

University of Ghana <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh>

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

METAPHOR IN POLITICAL CARTOONS: THE CASE OF GHANA'S
FREE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL (SHS) POLICY

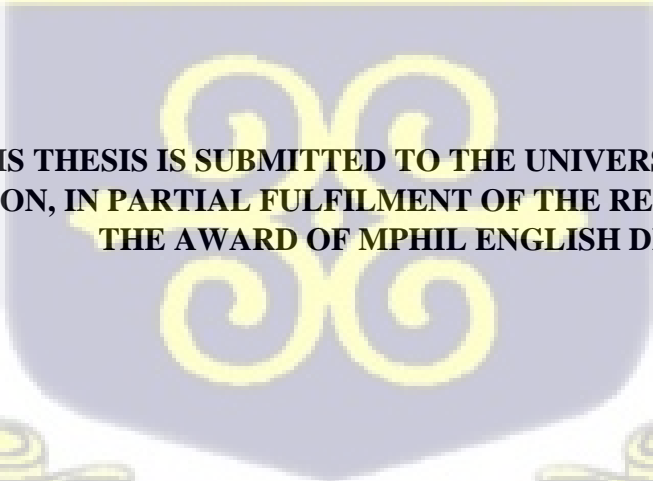


**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH**

**METAPHOR IN POLITICAL CARTOONS: THE CASE OF GHANA'S
FREE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL (SHS) POLICY**



**BY
GEORGE BOAKYE-YIADOM**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF MPhil ENGLISH DEGREE**



INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

OCTOBER, 2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis, except for the cited references and sources of data, is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Date: 06/09/2022



George Boakye-Yiadom

(10701093)



CERTIFICATION

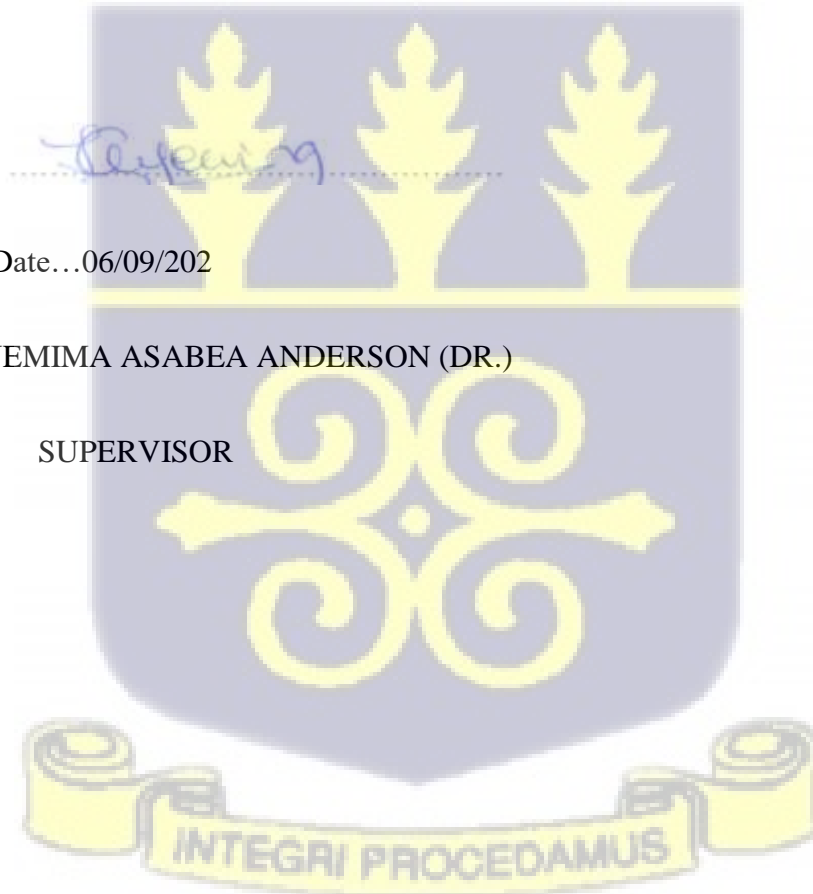
We hereby certify that this thesis was supervised following procedures laid down by this University.

Hansa.

Date...06/09/2022

GLADYS NYARKO ANSAH (DR.)

SUPERVISOR



Date...06/09/2022

JEMIMA ASABEA ANDERSON (DR.)

SUPERVISOR

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the Almighty God who made it possible for me to complete this work. Also, to my beloved parents, Mr Thomas Minkah and Madam Theresah Ampomah, as well as Madam Kate Pokuah Yeboah and Ms Daniella Amoah -Boadu.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I praise the Almighty God for His showers of blessings which enabled me to complete the research. I also want to express my sincere gratitude to my research supervisors, Dr. Gladys Nyarko Ansah and Dr. Jemima Asabea Anderson, for their invaluable guidance throughout this research. Their dynamism, vision, sincerity and motivation have deeply inspired me. I would also like to thank Dr. Joyce Anku, Department of Education, University of Ghana, Legon, for her encouragement and suggestions rendered throughout this work.

I am incredibly grateful to my parents -Thomas Minkah and Theresa Ampomah, for their love, prayers, care, and sacrifices in educating and preparing me for my future, not forgetting this remarkable woman, Madam Kate Pokua Yeboah. I am very much thankful to the former headmaster of Quaye Nungua R/C Basic School, Mr Paul K. Atu, for his words of encouragement, prayers, and for giving me the opportunity to pursue this MPhil programme. When the going got tough, and I wanted to give up, I had my broken heart restored through the encouraging words from Obaa Yaa Amponsah, a coursemate who doubles as a sister. I am incredibly grateful to Ms Daniella Amoah Boadu for her immeasurable support, encouragement and prayers. I am also grateful to my friends, Dennis Kyei Baffour, Mcdonaldson Appiah, Richard Appiah Kingsley, Francis Ohene Odei, David Anyimiah, Degraft Alex and Felicia

Afoley, for their prayers and support. Finally, I thank Thomas Abdul Jamel Asare and Ebenezer Agbaglo for spending their precious time to proofread this thesis.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CMA	Critical metaphor analysis
CMT	Conceptual metaphor theory
CST	Call service tax
DA	Discourse analysis
FSHSP	Free Senior high school policy
GetFund	Ghana Education Trust Fund
JDM	John Dramani Mahama
MP	Member of Parliament
NADAA	Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PCs	Political cartoons



ABSTRACT

Every political party presents policies that appeal to the masses and believe to be people-centred. The media further explain these policies through various means. The media are very diplomatic in employing succinct, trouble-free, but comprehensive means to present political news. Since metaphorical language is known to provide such affordances, this study examined how the media (journalists) use metaphor in political cartoons to present the message of the introduction and implementation of Ghana's Free Senior High School Policy. Thirteen political cartoons related to Free SHS Policy were collected from August 2017 to November 2019 for analysis using Critical Metaphor Analysis as a framework. The data were grouped under different sub-themes and analyzed qualitatively. The data analysis revealed that the cartoonists (journalists) used different conceptual source domains to present the Free SHS policy message visually. These source domains included cooking, child delivery, seriously sick person, agriculture, sports, feeding children, pasturing cattle, religious confession, and climbing a ladder to enter a container. The findings suggest that the use of these source domains could promote a better understanding of the policy among the Ghanaian people. The analysis again showed the Ghanaian linguistic landscape as very diverse (multilingualism) is a reality in the Ghanaian linguistic society (as demonstrated in the cartoons' bubble speeches).

TABLE OF CONTENT

Contents	Page
DECLARATION	i
CERTIFICATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
LIST OF ACRONYMS	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENT	vii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 General Overview	1
1.1 History of Ghanaian Political Cartoons	3
1.2 The Media and Politics in Ghana.....	6
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	9
1.4 Objective of the Study	10

The study seeks to;.....	10
1.5 Research Question	10
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	11
1.7 Scope and Limitations.....	11
1.8 Chapter Summary	12
CHAPTER TWO	14
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	14
2.0 Introduction.....	14
2.1 Metaphor.....	14
2.2 The Cognitive Linguistics View of Metaphor	19
Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)	19
2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	22
2.4 Critical Metaphor Analysis.....	25
2.5 Works That Employed CMA.....	29
2.6 The role of Metaphor in Political Discourse.....	31
2.7 History, types of cartoons and significance of Political Cartoons	33
2.7.1 Types of Cartoons	34
2.7.2 Significance of Political Cartoons	36
2.8 Reviewed Works on Political Cartoons	36
2.9 Multimodality in focus.....	42

2. 10 Chapter Summary	44
CHAPTER THREE	45
METHODOLOGY	45
3.1 Introduction.....	45
3.2 Research Design.....	45
3.3 Data.....	46
3.4 The Sample Size	48
3.5 Sampling Technique and Data Collection Procedure	49
3.6 Analytical Framework	49
3.7 Sample Data Analysis	51
3.8 The Semiotic Tools	51
3.9 Limitations	53
3.10 Chapter Summary	53
CHAPTER FOUR.....	54
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....	54
4.0 Introduction.....	54
4.1 Metaphor of Free SHS policy in Ghana.....	54
4.2 Preparation to roll out Free SHS is Food Preparation (Cooking)	55
4.3 The Successful Implementation of FREE SHS Policy is Childbirth	58
4.4 Financially Distressed Free SHS Policy is a Critically Ill Person	62

4.5 Financing Free SHS Policy is Feeding a Child.....	65
4.6 Feeding Metaphor	66
4.7 Feeding Cattle is Financing Free SHS Policy.....	69
4.8 Conceptual Metaphors of the Double Track System	76
4.9 Sports Metaphor.....	77
4.10 Agricultural (Farming) Metaphor	80
4.11 Conceptual Metaphors of Free SHS Interventions	84
4.12 The President is a Carer/Caring Parent.....	85
4.11.1 The President as a Caring Parent	87
4.12 Religious Metaphor.....	90
4.13 Opposition's NDC Change In Opinion on Free Shs is a Confession of Sin 91	
4.14 Diverse Opinions by Former President Mahama on Free SHS Policy	95
4.15 Access Metaphor.....	101
4.16. Linguistic Analysis of the Bubble Speeches in the Cartoons	104
4.17 Chapter Summary	105
CHAPTER FIVE	106
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	106
5.0 Introduction.....	106
5.1 Summary of Findings.....	106
5.2 Correlation between the Images and the Verbal Language	109

5.3 The Implication of the Study	111
5.4 Suggestions for Future Research	112
REFERENCES	113
APPENDICES	126



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 General Overview

Elections are usually won or lost worldwide based on political parties' policies presented to the electorate. Ghana is not an exception in this matter. Ghanaians are believed to vote for a candidate or political party known to have policies that promise to relieve the electorate of economic burdens. In other words, Ghanaians are believed to vote for political parties and individuals who have people-centred policies. Run up to the 2016 general elections, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo, the flag-bearer of the New Patriotic Party, campaigned enthusiastically to introduce a Free Senior High School (SHS) policy in the country if elected into office as president. Nana Addo talked about the Free SHS policy on every political campaign platform he mounted. Soon, the Free SHS policy became a cliché, and almost all the media outlets in Ghana (electronic and print) discussed the policy in detail, raising concerns and questioning its feasibility.

When Nana Addo Dankwa, in an interview with a journalist from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), was asked about what is his source of funding for the Free SHS policy would be, he told the journalist that he would come to Ghanaians and give the details of his anticipated funding sources- for the programme. This response deepened the contentions raised earlier concerning the feasibility of the policy. Many Ghanaians, mainly his political opponents, described the proposed Free SHS policy as a mere political gimmick to lure the

electorate into voting for him. For instance, Honourable Ibrahim Mutarla Mohammed, an opposition member of parliament (MP) for Tamale Central Constituency, on September 5, 2017, "Nana Addo can never implement Free SHS; he is deceiving Ghanaians." (<https://mobile.ghanaweb.com>).

The campaign was over, and the general election was conducted; the outcome of the election suggested that the message of the Free SHS Policy sank deeply in the electorate's minds, which perhaps made them (Ghanaians) vote massively for Nana Addo Dankwa to become the president of Ghana. The president's decision to implement the Free SHS policy in his first year of office received much criticism from his political opponents, educationists, and economic think tanks. The critics believed that the policy was being hastily implemented because some glaring and potential challenges that should have been addressed were not addressed before its implementation. The New Democratic Congress (NDC), the main opposition party, and other stakeholders in education argued that the hasty implementation of the Free SHS policy in the early years to jeopardize was going to jeopardize the country's educational system. However, these criticisms from his political opponents and other stakeholders did not deter President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo from implementing the Free SHS policy in the early days of his first term of office as president.

The first batch of Free SHS policy beneficiaries started school in September 2017. As anything that is generally free is oversubscribed, the enrollment of secondary school students increased tremendously that year, creating problems for the implementers, schools, headteachers, school boards, etc.

Thus, the implementation of the Free SHS Policy and its attendant challenges sparked new discourses and counter-discourses that were ideologically laden. While these discourses were rife in radio and television media, others captured the discourses in political cartoons. This study sought to examine the use of metaphor in political cartoons about Ghana's Free SHS Policy between 2017 and 2019 academic years.

1.1 History of Ghanaian Political Cartoons

Cartoon comes from the Italian word "*cartone*", which means "large paper" (Lobo, 2002). Cartoons are large pictorial images telling a story or commenting on a social or political issue in their purest form. Cartoons have been and continue to be an essential part of our societal culture. Political cartoons appeal to all audiences, both children and adults. The 'Cartoon' genre has widely been defined as a metaphorical codification of a satirical type through which an artist subtly informs, educates, and entertains the readership (Nyoni et al., 2012 & Sani et al., 2012).

Morris (1993) maintains that an effective political cartoon can convey a politically sophisticated message condensed into a single image. He also noted that cartoons had been used to criticize the activities of political figures. Refaie (2009) similarly postulates that political cartoons specifically talk about political issues, events, or political figures. Cartoons explain and help people understand complex politics by presenting an imaginary scenario of real-life events. Due to Africa's high level of illiteracy, cartoons help explain government policies and

programmes. Willet (2006) compared political cartoons to "iron fist in a velvet glove" that hilariously hammers the editorial message home.

Edwards & Winkler (1997) also indicated that political cartoons are "graphic presentations typically designed in a one-panel, non-continuing format to make an independent statement or observation on political events or social policy." What makes political cartoons distinct from other forms is that cartoonists often use humour or irony to point out shortcomings or hypocrisies within the political system. The cartoonist combines artistic skills, hyperbole, and satire to question authorities and draw attention to social canker. Because of this role, political cartoonists have been regarded as influential and highly respected by political commentators.

The citizens of every nation enjoy the freedom of speech and expression because of the nation's independence and sovereignty. Notwithstanding, freedom of speech is curtailed in non-democratic countries. The electronic and print media outlets also enjoy some press freedom. This freedom allows the media to express and comment on national issues without fearing victimization. Although press freedom exists, print and electronic media rely on cartoons for their benefits in presenting their messages.

Cartoons have been part of our democratic process since independence. *The Accra Evening News*, a popular newspaper that served as the official mouthpiece of the then Convention Peoples Party's (CPP) government, started publishing cartoons in 1957 to lampoon and criticize politicians' ills, particularly Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana. Other cartoonists during that

period included *Ghanatta*, *Sam*, and *Thiks*. After the 1960s, cartoons have become part of our lives. It almost appears that all the print media in Ghana have a section of their papers for cartoons. With the advent of technology, cartoon works have extended from print media to other media such as social media and television.

