupt leaders are carnivorous animals such as vulture, hyena, pig and other beastly animals. It likens the leaders to dangerous animals which feed on other animals. It gives rise to *CORRUPTION IS A VULTURE*, *CORRUPTION IS A PIG*, *CORRUPTION IS A HYENA* and *CORRUPTION IS A BEAST* conceptual metaphors. The pictorial metaphor therefore maps features of the animals (source domain) to corrupt leaders (target domain) depicting them as greedy, selfish and dangerous to humanity.

Through multimodality of the pictorial metaphor, the research is able to interpret the cartoon as symbolizing corruption. The images of the animals symbolizing the politicians are known for greed and are often associated with corruption and the text too indicates that the brief case contains graft money.

Figure 16 is a cartoon on the war on graft.



Figure 16: 8th December, 2018

The pictorial metaphor has a CCTV camera written 'WAR ON GRAFT', which means it has been put to capture the leaders involved in graft but the cunning leaders have shielded themselves with a huge umbrella labelled 'IMPUNITY' thus safe from the prying eyes of graft fighters. The umbrella is metonymy for the undercover activities carried out by shameless looters disguised as gentlemen. The loot is stuffed in big gunny bags most likely yet to be shared amongst the leaders. The corrupt leaders are symbolized by a python, hyenas, a dog and a vulture (source objects). These give rise to CORRUPTION IS A PYTHON, CORRUPTION IS A HYENA, CORRUPTION IS A DOG and CORRUPTION IS A VULTURE conceptual metaphors. The pictorial metaphor model states that interpretation of a metaphor involves mapping of features associated with the source on to the target, in this case, the source (the animals) features are mapped on to the target (corrupt leaders). The characters in question are elegantly dressed in suits, a pointer to the fact that they are well off members of the society funded by illegally acquired wealth.

Figure 17 is on the fight against corruption which was one of the pledges made by President Uhuru Kenyatta in his second term in office.



Figure 17: 14th May, 2019

Figure 17, similarly, is a multimodal pictorial metaphor on the fight against corruption. In the pictorial metaphor is the then Director of Public Prosecution (DPP), Mr. Noordin Hajji doing press ups and the then Director of Criminal Investigations (DCI), Mr. George Kinoti too warming up ostensibly in preparation for the war against corruption. The research is able to identify Noordin Hajji from the image which resembles him and again based on the background information of the cartoon, he was the DPP during this period. Mr. Kinoti on the other hand has a coat labelled DCI. The warm up is an indication that the war is not an easy one. The irony of all these is that they are already being ensnared by ‘corruption’ represented by a dragon, a mythical animal considered evil and vicious, hence can swallow them up at any moment. The word ‘CORRUPTION’ is written on the lips of the dragon, and this aids further in the interpretation of the CORRUPTION IS A DRAGON conceptual metaphor. In the cartoon still is a citizen waiting for the promise made by the President which has taken longer than expected to implement. The citizen remarks that ‘*Months later, the Government is still warming up.*’ He sees the warm ups as delaying tactics. The cartoonist satirizes the situation by bringing out the ignorance of the DPP and the DCI and the hopelessness surrounding the fight against corruption. The destructive features of a dragon (source

domain) are thus mapped on to corruption (target domain). Both the text and the image aid in the interpretation of the cartoon.

Figure 18 is based on the phasing out of the old Ksh.1000 notes.



Figure 18: 24th June, 2019

The old Ksh. 1,000 notes ceased being legal tender in Kenya in 2019. Prior to this, the Central Bank of Kenya gave notice to Kenyans to have them exchanged with new ones. This posed a challenge to corrupt individuals who had amassed wealth illegally and had their money stashed away from banks. These individuals had to look for means of disposing off the money without making complete losses. In the pictorial metaphor, is one such individual symbolized by a pig dressed in a suit and hawking old Ksh. 1,000 notes at a throw away price; this is verbalized in text. The pig is carrying a placard reading '*BUY ONE GET ONE FREE.*' He is selling the notes in a bid to save some of his ill acquired money but it seems nobody is interested in buying because time has run out rendering the notes useless. The cartoonist mocks the gluttonous nature of the looters symbolized by **CORRUPTION IS A PIG** conceptual metaphor. Pigs are regarded as gluttonous animals which eat literally everything, hence the common simile 'as greedy as a pig'. The cartoonist narrates the story

through integration of the text and the image giving forth to a multimodal pictorial metaphor as explained by pictorial metaphor theory.

The cartoon in Figure 19 is on corruption at the judiciary in Kenya.



Figure 19. *1st September 2018*

The office of the DPP felt that corrupt judges were hampering an anti-graft drive in Kenya, undermining President Uhuru Kenyatta's attempt to restore public trust in the government and the economy. The pictorial metaphor represents the rot at the judiciary. In the cartoon are a gavel and a sound block; tools used in the courts to indicate that a judge's decision is final. The gavel has a zip which the cartoonist has opened up to expose the contents within. The zip is only half open but worms are spilling over on to the ground. This implies that there is massive corruption at the judiciary. Other than the worms, the cartoonist also draws our attention to the stench from the opening polluting the atmosphere with flies swarming around it, evidenced by the ideophone 'zzzzzzz'. An ideophone is direct imitation of sound which the cartoonist has used to heighten the presence of the swarm of flies. Worms/maggots are symbols of rot as they only infest rotten objects and cause complete destruction; and therefore, the cartoon equates a corrupt judiciary to a rotten system that is of no help to Kenyans.

The pictorial metaphor gives rise to A GAVEL FOR THE JUDICIARY metonymy. The source object for corruption is worms hence CORRUPTION IS WORMS/MAGGOTS conceptual metaphor. The Great Chain of Being which is a hierarchical structure of all matter and life, places animals which wiggle or crawl for instance, worms at the lower order of animals. It is explained that the higher the being in the chain, the more attributes it has including the attributes of the beings below it. Worms therefore have limited attributes and are viewed as filthy, destructive animals. The pictorial metaphor is interpreted through cross domain mappings of the features of worms (source domain) onto corruption (target domain).

The pictorial metaphor is mono-modal, the cartoonist having made use of the visual language only to communicate. Forceville (2009) earlier explained in section 1.8 that mono-modal pictorial metaphor can be of visual sub-type. Apart from the use of the ideophone, the rest of the cartoon is visually presented and with the aid of the background information, the research was able to conclude that the cartoon is addressing corruption at the judiciary.

The cartoon in Figure 20 highlights the diminished election expectations of the common citizen often referred to as 'Wanjiku'



Figure 20: 22nd September, 2018

The period marks a new political regime following the 2017 General Elections. After elections the citizens are always hopeful of an improved livelihood that comes with a new crop of leaders with new election pledges. Unfortunately to the disappointment of '*Wanjiku*', this is never the case. In the pictorial metaphor is a brooding hen labelled *Wanjiku*. The hen (*Wanjiku*) is lying on its egg which symbolizes *ELECTION EXPECTATIONS* (indicated in capitalized text) with the hope that it will hatch in to chicks (goodies); the joy of every mother. This is likened to idiom, 'The goose that lays the golden eggs' referring to something that is beneficial or brings great gain. Unfortunately, the egg hatches into a snake labelled '*TAXES*' symbolizing the high tax rates levied on the common citizen. In this case, high tax rates were as a result of the corrupt members of parliament who were voted into office only mind about their welfare and individual gains and completely forgot about *Wanjiku*. They increased their pay packages and allowances at the expense of the common citizen who is the financier. This is artistically captured by the cartoonist who shows that the snake does not only destroy the expectations but goes ahead and eats up the hen herself. The pictorial metaphor explains the irony of the fact that leaders who *Wanjiku* herself elects are the ones who turn against her and eats her up; wrapping up the hopeless situation of *Wanjiku*. The source object of corruption in this conceptual metaphor is a snake, thus *CORRUPTION IS A LETHAL SNAKE* conceptual metaphor. The pictorial metaphor maps the features of a snake on to corrupt leaders to bring out their exploitative and mean nature.

The cartoonist has communicated the message through the use of written texts and images hence making it a multimodal pictorial metaphor. Both the text and image have integrated for complete meaning.

The cartoon in Figure 21 still reflects on the fight against corruption, in this case, by EACC.



Figure 21: 8th June, 2018

The figure shows the extent to which corruption has infiltrated Kenya, completely taking over the country. In the pictorial metaphor is a dragon labelled '*CORRUPTION*' that has entered and gone through a hut labelled '*KENYA*'. The hut appears dilapidated, in that it has cracks and patches most likely from the strain of the oversize dragon that is forcing itself through. A dragon which the cartoonist uses to symbolize corruption is a serpent-like creature, breathes fire as shown in the cartoon; vicious and perceived as evil. Next to the hut is an astonished man in a suit marked '*EACC*', hence symbolizing EACC, which is one of the agencies mandated with fighting corruption in Kenya. The man is holding an axe whose size seems to be too small for the job of slaying the dragon. He chops off the tail and lets out a sigh of relief '*PHEW*', an indication that he is impressed with his effort. The cartoonist is of a contrast opinion in the sense that, EACC's effort is too dismal to fulfill the common saying 'slaying the dragon' as the dragon (corruption) in this case, cannot be slain. At a distance, is '*Wanjiku*' watching in horror at the sight of the dragon and the dismal effort put by the EACC. '*Wanjiku*' is having her hand covering the mouth as an indication of dismay. The pictorial

metaphor is thus a mockery of the fight against corruption which appears to be too big for the country and EACC is only making a fool of himself, suggesting a change in strategy. The source object for corruption is a dragon thus CORRUPTION IS A DRAGON conceptual metaphor. The pictorial metaphor maps the features of the dragon (source domain) on to corruption (target domain). The cartoonist creatively narrates this story through both visual and verbal modality, making it a multimodal pictorial metaphor of the verbo-pictorial variety.

In conclusion, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL metaphor is the most common pictorial metaphor of corruption. The cartoonist uses animals in the conceptualization of corruption and the corrupt leaders as inhumane, gluttonous, indifferent and dangerous. The source objects include animals which are destructive, venomous, scavengers, greedy and vicious like: vultures, pigs, hyenas, snakes, bulls, dogs, worms and dragons. Conceptualization of humans as animals is captured in the Great Chain Metaphor which postulates that metaphoric properties flow up the Great Chain and not down. The chain puts humans at the top of all creations which affords them the benefit of containing all the properties of the levels below them. Thus for instance, human can have the heart of a lion but a lion cannot have the heart of human (Lakoff and Turner, 1989).

4.2.3 CORRUPTION IS A GIANT

CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor falls under orientational metaphors which had earlier been alluded to by El Refaie (2003). El Refaie states that size is used in cartoons to indicate the relative importance to various elements and further explains that exaggerated size is used to signify the abuse of power and force. CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor associates big size with power and small size with weakness as shown in the pictorial metaphors. This is a contradiction of the David and Goliath biblical story in which the small sized person emerges victorious despite the opponent having more physical

strength. Corruption stories on the contrary, are not stories of faith but of power over the weak hence the reason why the giants triumph over the dwarfs in a society.

In Figure 22 is the new EACC boss Mr. Twalib Abdallah who took over office of the EACC on 14th January, 2019, taking over from Mr. Halakhe Waqo whose term had expired.



Figure 22.: 16th January, 2019

The new boss committed to make corruption a high-risk venture in the country and inhospitable place for corrupt individuals. The source object in the pictorial metaphor is a beastly giant representing ‘CORRUPTION’ as shown through the label, hence CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor. The giant towers over the ‘EACC BOSS’ who has changed into boxing attire ready for the fight. This is evidenced by clothes and shoes that he was wearing thrown on the floor which could be an indication of diplomacy put aside since the task ahead is not an easy one. Through text, both the briefcases are labelled ‘WAQO’ and ‘EACC BOSS’ respectively hence it is easier for the reader to identify the personalities in the cartoon. The picture satirizes the fight against corruption as corruption is much bigger than his opponent (EACC) and it would take a miracle to bring him down. Walking away from the scene is Mr. Waqo whose message to the successor is ‘GOOD LUCK’, an insinuation that he had also tried but failed. Again this conveys the cartoonist’s

opinion on the hopelessness surrounding the fight against corruption as the fighters are weaklings who cannot do much. The interpretation of the pictorial metaphor therefore involves mapping of the features of the giant (source domain) onto corruption (target domain).

The cartoon in Figure 23 is based on the demolition of illegal structures by the Kenyan Government.



Figure 23: 21st February, 2019.

Kenya's Environmental Agency (NEMA) said the structures were illegal, some of which had been built on wet lands. But the activity just like many others in Kenya, was marred with corruption with citizens feeling that there was no fairness in the demolitions as those deemed to belong to high profile people were spared. The source – object of corruption is a huge hand labelled '*IMPUNITY*' shielding an intact structure which ought to be demolished. The roof of the house is written '*HIGH PROFILE ILLEGAL STRUCTURES/LAND,*' which is the evidence that it belongs to a high profile individual. Adjacent to the house is an excavator bringing down a structure and one can see rubbles spread all over the ground. The hands are metonymic expression of *HANDS STAND FOR MAN*. They are not ordinary hands but gigantic meaning they represent a giant which is symbolic of highly corrupt and influential

personalities in government. High handedness of corruption has then been deduced from mapping the features of the gigantic hand (source domain) on to corruption (target domain). The background information of the cartoon aided in the interpretation of this multimodal pictorial metaphor. The text and the image were both interpreted to arrive at the meaning.

Figure 24 is based on the celebrations on twentieth October which is Mashujaa Day (Heroes' Day) in Kenya.



Figure 24: 20th October, 2019

Mashujaa Day (Heroes' Day) is a day set aside to honour those who made significant contributions to Kenya's struggle for independence from the British. During the current celebrations in Figure 24, Eliud Kipchoge, the heroic Kenyan athlete who became the first person to ever run the forty two kilometer marathon in less than two hours, was awarded the Elder of the Golden Hearth (EGH) medal by the president. The president also congratulated Brigid Kosgei who broke the world marathon record; both of whom are presented visually. In the pictorial metaphor a question is posed 'Who are Kenya's real Mashujaa?' The cartoonist has written 'MASHUJAA' with a mixture of capital and small letters which could symbolize the confusion the citizens have in understanding who heroes are in Kenya. There is a huge protruding tummy and two slender athletes. The contrast in sizes heightens the irony

on who actually gains from Kenya's profits. The huge tummy is A HUGE TUMMY STANDS FOR A PERSON WHO BENEFITS FROM PROCEEDS OF CORRUPTION metonymy. It represents a huge man, a feature that is usually associated with being well off, powerful and highly placed individuals in the government. They are well fed from the Government's coffers that provides them with plenty and very minimal work, hence the obese figure. Just below the tummy are the two lean athletes running marathon to make their daily bread. Attention is drawn to the lean athletes as the real heroes who eat off their sweat. The pictorial metaphor employs irony and humour to challenge Kenya to rethink about the real heroes. The irony is that corruption rewards wrong 'powerful' individuals in the government and neglects the real heroes.

Figure 24 too is a multimodal pictorial metaphor consisting of both text and image. The visual images are supported by the verbal message.