'TV3', a private TV station in Ghana, during its 7:00 pm news, sometimes dedicates parts of the entertainment news segment to cartoons as a way of entertaining viewers. Aside from the entertainment aspect of the cartoons, they also bring viewers' attention to significant national issues that generate discussions. The cartoonists present on issues that range from political, social, economic, and religious. They also present on matters of national interest and trending issues. Aside from *Tilapia*, TV3's cartoonist, which airs on national television, most daily newspapers also dedicate a section of their editorials to cartoons. Currently, famous cartoons in Ghana include Daavi from the Daily Graphic, Akosua from the Daily Guide, 'T' 'Spoon from the Chronicle, Politics and Politricks from the Enquirer, Pot from Kotoko Express *Makaveli* from the *Accra Evening Mail*. *Santrofi Anoma* cartoon publishes on Facebook.

According to Ross (1992), cartoon making as art involves an artist's exaggeration, distortion, and falsification of reality issues into brief comments and satire vehicles. I agree with Ross because a cartoonist must be abreast of information and current issues to feed his readers and viewers. A unique technique is needed to achieve this role. Ross identified humour, satire, exaggeration, and metaphor, among others, as cartoonists' strategies in presenting issues.

It is worth mentioning that cartoonists do not live in isolation in discharging their duties. In view of this, Connors (2014) suggests that the combination of visual, cultural, and literary allusions in a cartoon, along with a text that may take the form of a headline or words spoken by characters, results in a compelling and provocative image of opinion (p. 247). Again, the processing and interpretation of cartoons require a complex blend of political, cultural, historical, and contextual experiences to unravel the cartoons' meanings.

Desousa and Medhurst (1984) stated that political cartoons' research has generally focused on well-remembered images of presidential candidates and other political leaders. Per what Desousa and Medhurst put across, works on political cartoons have focused on politicians' activities to reveal their evil crimes.

Connors (1998) believes that understanding cartoons depends on culture, age, and the viewer's intelligence levels. To her, culture differs from community to community and region, making interpreting and understanding cartoons dependent on the viewer's background knowledge. What makes this study unique from others is the euphoria and the contention surrounding Free SHS policy and how the cartoonists conceptualize the message of Free SHS policy from conception to delivery.

1.2 The Media and Politics in Ghana

The establishment of media outlets in Anglophone and Francophone Africa developed during the colonial period. The influence of the colonial masters affected the media landscape tremendously. Therefore, Africa's media outlets can

be described as a colonial heritage. Sturmer (2008:59) maintains that, on the whole, the colonial mass media were centralized and served as the government's mouthpiece for the indigenes. This centralization extended to both print and electronic media. The media in Ghana and other parts of Africa always have a reciprocal relationship with politicians. Politicians rely on the media to get their messages to the populace.

In some cases, some politicians own media houses, thereby employing journalists. Therefore, these journalists have to do the will of their paymasters, which denies them (journalists) the free mind to function.

The media worldwide are seen as the fourth estate of the realm regarding democratic dispensation. They also serve as watchdogs in society. Therefore, their role in the country cannot be taken too lightly. They also (media) play a critical role by educating and explaining government policies and programmes to their listeners. The media in Ghana further explain these policies through various means. One of the means is the use of local languages such as Twi, Ga, Ewe, Nzema, and Dagbaani to explain government policies to enhance a better understanding. In doing all these, the media are very cautious in employing succinct, incident-free, comprehensive methods to present political news.

In Ghana, where the country is politically polarized, media houses (public and private), religious ministers, chiefs, opinion leaders, and geo-political regions are meticulous in commenting on political issues. They suffer name-tagging or discrimination when they comment on national issues with a political undertone. It is either against the government of the day or for the incumbent government.

Apart from the media employing an incident-free approach to addressing political issues, political cartoons present socio-economic and socio-political issues. It is worth mentioning that cartoonists have the license to comment on national issues in democratic countries without any attacks because of the satirical touch that comes with the cartoons and the amnesty they enjoy. Notwithstanding, history tells us that there has been an instance where a cartoonist has suffered attacks due to a particular publication that seems to malign a religious leader or a political figure. A typical example is the murder of a French cartoonist, Charles Hebdo.

With its benefits, cartoon as a discourse genre has become a powerful instrument that provides a valuable and new communication direction. Szabo and Lent (1994: 31) see the use of cartoons by the media as "food for thought, artistic expression, a visual aid to understand better and clarify current national issues". A metaphor is one of the weapons cartoonists use apart from humour, exaggeration, and metonymy.

Metaphor, over the years, has been regarded as an aspect of language or the ornamental aspect of language writers use to enrich their style of writing. In cognitive linguistics, metaphor is not just a language device but a mental concept. In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson co-authored a book titled *Metaphors We Live By*, introducing the conceptual metaphor theory. They (Lakoff and Johnson) believe that we can understand one domain in terms of another field. After launching their famous book, many scholars, including Forceville, Gibbs, and Charteris-Black, criticised and gave their opinion on metaphor.

Charteris-Black (2004), realizing a gap in Lakoff and Johnson's work, maintains that metaphor analysis should go beyond the conceptual aspect. He believes that metaphor analysis should include the cognitive and ideological aspects, hence proposing *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, which is the amalgamation of two approaches, conceptual metaphor theory and critical discourse analysis. CMA was employed to identify how the Free SHS Policy was understood using specific source domains. The study used cartoons published before, during, and after implementing the Free SHS policy.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Researchers such as Bounegru and Forceville (2011) and Dălălău and Maior (2014) have explored metaphors in political cartoons using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to reveal implicit messages in these cartoons. CMT has been applied to various studies. For example, Bounegru and Forceville (2011) used CMT to determine how cartoons used metaphors to represent the global financial crisis. Other researchers, such as Dălălău and Maior (2014) and Padilla (2018), have also used it to examine the use of metaphor in political cartoons to represent the Euro and Greek debt crises, respectively in the European context. These studies agree that metaphor is the greatest weapon cartoonists use to communicate their messages, which helps with understanding the messages through familiar source domains.

In Ghana, a few studies on political cartoons, such as Rockson (2012), Oduro-Frimpong (2013) and Amankwah et al. (2012), adopted different

approaches to study political cartoons. These studies utilized theories such as Dell Hymes' Ethnography of Communication, as can be found in Oduro-Frimpong (2013), the construction of reality and ethnomethodology found in Rockson (2012) and the theory of agenda setting found in Amankwah et al. (2012). It must be noted that even though political discourses are typically ideological, these studies did not consider 'ideology' or the role metaphors play in communicating political ideology. Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) allows us to explore meanings and participants' ideologies in political cartoons.

In this disposition, the present study adopts CMA in examining the conceptualization of the Free SHS policy from the campaign season to its implementation. Specifically, the research explores how *Tilapia* and *Akosua* political cartoonists in Ghana presented the message of the Free SHS policy through the use of multimodal metaphors.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The study seeks to;

1. Identify the types of source domains the cartoonists used in the selected cartoons to conceptualize the Free SHS policy metaphorically.
2. To find out how the semiotic tools contribute to understanding the cartoonists' message.

1.5 Research Question

The study, therefore, attempted to answer the questions below:

1. What source domains were used by the cartoonists to metaphorically conceptualize Ghana's Free Senior High School policy?
2. How do the semiotic tools contribute to understanding the cartoonists' message?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study highlighted the importance of Ghanaian cartoonists in the democratic dispensation to expose government policies and projects using resources that portrayed Ghanaian culture. The cartoonists' use of familiar concepts helps best-explained government policies challenging to understand by the populace. The study would enlighten how the rivalry between the two major political parties, NPP and NDC, was deepened even in the cartoons. Additionally, the novelty of this study would serve as reference material for future researchers who may decide to do studies of this kind. Furthermore, the studies would draw the attention of politicians to the cartoonists' work since they communicate thoughtful messages to the readers and viewers. Finally, this study would augment the literature on political cartoon studies from a linguistics background.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

The quintessence of the research focused on the use of metaphors in selected political cartoons related to the Free SHS Policy. The selected cartoons were obtained from TV3 News' cartoonist, *Tilapia* and the Daily Guide's cartoonist, *Akosua*. The justification for using these media outlets was explained in the methodology section.

This research was intended not to be an exhaustive survey of all the cartoons' features, such as the setting of the cartoons, the participants involved, the use of a particular colour for a resolution, posture, gesture, and font size projections. Intermittently, I extended the analysis to other semiotic elements contributing to the cartoonists' message. Instead, the research intended to critically examine how cartoonists employed a metaphor as a cognitive tool espoused by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to present the Free SHS policy of a particular government and the types of source domains used in the selected cartoons.

Also, the analysis of the verbal language did not focus on the type of sentence structure the cartoonists used to present the message or determine whether the cartoonists used simple, complex or compound structures. Again, choosing one language over the other in the bubble speeches was not the focus. Instead, the study focused on how the bubble speeches brought out the ideological stance of the major political parties on the Free SHS policy on what they said before, during, and after implementing the policy.

1.8 Chapter Summary

The purpose of Chapter One was to give a general overview and introduction to this study. I looked at the history of Ghanaian political cartoons tracing it from Ghana's first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and media and politics in Ghana. I also considered a metaphor and critical metaphor analysis. The problem's statement was discussed alongside the study's objectives, research

questions and significance of the study. I also discussed the scope and limitations of the study.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature related to the present study, intending to establish an empirical examination that follows. Specifically, I provide a historical background to metaphor studies and then examine how metaphor has been discussed in cartoon studies.

2.1 Metaphor

The word “metaphor” has its roots in the two Greek words, “meta” and “pherein,” meaning to “carry-over” or to “transfer” (Weller, 2006). The word carries the connotations of transferring specific characteristics or qualities from one thing to another by its parts. In *Poetics*, Aristotle (as cited in Ross, 1952: 1456) defines metaphor as “giving the thing a name that belongs to something else”. While in the later tradition, the use of metaphors has been seen as a matter of mere decoration, which has to delight the hearer, Aristotle stresses the cognitive function of metaphors. He says metaphors bring about learning (*Rhet.* III.10, 1410b14f.). In order to understand a metaphor, the hearer has to find something common between the metaphor and the thing the metaphor refers to. For example, if someone calls old age “stubble”, we have to find a common genus to which old age and stubble belong; we do not grasp the very sense of the metaphor until we find that both, old age and stubble, have lost their bloom. Thus, a metaphor not only refers to a thing but simultaneously

describes the thing in a certain respect. This is why Aristotle says that the metaphor brings about learning: as soon as we understand why someone uses the metaphor “stubble” to refer to old age, we have learned at least one characteristic of old age. St Clair (2004: 1) espouses a similar view: "Metaphors are statements based on some analogy where two things are compared to each other". Usually, the entities that are compared have something in common. The discussion of metaphor now spans several subject areas, such as linguistics, literature, communication, advertisement, business, and psychology.

Rapp (2010: 20-22) also refers to metaphor as “the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion”. Per this definition, it can be argued that when one uses a metaphor, they translate one word in terms of another and, as a result, transfers certain qualities from one subject to the other. In this vein, one can describe familiar or unfamiliar concepts. Aristotle (cf. Rapp, 2010) further distinguishes four ways in which metaphors can be used:

- (1) The genus to species relationship, where a more general term is used instead of a specific word: Aristotle uses the example of This ship of mine stands 'there' where 'stand' (species) is a more general way of saying 'is anchored' (genus). This relationship gives an aspect of another cognitive device known as Metonymy.
- (2) The species-to-genus relationship, what a species is, is determined by the genus to which the species belongs and what differentiates that species

from all other species of the same genus because the genus is more general than the species.

(3) The species-to-species relationship, where one specific term replaces another. Aristotle's example is, "Then he drew off his life with the bronze and Then with the bronze cup he cut the water", where 'to draw off' and 'to cut' (species) represent to take away (species).

(4) Metaphor from analogy, which consists of substitutions between X is to Y type relationships, for instance, to define old age as the sunset of life. One can speak metaphorically about the old age of the day or the evening of life.

Rapp (2010) further elucidates Aristotle's position by adding that to understand a metaphor, the hearer has to find something common between the metaphor and the thing the metaphor refers to. With Rapp's assertion, there should be similar features between the entity we want to map and its referent. Cognitive linguists term the source domain (usually familiar experience) and the target domain (unfamiliar experience). Nonetheless, the target domain can sometimes be a familiar experience.

Similarly, Corbett (1965:438) espouses that metaphor implies comparing two things that are not the same but share some common features. Corbett believes that we can compare two, unlike entities. For instance, two animals' behaviour of different species can be compared since they belong to the same taxonomy. Correspondingly, Galperin (1981) maintains that metaphor relates to the dictionary and the contextual logical meaning based on the similarity of some

properties of two similar concepts. Semanticists believe an isolated word does not have meaning unless used in context or with the help of its co-text. For this reason, the purpose of a word from the dictionary would be different when the same word is put in context.

Barcelona (2000), on the other hand, defines metaphor as the cognitive mechanism whereby one experimental domain is partially “mapped” and projected onto a different empirical domain so that the second domain is understood partially in terms of the first one. Barcelona’s view affirms what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) espoused that we understand one unfamiliar experience in terms of a familiar experience. This assertion implies that we understand entities from known to unknown and concrete to abstract. Langacker (1999) seems to support Lakoff and Johnson's view that we can conceive one situation against the background afforded to another. The conceived ideas usually serve as the source domain, which helps us understand the target domain.

The classical view of metaphor prevailed until the middle of the 20th century. In the classical view, a metaphor is a figure of speech or literary device and is not found in everyday language. A metaphor is regarded as a figure of speech in traditional linguistics. However, Cognitive linguistics (CL) considers metaphor as “a cognitive phenomenon in which people understand abstract target domains in terms of concrete source domains” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 8). This approach gave way to the comparison view of metaphor, which states that when processing metaphor, the target domain's properties are mapped with the source (base) domain, which leads to the identification of shared characteristics. According to

Richards (1936), the target domain can be a familiar, complex, or subjective experience.

In the Metaphor as comparison tradition, a metaphor has three terms: the target domain (tenor), the source domain (vehicle), and the similarities between the two become the ground. For example, in the metaphor LIFE is a JOURNEY, the characteristics of the target term 'LIFE' are mapped with that of the base term 'JOURNEY', and then we look for an overlap in the characteristics. One might say that LIFE is similar to a JOURNEY because both have a beginning and an end. Other characteristics are the person leading a life is a traveller, his purposes are destinations, the means to achieving goals are routed, and progress is the distance travelled (Lakoff & Turner, 2009).

Glucksberg & Keysar (1990) propose that metaphors are comprehended through categorization and comparison processes. Glucksberg & Keysar maintain that there should be some form of sorting between source and target domain to understand metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further assert that human beings conceptualize abstract ideas in terms of actual experiences, the latter being experiences that pertain directly to the body (sense perception, motor activity, physical pain and pleasure, heat and cold, among others).

All the views put forth by the various scholars in defining metaphor seem to be interwoven, but Kovecses (2005) holds a current view that metaphor is culture-dependent. He opines further that metaphorical construction is heavily dependent on the context it appears. Gibbs (1987) supports this assertion that metaphor interpretation can only occur in context.

Forceville (1996) mentions that anything that qualifies to be called “metaphor” must be capable of providing answers to the following questions,

1. Which are the two terms of the Metaphor, and how do we know?
2. Which is the Metaphor's target domain, and which is the Metaphor's source domain, and how do we know?
3. Which features can be mapped from the source domain to the target domain, and how is their selection decided upon?

2.2 The Cognitive Linguistics View of Metaphor

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) provides a valuable tool for linguists to analyze ideologies and identities implicit in language and visual images. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that a metaphor is a powerful conceptual tool essential to understanding the world, as was captured in their famous book *Metaphor we Live By*. Globally, it has recently been agreed that metaphor is how we make sense of all phenomena. This is so because metaphors are deeply rooted in our sign system, thought, and action, permeating everyday life. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 157) contend that metaphor has the persuasive power “to define reality [...] through a coherent network of entailments that highlight some features of reality and hide others”.

Metaphors can also be seen as a conceptual system because different metaphors are related to each other coherently. For example, abstract concepts such as love and argument are not easily understood unless related to a directly perceivable

referent, such as LOVE IS MADNESS and ARGUMENT IS WAR. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 49-62) state that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” and that “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think”.

A metaphor is a kind of thinking or conceptualization that is not limited to language; however, language provides a convenient way to observe how a metaphor works. The two conceptual metaphor domains are the source and target domains. The source domain is a physical and concrete entity, while the target domain is an abstract entity. Ungerer and Schmid (1996) propose a structural mapping process from a “source” domain to a “target” domain. The duo maintains that metaphors allow us to conceptualize abstract phenomena by relying on real-world models of our experienced and stored knowledge.

The source domain is the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain. On the contrary, the target domain is the conceptual domain which is understood in this way. From a cognitive perspective, metaphor is mapping a source model's structure onto a target model. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) buttress their point with an example about romantic relationships: LOVE (target) as JOURNEY (source domain) mappings. The mapping involves understanding one domain of experience, LOVE (romantic relationship), in terms of a very different domain of experience, JOURNEY. One of the source domain properties is mapped onto the target domain based on the cross-mapping Lakoff and Johnson espouse.

The lovers' → travellers.

The love relationship → vehicle.

The lovers' common goals → common destinations on the journey.

Difficulties in the romantic relationship → impediments to travel.

In the expression, “LOVE IS A JOURNEY,” the former is the target domain, comparatively more abstract. The latter is the source domain which is relatively more concrete. The abstract target domain of love is understood, thus through the particular source domain of journey. This mapping takes place in the mind in a specific context and projects aspects of the source domain onto the target domain, called conceptual mapping. Identifying metaphors involves mapping from a source domain to a target domain. The mapping conceived is conceptualized mentally, hence the name conceptual metaphor.

Another example, ARGUMENT IS WAR is a conceptual metaphor with the following metaphorical linguistic expressions:

Your claims are indefensible.

He attacked every weak point in my argument.

His criticisms were right on the target.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980)

The source domain corresponds to the target domain; consequently, there is a mapping between the source and target domains. The target domain “A” is understood in terms of the source domain “B”. For example, in the conceptual metaphor mentioned above, ARGUMENT is the target domain, and WAR is the

source domain. Whenever WAR is mapped onto ARGUMENT, the two domains correspond to each other in a way that enables us to interpret ARGUMENT as a WAR (Kertész, 2004)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish between three different types of metaphors according to the cognitive functions they perform. These are *structural*, *orientational*, and *ontological* metaphors.

Structural metaphors are metaphors where one concept is structured metaphorically in terms of another, where the source provides an extensive knowledge structure and explains it for the target domain. Example: TIME IS MONEY.

Orientational metaphors are based on spatial orientation; they organize a whole system of concepts in terms of physical orientation, such as up-down, in-out, front-back, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral. For example, HAPPY IS UP, and SAD IS DOWN.

Ontological metaphors are metaphors in which an abstract concept, such as an emotion, activity or idea, is exemplified as something concrete, such as a person, an object, substance or container. An example is AN ACTIVITY AS A CONTAINER (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA, hereafter) is a discourse analysis approach within the critical social theory that originates from Critical Linguistics,

a branch of discourse analysis. The Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA can be characterised as investigating ideological patterns in text and conceptualisation. The so far fruitful energy between Cognitive Linguistics and CDA has largely been confined to critical metaphor studies, with Conceptual Metaphor Theory providing the theoretical framework. However, Cognitive Linguistics in CDA may extend beyond Critical Metaphor Analysis to create a broader but coherent Cognitive Linguistic Approach which incorporates aspects of Cognitive Grammar, Mental Spaces, Frame Semantics and Force-Dynamics (Hart, 2011). CDA is mainly used to deconstruct the hidden social power and ideology to uncover social inequality through discourse structures of reality and to change social practice for the benefit of the disadvantaged. According to Wodak, CDA “shows the connection between language, power and ideology” (1989: 5). CDA is an approach and research method that scholars have widely adopted to study and analyze various discourses in recent years. It involves an analysis of the dialectical relationship between discourse (including language and other forms of semiosis, for example, body language or visual images) and other social practice elements.

CDA takes a broad interdisciplinary approach that combines linguistic methods with approaches from other human science disciplines such as sociology, politics, history, and psychology. CDA does place a text within a social context and demonstrates how particular discursive practices reflect socio-political power structures. Scholars consider CDA a powerful approach to study the interplay between language and ideology. Fowler (1991:89) proposes that “analysis using

appropriate linguistic tools, and referring to relevant historical and social context, can bring ideology, normally hidden through accustoming of discourse to the surface for inspection.” In CDA, every discourse act is assumed to have a potentially conscious intention that reflects the text producer and recipient's relative social position.

The primary aim of CDA is to analyze and make explicit political and ideological motivations that would otherwise be implicit or concealed. This approach reveals the philosophical concepts behind why political actors use certain expressions. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA deals with extralinguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology in historical terms. It, therefore, looks beyond the micro-description level of linguistic analysis into institutional frameworks, cultures, and ideologies to explain and evaluate how personal and social ideologies are tactfully encoded. Flood (1999) suggests that ideology exists as a social phenomenon communicated through verbal actions that directly or indirectly justify political action courses. Hodge and Kress (1993) opine that ideology involves a systematically organized reality presentation. Van Dijk, one of the most prolific advocates of critical cognitive studies, espouses that ideologies are clusters of beliefs in our minds (1998:26). He specifies that such beliefs are general, that is, abstract and context-independent, as well as socially shared. According to Van Dijk, sociocultural knowledge is shared by community members, while ideologies are shared and defended by particular groups within that community. For instance, members of political parties (NPP & NDC) share a common ideology, and they protect these ideologies. It is worth mentioning that

ideologies are ultimately based on sociocultural knowledge. And one person can belong to different groups. In other words, ideology is the belief system perpetuating norms and values held by people belonging to the same group. Therefore, ideology is a fully integrated sociocultural-cognitive phenomenon' (Verschueren, 2012: 8).

The word "critical" in CDA often refers to theoretical perspectives and methodologies that aim to change the existing social and political order. Every political cartoon has ideologies and messages that need to be discovered. Wei (2006) observes that critical discourse analysis has absorbed the results from cognitive linguistics research and adopted by cognitive linguists. Metaphor is "central to CDA since it deals with forming a coherent view of reality" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 28), and it is used to "persuasively convey evaluations and constitutes a potentially ideological property of texts" (Sacristan, 2005: 221). Critical metaphor analysis (CMA) has typically become the meeting point of these two fields (CMT and CDA) because it subsumes them. Combining these two approaches gives CMT the theoretical framework that underpins this study.

2.4 Critical Metaphor Analysis

Critical metaphor analysis (CMA, henceforth) is a method first adopted and elaborated by Jonathan Charteris-Black (2004) to tackle the gap he identified with Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory. Charteris- Black believes that metaphor analysis should be a central component of critical discourse analysis because metaphors are persuasively used to convey evaluations and

constitute part of the text's ideology. CMA aims to reveal language users' implied intentions and ideologies, focusing on metaphors.

In his book, *Corpus Approaches*, Charteris-Black argues that the definition of metaphor needs to incorporate a linguistic, pragmatic, semantic, and cognitive concept to account adequately for metaphor in any linguistic expression (Charteris-Black: 2004). Charteris-Black suggests that one concept cannot sufficiently account for the metaphorical expression. For Charteris-Black to account for the lapses in CMT and CDA, he propounds critical metaphor analysis, incorporating two models: critical discourse analysis and conceptual metaphor theory.

He opines further that metaphor constitutes verbal evidence for an underlying system of ideologies. Metaphor is not an exclusive linguistic, pragmatic, or cognitive phenomenon. Charteris-Black (2004) argues further that the cognitive-semantic approach also needs to be complemented with an analysis of pragmatic factors, as metaphors are always used within a specific communication context that governs their role. In simpler terms, relying alone on CMT allows one to deal with metaphorical expressions' in cognitive aspects. Using CDA alone also gives the chance to discuss the ideological stance behind the metaphorical expression. Therefore, for Charteris-Black to account sufficiently for the loopholes, he synchronizes the two approaches (CMT & CDA) to get CMA. At least, CMA has solved the problem to some extent, and it is widely accepted. He suggests three benchmarks in the definition of metaphor.

1. Linguistic criteria: a metaphor is a phrase that causes semantic tension by reification (referring to something abstract using a word or phrase that, in other contexts, applies to something concrete), personification (referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that, in another context, refers to something animate), and depersonification (referring to something animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something inanimate).
2. Pragmatic criteria: a metaphor is an incongruous linguistic representation with the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion. This purpose is often covert and reflects speaker intentions within particular contexts of use.
3. Cognitive criteria: a metaphor is caused by a shift in the conceptual system. The basis for the conceptual change is the relevance of, or psychological association between, the attributes of the referent of linguistic expression in its source context and those of the referent in its novel target context. This relevance or association is usually based on some previously unperceived similarity between the referents in those contexts (Charteris-Black, 2004: 22-23).

CMA is interested in exploring the implicit intentions of language users, the ideological configurations, and the hidden power relations within a socio-political and cultural context. Charteris-Black (2004) outlines three steps to follow when one wants to apply CMA to any text:

1. *Identification of metaphor*: This is a stage in which one critically and carefully scans for metaphorical expressions found in a particular discourse/cartoon. The identified metaphor will then be examined concerning the criteria for the definition of metaphor, either at linguistic, pragmatic, or cognitive levels resulting from a shift in domain used.
2. *Metaphor interpretation*: This stage involves establishing a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine those metaphors identified. It involves identifying conceptual metaphors and, where feasible, conceptual keys. At this phase, it is possible to consider how far metaphor choices are proactive in constructing a socially significant representation.
3. *Explanation of Metaphor*: this stage includes identifying the social agency involved in their production and their social role in persuasion. The formation of conceptual metaphors, keys, and illustrations of the typical evaluation of metaphors will explain why they can be persuasive. In a sense, it identifies the discourse functions of metaphors that permit us to establish their ideological and rhetorical motivation—Charteris-Black (2004: 35-41).

It is worth stating that not all studies that employ CMA as a theoretical framework adhere to the three stages. It depends on what the researcher seeks to achieve at the end of the study.

CMA is a way of revealing underlying ideologies, attitudes, and beliefs. CMA, therefore, constitutes a vital means of understanding more about the

complicated relationship between language, thoughts, and social context. In analyzing parts of metaphors, attention is drawn to which aspects of the source domains are transferred metaphorically to the target domain. For this purpose, I employ the CMA approach because it provides a methodology for analysing and interpreting ideology and illustrates how metaphors were used to communicate the Free SHS policy's message. CMA advances metaphor studies and serves as a research tool for the cognitive and pragmatic analysis of metaphors in discourse.

2.5 Works That Employed CMA

This section of the study aims to present works that employed CMA in their analysis. The papers to be reviewed differ considerably from the current study; they are still relevant since they are similar in the adopted theoretical perspective.

The use of metaphors has become familiar with political figures to lure the electorates, especially during the campaign period. These metaphors reflect the socio-cultural background of the candidates. The candidates appeal to images that concretize their socio-economic policies to bait the electorate. Frequently, politicians use metaphors that are readily available in their immediate environment. Opeibi (2009) asserts that Nigerian politicians increasingly use war, religious, and journey metaphors. In contrast, American and British politicians use baseball and cricket metaphors because these domains are common in their environment.

Agbo et al. (2018) similarly examine how Nigerian political actors use metaphor in their speeches, focusing on three former presidents: M. K. O Abiola, General Ibrahim Babaginda, and Goodluck Jonathan. Their analysis identified three source domains: war/battle/contest metaphor, the metaphor of a journey, and the metaphor conceptualizing the nation as a person. Their findings indicate that politicians use metaphors to justify their actions and activities, consolidate their positions, and convey complex expressions to avoid conflicts. Ezeifeka (2013) also examines how a private-owned newspaper, *Guardian*, used metaphor in reporting the Nigerian Union of Teachers' (NUT) strike to demand better remuneration. The analysis identifies the following source domains: war/conflicts, illness/disease, death, and games/sports, with teachers' strikes being the target domain. The findings reveal that the newspaper editors strategically use metaphors to be recognized as neutral, not on the side of the government or the striking teachers.

Kelly (2016) critically examines how selected English, and Chinese cosmetic advertisement slogans employ metaphor. Because of the ideological nature of the advertisement, Charteris-Black's CMA was used for the analysis. The selected advertisements were categorized into several sources: emotional intimacy with appearances, food metaphor, structural metaphor, a universal metaphor with real bodily experience, and an orientational metaphor related to spatial sense. The findings reveal that metaphors in cosmetic advertisements help uncover the hidden ideologies behind these advertisements, which evoke consumers' desires and persuade them to buy their products.

Cammaerts (2012) employs CMA to examine how North-Belgian politicians and political journalists use metaphors during political instability and constitutional crises. The researcher identifies the following source domains: sports and games metaphor, war metaphor, culinary metaphor, and transport-related metaphors, all mapped onto the target domain of political instability and constitutional crisis. The findings revealed that the use of metaphor varies according to users. Political journalists use metaphors to make a complex political process more understandable for the audience or voice their displeasure concerning the country's crisis. In the negotiation process, politicians use metaphors to speak to the electorates and their political opponents. The study further indicated that metaphors are vehicles of overt and hidden meanings, used by political and media actors as a discursive practice with a precise strategic aim and intent.

2.6 The role of Metaphor in Political Discourse

Political issues are complex and cumbersome; in this regard, political actors heavily rely on metaphors to present their messages. Thompson (1996) asserts that politics without metaphor is like a fish without water. In our body politics, metaphor cannot be eliminated because it mitigates chaos and anarchy. In political discourses, metaphors are not empty devices; they are deployed deliberately to enhance the texts' persuasive effect by providing striking and vivid images that enhance the communicative meaning of the discourse. Political communicators use metaphors to project their ideological stance, either positively or negatively, to show persuasion, negotiation, and other power relations.