As earlier discussed, cartoons have unique features that make it an effective tool for communication. Pictorial metaphor theory explains that one of the features is exaggerations in size, emotions and shape of a person or an object for effect. This feature is evident in CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor where the cartoonist uses gigantic images to show the powerful nature of corrupt individuals. The source objects include huge hands which can destroy the good or protect its own with impunity, huge bodies that can get away with evil because they are beyond confrontation and huge tummies of well-fed individuals. All these portray corrupt individuals as powerful, untouchable, faceless, formidable forces that render the fight against corruption futile. To back this conclusion again is Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who also note that physical size correlates with physical strength and the victor in a fight (corruption) is typically on top.

4.2.4 CORRUPTION IS CRIME

CORRUPTION IS CRIME as a pictorial metaphor has not been analysed by reviewed studies but Doig and Theobald (2000) define corruption as a crime which involves embezzlement of public funds and just like other offences is punishable by law. The present research is of the same opinion and likens corruption to criminal activities like robbery.

The cartoon in Figure 25 is pictorial metaphor likening Members of Parliament (MPs) to robbers.



Figure 25: 27th January, 2018

The MPs have just been voted in following the 2017 General Elections. An MP is supposed to represent his/her constituents in the National Assembly by ensuring the needs of the citizens are taken care of and their welfare improved. The pictorial metaphor however, portrays them as armed robbers who have held the citizens hostage and robbing the citizens at gun point giving rise to CORRUPT MPS ARE ROBBERS and CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY conceptual metaphors. The source object in this case, is robbers symbolized by pigs; animals known for their greed. This gives rise to MPS ARE PIGS conceptual metaphor. They are surrounding two helpless citizens who have surrendered and have nothing more to offer, yet they still have guns pointed at their heads. *Wanjiku's* patched clothes and the child

strapped on her back is an indication of the poverty and misery in which the common man lives. The robbers (MPs) have baskets which are meant to collect the stolen loot. The baskets are labelled ‘Salaries, Mileage Allowances and Other Allowances’ which are unrealistic demands made by the MPs once voted in and they expect the already over burdened tax payer to fund. The text at the top, a cry by *Wanjiku* ‘HELP! ROBBERY IN PROGRESS’ reinforces the view that corruption is robbery. Features of robbery are thus mapped on to corruption.

In Figure 26 is the Director of Criminal Investigations, DCI, Mr. George Kinoti who was appointed on 5th May, 2018 to replace Mr. Ndegwa Muhoro.

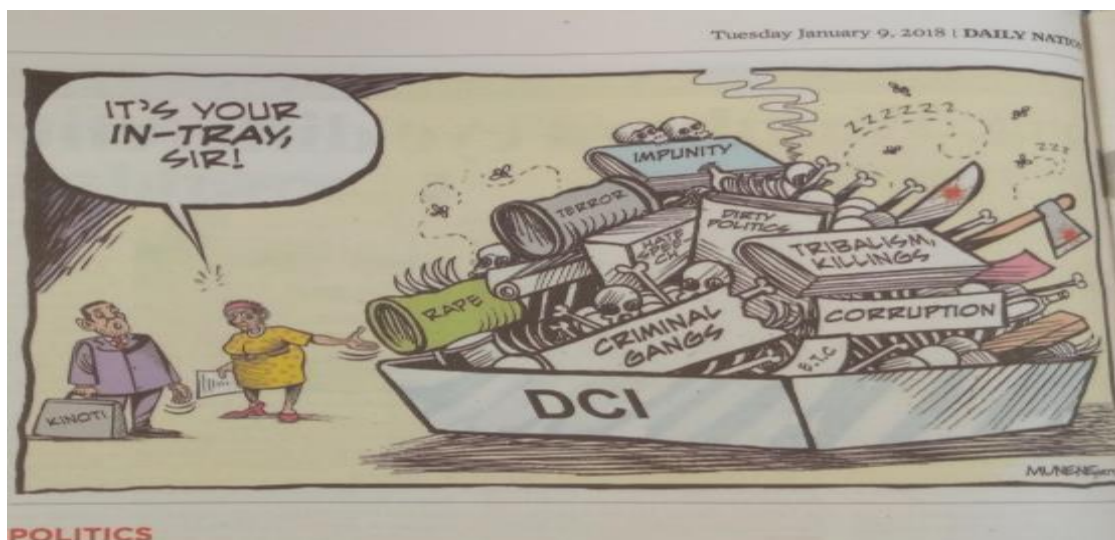


Figure 26: 9th January, 2018.

The DCI, carrying a brief case labelled ‘KINOTI’ is ushered into his new office to a full in tray containing a mess of many crimes that remain uninvestigated. The lady ushering him in, presumably the secretary exclaims ‘IT’S YOUR IN-TRAY SIR!’ In the tray are *impunity, terror, rape, dirty politics, criminal gangs, tribal killings and corruption*, all verbally labelled. The cartoonist lumps corruption together with other crimes giving rise to CORRUPTION IS NUMEROUS CRIMES conceptual metaphor. Beneath the crimes are images of equipment like *pangas* and axes stained with blood, a pointer to the fact that they

were used to carry out the heinous acts, together with the skeletons of the victims. The rotten mess and the stench have attracted flies, which is an indication that it has already over stayed. The conclusion is PENDING CORRUPTION CASES SYMBOLISES MORAL DECADENCE conceptual metaphor. Kenyans are therefore looking up to the new DCI boss to help sort out the mess.

In summary, the cartoonist depicts corruption as a crime that has devastating effects on the common man and should be punished just like any other crime. The interpretation of the pictorial metaphor involves mapping of the features of the crimes (source domain) on to corruption (target domain). This information is communicated though the multimodality of the pictorial metaphor which has summed up the sad story in a humorous cartoon making use of images aided by texts.

4.2.5 CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION OF THE POOR

CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION OF THE POOR conceptual metaphor has featured prominently in the present research. The metaphor was equally identified in Okunkrinmeta and Alabi (2014). They postulate that corrupt officials just like animals that depict them are greedy, exploitative and oppressive. For instance, they have likened them to leeches because they drain the treasury just as a leech sucks blood from the skin of other animals. While the reviewed studies identified the conceptual metaphor in linguistic metaphors, the present study has identified it in pictorial metaphors.

Figure 27 portrays corruption as exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful.



Figure 27: 6th July, 2018

The cartoon is based on the exploration of oil in Turkana by Tullow in partnership with the Government of Kenya. It would thus be logical that such a project benefits the locals and improve their livelihoods. The source object in the pictorial metaphor is an obese GOVT (labelled) gulping oil, also labelled 'TURKANA OIL', from a big pipe. The excess body weight is evident on the strain put on the coat, an indication that he is gaining weight from excess feeding. In contrast to the GOVT (Government), is the Turkana common man, who is looking thin and emaciated probably from starvation and is still unable to benefit from the oil which is meant for him. The tap, which symbolizes the gains from the oil project, is extremely small and he only manages to get trickles of the oil. The scenario is ironic as the big person (Government) would be expected to feed less since he has amassed enough and the small man (locals) be fed more, but not in the case of corruption. The cartoonist satirizes the greed, insatiable hunger and corruption of the Government in which they bleed the poor to feed themselves, giving rise to CORRUPTION IS GREED conceptual metaphor at the same time. INSATIABLE HUNGER IS A SYMBOL OF A CORRUPT GOVERNMENT. The interpretation of the message involves mapping of the source domain on to the target domain.

The cartoon in Figure 28 is based on the maize scandal in which the media revealed that cartels were taking money meant for maize farmers.



Figure 28: 8th October, 2018

Maize brought into the country from Uganda was delivered to six National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) depots in western Kenya by cartels who received billions at the expense of genuine farmers. In the pictorial metaphor there is a gigantic faceless hand labelled ‘CARTELS’ out stretched to receive money in a bag labelled ‘MAIZE FARMERS’. The big size of the hand is symbolic of powerful, high profile individuals giving rise to HANDS STAND FOR PEOPLE. The payments are being made at a level much higher than the reach of the farmers (indicated through a label) who in the contrary are symbolized by many small hands raised in an attempt to reach the money but it is impossible. Again, the cartoonist uses physical height to communicate superiority of the cartels because in orientational metaphors height is used to express power; greater height is an indication of more power and vice versa. The farmers are helpless individuals carrying placards written ‘HAKI YETU’ in Kiswahili, meaning they have been denied what is rightfully theirs by corrupt individuals. The source- object in the pictorial metaphor is therefore big, oppressive hands, giving rise to both CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION and THE CORRUPT ARE GIANTS conceptual metaphors. This information is expressed through figure 29 which is a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

Figure 29 captures corruption in Kenyan prisons following an investigation that was carried out by KTN television.



Figure 29: 28th September, 2018

It was established that prison life was not that bad for the rich and influential but remained a living-hell for the poor. The cartoon juxtaposes the life of the common man (*COMMON MWANANCHI IN REMAND*) and that of the rich (*V.I.Ps IN REMAND*), both indicated in

text. The common man is subjected to a lot of mistreatment evident from the picture which shows a dilapidated room with cracks and patched walls. The prisoners too are in poor condition wearing patched up clothes, sitting on the floor and the treatment received from the prison wardens does not make things any better. The picture shows two prison wardens clobbering a detainee who is lying helplessly on the floor. At the corner is a bucket overflowing with human waste and on the same floor is a bowl from which the detainees feed. A look at the adjacent room gives a completely different picture. Criminals and suspects in remand who have cash live like kings in self-contained cells with satellite TV and flush toilets. The room is air conditioned and the food appears to be much better than for those who are out of prison because they are able to buy their comfort through bribes. They are relaxing in a Jacuzzi bathtub and are even treated to wine. The cartoonist heightens their corrupt nature by depicting them as pigs and hyenas; animals known for their greed. The source object of corruption is therefore the greedy, oppressive animals (VIPs) in remand. The cartoon gives rise to **CORRUPTION IS GREED**, **THE CORRUPT ARE ANIMALS** and **CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION** conceptual metaphors. The interpretation of the images is aided by verbal texts thus making it a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

The discussed source objects portray corruption as exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful individuals who use their power and resources to influence their ways at the expense of the common man. Facilities which are meant for common man end up in the hands of the influential individuals who live lavishly while the common man live in deplorable conditions and can barely meet his basic needs. **CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION** conceptual metaphor depicts the corrupt as inhuman, selfish and a liability to the citizens. It is also worth noting that one cartoon can illustrate more than one conceptual metaphor as shown in figures 21, 22, and 23. The relationship between corruption and size has also been

heightened so that CORRUPTION IS FAT/ HUGE BODY SIZE whereas UNCORRUPT IS THIN/EMACIATED BODY SIZE.

4.2.6 CORRUPTION IS GREED

CORRUPTION IS GREED conceptual metaphor which describes corrupt leaders too is a conceptual metaphor that was identified in the reviewed studies. Corrupt leaders were compared to greedy animals like the vultures and hyenas which prey and feed on other animals in the study of Okunkrimenta and Alabi (2014). Abu (2008) also comments that Nigerian's wealth benefits only less than 1% of the population (the privileged few) who own more than they need while the vast majority of the people wallow in poverty and misery in the midst of plenty. The same opinion is depicted in the present study.

The cartoon in Figure 30 is based on the National Youth Service (NYS) Scandals in 2015 and again witnessed in 2018, as evidenced from the text.

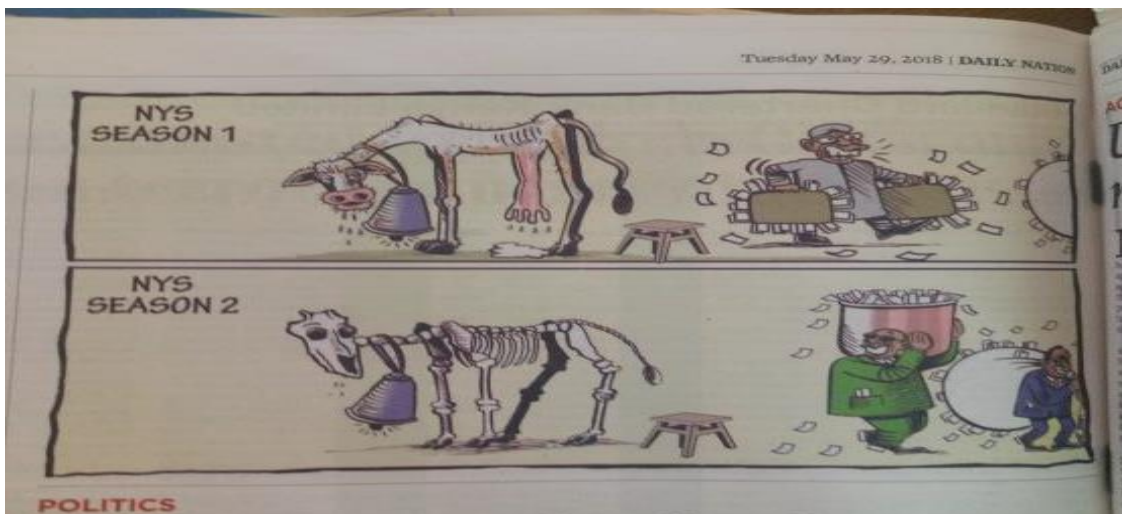


Figure 30: 29th May, 2018

In 2018 the National Youth Service (NYS) was hit by Ksh.10.5 billion scandal in a scheme which involved individuals from senior management at NYS and National Treasury as well as suppliers. It was a corruption scandal in the Ministry of Devolution and Planning. The suspects faced charges that included forgery, money laundering, abuse of office, obtaining by false pretence and fraud. The source- objects in this pictorial metaphor are inhumane looters

who are driven by excessive greed leaving their victims at the verge of death. The cartoonist names the two scandals *SEASON 1* and *SEASON 2* just like in movie series because the same sector is looted for the first time and then the looters come back again after three years to clear off whatever little was left. In the first ‘season’, the cow which symbolizes the Ministry of Devolution and Planning is milked dry, left thin but still has some flesh. The looters come back again in ‘season 2’ and mercilessly milk the already emaciated cow leaving it a mere skeleton. The greed of the looters is emphasized by the big sizes of the containers in which they stuff the loot and still one can see money spilling on to the ground, an indication of taking more than one needs; hence **CORRUPTION IS GREED** conceptual metaphor. Looting of the NYS is likened to milking a cow dry. The meaning involves interpretation of both the texts and the images, making the pictorial metaphor multimodal.

Figure 31 highlights some of the biggest scandals of 2018.



Figure 31: 28th May, 2018

The media reported that in 2018 Kenya witnessed more scandals than any other year. People had been arraigned in court over the dealings but they always seemed to find a way to get out of it. Some of the biggest scandals of 2018 included National Youth Service, National Hospital Insurance Fund, Kenya Pipeline Company, National Cereals and Produce Board and Kenya Power and Lighting Company scandal. The cartoonist satirizes this pathetic situation

in Kenya. In the pictorial metaphor is a citizen reading a newspaper whose headline is ‘*LOOTERS PARADISE*’. The looting is so massive that it is compared to a celebration. The celebration is pictorially captured with a picture of a dancing person drawn at the back of the first looters jacket. The abetted looting is further illustrated by the citizens’ comments, ‘*WE SHOULD NOW AMEND THE CONSTITUTION TO MAKE LOOTING LEGAL.*’ This is because the constitution in place does not seem to be helpful either, in the contrary, it appears to abet corruption. In the cartoon are images of shameless looters carrying money, labeled *NYS* and *NCPB*, which is visibly very heavy, in droves. *Wanjiku* stares in disbelief at what is going on, that is, the looting spree. The source objects of corruption in the conceptual metaphor are shameless, greedy looters stealing in broad daylight under the watch of the common citizens; a confirmation that **CORRUPTION IS GREED** and **CORRUPTION IS LOOTING MASSIVELY FROM GOVERNMENT**. This again is multimodal pictorial metaphor of the verbo-pictorial type.

The cartoon in Figure 32 too is still based on the *NYS* scandal, highlighting the greedy nature of the corrupt.



Figure 32: 16th May, 2018

The cartoon shows two individuals, symbolized by pigs, coming into *NYS* offices, most likely as office holders. The door is marked *IN* and *OUT*. The cartoonist has captioned this

door ‘THE DOOR OF TRANSFORMATION.’ When they come in they are slender individuals, carrying small bags an indication that they do not own much. These images are contrasted with the obvious change in their body size when they come out of the NYS door. They have gained a lot of weight courtesy of the plenty of money that they were able to embezzle at NYS and as if that is not enough they are carrying loads of money out with them. The money is so much that it is spilling out of the huge bags. The source- objects in this conceptual metaphor are looters (pigs) stealing money from NYS. The cartoonist uses the image of pigs as these are animal that are known for their greed and that is what the corrupt are. Hence **CORRUPTION IS GREED** conceptual metaphor and **INCREASE IN BODY SIZES STANDS FOR UPTAKE IN CORRUPT DEALS** metonymy as brought out through this multimodal pictorial metaphor.

The **CORRUPTION IS GREED** conceptual metaphor captures individuals who have an excessive desire for more and more money. They are so selfish that they do not care how the rest of the citizens would survive all they care about is their ill acquired wealth which has stripped them off their human nature making them greedy animals.

4.2.7 CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE

CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor is another metaphor that has featured in a number of reviewed studies. Bratu and Kazoka (2018) and Isyaku et al (2016) conceptualized corruption as a disease that infects a society and its eradication is visualized as medication. **CORRUPTION IS DISEASE** conceptual metaphor therefore presupposes two other metaphors; **AN INSTITUTION IS A HUMAN BODY** and **A SOCIAL PROBLEM IS A DISEASE** conceptual metaphors. Corruption is seen as an endemic with cancer being the most frequently used conceptualization. The understanding of cancer invokes the notion of consumption just like corruption as discussed in the present study.

The background of Figure 33 is when Kenya signed an agreement with Cuba in 2017 to bring one hundred doctors from the country to fill gaps in Kenyan hospitals.



Figure 33: 3rd April, 2018

The Kenyan government said that the deal to import Cuban doctors would counter gaps in Kenya's medical facilities. The medical practitioners, however, were of the opinion that the move would not address the systemic dysfunction in Kenya's health system which had no drugs, no functioning theaters and laboratories. The general opinion was that Kenya exhausts what it had locally, and if it lacked capacity locally then focus should be on training Kenya's own so that they could manage the patients in Kenya. The medical practitioners union said that more than one thousand two hundred Kenyan doctors had been unemployed since May, 2017 yet they were qualified both as general practitioners and specialists.

The pictorial metaphor presents the view of the Kenyan citizens who felt that the move was another opening for corruption. The cartoonist likens corruption in Kenya to a cancer which the Cuban doctors need to get its cure from the question '*ANY STRATEGY FOR CURING THIS CANCER?*' This means the real problem with Kenya is corruption. The image is the map of Kenya having legs and arms, therefore symbolizing the people of Kenya and on it is a huge tumour, labelled '*CORRUPTION, DEBT*', whose roots are deeply entrenched into the body. The tumour (*CORRUPTION*) is weighing down Kenya who has sought help from the Cuban

doctors who are equally amazed at the size of the tumour. The source- object in the conceptual metaphor is cancer which if not cured than can kill the country; hence CORRUPTION IS CANCER conceptual metaphor. The interpretation of this message has been aided by both the text and the image, making the cartoon a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

The cartoon in Figure 34 is still connected to the importation of the Cuban doctors amid the many corruption scandals in Kenya in 2018.



Figure 34: 3rd July, 2018

In the pictorial metaphor is a man symbolizing Kenya (in colours of the national flag) lying in the Intensive Care Unit, *I.C.U.* (text) in critical condition. This is evidenced by the fact that he is on artificial oxygen, and on his bed is the beeping heart monitor. Again on the bed is the text ‘*DIAGNOSED WITH CORRUPTION, TOXIC SUGAR, DEBT, TRIBALISM and CARTELS*’ which are all ailments that Kenya is suffering from. The Cuban doctors have been brought in to the *I.C.U* room to cure Kenya and the lady in the picture who could be Sicily Kariuki, the then Cabinet Secretary for Health, is asking the doctors ‘*ANYTHING YOU CAN DO TO HELP?*’ The doctors are in shock regarding the state of the patient. The source-object in this pictorial metaphor is a critically ill patient suffering from corruption, therefore

CORRUPTION IS AN ILLNESS conceptual metaphor. The pictorial metaphor is multimodal evidenced by the fact that the cartoonist has made use of images, aided by verbal messages.

The pictorial metaphor in Figure 35 too is based on numerous corruption scandals in Kenya.



Figure 35: 9th December, 2019

The year 2019 just like 2018 was also a period marred with corruption scandals hitting most of the newspaper headlines. The media reported that Kenya was perceived as one of the most corrupt countries having been ranked 144 out of 180 countries on Transparency International's 2018 Corruption Perception index. The year 2019 reported five scandals that left the country in shock. These included Lands Ministry's failure to account for twenty billion Kenya shillings, the Mega-dams Scandal, Triple Governor Arrest, NHIF Scandal and Kenya Power Bogus Transformers Scandal. All these scandals cost the Kenyan tax payers billions of shillings, leaving the economy in the doldrums.

The cartoon has the image of the 'SCANDALS', symbolized by a sick man, lying on the blood transfusion bed. The body of the person is visibly swollen, a sign of over blood transfusion. The tag placed on the patient reads 'SCANDAL AFTER SCANDAL AFTER SCANDAL AFTER SCANDAL' depicting an infinite number of scandals. Kenyans bundled together and

hung upside down make the blood transfusion bottle which shows that the common citizens are the ones sacrificed to fund corruption scandals. The blood donors (common citizens) are small and miserable being bled to transfuse an insatiable recipient who has grown excessively big but still takes in more blood. Corruption in this case is portrayed as a sick patient who has to be transfused with blood to stay alive, giving rise to **CORRUPTION IS AN ANEMIC PATIENT** conceptual metaphor. The use of text and image in bringing out the meaning makes the pictorial metaphor multimodal.

In summary, the conceptual metaphor **CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE** is depicted through source objects like a cancerous tumour, a deadly ailment whose sufferer ends up in the I.C.U.; is supplied with artificial oxygen and even needs blood transfusion in order to survive and an anemic patient. All these have to be funded by the tax payers' money and so this is a serious issue though the cartoonist communicates the message through humour. Cancer, a deadly disease, is a source-object that is numerously used in the pictorial metaphors to symbolize corruption. The Oxford English Dictionary defines cancer as anything that frets, corrodes, corrupts or consumes slowly and secretly. The same characteristics of disease are mapped on to corruption through cross domain mappings.

4.2.8 CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY

CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY conceptual metaphor is unique to the present study. It depicts corruption as a brutal action that causes physical bodily harm to the victims and even kills. The corrupt are politically powerful but lawless individuals who blatantly defy the law and get away with it. They are out to destroy any obstacle that comes between them and corruption as portrayed in the pictorial metaphors.

Figure 36 is addressing corruption of the state and its agents which had blatantly disregarded court orders.



Figure 36: 31st March, 2018

The background information on the Figure is that the Kenya Section of International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) condemned the increasing and blatant disregard of Court Orders by the state and its agents which had characterised recent events in the country. The body said that they had closely observed a government that perceived and understood itself to be above the law. The jurists denounced the actions and urged Kenyans not to sit back and watch as the government, which was under obligation to respect the courts, operated in a manner that painted high levels of impunity in the governance system. They swore not to relent especially where the state and public officers demonstrated contempt for non-adherence to court orders. Some of the events included disregard of court orders to turn on the transmission on the Nation T.V., K.T.N. and Citizen on 29th January, 2018 and the disregard of a series of court orders issued by Justice Kimaru in respect of Miguna Miguna.

The cartoonist captures these situations through cross domain mappings and paints a picture of a cock, symbolizing the judiciary passing a ruling. The Judiciary says 'RESPECT COURT ORDERS'. But just below that picture, is another picture of the same Judiciary subjected to

brutal destruction by high profile individuals labelled ‘*IMPUNITY*’ symbolized by hands, which are much bigger than the cock giving rise to *HANDS STAND FOR PEOPLE* metonymy. The people (*IMPUNITY*) use pairs of scissors to de feather the live cock leaving it exposed, naked and vulnerable. The cock representing the *JUDICIARY* then coils up, drops the gavel and stares in disbelief at the brutality meted on it; hence *CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY* conceptual metaphor. The source- objects are pairs of scissors representing brutal equipment used to cause destruction to individuals by the corrupt. This is a multimodal pictorial metaphor as the target domain, that is, *IMPUNITY* is identified through text while the source- object is presented visually.

The cartoon in Figure 37 is based on the Big 4 Agenda, President Uhuru Kenyatta’s development blue print, which comprised Food Security, Affordable Housing, Manufacturing and Affordable Healthcare.



Figure 37: 30th May 2018

In May 2018, the media reported exposed scandals which posed threat to the achievement of the Big 4 Agenda. Scandals being unearthed in various government agencies were termed as a major threat to the achievement of the Big 4 Agenda championed by Jubilee administration and Ndindi Nyoro , the then Kiharu Legislator, said that if scandals were not tamed and

culprits convicted, the government would face an uphill task in implementing the development agenda. He noted that key projects had been stalled after greedy civil servants in collusion with unscrupulous business people defraud the government.

The cartoonist wraps up this scenario through cross domain mappings in a pictorial metaphor which portrays President Uhuru Kenyatta, through the caricature, as a toddler crawling to danger. On his t-shirt, is the text '*BIG FOUR AGENDA*' which is what he represents. Ahead of him are several huge rat traps labelled '*CORRUPTION*' laid in wait for him. The traps symbolize the lethal nature of corruption, as rat traps are used to kill rats, their victims, and so the same danger faces the Big Four Agenda. The danger facing the development agenda is further highlighted by the '*danger sign*' mounted in the field pointing the direction in which the toddler (Big Four Agenda) is headed. The toddler however, does not notice the danger ahead as he is looking away from the trap making the impending danger more probable. The pictorial metaphor gives rise to *CORRUPTION IS A KILLER* conceptual metaphor, which means corruption ends dreams and kills well-intentioned projects meant for the good of the common citizen. The source-object is a rat trap which is about to kill the *BIG FOUR AGENDA*, showing the hopelessness of the Big Four Agenda in the face of corruption. It gives rise to *CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY* conceptual metaphor.

This is a multimodal pictorial metaphor but within it, the research identified fusion metaphor which is a mono-modal pictorial metaphor. The caricature of Uhuru Kenyatta representing the Big Four Agenda can be interpreted independently as *UHURU KENYATTA IS A TODDLER* without the verbal reinforcement. But because the cartoon is a narrative, the rest of the story brings in the text and more images to complete the story.

The cartoon in Figure 20, earlier discussed in Section 4.2.2 too depicts corruption as death trap. It is based on the diminished election expectations of the common citizen often referred

to as '*Wanjiku*'. In the pictorial metaphor is a brooding hen labelled *Wanjiku*. The hen (*Wanjiku*) is lying on its egg which symbolizes election expectations with the hope that it will hatch in to chicks. Unfortunately, the egg hatches into a snake labelled 'TAXES' symbolizing the high tax rates levied on the common citizen. The cartoonist shows that the snake does not only destroy the expectations but goes ahead and eats the hen herself. This pictorial metaphor explains the irony of the fact that the corrupt leaders who *Wanjiku* herself elects are the ones who turn against her and eats her up; wrapping up the danger in which *Wanjiku* finds herself. The source- object of corruption in this pictorial metaphor is a brutal snake that swallows its victims, thus CORRUPTION IS DEATH TRAP conceptual metaphor. The interpretation of the message is aided by cross domain mappings of the features of the source domain (snake) on to the target domain (corruption).

In conclusion, the brutal nature of corruption is shown through the use of source objects like a pair of scissors, rat-traps and destructive snakes. These objects do not only cause harm to the victims, but they are also capable of killing. The cartoonist therefore metaphorically likens corruption to brutality and murder.

4.2.9 CORRUPTION IS WAR

Reviewed studies of Isyaku et al (2016) and Bratu and Kazoka (2018) conceptualized CORRUPTION AS WAR that needs to be fought because of its evil nature. Pictorial metaphors in section 4.2.8 depicted corruption as a killer enemy that endangers the lives of the common citizens. It therefore follows that the society has to go to war against the enemy so as to secure its interests and safety. Fight against corruption or curtailing corruption is war against corruption as portrayed in the pictorial metaphors.

This cartoon in Figure 38 follows the widespread corruption scandals that hit the country in 2018.



Figure 38: 18th June, 2018

The media reported that the country lost over 13 Billion Kenya Shillings to graft deals in key state departments such as National Youth Service, Kenya Pipeline Company, National Cereals and Produce Board, National Hospital Insurance Fund and the Ministry of Lands. President Uhuru Kenyatta, who pledged to stamp out graft when he was first elected in 2013, moved swiftly to deflect public resentment and reported that Kenya was not going to tolerate unethical people. Eradicating corruption however, had not been easy since it was practiced by influential top officials who did not take the accusations lying down.

The pictorial metaphor depicts two boxers in the boxing arena. One is Kenya, symbolized by the map of Kenya. He is much smaller in size compared to his beastly opponent ‘CORRUPTION’, indicated in text. Kenya seems to be having a difficult time in the fight with corruption, judged from the way he is sweating profusely. Corruption on the other hand, is a huge bull towering over his opponent. He is well built, muscular and seems unmoved by the fight; hence CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor as earlier discussed in section 4.2.3. The cartoonist has painted corruption black, a colour associated with evil; which was discussed earlier too in the present study, hence communicating the evil nature of corruption. The text in the speech bubble by Kenya reads ‘I WILL NOCK YOU

DOWN!!,'giving rise to WINNING THE WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION IS KNOCKING IT DOWN conceptual metaphor. This is mockery of the government given its frail nature which makes this statement be a mere wishful thinking. The cartoon gives a grim picture in the fight against corruption as corruption is much more powerful than the government. The source-object is a beastly boxer who is fighting back, thus CORRUPTION IS A BEAST, CORRUPTION IS A MONSTER and CORRUPTION IS WAR conceptual metaphor. The source- object has been given through the image while the target object is presented in text making this a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

The cartoon in Figure 39 is based on corruption scandal at Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC).