According to Musolff (2012), being a competent political speaker or writer implies the expert use of metaphors to promote potentially problematic political concepts without incurring the risk of being held legally or socially responsible. Politicians deploy metaphors to manage stressful situations and convey doubtful expressions to avoid conflicts. Politicians often resort to metaphors because of the capacity to disguise and conceal particular aspects of experience and thus shape reality to suit the users' interests. Fairclough (2008) opines that politicians use metaphors to avoid a direct reference to a face-threatening phenomenon. Because of this, politicians often resort to the use of metaphors to convey weightier subjects that may be difficult to express in plain language. Again, metaphors are used in political discourse to manage the most threatening speech acts and minimise the speaker's accountability.

Landtsheer (2004) maintain that politicians use metaphors as persuasive communication tools to bridge gaps and build identification between strangers, frame issues; create, maintain, or dissolve political coalitions; and generate votes to win elections. The use of metaphor and its selection are intrinsically motivated; it has a precise political aim, either to promote one's view against another or to discredit political adversaries or enemies. Jamieson (1985) asserts that the choice of a metaphor depends on the speaker's intention, as what they intend to achieve at the end of the speech depends on the metaphor to choose.

Mio (1997: 130) states that metaphors are valuable instruments in political communication because they “resonate with latent symbolic representations residing at the unconscious level”. According to Mio, political actors employ

metaphors to uncover unmentioned issues, thereby making these issues known to the populace. Van Teeffelen (1994) posits that the strength of the metaphor in terms of political communication consists of its ability to emphasize particular elements and linkages, understanding cause and effect, symptom and essence, and especially praise and blame. With Van Teeffelen's pronouncement, metaphors serve political interests. He further argues that when metaphors are used as ideological devices, they are privileged to the user because the actor will play with words.

2.7 History, types of cartoons and significance of Political Cartoons

The first known political cartoon was published in 1360 BC, which ridiculed Ikhnaton's father-in-law of Tutankhamon. Rudimentary forms of political cartoons have also been found in Ancient Greek pottery depictions that lampooned political leaders and lauded Olympian gods (Danjoux, 2007). Artists such as William Hogarth in 1700 often made sets of humorous (funny) drawings that were about political subjects, such as poverty, elections, war, and riots. (McNally, 2014: 20). The drawings were made into prints and sold cheaply. These prints were not called cartoons at that time, but they led to modern political cartoons in newspapers. Nowadays, many newspapers publish different political cartoons in their papers every day. The word "cartoon" was first used in 1843 in an English magazine called the "Punch". Cartoons have become part of our lives and gained momentum and scholarly attention.

2.7.1 Types of Cartoons

- A comic strip is a cartoon published in newspapers and other media outlets to create laughter and humour for its readers and viewers.
- An educational cartoon is usually found in educational materials to teach a concept or a topic.
- An Animated cartoon is a type of cartoon that features animal characters in the story's presentation. Such cartoons are always in the form of stories called fables.
- A political cartoon is a type of cartoon that talks about political figures, issues, and political events. This study will discuss political cartoons.

As already indicated, this study will use political cartoons for the analysis. Different scholars have given their views on political cartoons; a few of them have been provided below,

Refaie (2009:175) explains political cartoons as a genre that explicitly discusses political issues, events, or political figures. She further explains that they help people understand politics by presenting an imaginary scenario of real-life events. Mateus (2016) maintains that political cartoons are symbolic artistic illustrations making a witty or humorous point containing comments on social issues, events, or personalities, typically (but not always) combining satire and hyperbole to question authority and social mores.

Morris (1993) asserts that an effective political cartoon can convey a politically sophisticated message condensed into a single image. He also maintains that cartoons are used to criticize the activities of political figures. This

genre is unique because it provides a format within political communication in which complex messages can be expressed through a single image. Hoffman & Howard (2007) add that political cartoons are a format that simplifies the complicated political situation and thus helps people to understand current events. A political cartoon does not always show real people. Sometimes, it may use personification of a country or organization as a person, an animal, or a monster. Benson (2005) indicates that the significance of a political cartoon is sometimes even more incredible than its potential to initiate thinking about debate lies more in its role of encapsulating moments in history in a clear and, on occasion, iconic manner.

Morris (1993) proposes domestication of political cartoons as the process by which abstract ideas and distance, unfamiliar persons, or events are converted into something close, familiar, and concrete. To him, cartoonists make cartoons using resources distinct to a particular geographical area and can be understood by readers and viewers. He further states that political cartoons are a "safe" area to express opinions and make accusations instead of news reports, which must be factually and not inflammatory. In light of this, designers of political cartoons frequently use visual metaphors and caricatures to explain complicated political situations and, as a result, sum up a current event in a humorous manner. Processing and interpreting political cartoons require a complete mix of political, cultural, historical, and contextual knowledge. To arrive at the message behind cartoons, the interpretation of cartoons crucially depends on the viewers' ability to

recognize persons, objects, and situations and on viewers' knowledge of the relevant facts, such as news events, historical facts, and cultural habits.

Saraceni (2003: 36), for instance, points out that "cartoons are like single sentences: to understand them, you need to have some extra-textual information". All this background knowledge contributes by helping the viewer conceptualise the cartoon's message.

2.7.2 Significance of Political Cartoons

According to Tsakona (2009), political cartoons perform four functions:

1. They are used to express an opinion on national issues.
2. They are used to entertain viewers and readers.
3. They serve as agenda-setting and framing of specific political issues.
4. They are used thoughtfully to criticize political leaders and their destructive policies.

2.8 Reviewed Works on Political Cartoons

Different scholars have analysed metaphors in political cartoons worldwide; notable works relevant to the current study have been sampled.

Bounegru and Forceville (2011) examine the use of metaphors in political cartoons to represent the global financial crisis. The analysis revealed that the use of familiar source domains such as catastrophe (natural disaster), illness/death, and begging, among others, presented the actual state of the global financial crisis. Again, the cartoonists' heavy reliance on multimodal metaphors helps

understand the message. Dălălău and Maior (2014) similarly study how metaphors were used in editorial cartoons to represent the Euro crisis. The data were categorized into source domains, illness, meteorological phenomena, container, game, and movement. The analysis revealed that the personification of the Euro enhanced the understanding of the message.

Đurović & Silaški (2017) examine how Serbian newspapers use political cartoons to present Serbia-EU relations. The selected cartoons were grouped into different source domains: school, sports, journey, and liquid towards the target domain EU-Serbia relation. Each scene talked about Serbia-EU relations from a different perspective. The findings revealed that cartoons might be understood to relay a critical voice of the general public and thus become a vehicle that the cartoonist can use to set social agenda.

Kulikova and Detinko (2014) analyse political cartoons in the British press to review intra-cultural and intercultural perspectives among the major political parties: The findings revealed that the cartoonist deliberately used well-known metaphors to present their message, which helped bring out the hidden messages.

Connors (2005) examines the 2004 presidential campaign political cartoons regarding popular culture. She categorized the cartoons under the following themes: familiar political places, physical or psychological exaggeration, and situational themes. The findings revealed that the cartoonist's portrayal of U.S. presidential candidates makes voters accept one's candidature or reject one's bid. The study also indicated that the cartoonist deliberately attached humour to the

cartoons to reduce the seriousness that comes with the message. This study highlights the importance of cartoons as an election-winning strategy in the US.

Alousque (2013) examines metaphors and metonymies in the political cartoon from a French cartoonist, 'Plantu'. The findings revealed that cartoonists employed metaphors to reduce the effects of the message. Again, it was observed that the cartoonist relied on metaphor and metonymy to discuss pertinent and political issues in society. The reliance on these cognitive devices aid in the presentation of the message in a manner that those involved will not take offence. One exciting thing that runs through the works that employed metaphor as the theoretical framework is that the researchers categorized the data into different themes, making the analysis easier. These studies also highlight the importance of metaphor in cartoon discussions.

Other studies have analysed cartoons with different theoretical frameworks. Sani et al. (2012) examine how Nigerian newspapers used cartoons as a tool for setting a political agenda. Artistically, cartoons set an agenda, providing political commentary and debate in a witty and artful fashion. With these findings, it is clear that cartoonists deliberately dwell on topical issues in the country and set the tone for public debate.

Amankwah et al. (2012) conduct a comparative study on how Ghanaian newspapers use cartoons to communicate their message. The study exposed that Ghanaian cartoonists deliberately employ metaphor, exaggeration, humour, language, the willful distortion of reality, satire, irony, and symbolism as a

disguise to present their messages on politics, corruption, the economy, and religion. These devices help the readers to understand the cartoonists' message.

Adejuwon and Alimi (2011) examine how cartoons were used to illustrate the political process in Nigeria, focusing on cartoons that express the forceful political opinions of the target audience. The study revealed that cartoonists in Nigeria artistically employ exaggeration to present socio-political issues that are abominable to mention and discuss in plain text, with the fear of being sidelined and chastised by political forces. The work sheds light on the importance of cartoons in Nigeria.

Siddique & Rahman (2016) focus on how political cartoons have been used as a communicative tool on the internet and print media to produce significant meaning and dominant themes. The findings revealed that political cartoons had become an essential part of the administrative proceedings because people enjoy imagining the whole story by just seeing a small representation. Samuel (2017) examines the features of multimodal discourse in the cartoons from the *TELL* news magazine. The cartoons chosen portray political themes and issues. Samuel believes that readers and viewers achieve this because of the satire and humour of the cartoons. Agu (2017) studies the semiotic elements inherent in cartoons that depict political leaders in Nigeria. The analysis shows that cartoon communication has become an essential tool Nigerian newspapers use to pass profound messages to their readers.

Rockson (2012) examines the level of stereotyping, underrepresentation, and gender roles in Ghanaian politics from "Akosua" cartoons from the *Daily*

Guide. The analysis revealed that women had been sidelined in Ghana for a long time regarding the political space. After analysing the data, Rockson concluded that due to the high illiteracy rate in Ghana, readers find it difficult to understand the linguistic features concealed in the cartoons. When readers cannot understand the linguistic features attached to the cartoons, the actual meaning behind the cartoons are lost, and appreciating the cartoons becomes very difficult. Someone may argue that to understand cartoons, and one does not need to have mastery over the genre. However, Rockson believes that cartoon appreciation requires a unique technique from readers and viewers.

Fiankor et al. (2017) discuss how Akosua cartoonist presented Ghana's 2013 presidential election petition hearing at the Supreme Court. The findings indicated that when adequately used, political cartoons had become an appropriate means of communication. The findings from the study again revealed that policymakers and academics could rely on cartoons to shape political and social agenda.

Rivas-Carmona (2014) examines how cartoons presented gender equality, especially the marginalization of women in society. Due to the sensitive nature of this topic (gender equity and women empowerment), the cartoonist employed different communicative modes and linguistic features like visual metaphors, humour, and sarcasm to present how women are marginalized in society. The study revealed that the cartoonist deliberately used humour and sarcasm to reduce the severe nature of this delicate issue.

Oluremi and Ajepe (2016) undertake a pragmatic analysis of political cartoons published in Nigeria before the 2015 general elections. The findings revealed that Nigerian newspapers use cartoons to condemn and caution political figures. This freedom allows Nigerian dailies to hide behind cartoons and condemn the evil acts of politicians.

Kondowe et al. (2014) analyse how Malawian newspapers used cartoons to portray the activities of political leaders. The findings revealed that the use of semiotic tools by the cartoonist help with the understanding of the cartoonist's message.

Tehseem and Bokhari (2015) discuss how Pakistani newspapers employ cartoons as a face-saving and face-spoiling mechanism. One of the newspapers was judged pro-government and the other as anti-government. The analysis exposed that the pro-government newspaper presented issues that favour the government to save its face, while the one seen as anti-government presented issues skewed against the government to damage its reputation.

Jabeen (2016) critically examines how political cartoons presented an ideological representation of Pak-India relations in the post-September 2011 (9/11) incident. The findings indicated that the data analysis portrayed Bush (President of the U.S) as evil. In contrast, Musharraf (President of Afghanistan) was seen as inactive and sluggish in all his dealings.

Ingutia and Matu (2016) analyse linguistic features of political cartoons used in newspaper editorials reporting in Kenya to communicate political viewpoints in

the 2013 Kenyan general elections. The findings revealed that mainstream Kenyan newspaper editorials use cartoons mainly as a narrative to express opposing viewpoints about Kenyan politicians and political activities to avoid being charged with defamation of character.

Sani et al. (2012) analyze how linguistic devices were employed to construct satire in Nigerian political cartoons, focusing on the choice of lexical items such as coined and loan words. The analysis revealed that cartoonists in Nigeria initially used exclamations to attract attention since interjections evoke feelings or emotions and heavily relied on adjectives to describe evil mongers.

2.9 Multimodality in focus

In the past, discourse analysis usually focuses on peoples' speeches to reveal hidden meanings in expressions. Many scholars have analyzed speeches (oral and written) of prominent figures in society, especially politicians, to know the intent behind their expressions. In 2006, Kress and Van Leeuwen introduced an approach which is a feature of a text called *Multimodality*, which gave a paradigm shift to discourse analysis. According to the proponents, one can derive meaning from other areas (pictures, images) other than speeches. A multimodality is an approach which forms part of a text that includes the analysis of communication in all forms (text and non-text). It combines language and other semiotic tools in meaning-making (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

Multimodality relies on more than one semiotic mode to convey meaning. The proponents of this approach outlined some semiotic resources that contribute

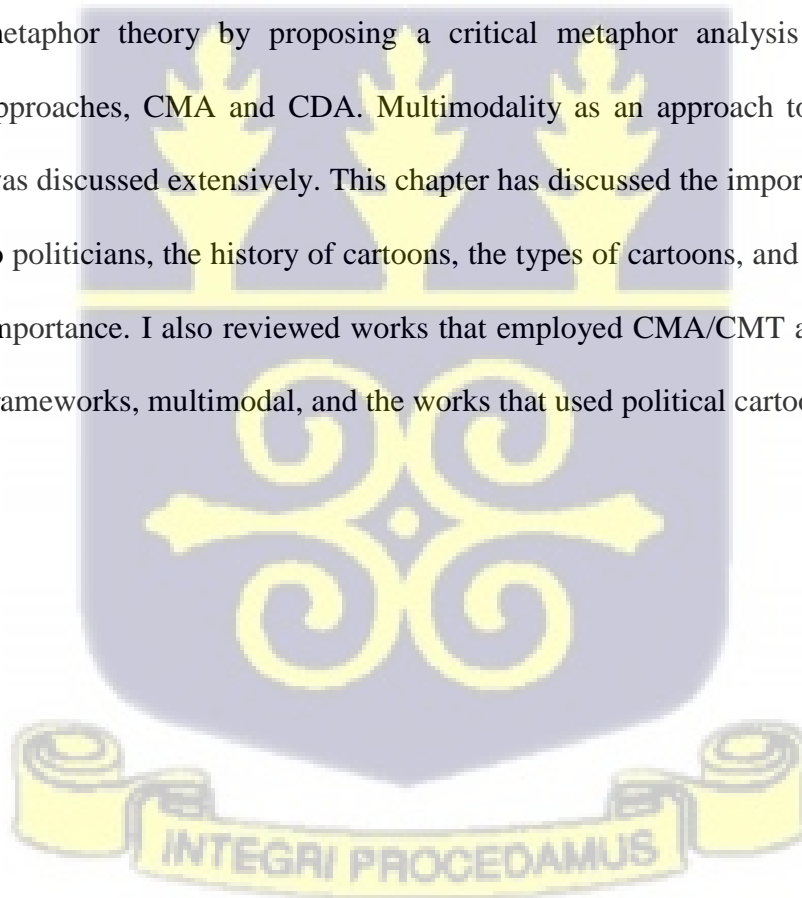
to meaning-making. These semiotic tools include settings (where the event occurs), participants (the various characters), font sizes (projection of the characters and the write-ups), colour, gesture (signs and attitude of characters), posture, among others.