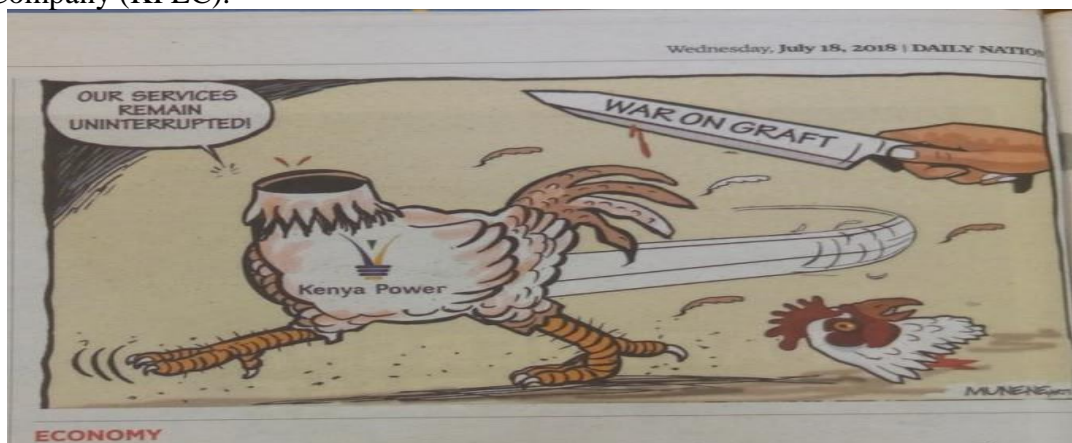


Figure 39: 18th July, 2018

The court granted bail to Kenya Power chief executive Ken Tarus, his predecessor Ben Chumo and other senior managers at the company who were charged with conspiring to commit economic crime and abuse of office. They were accused of entering into a contract with a private firm for supply of transformers, which turned out to be faulty. The company named Jared Omondi Othieno as acting chief executive and said the interior senior management team would run the company pending the hearing and conclusion of ongoing

court cases of the previous managers. The then Energy Minister, Charles Keter, who announced Othieno's appointment, said the company's operation would continue as normal.

The cartoonist metaphorically captures this war on corruption using the image of a headless cock symbolizing 'KENYA POWER', whose head has been chopped off with a knife written 'WAR ON GRAFT'. Knife therefore represents tools used in a fight, that is, KNIFE FOR WAR WEAPONS metonymy. The cartoonist satirizes KPLC's operations symbolized by a headless cock that continues running leaving the head behind. The insinuation is that the cock may not run very far before dropping dead, which is the same for the operations at the organization giving rise to THE HEAD ARE TOP MANAGERS conceptual metaphor. The idiom 'Running around like a headless chicken' also means to be busy doing many things, but in a way that is not very effective. The message the cartoonist is passing is that Kenya Power cannot pretend to be effective. The satire is further captured by the text spoken by KPLC 'OUR SERVICES REMAIN UNINTERRUPTED'. This is mere defiance and lack of admittance that corruption is retrogressive and fighting corruption has been likened to chopping off the cock's head. The huge cock stands for a corrupt organization (KPLC), making it the source object in CORRUPTION IS A COCK conceptual metaphor, while the knife symbolizes the systems involved in the fight against corruption. In this cartoon again, meaning is brought out by integrating text and image making it a multimodal metaphor according to pictorial metaphor theory.

Figure 40 reflects the failed war on corruption.



Figure 40: 4th November, 2018

The media reported an anti-corruption drive which was felt to have left out the universities. Some academics and stakeholders felt that President Uhuru Kenyatta's war on corruption had

seen the arrest and prosecution of high-profile civil servants but had over looked the universities in his campaign. Professor Sammy Kubasu, former chairperson of the University Academic Staff Union (UASU), said agencies mandated with fighting corruption such as Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) and office of the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) had failed to take serious measures, especially in Kenya's public universities.

These sentiments are captured by the cartoonist who has used images to paint the failed war on corruption. In the pictorial metaphor there are different tools used in fixing damages, representing agencies charged with the fight against corruption. There are a pair of pliers- Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI), power saw- Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), a hammer- Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) and a gavel- (JUDICIARY); all given in image and labelled in text. The tools are worn out, damaged, rusty, rotten and in no working condition giving rise to EACC IS A BROKEN HAMMER, DCI IS A RUSTY PAIR OF PLIERS, DPP IS A POWER SAW and THE JUDICIARY IS A ROTTEN GAVEL. The text in the cartoon reads 'WAR ON GRAFT' followed with parenthesis which draws the reader's attention to the tools. It is a mockery of the fight and the cartoonist doubts the genuineness of the war on graft since all the agencies are in no condition to continue with the fight, thus CORRUPTION IS WAR conceptual metaphor. The message is communicated through images and texts, that is, both labels and a caption, thus it is a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

In the figure 41 cartoon, the DCI, which is one of the agencies charged with the fight against corruption, swore that the war was going to continue.



Figure 41: 21st March, 2019

The DCI was of the opinion that his office had authority to fight corruption. The cartoon is an image of the DCI (indicated through text) in the war against corruption. The DCI is inflating a balloon written ‘WAR ON GRAFT’, a symbol of the effort put in the fight. His facial expression in the first picture indicates that it is no mean task, and in the subsequent pictures he makes good progress in inflating the balloon though it leaves him exhausted. He then poses to see the progress in the last picture. Behind the balloon is a huge hand labelled ‘IMPUNITY’ holding a needle ready to pierce the balloon, and one can only guess what will happen next. The message in the cartoon is CORRUPTION IS WAR conceptual metaphor involving the cunning perpetrators of corruption and the office of the DCI. In this case the object for the fight is a needle which renders the efforts put in the fight futile. The target domain has been verbally represented while the source is visually represented as explained within the pictorial metaphor theory.

The CORRUPTION IS WAR conceptual metaphor has thus been captured by both images and texts. The source-objects include boxers in a boxing ring, tools for war such as pliers, a hammer, a gavel, a power saw, a needle and a knife. All these objects have been used by the cartoonist to pass the message on the fight against corruption though they portray the

pessimistic attitude of the cartoonist and by extension of the common citizen regarding the war. The cartoon communicates this through cross domain mappings.

4.2.10 CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE

CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE conceptual metaphor is unique to the present study. It depicts corruption as a vice that is always ahead of its fighters, very complex and sophisticated to understand hence it is not easy to catch the perpetrators. The pictorial metaphors employ different types of source-objects to map the conceptual metaphor.

In Figure 42 Heads of Mission in Kenya had paid a courtesy call on the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission to discuss areas of partnership, collaboration and cooperation in combating corruption and promoting culture of integrity in Kenya.



Figure 42: 5th June, 2018

During the meeting, the Heads of Mission were informed that the commission had made major strides in the last one year. The cartoon in figure 43 captures this news through satire. In the pictorial metaphor, is a van carrying corrupt officials symbolized by various greedy animals such as hyena and pigs (CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL); and on top of the van there are bags stuffed with looted money. The van is speeding away and in pursuit is the

EACC boss riding on a tortoise which seems exhausted and has actually fallen asleep (illustrated by the stars and the ideophone ‘zzzzzzzzzz’). Both the ‘EACC’ and ‘GRAFT’ have been identified through text. The EACC boss says ‘I’M IN TOTAL PURSUIT!’ but logically speaking, it would take magic for the tortoise to catch up with the van. The cartoon therefore explains the elusive nature of corruption with the source- object being a fast moving van pursued by a tortoise symbolizing the slow nature of EACC which is one of the state agencies that fight corruption. The pictorial metaphor gives rise to EACC IS A TORTOISE and CORRUPTION IS A SPEEDING VEHICLE conceptual metaphors. The target domains are presented in text while source domains are in images and an explanation of the event is also given in a verbal comment thus it is a multimodal metaphor.

The cartoon in Figure 43 also shows the complexity in fighting corruption.



Figure 43: 10th January, 2019

The agencies charged with the task of fighting corruption do not seem to be making any head-ways to the disappointment of ‘Wanjiku’, the common citizen. In the pictorial metaphor, is the poverty stricken *Wanjiku* (neologism for the common citizens), a baby strapped on her back, bare footed, her patched up clothes; are all signs of not doing well financially. She is staring in shock at the path-finding puzzle to the fight against corruption where her hope lies. The path-finding is so winded and complex that *Wanjiku* is evidently convinced that this war

will never be won, that is, corrupt individuals can never be caught up with. The paths in the puzzle are supposed to lead from 'WAR ON GRAFT' to 'ARRESTS, PROSECUTIONS etc' which are indicated in text, and this has proved impossible. The message the cartoonist is passing therefore is CORRUPTION IS A COMPLEX JIG-SAW PUZZLE and CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE through the pictorial metaphor. The text and the image have integrated to bring out the overall meaning.

The cartoon in Figure 44 followed the state capture report which explained Kenya's inability to fight corruption.



Figure 44: 13th May, 2019

The report asked that if indeed the state capture benefits the elite, then why do they turn around and fight corruption that they are a part and parcel of, and whether their actions can really be construed as anti-corruption initiatives or simply as political management strategies. The report argued that the government embraced the 'appearance' of reform rather than the 'fact' of reform because deep reforms would loosen the ruling elite's grip on power and so severely subvert politics as played in Kenya.

The cartoonist metaphorically shows the lack of seriousness in the fight against corruption. In the cartoon, is the picture of the president Uhuru Kenyatta symbolizing government (GOVT) on a revolving door with a looter. The looter is represented by a fat pig (a symbol of greed) carrying a huge bag written 'LOOT'. On the ground are several foot prints around the revolving door which is an indication that the chase has been going on for some time. It

appears to be more of a game than serious exercise. The president swears ‘*I’LL JAIL YOU*’ but it appears that the chase will go on forever and the looter will never be caught, thus CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE conceptual metaphor. The source-object is a looter on a revolving door evading capture by the Government. In this cartoon again, the source object is presented in image while the target object is in text.

CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE conceptual metaphor portrays corruption as a wise which is ahead of everyone. It is difficult to catch or find by the state agents who are very slow, riding on slow animals like tortoise and snail; or unable to unravel a complex path-finding puzzle; or are simply evasive, running away and the government is unable to employ better strategies in capturing them, in other words, the government is simply bidding time.

4.2.11 CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN

CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor is also unique to the present study though it is closely related to CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION conceptual metaphor that was identified in Okunkrinmeta and Alabi (2014)’s study. Corrupt leaders and their corrupt deals are a burden to the already suffering common citizens who are the ones who directly bear the brunt of corruption as depicted in the pictorial metaphors.

Figure 45 is on corruption scandals involving senior leaders in the government who loot for individual benefits but later make their burdens community burdens.



Figure 45: 1st July, 2018

Kenyan media had reported on dozens of graft scandals involving public officers conspiring to steal from state coffers since President Uhuru Kenyatta took office in 2013. It was reported that some officers had been tried but none had been convicted. Corruption scandals involved senior leaders in the government who loot for individual benefits. The unfortunate bit is that when they are caught up with and accused of corruption then they turn to their communities and claim that the community is being targeted thus ending up making their burden, a community burden. Bearing one's consequences of evil doing is often likened to carrying 'one's cross'; an analogy to the bible story where Jesus is carrying the sinners' burdens (cross).

In the cartoon is a group of people (*COMMUNITY*) helping their kin carry a heavy cross written '*GRAFT*'. The *COMMUNITY* is not only carrying the cross, but they are also carrying their kin, who is the corrupt individual. The irony is that the vice is committed by an individual but the 'cross' is carried by the whole community; shifting the burden to the community. This means that the community has to empathize, shoulder the blame and find a solution to the problem. The facial expressions of the bearers' of the cross (*COMMUNITY*) show the unbearable weight of the load they are carrying which is a symbol of the gravity of the vice. The cartoonist has painted the cross black which further illustrates the evil nature of corruption, giving rise to *CORRUPTION IS EVIL* and *CORRUPTION IS A HEAVY CROSS* conceptual metaphors. The source-object is thus a cross which is too heavy for the owner to carry alone. This cartoon has made use of both text and image to communicate the meaning hence it is a multimodal pictorial metaphor according to pictorial metaphor theory.

This cartoon in Figure 46 too is based on the collective responsibility of the community in carrying the burden of corruption.



Figure 46: 14th December, 2018

The cartoon is a mockery of Kenya's leadership and oppression of the common citizen. The pictorial metaphor contains a group of leaders on a podium written '*GRAFT SUSPECTS*'. The leaders are symbolized by greedy animals, such as pigs and vultures, (*CORRUPT INDIVIDUALS ARE GREEDY ANIMALS*) which characterizes the nature of the leaders. They are elegantly dressed in suits, an indication of affluence. They are saying '*THE WAR ON GRAFT HAS BEEN POLITICIZED*' which is an insinuation that they are being targeted because of their political affiliations.

In contrast to the corrupt leaders, are the poverty stricken common citizens carrying the leaders plus their baggage. They appear overwhelmed with the weight but the cartoonist satirizes their situation because out of ignorance they are defending their 'son'. They are saying '*OUR SON IS INNOCENT*' '*THEY ARE TARGETTING OUR COMMUNITY!!*' yet above them, the leaders (sons) are happily enjoying the loot as they suffer under the weight. This is symbolic of the common citizens bearing the burden by funding the corrupt deals which leaves them even poorer and miserable. This pictorial metaphor gives rise to *CORRUPTION IS AN UNBEARABLE LOAD ON SUFFERING CITIZENS* conceptual

metaphor which is interpreted through cross domain mappings. The source-object are leaders (animals) carried by the common man. The pictorial metaphor is multimodal, having represented the message both in text and image.

The cartoon in Figure 47 followed media report that Kenya's debt burden had been rising dangerously by almost one trillion shillings annually in the last six years.

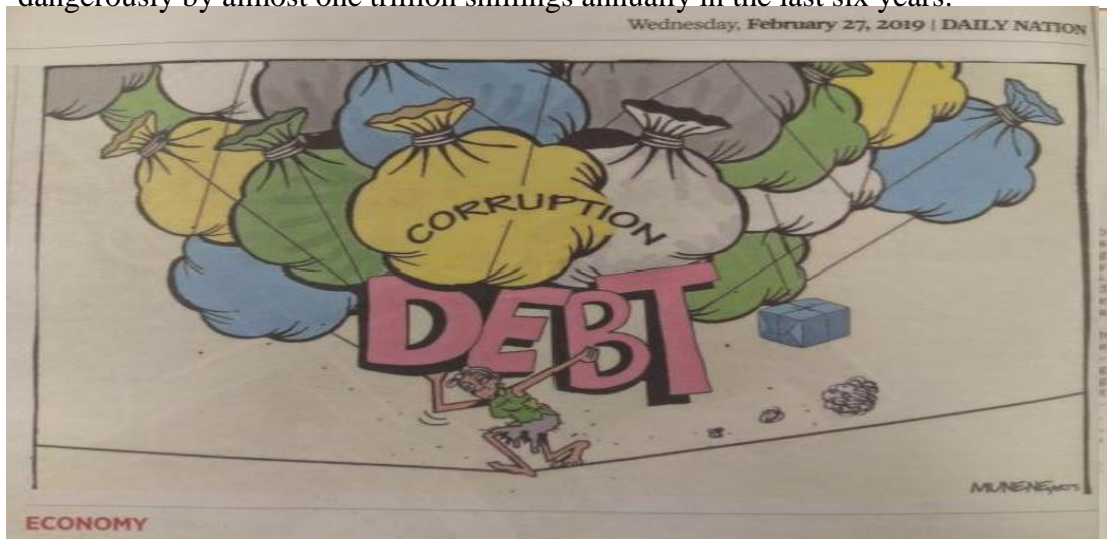


Figure 47: 27th February, 2019

The cartoon shows huge bags of money (*DEBT*) borrowed by the Kenyan government. The bags are written '*CORRUPTION*', a position taken by the cartoonist that the huge amounts of debts end up in the hands of corrupt individuals and corrupt deals. The person carrying the huge burden of corruption is a frail woman (*Wanjiku*) who is balancing on a tight, thin rope. The tight, rope is a symbol of the hard economic times that *Wanjiku* is experiencing and she has to be careful with the load in order to remain afloat. *Wanjiku* stands for the common tax payer who pays the debts from his/her meager earnings leaving him/her merely struggling for survival. Corruption therefore is a huge financial burden on the common man, who pays taxes but sees no economic returns. The cartoon hence illustrates *CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN* conceptual metaphor. The cartoon has represented the target domain in text while the source domain is given in image, thus this is a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

In conclusion, corruption is a burden to the common man. It is likened to a heavy load which puts a lot of strain on the bearer, in this case, the common man. The cartoonist has used source-objects like huge cross, huge bags of money, leaders who are carried and weight tied on to the foot of a person climbing a cliff. Corruption is then a source of misery to the common man.

4.2.12 Corruption Is a Shame

CORRUPTION IS A SHAME conceptual metaphor was identified in the linguistic metaphors in the study by Tagne (2015). Tagne notes that language of corruption has developed lexemes that are used to hide the illicit nature of the social practice. It is said that the metaphors are euphemistic because the perpetrators of corruption are embarrassed of their actions and would want to keep it a secret for example, in Kenya bribes are referred to as ‘*kitu kidogo*’ (Something small) and ‘*chai ya wazee*’ (tea for elders) as discussed in section 1.1.3. The present study too has conceptualized CORRUPTION AS A SHAME in the pictorial metaphors.

The cartoon in Figure 48 is based on the media report on corruption scandals that hit the Safety Agencies.



Figure 48: 2nd July, 2018

Cases of corruption had been reported in Safety Agencies charged with the responsibility of ensuring the safety of citizens such as the Vehicle Inspection Agencies where bribes secretly changed hands and approval done without verification of any document.

The cartoon is a pictorial metaphor of corruption depicting a Safety Agency official at the service desk receiving a bribe from a client. The officer is seen carrying an approval stamp on one hand and declaring the document approved and secretly taking a bribe with another under the desk. The corrupt client is carrying a huge sack of money, a symbol of being wealthy and influential, probably, an owner of a defective vehicle. The sack of money has the ‘DANGER’ symbol indicating the danger or risk he is exposing his victims to with the evil money. The officer says ‘APPROVED, NEXT?’ without taking his time to verify the document as his attention is on the money. On the queue waiting to be served is another client watching in amazement at the corruption going on. It has been done secretly because it is a shameful and illegal act which puts many lives at risk. The pictorial metaphor gives rise to CORRUPTION IS A SHAME and CORRUPTION IS A DANGER conceptual metaphors. These conceptual metaphors have been portrayed through integration of text and image making it a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

This cartoon in Figure 49 follows claims which were made with regard to the parliament being a house of corruption.



Figure 49: 13th August, 2018

Kenyan's viewed parliament as a house of graft and believed that almost half of the members of parliament (MPS) take bribes and are mostly driven by greed when passing motions in parliament. In the cartoon is a picture of a member of parliament represented by a hyena, showing how greedy and dangerous he is. He is in parliament casting his vote in a box labelled '*PARLIAMENT MOTIONS*'. He is casting his vote with one hand while the other hand is extended to receive a bundle of notes from a hand; *HAND FOR PERSON* metonymy. The action is an indication that the casting of the vote is influenced by a higher personality who '*buys*' the members of parliament to vote in their favour which is an injustice and a selfish act to the constituents who elect members of parliament to represent them fairly at the National Assembly. As the MP takes the bribe, he looks around to ensure that nobody is seeing his embarrassing action. This is thus proof that *CORRUPTION IS A SHAME* conceptual metaphor. The conceptual metaphor is a confirmation that corruption is evil carried out by selfish individuals who are driven purely by greed at the expense of the common good of the general public. *AN M.P. IS A HYENA* is also another conceptual metaphor portrayed in the cartoon. The interpretation of the pictorial metaphors involved having the background knowledge of the cartoon, followed by cross domain mappings. The message has been presented using both text and image making this a multimodal pictorial metaphor.

In conclusion, the cartoonist has used varied source-objects including humans, objects, smoke, stench, filth, mud, worms, reptiles, birds, beasts, mythical beings and gluttonous animals. All the source-objects have been used creatively by the cartoonist to give a negative portrayal of corruption hence has aided in castigating the act. The source-objects are thought provoking and entertaining and thus offer the readers ample time to interact with the message.

4.3 Modality of Political Cartoons of Corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper

This section discusses the second objective of the study; that is, determining modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper which has partly been dealt with in section 4.2. This section will demonstrate how modality is exhibited in political cartoons. Pictorial metaphor model (Forceville, 2006) states that pictorial metaphors/ political cartoons are both mono modal and multimodal in nature, that is to say there are those that employ only one mode while others use two or more modes. Jewitt (2013) too says modes concur together, each with specialized role to meaning making; hence relations among modes are vital to understand every instance of communication. The modes that are evident in the analysed cartoons include images, texts, colour, smell, sound and size as will be discussed using selected cartoons.

4.3.1 Mono-modal Pictorial Metaphors

Forceville (2009) earlier explained in section 1.8 that mono-modal pictorial metaphor can be of visual sub-type. Forceville reiterates that pictorial (or visual) metaphors are mono-modal, that is to say, their target and source are entirely rendered in visual terms, just as their verbal counterparts have a target and source entirely rendered in language. According to Jewitt (2013), as earlier mentioned in section 4.3, multimodality involves enlisting more than one mode in communication: spoken language, written language, visuals, music, sound, gestures, smell, taste and touch. Hence, Forceville 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.



Figure 19. *1st September 2018*

Based on Forceville (2009)'s definitions, Figure 19 is a mono-modal pictorial metaphor, the cartoonist having made use of the visual language only to communicate. Black (1979) explains that once target and source have been construed, the metaphor is ready to be interpreted. Metaphor interpretation 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.

The pictorial metaphor/ cartoon represents the rot at the judiciary, this is deduced as in the cartoon, are a gavel and a sound block; tools used in the courts to indicate that a judge's decision is final. The gavel has a zip which the cartoonist has opened up to expose the contents within. The zip is only half open but worms are spilling over on to the ground. This implies that there is massive corruption at the judiciary. Other than the worms, the cartoonist also draws our attention to the stench from the opening polluting the atmosphere with flies swarming around it, evidenced by the ideophone 'zzzzzzz' which is direct imitation of sound. GAVEL FOR THE JUDICIARY metonymy and the worms/maggots which are symbols of rot as they only infest rotten objects and cause complete destruction, aid in the identification

of the source-object. Therefore, through cross- domain mappings, the cartoon equates a corrupt judiciary to a rotten system that is of no help to Kenyans.

The ideophone adds sound effect to the cartoon and communicates the irritating noise by the flies; further enables the cartoonist to paint a picture of complete rot at the judiciary. The pictorial metaphor speaks of an extremely contaminated and disgusting environment coupled with the loud buzzes of the flies.

Apart from the use of the ideophone, which multimodal analysis examines too, the rest of the cartoon is solely visually presented and so it is mono-modal according to pictorial metaphor model. Based on the visuals and with the aid of the background information (metadata), the research was able to conclude that the cartoon is addressing corruption at the judiciary.

4.3.2 Multi-modal Pictorial Metaphors

Pictorial metaphor model states that political cartoons are largely multi modal of the verbo – pictorial variety. Analysis in section 4.2 of the present study confirms this proposition as almost all the cartoons analysed were verbo – pictorial. This is to say that they make use of both the text and image which interact to give meaning. The source-object is derived from the image while the target is rendered through the text. The texts considered include verbal labels, verbal comments and captions. The verbal labels are used to identify the objects or characters in the cartoon for ease of interpretation, the verbal comments which often come in the form of speech bubbles help the reader to complete the overall meaning of the cartoon while the captions are texts that explain the scene in the cartoon. All the texts carry out a complementary role in the cartoon which is primarily pictorial as illustrated in Figure 13. Other than the texts and images, other aspects of multimodality which include colour, smell and size are also analysed as they all contribute to the overall meaning of the cartoon.



Figure 13: 7th May, 2019

The cartoon in Figure 13 addresses corruption in Kiambu County under the governorship of Honorable Ferdinand Waititu at that time. Kiambu County was among the counties that were riddled with corruption scandals thus, necessitated an audit by EACC. The message in the cartoon has been creatively presented through multi- modality. In the cartoon is a tattered report written ‘*Kiambu Audit Report*’ (Text) trickling wet with dirty water. Around the report too are flies milling; an indication of the presence of dirt – corruption. The person carrying the report is Waititu himself, symbolized by the caricature, but he is holding it at an arms-length because of the stench emanating from it. The stench from the report is so unbearable that Waititu has to avoid it by facing away. The person carrying Waititu is presumably an official from EACC taking him for prosecution and he is equally very uncomfortable with the stench, clearly from Waititu’s words ‘*EASY...Act like it is Not stinky!*’ (Text). The texts include a label which identifies that the document is an audit report for Kiambu County and there is also the speech bubble by Honorable Waititu which gives more information on the stinky nature of the report; a symbol of the unearthed corrupt dealings.

This is a multimodal pictorial metaphor in that, identification of Waititu is aided by both the image and the text which places the audit report in Kiambu County in which Waititu was the governor. Identification of the corruption report is also done by an image of a tattered

document integrated with a label. The texts therefore are used to reinforce the verbal message and help the reader in the interpretation of the cartoon as Forceville (2006) argues that when applying the multimodal theory to any genre, attention should be paid to the verbal component of the data.

The aspect of smell which is also a mode of transmission of message in multi-modal texts too has been used by the cartoonist. The presence of the strong stench from the report is implied in both text and image. Honorable Waititu asks the EACC official to pretend that the report is not stinky but Waititu's body language betrays him as he is holding the report at arms' length to show that the stench is unbearable. The stench is accompanied with the flies milling around it which is typical of an environment that has filth. It is then evident that the cartoonist deliberately uses smell to illustrate how intolerable corruption is to the society; and even the perpetrators themselves are embarrassed of their corrupt deals when discovered. Hence corruption is likened to an environment contaminated by foul smell oozing from reckless behaviours of leaders.

Kress (2010), states that colours are also seen as important means of meaning -making when it comes to cartoons as a genre of discourse. Kress explains that cartoonist uses certain colours to decorate the characters because colours help to understand the message the cartoonist wants to convey. Figure 34 is used in the present study to explain this concept.



Figure 34: 3rd July, 2018

Figure 34 is a multimodal pictorial metaphor which has employed text, image and colour. In the pictorial metaphor is a man symbolizing Kenya. The reader can tell that the patient personifies Kenya from the colours of his clothes. The gown he is wearing has red, green, black and white colours which are the colours of the Kenyan flag. The cartoonist therefore uses colour to help the reader identify the character. The patient is lying in the Intensive Care Unit, *I.C.U.* (text) in critical condition. This is evidenced by the fact that he is on artificial oxygen, and on his bed is the beeping heart monitor. Again on the bed is the text ‘*DIAGNOSED WITH CORRUPTION, TOXIC SUGAR, DEBT, TRIBALISM and CARTELS*’ which are all ailments that Kenya is suffering from. The Cuban doctors have been brought in to the I.C.U room to cure Kenya and the lady in the picture who could be Sicily Kariuki, the then Cabinet Secretary for Health, is asking the doctors ‘*ANYTHING YOU CAN DO TO HELP?*’ The doctors are in shock regarding the state of the patient.

The pictorial metaphor is multimodal evidenced by the fact that the cartoonist has made use of colour and images aided by verbal messages which have been integrated to aid in the interpretation of the meaning.

The use of colour to identify characters is not unique to this study as Negro (2014) illustrates the same modality in section 2.3 which is a cartoon based on a meeting between the former

French president, Sakozy and the German chancellor shaking hands. The two characters are identified from the jacket buttons shown in the picture, which are in the colours of the French and German flags, respectively.

Gibbs (1999) too in discussing colour metaphor, argue that certain connotative values are generally associated with colours and carry certain resonances in a given culture. The study further states that colour metaphors deal with abstract associations for instance white is associated with *eternity, virtue, innocence, purity, heaven* and *light*, while black is associated with *death, mourning, murder, sin* and *devils* which explains the choice of black by the cartoonist in the present study to symbolize corruption which is considered as evil by the society. Figure 38 illustrates the use of colour to provide additional information meant to be conveyed by the cartoonist.



Figure 38: 18th June, 2018

Figure 38 is based on the fight against corruption in Kenya. It is a multi-modal pictorial metaphor which has integrated image, text and colour. The pictorial metaphor depicts two boxers in the boxing arena. One is Kenya, symbolized by the map of Kenya. He is much smaller in size compared to his beastly opponent 'CORRUPTION', indicated in text. Kenya seems to be having a difficult time in the fight with corruption, judged from the way he is sweating profusely. Corruption on the other hand, is a huge bull towering over his opponent.

He is well built, muscular and seems unmoved by the fight. The cartoonist has painted corruption black, a colour associated with evil; hence communicating the evil nature of corruption. The text in the speech bubble by Kenya reads ‘*I WILL NOCK YOU DOWN!!*,’ This is mockery of the government given its frail nature which makes this statement be a mere wishful thinking. The cartoon gives a grim picture in the fight against corruption as corruption is much more powerful than the government. The hopelessness of the government is further heightened by the colour of the shorts and the gloves. Red colour is a symbol of danger and so this could be interpreted as the danger in which Kenya is due to corruption.

Size is also another factor that is considered in multimodal analysis of cartoons as was explained in section 4.2.3 under CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor. El Refaie (2003) studied size as a mode in cartoons in section 1.8 and the study points out that size is commonly used to indicate relative salience or importance of the various elements and since a difference in size is closely linked to up – down orientation, it can also imply power differentials. It is also explained that cartoonists use exaggerated size to signify the abuse of power and force as shown in Figure 22.



Figure 22.: 16th January, 2019

In the cartoon, the giant who symbolizes corrupt individuals towers over the '*EACC BOSS*'. Through text, both the briefcases are labelled '*WAQO*' and '*EACC BOSS*' respectively hence it is easier for the reader to identify the personalities in the cartoon. The picture satirizes the fight against corruption as corruption is much bigger than his opponent (EACC) and it would take a miracle to bring him down. Walking away from the scene is Mr. Waqo whose message to the successor is '*GOOD LUCK*', an insinuation that he had also tried but failed. Again this conveys the cartoonist's opinion on the hopelessness surrounding the fight against corruption as the fighters are weaklings who cannot do much. The gigantic size therefore shows the power that the corrupt individuals wield over the state agencies charged with the fight against corruption. Hence, size aids in reinforcement and interpretation of the message.

In summary, the second objective is closely related to the first objective because in the interpretation of the pictorial metaphors in order to determine the source-objects, the study took note of the modality, in that both the text and the image interact to give the meaning as explained by Forceville (2016). Apart from two pictorial metaphors, the rest of the metaphors were multimodal metaphors of the verbo-pictorial variety, whereby the source-object was derived from the image while the target was rendered through the text. The texts considered included verbal labels, verbal comments and captions. This sub-section however analyses other modes such as colour, smell, sound and size in political cartoons too.