Several researchers have employed this approach to analyze images, cartoons, caricatures, and paintings on buildings. According to the proponents of multimodality, messages are behind these signs and symbols (semiotic tools) attached to the cartoons. To understand the message behind cartoons, one has to employ semiotic tools. Below are some studies that employed a multimodal approach; Ademilokun (2016) examines political campaign adverts of the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, focusing on verbal and non-verbal meaning-making in the adverts. The findings revealed that through the peculiar use of semiotic resources in the discourse, the discourse producers branded political contestants in such a way as to either accept political aspirants or reject some aspirants. Igwebuikwe et al. (2016) conduct a pragmatic-semiotic investigation of 'Occupy Nigeria, reviewing verbal and visual modes representing their protest against fuel increment. The findings revealed that Nigerian protesters against fuel subsidy relied heavily on cartoons and other semiotic tools to present the fuel subsidy's hardship. Amoro and Atoloye (2016) analyze verbal and non-verbal features of cartoons connected with Nigeria's 2015 General Election. The analysis showed that social semiotic reference is pivotal in the relationship between political discourse and ideology. These semiotic tools help in bringing out the cartoonist's message.

The reviewed works were sampled from Europe, Asia, and Africa, indicating the global nature of political cartoon studies. These works confirmed the importance of political cartoons as promulgated by Tsakona (2009).

2. 10 Chapter Summary

The primary purpose of chapter two was to trace metaphor studies from the time of Aristotle, who described metaphor as a literary device. Lakoff and Johnson explained metaphor as the cognitive or conceptual device. On the other hand, Charteris-Black identified a gap in Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory by proposing a critical metaphor analysis that blends two approaches, CMA and CDA. Multimodality as an approach to analysing a text was discussed extensively. This chapter has discussed the importance of metaphor to politicians, the history of cartoons, the types of cartoons, and political cartoons' importance. I also reviewed works that employed CMA/CMT as their theoretical frameworks, multimodal, and the works that used political cartoons as their data.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Three discusses the methodology employed in the research. Specifically, this chapter discusses the data involved in this research and the methods required to arrive at the findings. The chapter explicitly discusses the research design, background and source of data, sample size, sampling procedure, and method of the data analysis. The discussion of these pertinent issues creates space for readers to understand the processes the study went through in arriving at the findings and, at the same time, helps those interested in replicating the results for verifiability (Gustavii, 2008).

3.2 Research Design

Kerlinger (1986) states that a research design is a plan, structure, and investigation strategy implemented to answer research questions or problems. Similarly, Parahoo (1997) describes a research design as “a plan that describes how, when, and where data are to be collected and analyzed” (p. 142). In the present study, I adopted a qualitative research design; specifically, content analysis formed the basis of analysis in this research. I adopted the qualitative method because it is essential in identifying and describing the various aspects of the research (such as participants, colour effects, posture, font sizes and verbal language) to arrive at the research findings. Kumar (2011) affirms this assertion that a study is classified as a qualitative approach if it primarily describes a

situation, natural phenomena, problem, or actual enumeration of events, behaviour, and condition without quantifying or influencing them.

3.3 Data

The data for this research comprises political cartoons featuring Free SHS policy. I focused on the cartoons published online by two media houses: 'Tilapia' from TV 3 and 'Akosua' from the *Daily Guide* newspaper. I chose a TV station and a newspaper to have divergent views on how each report on Free SHS policy via cartoon as a discourse genre. The selected media outlets are owned and managed by private individuals. One would have expected the researcher to collect data from state-owned media outlets such as *Ghana Television (GTV)* and *the Daily Graphic*. The state-owned media outlets are perceived to be neutral in presenting national issues, making them more credible than other media outlets. GTV, a state-owned station, does not produce or air political cartoons on its network. On the converse, the *Daily Graphic*, a state-owned newspaper, has been publishing cartoons known as 'Daavi' before halting its production in 2017. Enquiries made by the researcher indicate a lawsuit of defamation levelled against 'Daavi', which ended its publication.

The choice of these two media houses (Tv3 and the *Daily Graphic*) is motivated by several reasons. Firstly, TV3, a private-owned station, has vast viewership from almost all the sixteen regions in Ghana. This assertion is supported by Geopoll's media measurement service held last year (2019) ranked TV3 second in Ghana ahead of the other TV stations, including the state-owned

stations, in terms of its coverage. Relatedly, Ghana Leadership Awards recently adjudged 'Tilapia' of TV3 the best political cartoonist of 2019. Again, 'Tilapia' won 2019's Comedy and Poetry Awards as a best comic sketch artist. Correspondingly, it is perceived as neutral in presenting political and national issues. These successes chalked make Tilapia more credible as compared to other cartoonists.

In Ghana, some newspapers are alleged to be for the government in power, and others are against the government of the day. For instance, *the Daily Guide* and *The stateman* newspapers are perceived as pro- NPP, whereas the Democrat and the Enquirer newspapers are perceived as pro- NDC. The researcher's quest was to have a well-balanced opinion on Free SHS policy by prominent political actors (NPP & NDC). Following this, I decided to collect data from the aforementioned newspapers alleged either pro- or anti-government. The newspapers, *the Democrat* and *the Enquirer*, purported to be anti-government, stopped publishing political cartoons before the 2016 general elections. The reasons for halting the publications of cartoons by these newspapers remain unknown. Since these newspapers suspended the publication of cartoons, I was deprived of collecting data from them. Not having access to these newspapers somehow defeated the objective of getting a balanced opinion on the subject matter.

Nevertheless, the research needed to be conducted; therefore, I decided to collect data from 'Akosua' of the Daily Guide; although it is perceived as pro-government, it has not stopped publishing cartoons. The data collection for this study spanned from 1st August 2017 to November 2019. This period was

explicitly chosen because it marked the inception of the Free SHS policy. In other words, the period was before, during, and after the policy implementation. Therefore, I could not have chosen any better period than this one.

3.4 The Sample Size

The sample size of this thesis comprises thirteen cartoons that have features of Free SHS policy. Two reasons informed the choice of this sample size. Firstly, this sample size is considered appropriate for this research because of the detailed investigation of the conceptual metaphors and semiotic tools (participants, font sizes, colour effects, gesture, verbal language) this thesis focuses on. The appropriate data size for a study is not specific and is often based on the type of research being conducted. Anthony (2001) confirms that “the choice of data for a study should be based on the focus of the study: either the study intends to do a detailed investigation or a brief one.” Doing an in-depth study of a particular phenomenon with massive data can pose a severe challenge to the research, with specific reference to timing and method of analysis. On the other hand, a brief study with relatively small data is not advisable.

Secondly, the literature also informs this choice. The data sets for previous studies on political cartoons range from 4 (e.g., Agu, 2017; Samuel, 2017; Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Fiankor et al., 201; Kondowe et al., 2014; Rockson, 2012; Oluremi & Ajepe, 2016) to 50 plus (e.g., Igwebuike et al., 2016; Siddique & Rahman 2016), depending on the method of analysis or the semiotic tools studied. Therefore, the present study used thirteen cartoons since, in qualitative

research, the sample size does not influence the significance or quality of the study and note that there are no guidelines in determining sample size (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

3.5 Sampling Technique and Data Collection Procedure

The purposive sampling technique was adopted to select the appropriate time intervals for this current research. I downloaded all political cartoons featuring the Free SHS policy features from TV3 online website. The cartoons gathered from TV3 numbered ten. The other three were from the *Daily Guide's* website. Therefore, the convenient sampling technique was employed to select the two media outlets and the cartoons for the research. Parahoo (1997: 232) maintains that purposive sampling is “a method of a sampling technique where the researcher deliberately chooses who [or what] to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data.” This definition informs the choice of multimodal cartoons.

3.6 Analytical Framework

This section presents the analytical framework used in the study. This research employs the content analysis approach to examine conceptual metaphors and semiotic tools such as participants, settings, font sizes, colour effects, gestures, and participants' posture. Hsieh and Shannon define content analysis as “a research method used for the subjective interpretation of the content of data through the systematic process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (2005, pp.1278).

The analysis is guided explicitly by Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). It must be emphasized that the theory was selected because I wanted to find out the participants' conceptual metaphors and ideological stances in the selected cartoons. The theory indicates that metaphor analysis should include the linguistic, semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic criteria for metaphor in any data (Charteris-Black, 2004).

CMA was selected because it combines conceptual metaphor theory and critical discourse analysis. Charteris-Black (2004) notes three stages to be adhered to in using CMA. The first stage is identifying the metaphor in the cartoons, interpreting the identified metaphor, and explaining *the identified metaphor* as the other stages.

Charteris-Black (as cited in Agbo et al., 2018) further explains the stages of CMA. According to him, metaphor identification involves determining the metaphors in a cartoon and whether they reveal any semantic tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain. Metaphor interpretation concerns the social relations constructed through the metaphors identified. On the other hand, Metaphor explanation deals with how metaphors interact within the context where they are used (Charteris-Black, 2004). On the other hand, metaphor explanation also addresses the ideological motivations behind the language (bubble speeches) that come with the cartoons.

After the explanation and interpretation of the identified metaphor, the properties of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain. The identified

metaphors are capitalised for this study, with the verbal language (bubble speeches) being *capitalized and indented*.

3.7 Sample Data Analysis

With the analysis, I identified the metaphor in the cartoons, which preceded with an interpretation and explanation of the identified metaphor as put forth by Charteris-Black (2004) to ascertain the ideological stance of the participants in the selected cartoons. After identifying the metaphor, I listed the elements of mappings from the source domain (familiar concepts) to the target domain (unfamiliar concepts), which enhances the structural mapping process. An arrow was used to map from the source domain to the target domain. I did an in-depth analysis of the cartoon after the mappings were done. When needed, the analysis also focused on some semiotic tools because not all the cartoons had the semiotic tools espoused by Kress and Van Leeuwen. After this, the verbal language/bubble speeches accompanying the cartoons were explained to identify the correlation between the characters.

3.8 The Semiotic Tools

This section discusses how the specific semiotic tools that the cartoonists used to send their messages were analyzed.

- Settings refer to an event's time, exact place, and circumstance, so choosing a particular setting for a specific cartoon helps convey the cartoonist's message. The choice of settings depends on the message the

cartoonists want to put across. Some of the settings used by the cartoonists include a hospital. For instance, the cartoonist's use of maternity and emergency wards was done with a purpose, which aids the communicated message. Following this, the onus lies on me to establish why the cartoonist adopted this setting.

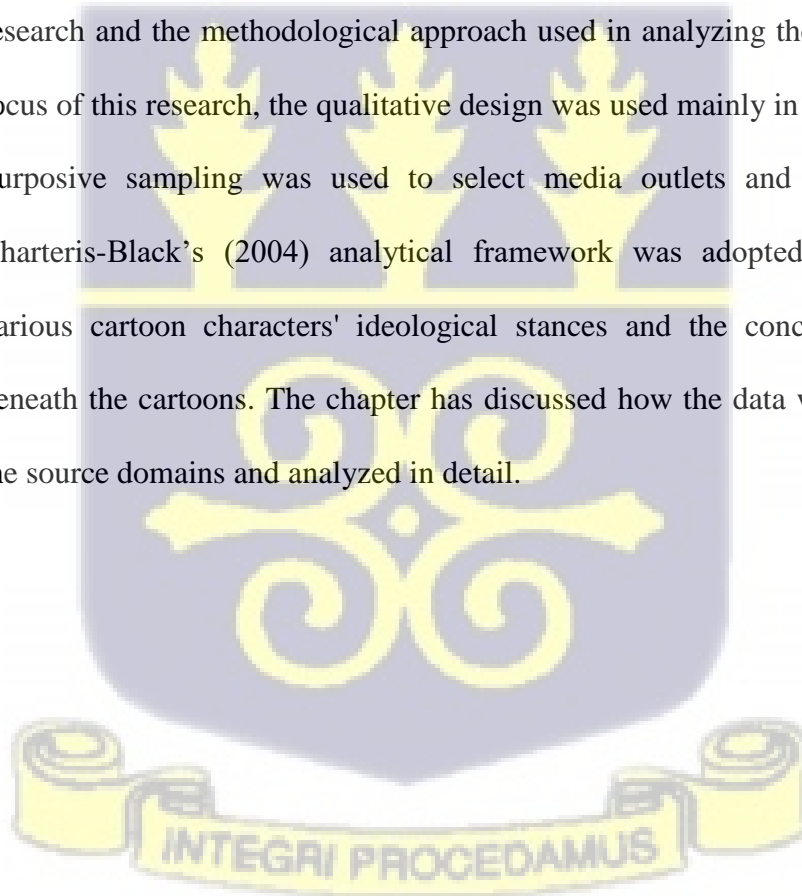
- Participants are the various characters or people used by the cartoonists in a particular cartoon. Participants in the cartoon are the cartoonist's construction toward representations of reality related to communication. These characters contribute to the messages being communicated, and cartoonists deliberately select them for a purpose.
- The Colour effect refers to cartoonists using a particular colour for a specific cartoon. There are numerous colours in the world, but the cartoonist purposely selects one or two colours that they know will aid the readers and viewers in understanding the message.
- Font sizes refer to the projection of a particular character more prominently than the other by the cartoonist. The projections sometimes are felt in the write-up that accompanies the cartoons. The projections further explain the prominence of one character over the other.
- Posture and gesture refer to how the cartoonist positioned the various characters with a sign of attitude. The posture and gesture help understand the message sent to the readers and viewers.
- Verbal language refers to communication or spoken text accompanying the cartoons from the cartoon's characters or participants.

3. 9 Limitations

The initial plan, which was to collect cartoons from newspapers that were considered anti-government to get their views on the conceptualization of the Free SHS policy in cartoon form, did not materialize. The decision to get cartoons from newspapers perceived to be anti-government was not possible because these newspapers halted the publication of cartoons.

3. 10 Chapter Summary

The primary purpose of Chapter Three was to present the data for this research and the methodological approach used in analyzing the data. Due to the focus of this research, the qualitative design was used mainly in studying the data. Purposive sampling was used to select media outlets and their cartoonists. Charteris-Black's (2004) analytical framework was adopted to examine the various cartoon characters' ideological stances and the conceptual metaphors beneath the cartoons. The chapter has discussed how the data were grouped into the source domains and analyzed in detail.



CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses selected cartoons on the Free Senior High School Policy (Free SHS Policy) obtained from TV3 online news channel and Daily Guide newspaper. The cartoons were published between August 2017 and November 2019. The analysis generally relies on Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis framework (CMA). I provide brief background information for each cartoon before analysing the metaphor, focusing on the metaphorical conceptualizations embedded in the cartoons. The analysis is based on non-linguistic signs (e.g., characters, colours, gestures, posture, font sizes) and linguistic elements (including the verbal language that comes with the cartoons) that contribute to the construction of metaphors and the linguistic elements (bubble speeches) that come with the cartoons. The analysis entails identifying metaphors, interpreting, and explaining the identified metaphors.