The present study notes that there are also other aspects of multimodality such the syntactic structures for instance, the text size of capital and small sized letters in cartoons but this falls outside its scope and so were not analysed. In conclusion, the present study notes that a cartoonist employs a strong visual style that can appeal to viewers. The combination of text and visual and the non-linguistic elements such as colour, smell, sound and size in cartoons make them visually appealing and engaging while conveying the desired message.

4.4 Metaphorical Meaning of Texts Integrated in the Multimodal Political Cartoons of Corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper

This section discusses the third objective of the study; that is, establishing the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multimodal political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. Reference is made to the data presented in section 4.2. with specific focus on the textual message. The cartoons are therefore not elaborately discussed in this section as this has been done in section 4.2. A total of fifteen metaphorical texts were identified from the forty one cartoons which were analysed in section 4.2.

The study classifies texts in political cartoons as captions, labels and speech bubbles. All these 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 in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: **Metaphorical Expressions**

Figure	Conceptual metaphor	Metaphoric expression
10	INVESTIGATION ON CORRUPTION IS TURNING A STONE TO REVEAL WHAT IS UNDERNEATH	<i>We left no stone unturned</i>
11	CORRUPTION IS DIRTY MONEY	<i>Stop receiving politicians dirty money</i>
13	CORRUPTION IS STENCH	<i>Act like it is not stinky</i>
15	BRIBERY IS PURCHASE	<i>We want sea, ocean and lakes representation How much for this creature?</i>
16	CORRUPTION IS WAR	<i>War on graft</i>
17	STRATEGISING IS WARMING UP	<i>Months later the Government is still warming up</i>
25	CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY	<i>Help! Robbery in progress</i>
30	CORRUPTION IS A MOVIE SERIES	<i>Season 1 and Season 2</i>
31	MASSIVE CORRUPTION IS PARADISE	<i>Looters' paradise</i>
32	NYS EMPLOYMENT IS DOOR TO LIFE TRANSFORMATION	<i>Door of transformation</i>
33	CORRUPTION IS CANCER	<i>Any strategy for curing this cancer?</i>
34	CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE	<i>Diagnosed with corruption</i>
38	CORRUPTION IS BOXING/WAR	<i>I will knock you down</i>
45	CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN	<i>Everyone shall carry their own cross</i>

4.4.1 AN INVESTIGATION ON CORRUPTION IS TURNING A STONE TO REVEAL WHAT IS UNDERNEATH



Figure 10: 14th July, 2018

'We left no stone unturned'

This metaphoric expression is a speech bubble in Figure 10 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 conceptual metaphor. 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.

4.4.2 CORRUPTION IS DIRTY MONEY



Figure 11: 5th May, 2019

‘Stop receiving politicians’ dirty money’

The metaphorical expression has been integrated in the pictorial metaphor in Figure 11. The cartoon in Figure 11 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.

4.4.3. CORRUPTION IS STENCH



Figure 13: 7th May, 2019

‘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 13 which also depicts corruption as dirt. The Governor is carrying a copy of the report and says to the EACC 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 CORRUPTION IS STENCH conceptual metaphor and the features of the source domain are mapped on to the target domain as follows:

Source Domain: Stinky Report → **Target Domain:** Corruption Scandals

Smelly → Disgusting, repulsive

Dirty → Immoral

4.3.4 BRIBERY IS PURCHASE



Figure 15: 29th November 2018

‘PsssitWe want sea, ocean and lakes representation How much for this creature?’

The expression above is integrated in the cartoon in Figure 15. 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.

Source Domain: Purchasing fish	→	Target Domain: Bribery for blue economy
Buying	→	Giving a bribe to seek allegiance
Buyers	→	Bribers (state officials)
Sellers	→	The state (owners)
Fish	→	Blue Economy

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

4.4.5. CORRUPTION IS WAR



Figure 16: 8th December, 2018

‘War on corruption’

This is a caption in the cartoon in Figure 16 which depicts corruption as a battle. The cartoon has a 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:

- Source Domain: War** → **Target Domain: Corruption**
- Fighting → Eradication of corruption
- Fighters → State agencies and the corrupt
- Losing the battle → Failing to eradicate corruption

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.

4.4.6. FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IS A BATTLE



Figure 17: 14th May, 2019

‘Months later, Government is still warming up’

This metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon in Figure 17 which depicts corruption as a dragon. The DCI, the DPP 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.

Source Domain: Battle \longrightarrow **Target Domain:** Fight against corruption

Warming up \longrightarrow Strategizing

Fighters \longrightarrow The state and its agencies

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

4.4.7. CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY



Figure 25: 27th January, 2018

‘Help! Robbery in progress ...’

This metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon in Figure 25. 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. CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY conceptual metaphor has the features of the source domain mapped on to the target domain as follows:

Source Domain: Robbery → **Target Domain:** Corruption

Robbers → Members of Parliament

Victims → Tax payers

Taken by force → Taxed without their consent

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

4.4.8. CORRUPTION IS A MOVIE SERIES

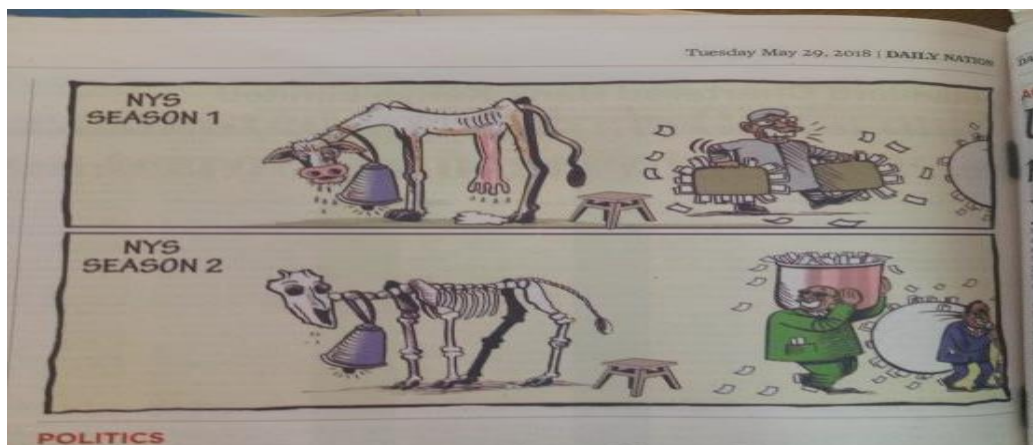


Figure 30: 29th May, 2018

‘Season 1 and Season 2’

The expression ‘*season*’ has been used metaphorically to refer to a series of corruption scandals. The cartoon in Figure 30 is based on the corruption scandals at the NYS 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:

Source Domain: Movie → **Target Domain:** Corruption

Fiction → Outrageous/ unbelievable

Seasons → Consecutive corruption scandals

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



Figure 31: 28th May, 2018

'Looters' paradise'

This metaphoric expression is integrated in the cartoon in Figure 31 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:

Source Domain: Paradise → **Target Domain:** Massive Corruption

Plenty of food → Plenty of money

Celebration → Joyous mood

Victors → Looters

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

4.4.10 EMPLOYMENT AT NYS IS LIFE TRANSFORMATION



Figure 32: 16th May, 2018

‘The door of transformation’

This expression is got in the cartoon in Figure 32 which also talks about corruption scandals at the NYS (National Youth Service). 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:

Source Domain: Door of transformation → **Target Domain:** Employment at NYS

Door → Opportunity for employment

Transformation → Changed lifestyle

In → Getting employment

Out → Termination of employment

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.

4.4.11 CORRUPTION IS CANCER



Figure 33: 3rd April, 2018

‘Any strategy for curing this cancer?’

The metaphoric expression is integrated in Figure 33. 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 metaphor and the features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain as follows:

- Source Domain:** Cancer → **Target Domain:** Corruption
- Malignant → Deeply rooted in the society
- Fatal → Kills the economic
- Source of distress to a family → Source of distress to a country
- Expensive to treat → Expensive to fund

4.4.12 CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE



Figure 34: 3rd July, 2018

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

The expression is integrated in Figure 34 which still depicts corruption and other societal ills as diseases. The cartoon captures ‘Kenya’ as a critically ill patient lying in an 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:

Source Domain: Disease → **Target Domain:** Corruption

Immobilizes a patient → Immobilizes an economy

Requires diagnosis → Requires investigation

Needs to be cured → Needs to be eradicated

Potential cause of death → Potential collapse of an economy

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



Figure 38: 18th June, 2018

‘I will knock you down’

The expression is integrated in the cartoon in Figure 38. 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 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:

Source Domain: War —————> **Target Domain:** Corruption

Fighting the opponent —————> Fighting corruption

Knocking down the opponent ———> Eradicating corruption

4.3.14 CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN



Figure 45: 1st July, 2018

‘Everyone shall carry their own cross.’

The cartoon in Figure 45 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 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:

Source Domain: Carrying a cross → **Target Domain:** Paying for corruption

Cross → Consequences of corruption

Heavy cross → Burden associated with corruption

Sinners → Perpetrators of corruption

Crucifixion → Conviction

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

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of research findings of Pictorial Metaphors of Corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper cartoons. The chapter is divided into three sections: The first section deals with summary of research findings, the second section presents conclusions and section three deals with recommendations.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Chapter four discussed the findings of this study and the following can now be stated in accordance with the objectives of this study. The first objective was to examine the source-objects depicting corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper.

With regard to the first objective of the study, the findings can thus be summarized as follows: A total of twelve source-object themes were identified which included: CORRUPTION IS DIRT, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL, CORRUPTION IS A GIANT, CORRUPTION IS CRIME, CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION, CORRUPTION IS GREED, CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE, CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY, CORRUPTION IS WAR, CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE, CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN and CORRUPTION IS A SHAME. A summary of the source objects and the sub-themes is given in Table 5.1

Table 5.1 *Source Objects of Corruption*

S.NO	SOURCE-OBJECT	SUB-THEMES
1	CORRUPTION IS DIRT	CORRUPTION IS A CAN OF WORMS, CORRUPTION IS SOOT, CORRUPTION IS MUD, CORRUPTION IS BLACKSMOKE, CORRUPTION IS STENCH, CORRUPTION IS UNSIGHTLY GARBAGE
2	CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL	CORRUPTION IS A VULTURE, CORRUPTION IS A PIG, CORRUPTION IS A HYENA, CORRUPTION A BEAST, CORRUPTION IS A PYTHON, CORRUPTION IS A DOG, CORRUPTION IS A DRAGON, CORRUPTION IS WORMS, CORRUPTION IS A BULL
3	CORRUPTION IS A GIANT	CORRUPTION IS A GIGANTIC MAN, CORRUPTION ARE HUGE HANDS, CORRUPTION IS A HUGE TUMMY
4	CORRUPTION IS CRIME	CORRUPTION IS ROBBERY, CORRUPTION IS NUMEROUS CRIMES
5	CORRUPTION IS EXPLOITATION	CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION OF THE POOR
6	CORRUPTION IS GREED	CORRUPTION IS MILKING A COW DRY, CORRUPTION IS MASSIVE LOOTING, CORRUPTION IS INCREASE IN BODY SIZE
7	CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE	CORRUPTION IS CANCER, CORRUPTION IS AN ILLNESS, CORRUPTION IS AN ANEMIC PATIENT
8	CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY	CORRUPTION IS PHYSICAL TORTURE, CORRUPTION IS DEATH
9	CORRUPTION IS WAR	CORRUPTION IS KNOCKING IT DOWN, CORRUPTION IS A HEADLESS COCK, CORRUPTION IS PRICKING AN INFLATED BALOON
10	CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE	CORRUPTION IS A SPEEDING VEHICLE, CORRUPTION IS A COMPLEX JIG-SAW PUZZLE, CORRUPTION IS A REVOLVING DOOR
11	CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN	CORRUPTION IS A HEAVY CROSS, CORRUPTION IS AN UNBEARABLE LOAD ON CITIZENS, CORRUPTION IS HUGE SACKS OF DEBT
12	CORRUPTION IS A SHAME	CORRUPTION IS A SECRET, CORRUPTION IS A SHAMEFUL ACT

From Table 1, corruption is conceptualized as follows: First is CORRUPTION IS DIRT conceptual metaphor which is brought out by a number of source-objects that in various ways have depicted corruption as a dirty, repulsive activity which is not only harmful to human but to the environment as well. The source-objects included **a can of worms, soot, mud, black smoke, stench** and **garbage**. These different types of dirt have been used to

castigate corruption as it is a source of discomfort to the citizens; pollutes the environment; a source of embarrassment and is also a danger to lives.

Second, CORRUPTION IS AN ANIMAL conceptual metaphor was the most common conceptual metaphor of corruption. The conceptual metaphor has been used by the cartoonist to depict corrupt leaders as animals. The nature of corruption and the corrupt leaders has been satirically brought out as inhumane, gluttonous, indifferent and dangerous through various animal images. The source objects include animals which are destructive, venomous, scavengers, greedy and vicious like: **vultures, pigs, hyenas, snakes, bulls, dogs, worms and dragons.**

Another conceptual metaphor that has been identified in the research is CORRUPTION IS A GIANT. One of the unique features of cartoon that makes it an effective tool of communication is exaggeration. The cartoonist can use exaggeration in size, emotions and shape of a person or an object for effect. This feature is evident in CORRUPTION IS A GIANT conceptual metaphor where the cartoonist uses gigantic images to show the powerful nature of corrupt individuals. The source objects include **huge hands** which can destroy the good and protect its own with impunity, **huge, gigantic bodies** that can get away with evil because they are beyond confrontation and **huge tummies** of well fed individuals. All these portray corrupt individuals as powerful, untouchable, formidable forces that render the fight against corruption futile because the individuals who confront them are far too small to be able to fight them.

The cartoonist has also used CORRUPTION IS CRIME conceptual metaphor to castigate corruption. The cartoonist depicts corruption as a crime that has devastating effects on the common man and should be punished just like any other crime. The source-objects identified are **robbery at gun point** of the citizens by the corrupt, criminal activities such as **impunity, terror, rape, dirty politics, criminal gangs, tribal killings and corruption** which are all

crimes that the office of the DCI is supposed to deal with. Images of brutal objects like **blood stained machetes** are also used to symbolize the brutal nature of corruption.

The next conceptual metaphor that has given rise to source-objects of corruption is **CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION**. The discussed source-objects portray corruption as exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful individuals who use their power and resources to influence their ways at the expense of the common man. Facilities which are meant for common man end up in the hands of the influential individuals who live lavishly while the common man can barely meet his basic needs. The source-objects include ‘*common mwananchi in remand*’ placed in dilapidated cells, while ‘*V.I.Ps in remand*’ live in first class cells akin to hotel rooms; there is also an instance where maize cartels symbolized by gigantic hands receive money meant for maize farmers who are symbolized by small hands shouting for their rights. Another object of oppression is the Government symbolized by huge monstrous individual consuming oil meant for Turkana residents symbolized by a small emaciated individual. **CORRUPTION IS OPPRESSION** conceptual metaphor hence depicts the corrupt as inhuman, selfish and a liability to the citizens.

The research identified **CORRUPTION IS GREED** conceptual metaphor too. **CORRUPTION IS GREED** conceptual metaphor captures individuals who have an excessive desire for more and more money. They are so selfish that they do not care how the rest of the citizens survive all they care about is their ill acquired wealth which has stripped them off their human nature making them greedy animals. The cartoonist satirizes the individuals by using source-objects like pigs and hyenas animals known for their greed. Another object of greed is individuals milking a cow dry, symbolizing NYS leaving the cow drained and hungry as they go away with the loot in huge bags. Therefore corruption is similar to looting.

The cartoonist has again portrayed corruption as a disease. CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor is depicted through various source-objects depicting Kenya as a patient due to her corrupt nature. There are source objects which include a cancerous tumour growing on the patient; a deadly ailment whose sufferer (Kenya) ends up in the I.C.U., supplied with artificial oxygen and is even transfused with blood in order to survive and again there is the object of an anemic patient (Kenya) who is transfused with blood from a number of citizens but he only fattens up endangering the lives of the donors. All these put a strain on tax payers' money making it a serious issue though communicated through humour.

CORRUPTION IS BRUTALITY conceptual metaphor has also given rise to source-objects of corruption. The brutal nature of corruption is shown through the use of source objects like a pair of scissors, rat-traps and destructive snakes. These objects do not only cause harm to the victims, but they are also capable of killing.

The next conceptual metaphor examined is CORRUPTION IS WAR. The source-objects given rise to include boxers in a boxing ring, tools for war such as pliers, a hammer, a gavel, a power saw, a needle and a knife. There is a cartoon that shows two boxers in the boxing arena; a beast symbolizing corruption exchanging blows with a small man symbolizing Kenya. In another cartoon there is a cock symbolizing KPLC whose head has been chopped off by a big knife labeled '*War on Graft*'. The next cartoon is captioned '*War on Graft*' and it has pictures of worn out tools such as a broken hammer, a rusty pair of pliers, a rusty power saw and a rotten gavel which all represent agencies meant to fight corruption. The state of the tools show they are not fit for the fight. The last cartoon which also portrays the war on corruption as futile shows the DCI inflating a large balloon marked '*War on Graft*' and in waiting is a big hand representing impunity holding a needle in readiness to pierce the balloon. All these objects have been used by the cartoonist to pass a message on the fight

against corruption though they portray the pessimistic attitude of the cartoonist and by extension of the common citizen regarding the war.

There are also source-objects that were motivated by **CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE** conceptual metaphor. **CORRUPTION IS ELUSIVE** conceptual metaphor portrays corruption as a wise which is ahead of everyone. It is difficult to catch or find by the state agents who are very slow, riding on slow animals like tortoise and snail; or unable to unravel a complex path-finding puzzle; or are simply evasive, running away and the government is unable to employ better strategies in capturing them, in other words, the government is simply bidding time. The first pictorial metaphor discussed explains the elusive nature of corruption with the source object being a fast moving van pursued by a tortoise symbolizing the slow nature of EACC. There is also the source-object of a path-finding puzzle. Then there is the source-object of the revolving door in which the President is chasing a looter carrying a big bag of the loot.

CORRUPTION IS A BURDEN too was a conceptual metaphor that motivated a number of source-objects. Corruption is shown as a burden to the common man. It is likened to a heavy load which puts a lot of strain on the bearer, in this case, the common man. The cartoonist has used source-objects like huge cross, huge bags of money, leaders who are carried by community and weight tied on to the foot of a person climbing a cliff. Corruption is thus a source of misery to the common man. Again corruption is depicted as a burden to the community that does not only have to bear the cost of corruption but is also forced to carry the corrupt kinsmen and protect them from prosecution.

Last is **CORRUPTION IS A SHAME** conceptual metaphor. Corruption is portrayed as evil carried out by selfish individuals who are driven purely by greed at the expense of the good of the common man. The perpetrators are therefore ashamed of their unethical actions and

can only do them secretly. There is the source-object of a hyena symbolizing an M.P., taking a bribe as he casts his vote in parliament. He has one hand on the ballot box while the other is at the back receiving a bribe. Another source-object is of an officer at the Safety Agency service desk receiving a bribe from a client. The officer is carrying an approval rubber stamp on one hand, declares the document approved and secretly taking the bribe with the other hand under the desk.

Regarding the second objective of the study which was to examine modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper, the study analysed the modes used in transmitting meaning, that is the images for mono-modal metaphors or both the images and texts, colour, smell, sound and size in the case of multimodal metaphors. The study noted that pictorial metaphors of corruption (political cartoons) are largely multimodal given that out of the one hundred and fifty pictorial metaphors analysed, only two were mono-modal. The study states all the modes interact to give meaning hence they are dependent on each other. Apart from the two pictorial metaphors, the rest of the metaphors which were multimodal were of the verbo-pictorial variety, whereby the source-object was derived from the image while the target was rendered through the text. The texts considered included verbal labels, verbal comments and captions. The verbal labels are used to identify the objects or characters in the cartoon for ease of interpretation, the verbal comments which often come in the form of speech bubbles help the reader to complete the overall meaning of the cartoon while the captions are texts that explain the scene in the cartoon. All the texts carry out a complementary role in the cartoon which is primarily pictorial. The other modes such as colour, sound, smell and size are also used reinforce the message in the cartoon.

The mono-modal cartoons on the other hand, have both the target domain and the source domain rendered in visuals. For instance figure 20 which is a picture of a gavel symbolizing the judiciary. The gavel has an open zip exposing maggots within, an indication of the rot in

the judiciary. There is no verbal comment and therefore the reader has to be aware of the background knowledge of the cartoon in order to be able to interpret it accurately. Actually, the study concluded that in both mono-modal and multi-modal cartoons the back ground knowledge plays a pivotal role in the meaning, without which, a number of meanings may be obtained.

The study notes that cartoons tell a story and a single cartoon interpreted up to some point can constitute a mono-modal metaphor but as one progresses with the story and brings in the texts, then it becomes multi-modal. For instance figure 38 which is a caricature of President Uhuru Kenyatta depicted as a toddler ignorantly crawling to danger, one can interpret the cartoon as Uhuru Kenyatta's presidency facing danger. However a closer look at the cartoon exposes the writings on the caricature as '*Big Four Agenda*' and so the story does not end at the presidency but is specific about the collapse of the Big Four Agenda. Hence one has to interpret cartoons in stages in order to correctly get the message just like in writing a story is developed in paragraphs.

In establishing the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multimodal political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. Reference is made to the data presented in section 4.2. with specific focus on the textual message. A total of fifteen metaphorical texts were identified from the forty two cartoons which were analysed in section 4.2. These included *We left no stone unturned*, *Stop receiving politicians dirty money*, *Act like it is not stinky*, *We want sea, ocean and lakes representation...How much for this creature?*, *War on graft*, *Months later the Government is still warming up*, *Help! Robbery in progress*, *Season 1 and Season 2*, *Looters' paradise*, *Door of transformation*, *Any strategy for curing this cancer?*, *Diagnosed with corruption*, *I will knock you down* and *Everyone shall carry their own cross*. The study was able to analyse these metaphoric expressions by

identifying the source domain and the target domain and the cross domain mappings in each case in order to establish the metaphoric meaning.

All these 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*'; 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. The pictorial metaphor provides the context for interpretation and hence both the pictorial metaphor and the metaphoric expression have a shared source domain. The only difference is that the pictorial metaphor is visual while the metaphoric expression is verbal. The metaphorical expression therefore requires the pictorial metaphor and background knowledge of the cartoon in order to be accurately interpreted.

5.3. Conclusion

Based on the first objective of the study which was to examine the source-objects depicting corruption in the political cartoons in the Daily Nation Newspaper, the study concludes that the cartoonist has used varied source-objects including humans, objects, smoke, stench, filth, mud, worms, reptiles, birds, beasts, mythical beings and gluttonous animals. All the source-objects have been used creatively by the cartoonist to give a negative portrayal of corruption hence has aided in castigating the act. The source-objects are thought provoking and entertaining and thus offer the readers ample time to interact with the message. The source-objects are visual ways of telling a long story using very few images and the satirical nature of the cartoon has enabled the cartoonist to pass information that would have otherwise been perceived as offensive in a humorous way.

The conclusion on the second objective of the study which was to examine modality of political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper is that pictorial metaphors of corruption (political cartoons) are largely multimodal but there are mono-modal pictorial metaphors too. The multimodal metaphors are of the verbo-pictorial variety, whereby the source-object was derived from the image while the target was rendered through the text. The modes include image, text, colour, smell, sound and size. The texts included verbal labels, verbal comments and captions. The texts carry out a complementary role in the cartoon which is primarily pictorial and both text and the visuals depend on each other for interpretation. The mono-modal cartoons however, have both the target domain and the source domain rendered in visuals. Interpretation of cartoon depends to a large extent on the background knowledge of the cartoon.

Lastly, the third objective was to establish the metaphorical meaning of texts integrated in the multimodal political cartoons of corruption in the Daily Nation Newspaper. The study confirmed that some texts integrated in the cartoon are metaphorical. The metaphorical expressions integrated in the pictorial metaphors are dependent on the pictorial metaphors for accurate interpretation as the pictorial metaphor provides the context for interpretation. Just like the pictorial metaphor, the metaphoric expressions depend on the background knowledge of the cartoon in order to be accurately interpreted.

The general conclusion is that every mode is essential in a cartoon and cannot be overlooked. Each image and text unfolds the plot of the story similar to paragraphs in writings. It is also worth noting that the field of politics is often complex and bewildering, and cartoons offer a way of explaining the significance of real life events and characters through the means of an imaginary scenario.

5.4. Recommendations

Based on the conclusions of the present research, the following recommendations are made:

- i. Kenyan government and political leaders should pay attention to cartoon content so as to be guided in policy formulation and implementation geared towards eradication of social ills like corruption.
- ii. The study also recommends a wider coverage of cartoons in media reports as cartoons are a rich source of information and are more impactful than words alone.

5.5. Suggestions for Further Research

There are several features of cartoon that are employed for effective communication. The present study therefore makes certain suggestions for further studies.

- i. It suggests that future studies should consider analyzing paralinguistic features in cartoon.
- ii. It also suggests a comparative analysis of metaphors of POWER AS SIZE conceptual metaphor.
- iii. Another suggestion is that more studies on newspaper illustrations should extend beyond semantics and focus on aesthetic appeal of such work too.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Corpus Compilation Check-List

1. The newspaper is in the year 2018 or 2019.
2. The image is a political cartoon/ Pictorial metaphor.
3. The target domain is corruption.
4. The Source object can be identified.
5. Features of the source object are mapped on to corruption.
6. The cartoon can either be mono-modal or multimodal.
7. The metaphorical expressions in texts are figurative for objective 3.