4.1 Metaphor of Free SHS policy in Ghana

A conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences between two domains (source and target) of experience. In identifying the target domains, I identify the source domains in terms of which the cartoonists represent the Free SHS Policy. A thorough analysis of the data, which forms the basis for answering Research Question 1, is also discussed in this section. The first part of the analysis deals with non-linguistic elements in the selected cartoons after mapping from the

source to the target domains. The second part of the analysis focuses on the cartoons' linguistic elements (bubble speeches).

4. 2 Preparation to roll out Free SHS is Food Preparation (Cooking)

The cartoon in Figure 1 below was published by the *Daily Guide* newspaper in August 2017, just before the Free SHS Policy was formally launched or introduced.



I identify the metaphor in this cartoon as PREPARATIONS TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FREE SHS POLICY IN TERMS OF THE PROCESS OF FOOD PREPARATION – COOKING.

Thus, I represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows:

PREPARATIONS TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FREE SHS
POLICY IN TERMS OF THE PROCESS OF FOOD PREPARATION (Cooking)

Source Domain (cooking)

Target Domain (Free SHS)

Food preparation → preparation to launch free SHS policy

Cooking pot → Container/vessel keeping the ingredients towards the
implementation

Fire → -catalyst to speed up the implementation process

Bubbles → events that precede the implementation of the policy

The cook → President Nana Addo Dankwa

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures a coherent view of the cooking activity that is mapped onto the process leading to the implementation of the Free SHS Policy. Unfamiliar experiences are understood in terms of familiar concepts. The cartoonist conceptualizes preparations towards implementing the Free SHS Policy in terms of food preparation – cooking, perhaps, to make understanding easy.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) espouse that settings play a crucial role in dealing with cartoons and visual images as a discourse genre. The setting in the above cartoon depicts a kitchen. This setting is cued by certain visual elements, such as a gas cooker burner with two cooking pots on the fire. They (Kress & Van Leeuwen) also discuss size among the various semiotic tools that help bring out an image's message. Two necessary image schemas used in this cartoon are

related by attribute in terms of the size of the cooking pots (big and small). The pot cooking free SHS size is comparatively more prominent and larger than the other pot. This projection shows the cartoonist's prominence in the pot cooking Free SHS Policy. The size of the pot cooking Free SHS Policy indicates the significance of the meal, the large population to enjoy the meal and the purpose it serves.

Kress and Van Leeuwen listed participants as part of the semiotic tools to be considered in cartoon analysis employed by the cartoonist. The character presented as the 'cook' in the cartoon under review resembles (physical characteristics such as bald head and stature) the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo. Therefore, the cartoonist metaphorically conceptualizes and represents the President as the cook in the political kitchen preparing Free SHS meals.

The analysis is extended to the bubble speeches since it is believed to carry the participants' thoughts. The bubble speech attributed to the cook, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo, reads '*SMALL TIME, SEPTEMBER GO DON... WHO NO DEY BELIEVE*'? As it has been the norm in Ghana and other parts of the world, the academic calendar begins in September every year. Therefore, the cartoonist's use of 'September' indicates the beginning of an academic year. From the bubble speech accompanying the cartoon under review, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo is of a great conviction that those who take the message of Free SHS Policy as a mere political gimmick in no time

will be put to shame as preparations are underway for the first batch of beneficiaries to commence their studies.

4.3 The Successful Implementation of FREE SHS Policy is Childbirth

Right after the first batch of students under the Free SHS Policy went to school, the cartoon in figure 2 below was published on 3 news online (in September 2017).



I identify the metaphor as THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FREE SHS POLICY AS CHILDBIRTH.

Therefore, I represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows:

THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FREE SHS POLICY AS CHILDBIRTH

Source Domain (childbirth) Target Domain (Free SHS Policy)

The successful birth of a child → successful implementation of Free SHS policy.

The newly born baby → implemented Free SHS policy.

The mother → President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo.

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures childbirth mapped onto the successful implementation of the Free SHS Policy.

To be precise, the cartoonist uses a hospital scenario in the above data, a maternity ward. Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) mention setting as a critical component in analyzing cartoons as a discourse genre. Đurović & Silaški (2017), in their studies, also highlight the role of settings. They believe that setting helps viewers and readers to conceptualize the cartoonist's message.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) espouse that "we understand one unfamiliar experience in terms of a familiar experience". The cartoonist conceptualizes the successful implementation of the Free SHS Policy to the successful delivery. The conception is attributed to the fact that when Nana Addo Dankwa was made the presidential candidate for the first time in 2008, Free SHS Policy remained a key campaign message.

Again, the cartoonist metaphorically represents Nana Addo Dankwa as a metaphorical mother delivering a baby. The baby metaphorically represents the Free SHS Policy. Personification as the ubiquitous metaphor was employed in the

cartoon under consideration. The baby in the cot beside the metaphorical mother's bed confirms a successful delivery.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) mention colour as one of the semiotic tools that aid understanding of a message when analyzing cartoons as a discourse genre. They further add that colours represent certain cultures and social contexts. Therefore, they (colours) must be used strategically. Cortés de Los Rios (2010) identifies colour as another element with a robust persuasive value. She maintains that colours have a subliminal effect on readers and viewers. As a result of the above functions colours play, special attention was given to the cartoonist's use of white linen around the metaphorical mother as something generally associated with women who have just given birth. Notably, in Ghana, white linen is used symbolically to represent victory; in this case, the victory of successful delivery of the child (Free SHS Policy). Healthwise, colours are significant as they are believed to have scientifically proven connections with healthcare delivery. Therefore, white linen around the metaphorical mother is strategic to connote victory. Besides, the smile on the mother's face suggests satisfaction and joy that portrays the successful delivery of the baby (Free SHS Policy).

Furthermore, Charteris-Black (2004) promulgates that cultural perspectives' involvement in a particular scene is needed in applying CMA to a text. Two men assumed to belong to the mother's (Nana Addo) camp come to the labour ward to pay homage to the mother and the newborn baby as custom demands in Ghanaian society. It can be envisaged from the cartoon that the images closer to the mother (Nana Addo) and the baby (Free SHS Policy)

resemble H.E. Dr Mammudu Bawumia, the Vice President of the Republic of Ghana, and Dr Matthew Opoku Prempeh, Minister in charge of education. In terms of governance, Dr Bawumia (Vice President) helps President Nana Addo (metaphorical mother) in the day-to-day administration of the country, and Dr Matthew Opoku Prempeh, the minister, is assigned to take care of the baby (Free SHS Policy). Their visit to the maternity ward is, therefore, significant.

The second group is also here to visit the metaphorical mother (Nana Addo) and the newborn baby (Free SHS Policy). From the cartoon, the two men in the group look like Honourable Haruna Iddrissu, the Minority Leader in Ghanaian Parliament and Honourable. Samuel Okudjeto Ablakwa, former deputy Minister of Education, both members of the main opposition party, have criticized the idea of the policy as a political gimmick. The choice of Honourable Haruna Iddrissu is because of his role as a minority leader in Ghana's seventh parliament and Honourable Samuel Okudjeto Ablakwa because he has deputized in the ministry of education under Mahama-Amissah's erstwhile government. Therefore, it is assumed that he has institutional memory in that sector. For this reason, the cartoonist uses these characters. Metonymically, the two men represent the minority or the opposition party, NDC.

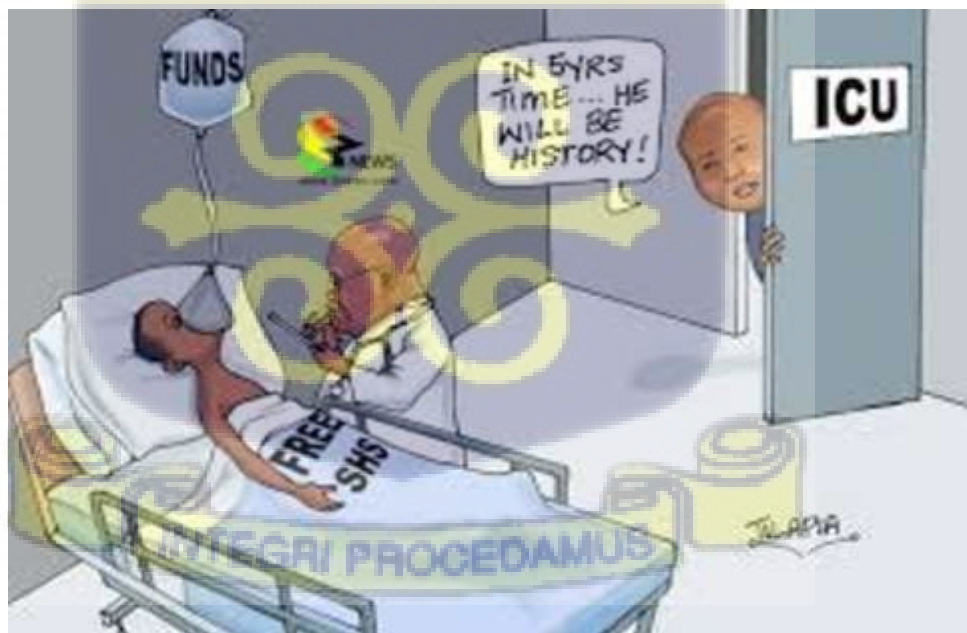
Charteris-Black (2004) opines that in analyzing metaphor, the ideological stance of individuals or groups should be included in the analysis. This study can achieve this by paying particular attention to the cartoon's verbal language. Kress and Van (2006) espouse that participants in political cartoons display perception and conception of ideas generally linked with the topic under discussion. The

bubble speech from the characters whose physical characteristics resemble opposition politicians, Honourable Haruna Iddrisu and Honourable. Samuel Okudjeto Ablakwa reads as follows: *"THE PIKIN NO FINE"*. 'Pikin', used by the cartoonist, is a pidgin to mean a baby. Their bubble speech suggests that the newborn baby (Free SHS policy), which has just been birthed, is not good-looking.

The men from the metaphorical mother's (Nana Addo) side refute the minority's (NDC) assertion of the 'pikin no fine' by saying (also in pidgin) *"JEALOUSY GO SHAME"*.

4.4 Financially Distressed Free SHS Policy is a Critically Ill Person

The cartoon below was published on 3 news online (on August 3, 2019) when the free SHS Policy was hit with financial challenges.



In

figure 4.4, the image above shows a seriously sick person. I identify the metaphor as SERIOUSLY SICK PERSON IS THE FREE SHS POLICY IN FINANCIAL DISTRESS.

I, therefore, represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows:

SERIOUSLY SICK PERSON IS FREE SHS POLICY IN FINANCIAL DISTRESS

Source domain (sick person) Target domain (Free SHS in financial distress)

Seriously sick person → Free SHS policy in financial distress

The doctor/ financial assistant → President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo

ICU → critical nature the patient (Free SHS policy) finds himself

A drip of oxygen → only means to survive the patient (Free SHS policy)

This set of mappings is orderly because it captures a seriously ill person mapped onto Free SHS Policy hit by financial challenges. Every human being (source domain) at various stages in life experiences illness, either in a mild or severe form. This experience (illness) is universal; everybody goes through this experience irrespective of gender, age, nationality or race. Personification as a ubiquitous component of metaphor was employed by the cartoonist in the data under review.

The Free SHS Policy in financial distress as the target domain is understood through a source domain of a seriously sick person on a life support

system that is concrete and tangible. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: p.5) maintain that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing an unfamiliar experience in terms of a familiar experience". This mental exercise enables the properties of the source domain to be mapped onto the target domain. Since there is a seriously sick person on the life support system, the service of a medical practitioner is needed to put measures in place to ensure the survival of the patient.

The cartoonist uses an emergency unit of the hospital to present the state of the Free SHS Policy in rescue. As common knowledge, patients referred to the *hospital's Intensive Care Unit* are always in critical condition. Very few patients who visit this hospital unit can survive in many cases. The patient (Free SHS Policy) needs a drip to survive. The drip administration is not the usual blood, water or oxygen, but a drip of funds. The person to administer the financial drip is a financial specialist (doctor). A drip of financial assistance is the only means to ensure the patient's survival. The cartoonist metaphorically conceptualizes and represents President Nana Addo Dankwa as a doctor working assiduously to ensure that the patient (Free SHS Policy) survives.

The nature of the ICU does not warrant visitors, and even before someone can come to such a place, the person must be in the prescribed uniform, that is, the doctors' coat or scrubs. Therefore, it is not surprising to see a character at the door because he is not in the prescribed uniform that permits his entry. Moreover, the remoteness of the participant at the half-opened door peeping has a meaningful connotation, indicating that he has not been invited to this hospital

unit. The character peeping resembles (physical features such as bald head, complexion) Honourable Samuel Okudjeto Ablakwa, former deputy Minister of Education, who metonymically represents the minority party, NDC.

Honourable Ablakwa's bubble speech reads, "*IN 5 YRS TIME HE WILL BE HISTORY.*" He stares at the patient's critical condition (Free SHS Policy) and anticipates that the patient would only last for a few years, categorically, five years. The cartoonist knows that every elected president and parliamentarian's tenure is four years but deliberately mentions five years to achieve a rhetorical effect.

His bubble speech deepens the rivalry between the two major parties (NPP and NDC) and posits the ideological stance of the NDC so far as the Free SHS policy is concerned. The balloon speech by Honourable Samuel Okudjeto Ablakwa is triggered, perhaps some comments by Former President John Dramani Mahama. In his commentary on November 25, 2017, Mahama says that "Lalasalala Free SHS will fail" (<https://mobile.ghanaweb.com>). 'Lalasalala' in Ghanaian parlance means begging for money to defray a cost or an impending debt. Former President Mahama believes that there is no money left to fund the Free SHS policy and anticipates the failure of the policy due to financial difficulties.

4.5 Financing Free SHS Policy is Feeding a Child

Cartoons present under this subtitle deal with issues regarding the funding or financing the Free SHS Policy. Different feeding concepts are used to present

the source of financing of the Free SHS policy. Each cartoon under this caption uses diverse backgrounds, settings, and characters to shed light on the financing of the Free SHS Policy.

4.6 Feeding Metaphor

The cartoon below was published on 3 news online; at the time, all resources available to the government were channelled towards the Free SHS policy at the expense of other campaign policies.



I identify the Metaphor as FEEDING OF THE BABIES IS FULFILLING THE CAMPAIGN PROMISES.