APPENDIX 2

1. Corruption is Dirt



February 23rd 2019



Sunday May 5 2019



Tuesday May 7th 2019



Saturday May 11 2019



Monday November 11th 2019



14th July 2018

2. Corruption is an Animal



Thursday 4th 2018



Friday January 19th 2018



Sunday February 18th 2018



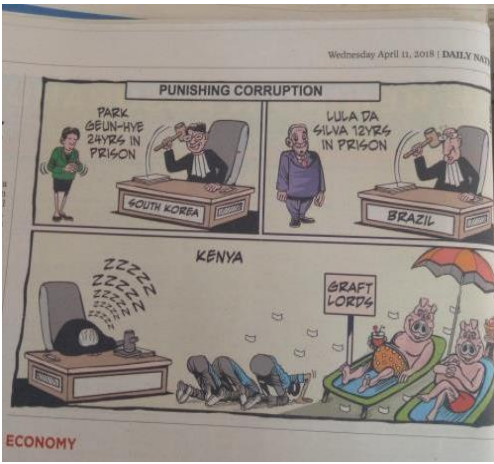
Friday February 9th 2018



Sunday February 11th 2018



Tuesday March 6 2018



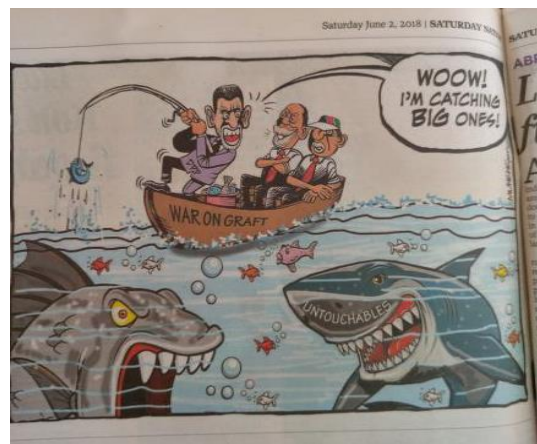
Wednesday April 11th 2018



Sunday May 6 2018



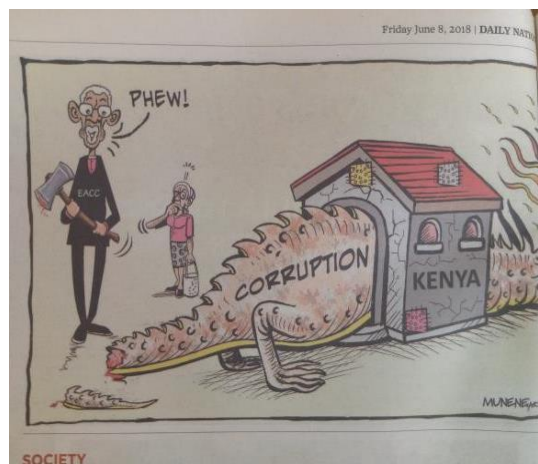
Wednesday May 23rd 2018



Saturday June 2 2018



Monday June 4th 2018



Friday June 8 2018



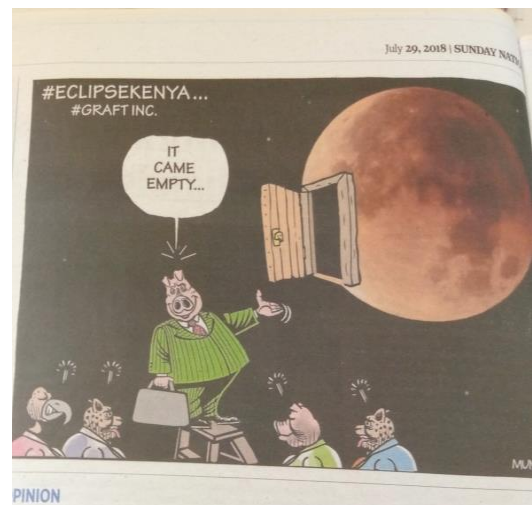
Monday June 11th 2018



Thursday July 19 2018



Saturday July 28th 2018



July 29th 2018



Wednesday June 13th 2018



Tuesday June 12th 2018



Monday June 18th 2018



Sunday June 23rd 2018



Wednesday August 1st 2018



Friday August 10th 2018



Thursday August 16th 2018



Thursday August 10th 2018



Thursday August 30th 2018



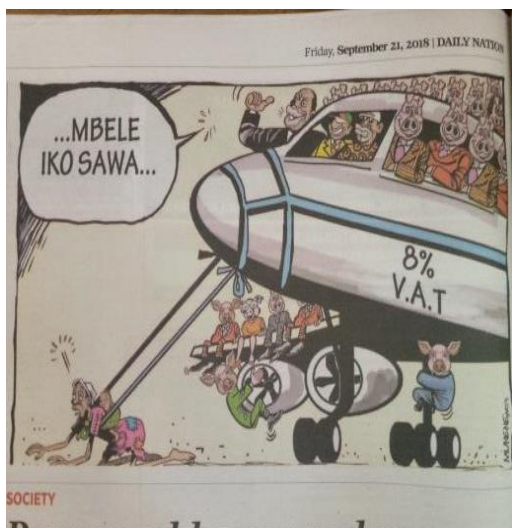
Saturday 1st September 2018



Friday September 14th 2018



Monday September 17th 2018



Thursday September 20th 2018



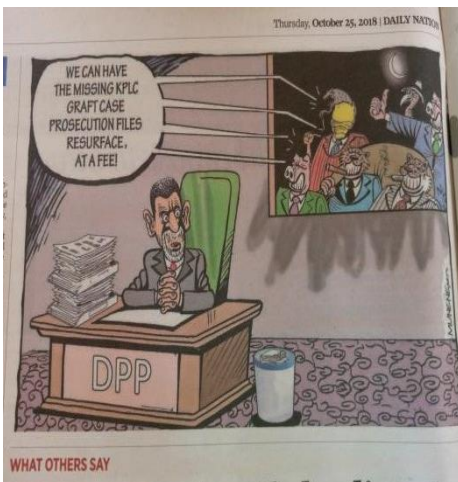
Friday September 21st 2018



Saturday September 22nd 2018



Tuesday October 16th 2018



Thursday October 25th 2018



Tuesday November 15th 2018



Saturday November 24th 2018



Monday November 26th 2018



Friday November 30th 2018



Thursday November 29th 2018



December 23rd 2018



Saturday December 8th 2018



Saturday January 26th 2019



Wednesday March 20th 2019



Tuesday May 14th 2019



Monday June 24th



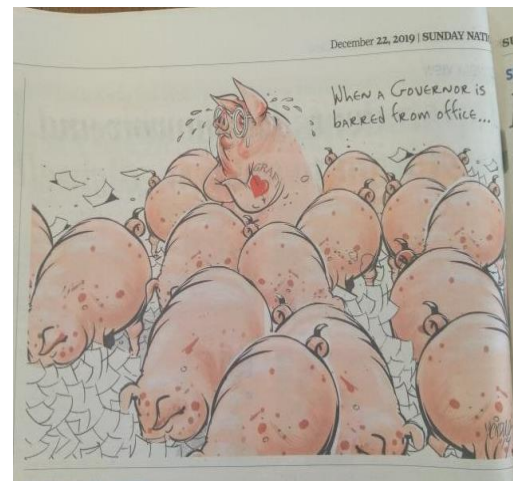
Tuesday July 30th 2019



Tuesday August 8th 2019



Monday December 23rd 2019



Sunday December 22nd 2019



Tuesday July 30th 2019

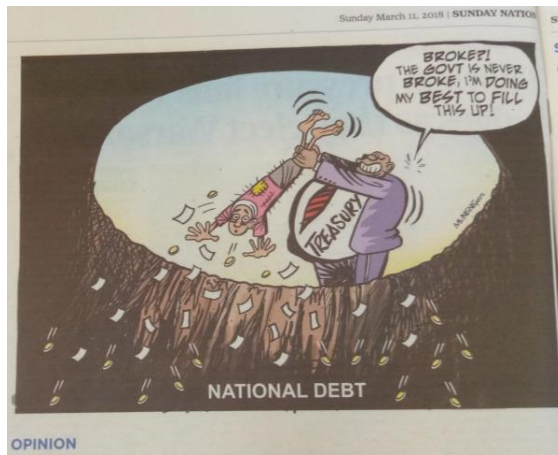


Tuesday August 8th 2019

3. Corruption is a Giant



Monday January 8th 2018



Sunday March 11th 2018



Friday March 23rd 2018



Friday June 15th 2018



Wednesday June 20th 2018



Thursday November 8th 2018



Wednesday January 16th 2019



Thursday February 21st 2019



Monday June 3rd 2019



Monday July 22nd 2019



October 20th 2019

4. Corruption is Crime

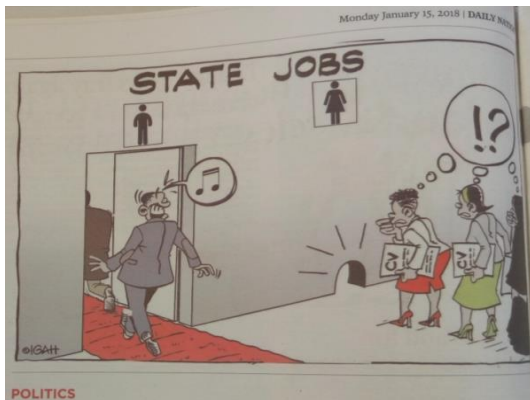


Tuesday January 9th 2018

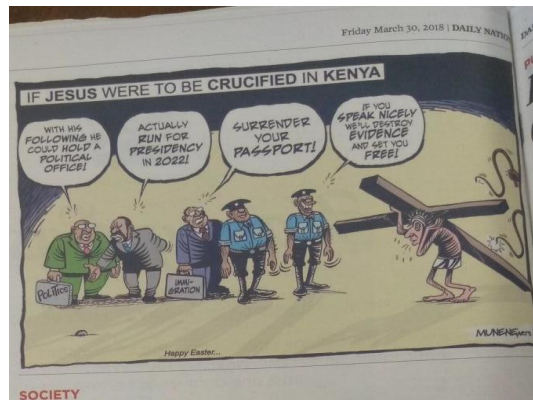


Saturday January 27th 2018

5. Corruption is Oppression/Exploitation



Monday January 15th 2018



Friday March 30th 2018



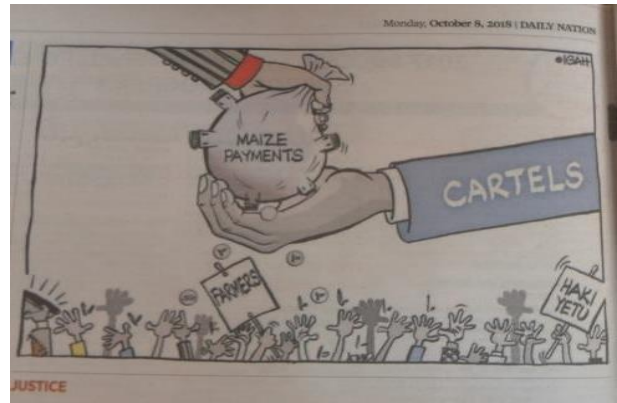
Wednesday April 4th 2018



Friday July 6th 2018



Friday September 28th 2018



Monday October 8th 2018



Friday October 19th 2019



Thursday November 8th 2018

6. Corruption is Greed



Tuesday March 20th 2018



Tuesday April 24th 2018



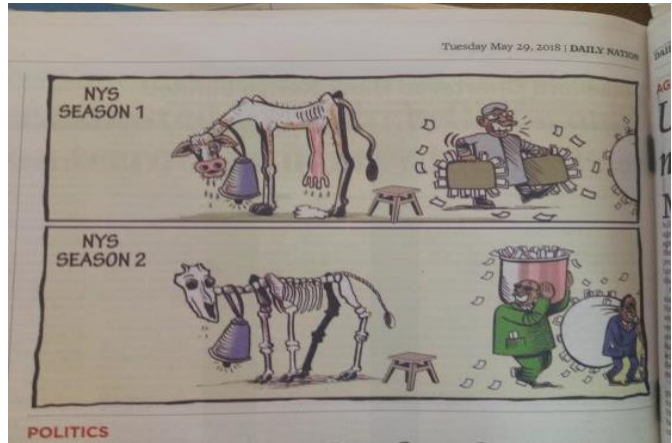
Thursday June 21 2018



Saturday June 9th 2018



Monday May 28th 2018



Tuesday May 29th 2018



Wednesday May 16th 2018



Friday May 11th 2018



Tuesday May 1st 2018



Thursday June 28th 2018



Thursday July 12th 2018



Monday July 30th 2018



Wednesday August 8th 2018



Wednesday August 29th 2018



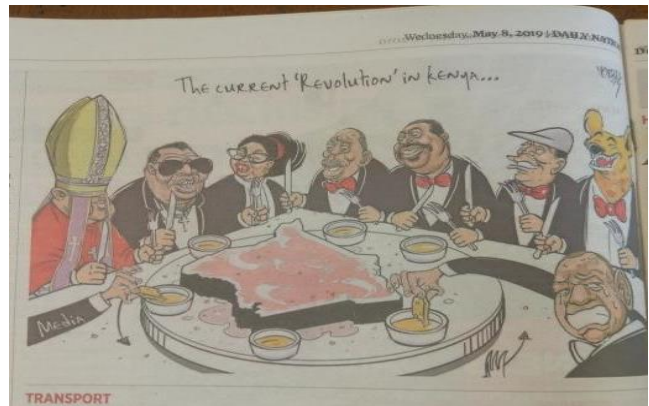
September 15th 2018



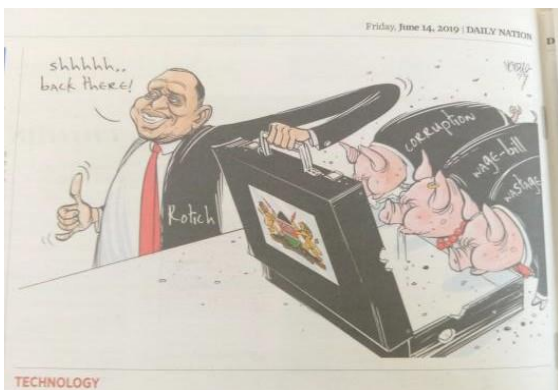
Friday September 21st 2018



Wednesday January 23rd 2019



Wednesday May 8th 2019



Friday June 14th 2019



Friday June 14th 2019



Saturday January 5th 2019

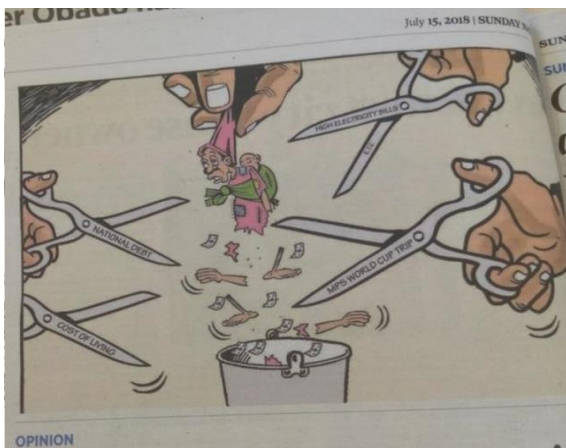
8. Corruption is Brutality/Destruction



Saturday March 31st 2018



Wednesday May 30th 2018



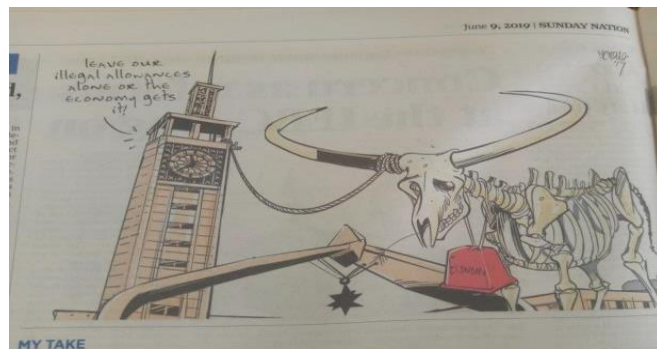
September 22nd 2018



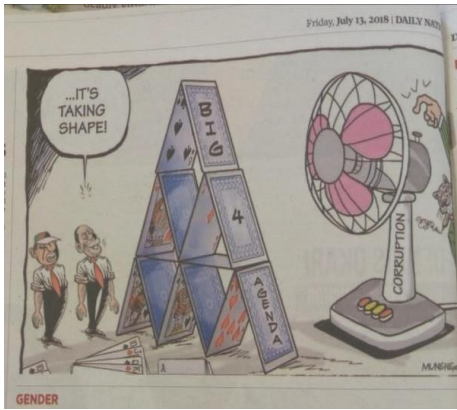
Sunday July 15th 2018



Monday March 18th 2019



Sunday June 9th 2019



Friday July 13th 2018



Tuesday September 25th 2018



Sunday October 7th 2018



Sunday November 11th 2018

9. Corruption is War



Tuesday May 1st 2018



Thursday May 31st



Monday June 18th 2018



Wednesday July 18th 2018



Thursday September 20th 2018



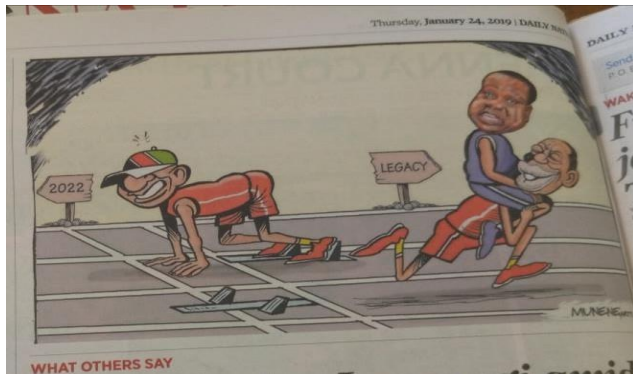
Sunday November 4th 2018



Friday December 14th 2018



Sunday January 6th 2019



Thursday January 24th 2019



Sunday March 3rd 2019

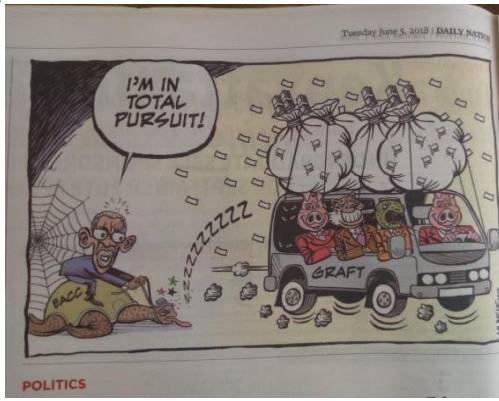


Wednesday March 13th 2019



Thursday March 21st 2019

11. Corruption is Elusive



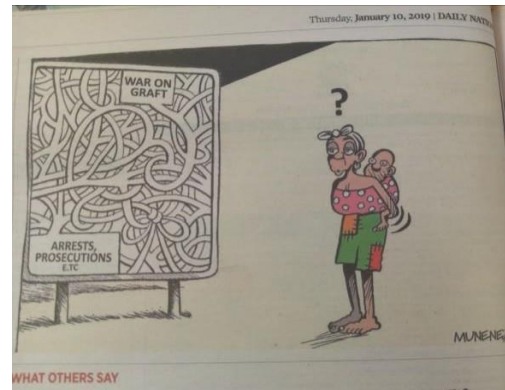
Tuesday June 5th 2018



Tuesday June 26th 2018



Sunday September 9th 2018



Thursday January 10th 2019



Sunday January 27th 2019



Wednesday January 30th 2019



Monday May 13th 2019



Saturday 1st June 2019



Saturday May 11th 2019

12. Corruption is a Burden



Sunday July 1st 2018



Friday December 14th 2018



Wednesday February 27th 2019



Saturday March 16th 2019

13. Corruption is a Shame



Monday July 2nd 2018



Monday August 13th 2018