I, therefore, represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows:

FEEDING OF THE BABIES IS FULFILLING OF THE CAMPAIGN PROMISES

Source domain (feeding of babies) Target Domain (fulfilling of the campaign promises)

Feeding of children → Fulfilling Nana Addo's campaign promises

Mother → President Nana Addo Dankwa

Crying babies → the neglected campaign promises of Nana Addo

National resources/cake→ free meal

The mappings communicate the elements and the relations between feeding children (source domain) and the element fulfilling campaign promises (target domain). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: p. 5) espouse that we understand abstract experience in terms of another concrete experience. We understand the funding of the campaign promises in terms of feeding activity. In view of the identified metaphor (feeding activity), there should be someone to perform the act, someone to enjoy the meal, and the meal to be served. In the run-up to the 2016 general elections, NPP made several campaign promises to Ghanaians through its flagbearer. Among the campaign promises, the following are the major ones that many Ghanaians are interested in: *the flagship Free SHS Policy, One Village, One Dam, One District, One Factory, One Constituency One Million Dollars and Zongo Development Fund.*

Since Nana Addo Dankwa was elected into power, he has focused his attention on the Free SHS Policy. The cartoonist uses babies to symbolize the campaign promises by Nana Addo Dankwa. These policies are personified and

given human attributes. The babies (campaign promises) are fed and cared for by their metaphorical mother (Nana Addo Dankwa).

The cartoonist again metaphorically conceptualizes President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo as a mother who has given birth to many children (campaign promises). The facial expression of some of the children (shedding tears) and their demeanour apart from the Free SHS child suggest abandonment by their metaphorical mother (President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo).

The mother focuses all her resources and attention on one child (Free SHS Policy). From the cartoon under review, one can envision that all the children are half-naked except one child, the Free SHS policy. The insatiable demands of the Free SHS child have compelled the mother to use all the available resources to cater for that particular child. The mother (President Nana Addo Dankwa) continues to feed one child (Free SHS policy) to the detriment of other children (other campaign promises). The free meal (national cake) that is supposed to be enjoyed by all the children (campaign promises) is given to one child (Free SHS Policy). The cartoonist further conceptualizes and represents the national cake (national income) as a meal to feed the children (campaign promises).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) highlight the role of colours in bringing out the message behind cartoons. The food is in a blue bowl and the child enjoying the meal is in a white shirt with red inscriptions. With critical observation, one can infer that these colours (blue, white and red) are the dominant colours that make up the flag of NPP (the ruling government) which introduced the Free SHS Policy. The cartoonist purposely decorates the characters

in these colours, which in effect aid the understanding of the message being put forth by the cartoonist.

4.7 Feeding Cattle is Financing Free SHS Policy

The cartoonist conceptualizes another feeding metaphor with different characters and settings. The cartoon was published on 3 news online when there were issues regarding the source of funding of the Free SHS policy. President Akufo Addo decides to use proceeds from oil revenue to finance the Free SHS policy.



I identify metaphor in this cartoon as PASTURING/FEEDING OF CATTLE IS FINANCING FREE SHS POLICY.

I, therefore, represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows;

PASTURING/FEEDING OF CATTLE IS FINANCING FREE SHS POLICY

Source domain (pasturing of cattle) Target domain (financing Free SHS policy)

Pasturing or feeding of the cattle → the financing of the Free SHS policy.

The activities of Fulanis as destroyers → Nana Addo using Heritage and Stabilization funds to finance Free SHS policy.

Herdsman → President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo

Cattle → Free SHS policy

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures cattle pasturing to finance Free SHS Policy. The cartoonist conceptualizes the funding of the free SHS policy regarding feeding or pasturing cattle. As a result of a pasturing activity, a herder should direct and monitor the cattle to be pastured. Moreover, there should be a source of meals to feed the cattle.

Prior to the 2016 general elections, a journalist from British Broadcasting Corporation questioned the then flagbearer of the NPP, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo, about his source of funding for his flagship programme, the Free SHS policy. He responded, "I would disclose my funding source to Ghanaians". The source of funding for the policy remains a bone of contention between the NPP government and other stakeholders in education. Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo tells his source of funding, the proceeds from the *Oil Revenue*, that he intends to use to finance the Free SHS policy. The cartoonist conceptualizes the funding source of the Free SHS Policy as a flowing stream with three branches. Each branch of the stream is labelled as either *Oil Revenue*, *Heritage Fund* or *Stabilization Fund*.

The cartoonist metaphorically conceptualizes President Nana Addo Dankwa as a herdsman pasturing his cattle. In the Ghanaian context, herders are seen usually with sticks for directing and driving the cattle when they go wayward. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the cartoonist capturing the herdsman (Nana Addo Dankwa) with a stick. Also, the cartoonist conceptualizes the Free SHS Policy as cattle that need to be fed. Among the three streams, the cow enjoys drinking from the *Oil Revenue Stream* because that stream appears to be milky and juicy, owing to its colour and appearance compared to other streams.

There are words written in red ink beneath the oil revenue signpost that reads "CAUTION, LIMITED RESOURCE." As indicated earlier by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), colour is among the semiotic tools in dealing with this genre (cartoons), and it (colour) performs communicative functions. The red ink in which the cartoonist writes the inscription suggests that danger looms and warns the herdsman to look for a different source of funding or stream that could be used to feed the cattle. Otherwise, the (oil revenue) stream may dry up in no time, leading to the cattle's dehydration. Soares (2017) notes in his study that the use of the colour 'red' draws the reader's attention to relevant information. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the cartoonist uses red ink to write the caution. Ademilokun (2016) also highlights the role of the colour red as an indication of danger. He considers the red colour an expressive value. He again asserts that red is used strategically to bolster the communicated message.

From the cartoon under discussion, a man looks like Honourable at a distance. Adams Mutawakilu, the minority spokesperson for Mines and Energy Ministry, comes with a bubble speech that reads, *"THIS FULANI ACTIVITY IS AGAINST PETROLEUM REVENUE MANAGEMENT"*. The petroleum revenue management Act, 2015 stipulates how the proceeds from the oil extracted in Ghana should be disbursed. Honourable Mutawakilu Adams believes that President Nana Addo is abusing the petroleum act because, to him (Honourable Mutawakilu Adams), the proceeds are not used for the intended purpose. He (Nana Addo Dankwa) intends to use either the Heritage fund or Ghana Stabilization Fund streams if the Oil Revenue Stream dries up to finance the Free SHS policy. The plans of President Nana Addo to use the Heritage fund or Ghana Stabilization Fund streams if the Oil Revenue Stream dries up is what Honourable Adams and the minority try to caution the government against.

‘Fulanis’ is a descriptive word in Ghana synonymous with nomadic herdsmen who move from place to place to feed their livestock. Again, these Fulanis are noted for destroying natural resources, specifically the forest and water bodies. With this background information, the cartoonist metaphorically conceptualizes the activities of Fulanis as destroyers or nation wreckers and compares their activities to President Nana Addo’s intentions to use the Heritage Fund or Ghana Stabilization Fund streams to sponsor the Free SHS Policy in case the Oil Revenue Stream dries up. The minority (NDC) warns the government to be careful with oil revenue since it is limited.

(i) Feeding of a Child is Financing Free SHS Policy

This cartoon is another aspect of the feeding metaphor employed by the cartoonist with different settings and characters. The cartoon was published on 3 news online when issues regarding the source of funding for the Free SHS policy remained unresolved.



I identify the metaphor in this cartoon as FEEDING A CHILD IS FINANCING FREE SHS POLICY.

I, therefore, represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows;

FEEDING A CHILD IS FINANCING FREE SHS POLICY

Source domains (feeding a child) Target domains (financing Free SHS Policy)

Feeding a child → funding the Free SHS policy

Whizz kid → Free SHS policy

Crying children → neglected workers

Mother → President Nana Addo Dankwah

Heritage Fund/GET Fund/CST → source of food (funds) to finance the Free SHS policy

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures the feeding of whizz kid to finance the Free SHS Policy. Charteris-Black (2004) asserts that the identified metaphor needs interpretation and explanation. In the identified metaphor, feeding a child as the source domain is concrete and tangible, and funding Free SHS Policy as the target domain is abstract. Many people are familiar with mothers feeding their children. The cartoonist, therefore, relies on this widely known concept (mothers feeding their babies) to present his message. The target domain of funding the Free SHS Policy is understood through a particular source domain of feeding activity which is concrete. An identified metaphor of feeding activity (source domain) needs someone to perform the feeding activity. A meal or food should be served, and someone to enjoy the food. The mental concepts formulated enable the properties of the source domain to be mapped onto the target domain.

The cartoonist metaphorically represents the Free SHS Policy, National Builders Corp (NABCO) workers and Unbonded nurses as babies. When every mother gives birth, the onus is on the mother to cater for the children. However, what is observed in the cartoon is different from the norm. The mother focuses on

a particular child to the detriment of the other children. The cartoonist metaphorically conceptualizes President Nana Addo Dankwa as the mother. The metaphorical mother ensures she gets food to feed the 'whizz kid'. The cartoonist metaphorically represents the feeding 'whizz kid' as funding the Free SHS Policy. In an attempt to feed the 'whizz kid', the metaphorical mother (Nana Addo Dankwa) dips her hands into the Heritage Fund, a reserve set up by the state to provide endowment support for the future generation. It can be envisaged from the cartoon that the 'Heritage fund' box is opened, emptied, and the content has been used to feed the 'whizz kid'. Using the Heritage Fund to finance the Free SHS Policy is not part of its core mandate.

From the cartoon under discussion, it is evident that the Heritage Fund box alone could not suffice the 'whizz kid.' Therefore, the metaphorical mother (Nana Addo) is required to open the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GET Fund) box. Public trust was set up by an Act of parliament in the year 2000, with the core mandate of rendering support to the government in providing educational infrastructure and facilities within the public sector from pre-tertiary to tertiary. GETFund also provides funding to support the procurement of educational equipment. The insatiable needs of the 'whizz kid' have compelled the metaphorical mother to open the GetFund box. Meanwhile, using money from GETFund to feed 'whizz kid' is not the fund's purpose.

When the metaphorical mother realizes that she has exhausted all avenues available to feed the 'whizz kid', she decides to look for a new source of means of getting food to feed the 'whizz kid'. The metaphorical mother, President Nana

Addo, introduces the Call Service Tax (CST) through the Ministry of Communication. CST is a new tax that requires telecommunications companies to deduct 9% from the credit bought by their clients as soon as they recharge the call account (<https://www2.deloitte.com>). This initiative is a means of raising funds to support feeding the 'whizz kid.' The on the spot deductions of 9% from recharge cards following the introduction of the CST sparked public fury.

The next baby is the unbonded nurses; these people have completed nursing training colleges but have not yet been posted to their various stations. On April 26, 2017, these aggrieved nurses picketed overnight at the Ministry of Health, demanding financial clearance that enabled the government to post them to their respective stations. Their protest did not yield any result because their metaphorical 'mother' focuses all her resources on the 'whizz kid.'

4.8 Conceptual Metaphors of the Double Track System

Student enrollment soared under the Free SHS policy, as any free promotion can get oversubscribed. Dr Bawumia, the Vice President of Ghana, on 29th December 2019 at Bawku, asserts that the introduction of the Free SHS policy has increased students' enrollment significantly by 69% (<https://www.modernghana.com>). The increment in enrollment created a deficit in physical infrastructure and human resources for the school system. The government introduced a Double-Track shift system to manage this challenge of oversubscription. The second beneficiaries of the policy were divided into two streams; Gold Track and Green Track. The shift system is synonymous with the

semester programme run by the various universities, where the academic calendar is divided into two semesters of four months each.

Following the introduction of the double track, several cartoons, including sports, and crop growing, emerged to describe the situation and the conversations around it—this section analyses the conceptual metaphors that underlie these cartoons.

4.9 Sports Metaphor

The cartoon below was published on 3 news online when President Nana Addo Dankwa introduced a double-track system to curb the enrollment problem of the Free SHS policy



In cartoon 4.8, I identify the metaphor as ATHLETIC (RUNNING) TRACK (OVAL) IS DOUBLE TRACK (SHIFT SYSTEM) OF FREE SHS POLICY.

Therefore, I represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows:

ATHLETIC TRACK IS DOUBLE TRACK OF FREE SHS POLICY

Source domain (athletic track) Target domain (double track of Free)

Athletic (running) track (oval) → double-track (shift system) of Free SHS policy

Track officials → President Nana Addo and his Minister of Education, Mathew Opoku Prempeh

Green and yellow uniforms → Green and Gold tracks of the shift system

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures athletic track to the double track of the Free SHS policy. One of the critical tenets of the proponents of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that an unfamiliar domain is understood in terms of a familiar, concrete domain. With the identified metaphor, the double track of the Free SHS Policy (target domain) is understood in terms of an athletic oval familiar to many people. This mental concept enables the properties of the source domains to be mapped onto the target domain.

Since there is an athletics activity, there should be athletes for this exercise and track officials to supervise and monitor the activities. The cartoonist conceptualizes and represents President Nana Akuffo Addo's initiative to introduce the shift system (double track) to solve the enrollment problem that characterizes the Free SHS Policy. The shift system is a new development in the second cycle institutions; therefore, for readers and viewers to understand the double-track system, the cartoonist resorts to concepts that readers and viewers are familiar with, the athletic oval. 'Track ovals' are used during athletics because athletes run on tracks to avoid collisions.

From the same cartoon under analysis, a character in the athletics oval with a green uniform carrying books suggests that he has already started his race, indicating he belongs to the 'Green track.' The cartoonist draws inspiration from the traffic light system, where green light signifies "go". Therefore, the student on the green track has started the race.

In a similar vein, another student is outside the athletics track in a yellow uniform; the student's posture outside the track indicates that it is not her turn to start the race. Her posture connotes readiness and alertness, waiting for an invitation from the track officials so that she can begin her race. Again, the cartoonist takes inspiration from the traffic light system where yellow means "get ready". Therefore, it is not surprising to see the student in yellow fully prepared, warming up and waiting for an invitation from the track officials.

Regarding participants as semiotic tools in cartoon discussion, the cartoonist conceptualizes President Nana Addo Dankwa and Honourable Matthew Opoku Prempeh (Minister of Education) as track officials. It is worth mentioning that using these characters helps understand the cartoonist's message. For the reason that President Nana Addo introduced the Free SHS policy and Honourable Matthew Opoku Prempeh, Minister of Education, whose outfit would the policy be, are the right people to be conceptualized as track officials as done by the cartoonist.

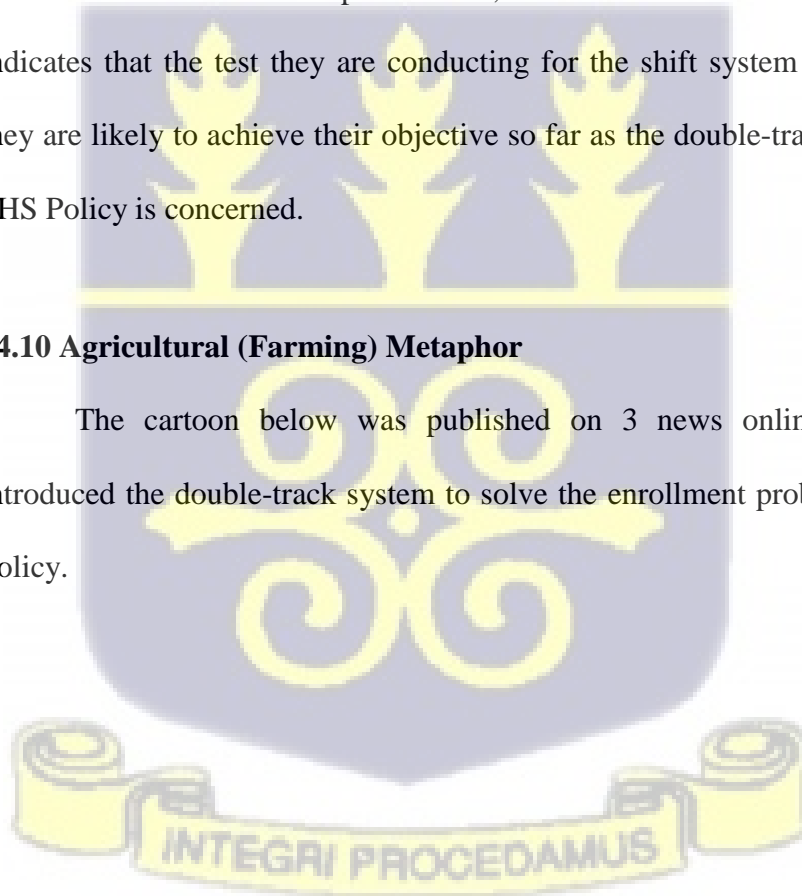
As listed among the semiotic tools by Kress and Van Leeuwen, colours were used in this data. Colours are powerful weapons cartoonists use to express ideas and send messages across. The track officials' apparel is white and blue, the

dominant colours of the ruling party, NPP. The apparent explanation is that they are the implementers of the Free SHS policy; therefore, the essence of using NPP colours to decorate the track officials is in order and strategically used. In their works, Bakhtin (1984) and Archer and Stent (2011) highlight the use of specific colours that helps in understanding the message of the cartoonists.

The analysis extends to the bubble speech that comes with the cartoons due to the ideological stance of the track officials (President Nana Addo & Honourable Matthew Opoku Prempeh) so far as Free SHS policy is concerned. The track officials' bubble speech reads, "*WE ARE ON TRACK*". This expression indicates that the test they are conducting for the shift system is on course, and they are likely to achieve their objective so far as the double-track system of Free SHS Policy is concerned.

4.10 Agricultural (Farming) Metaphor

The cartoon below was published on 3 news online after NADAA introduced the double-track system to solve the enrollment problem of Free SHS Policy.





In the above cartoon, I identify metaphor as WATERING SEEDLINGS IS SUSTAINABILITY OF THE FREE SHS POLICY.

I, therefore, represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows;

WATERING SEEDLINGS IS SUSTAINABILITY OF THE FREE SHS POLICY

Source domain (watering seedlings) Target domain (sustaining Free SHS policy)

Watering of seedlings → the sustainability of the Free SHS policy

The farmer → President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo

Green & Yellow nursing beds → Green & Yellow Tracks of Free SHS policy

Water → the interventions put in place by the farmer to sustain Free SHS policy

Watering can → the farmer's measures put in place to get the policy functioning

This set of structural mappings is systematic because it captures the watering of crops to the sustainability of the Free SHS policy. This mental exercise allows the properties of the source domain to be mapped onto the target domain. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2004), the source domain is primarily familiar with the environment and guided by image schema, and through this, we understand the target domain. The cartoonist conceptualizes the sustainability of the Free SHS policy as a farmer watering plant. Identifying the target and source domains allows mapping the properties of a prototypical farmer (very determined, focused and hardworking) onto the measures put in place by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo to sustain the Free SHS Policy. As the identified metaphor of farming activity, it requires the services of a horticulturist (farmer) to perform the farming (watering of crops) activity. It also requires the tools and equipment needed for this work and the seedlings or plants to be nurtured.

Two people are standing afar from the cartoon under discussion; these characters resemble Former President John Dramani Mahama and Mr Johnson Asiedu Nketiah, NDC's general secretary. The remoteness of the participants has a meaningful connotation that they are not in support of the farmer's activity. The body language of these people (with their hands folded onto their chest) shows they are unconcerned about the farmer's situation. Again, their posture suggests that they are heedless. One can envision from the cartoon that their facial expression means they are mocking the farmer's plight of relying on a watering can sustain his crops looking the size of the watering can.

The cartoonist verbalizes the mockery act through their bubble speech which reads, *"HE SHOULD HAVE WAITED UNTIL RAINY SEASON"*. Their bubble speech suggests they criticise the farmer for not waiting till the rainy season before he starts planting the seedlings. Their bubble speech again indicates that the season the farmer is planting the seedlings is not the perfect time for cultivation. From common knowledge, West African countries, including Ghana, experience rainy and dry seasons. Agricultural experts have always maintained that the rainy season is the best time for planting because the farmer does not need any artificial source for watering the cultivated plants. After all, rain is always abundant during that season.

Their bubble speech also confirms NDC's ideology on the Free SHS policy that it should be progressively and gradually free. The NDC's stance on the Free SHS is that they wanted to develop all the necessary infrastructure before making secondary education accessible. Therefore, the cartoonist compares NDC's assertion of getting the needed infrastructure and making SHS progressively and gradually accessible to favourable weather conditions suitable for cultivating seedlings.

The horticulturist resembles (physical features such as stature bald head) the President of the Republic of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo. Therefore, the cartoonist conceptualizes and metaphorically represents the President of Ghana as a horticulturist (farmer). His bubble speech refutes the sarcastic statement from his political opponent that *"IF YOU WAIT UNTIL THE WEATHER IS RIGHT, YOU WILL NEVER SOW ANYTHING AND NEVER*

HARVEST ANYTHING". The farmer's reply suggests he is not waiting for the rainy season before planting. The farmer's response confirms that the season is not conducive to cultivating seedlings, but it does not deter him.

The NDC, on the other hand, proposes progressively free SHS- according to them (NDC), all educational infrastructure should be ready before making secondary education free, contrary to what NPP offers.

Nevertheless, the farmer believes that all infrastructure cannot be established before implementing the Free SHS Policy. The farmer's use of the watering can suggest that the season is unsuitable for planting, demanding the farmer do extra work to grow the seedlings. The farmer is not perturbed by the climatic condition, which does not support farming. He (President Nana Addo) strongly believes that he can still go ahead and cultivate the seedlings despite the unfavourable climatic condition. The cartoonist compares the lack of infrastructure threat to Free SHS Policy to the unfavourable weather conditions threatening the grown seedlings.

4.11 Conceptual Metaphors of Free SHS Interventions

President Nana Addo Dankwa introduces many interventions to support the Free SHS Policy. One of the interventions is the school feeding programme. The intervention is to support the feeding of students. Day students are included in this programme where they enjoy one hot meal (lunch), whereas their colleagues in the boarding house enjoy three square-meal a day.

4.12 The President is a Carer/Caring Parent

This cartoon was published on 3 news online when President Nana Addo introduced Double track to solve the enrollment problem of Free SHS policy



With the cartoon above, I identify the metaphor as FEEDING BABIES IS FUNDING OF FREE SHS POLICY.

Therefore, I represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows;

FEEDING BABIES IS FUNDING OF FREE SHS POLICY

Source domain (feeding of babies) Target domain (funding of Free SHS policy)

Feeding of babies → the funding of Free SHS policy

Food → feeding intervention

Babies' cot → secondary schools (boarding)

Babies' → SHS students

With the above data, the cartoonist employs Lakoff's container image schema with its three structural-an interior, exterior and boundary (Lakoff 1987: 272). Metaphorically, the cartoonist represents taxpayers' money (emptying national coffers) to support Free SHS policy through the feeding intervention. In light of the above activity (feeding), there should be someone to feed the children, the people to enjoy the meal, and items for the feeding.

With the data under review, the cartoonist employed personification as the ubiquitous form of metaphor. The cartoonist metaphorically represents the double-track of the Free SHS policy as babies. Since the policy is now babies, someone is needed as a nanny to care for and feed them. From the cartoon under discussion, one can envision a metaphorical father feeding the babies in the crib. The person feeding the babies resembles the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo. The cartoonist conceptualizes the President as the father feeding his children. The children metaphorically represent the shift system of the Free SHS policy (Gold and Green track) Nana Addo Dankwa introduces to curb the enrollment drive to cater to every child who qualifies for enrollment.

The cartoonist employs an ontological type of metaphor to present this phenomenon. That is the representation of the Free SHS Policy as babies' cot (container) housing the students. Therefore, the babies in the cot (container) are students who have come for their four-month stay. The underlying logic in Lakoff's container image schema assertion is that the container's boundaries prevent what is outside, affecting the entity or entities found inside the container or the bounded region. Students in the cot (container) and students outside the cot

have a parallel relationship. This description can be seen in the cartoon under discussion. Again, the students outside the babies' beds have finished their four-month stay period. The meal (food intervention) is meant for students within the cot from the cartoon above.

Two containers opened in front of the babies' crib with the inscription *Heritage Fund* and *TAX*. The opened containers indicate that their contents have been used as a meal source to feed the babies.

4.11.1 The President as a Caring Parent

The cartoon was published on 3 news online (on October 9, 2018) after the introduction of the double-track. The cartoonist represents another version of President Nana Addo as a caring parent feeding his children.



Prior to the 2016 general elections, NDC criticized the Free SHS policy, suggesting they did not believe in it. The NDC made several lewd comments to malign and mock the Free SHS policy that is not feasible within the shortest

possible time. They projected that the policy could be possible in the next twenty years. They attributed the impossibility of the policy to a lack of funds and an infrastructure deficit. Nevertheless, through its leader, President Nana Addo Dankwa, NPP ignored the naysayers, defied all odds, and implemented the policy. The possibility of the implementation comes as a surprise to NDC because, according to them (NDC), there was no money allotted for this programme.

I, therefore, identify the metaphor as FEEDING CHILDREN IS NURTURING FREE SHS POLICY.

I represent the metaphorical conceptualization of the cartoon as follows;

FEEDING OF THE CHILDREN IS NURTURING OF FREE SHS POLICY

Source domain (feeding of the children) Target domain (nurturing of free SHS policy)

Feeding of the children → nurturing of the Free SHS policy

Meal → Free SHS policy

Mother feeding her children → President Nana Addo Dankwa

Students in Green and Yellow uniforms → the Green and Gold Tracks of the shift system.

These mappings capture children's feeding to nurture the Free SHS policy. This mental exercise allows the properties of the source domain to be mapped onto the target domain. The cartoonist uses the home setting (dining table) to present this phenomenon in the above cartoon. With our image schema, the

cartoonist's use of an apron suggests a caterer/server. Apart from caterers/servers using aprons, mothers usually use an apron when feeding their children to avoid soiling their dresses.

Consequently, it is not surprising to see from the above that the metaphorical mother, President Nana Addo Dankwa (from his physical appearance, such as height, bald head), is a mother feeding her children. The cartoonist metaphorically represents the Free SHS's double-track system as human beings (school children). Once again, the cartoonist employs personification as a critical component of metaphor, thus, the personification of the double-track system of the Free SHS Policy. Now that the double-track has attained human status, there is the need to provide bare essentials, including feeding.

From the cartoon understudy, a character who resembles Former President John Dramani Mahama (from his physical appearances such as grey hair, height, and complexion) metonymically represents the opposition party, NDC. He comes with a bubble speech that reads, "*IS IT SALTY*"? He interrogates the children to ascertain whether the meal they are being served is salty. Perhaps his motive is to find out if the meal the mother provides is delicious and tastes good. The Former President's inquisition goes a long way to deepen the contention between NPP and NDC so far as the policy is concerned. The cartoonist, therefore, equates the infrastructure deficit that has become a challenge to implementing the Free SHS Policy to the lack of appropriate ingredients to prepare a good meal.

The metaphorical mother (President Nana Addo) replies to Former President Mahama, "*STOP INCITING THEM AGAINST MY FREE MEAL*". The cartoonist's use of 'them' refers to the students enjoying the meal (Free SHS Policy). The mother's facial expression shows that she is not happy with the comment from the Former President Mahama asking her children about the state of the meal. It can be envisaged from the cartoon that Former President Mahama is arresting the attention of the children, which is a worry to the mother.

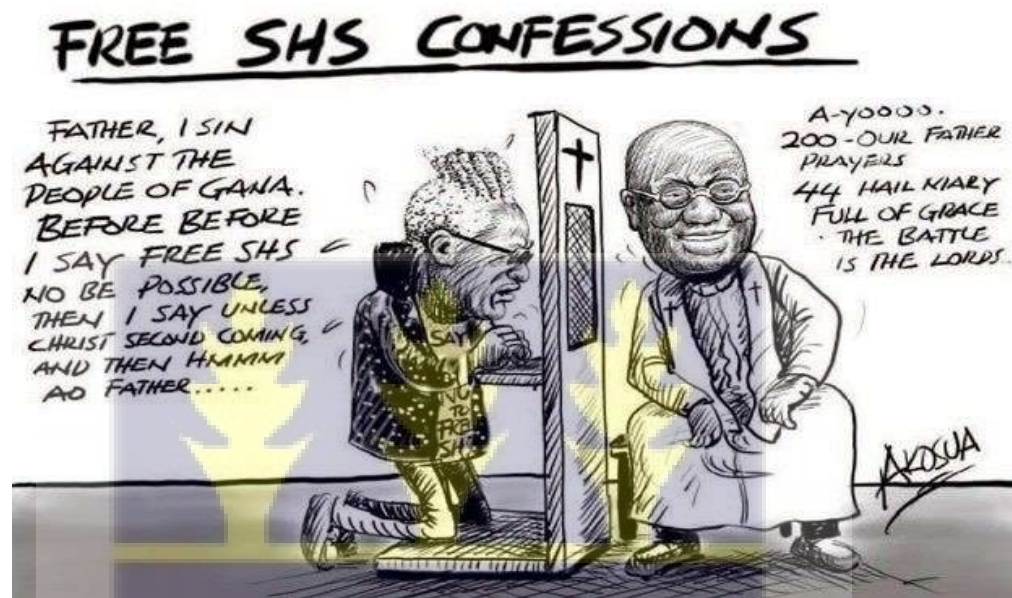
Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) contend that colours play a crucial role in analyzing cartoons as a discourse genre. It can be seen from the cartoon under discussion that the cartoonist uses yellow and green uniforms to decorate the school children. These colours symbolize the gold and green tracks of the Free SHS Policy. The cartoonist's use of yellow and green colours is on purpose and strategic. The choice of colours aids the understanding of the cartoonists' message.

4.12 Religious Metaphor

As Christians, confession is part of and continues to be part of our way of worship. Catholics, especially, are noted for confessing their sins before a clergy with the hope of receiving forgiveness for the sin(s) committed. The cartoonist's choice of a 'Christian concept' supports the notion of Christianity being the dominant religion in Ghana.

4.13 Opposition's NDC Change In Opinion on Free SHS is a Confession of Sin

The cartoon below was published on *Daily Guide* online (on August 16, 2019) when Former President John Dramani Mahama, the opposition leader, changed his mindset about the possibility of the Free SHS Policy.



I identify the metaphor as OPPOSITION'S CHANGE IN OPINION ON FREE SHS POLICY IS A CONFESSION OF SIN.

Therefore, I represent the metaphorical conceptualization of this cartoon as follows;

CONFESSION OF SINS IS CHANGE OF OPINION ON FREE SHS

Source domain (Confession of sins) Target domain (change of opinion on Free SHS policy)

Sins → opposition's change in opinion on Free SHS

Confession → admitting the change

Confessor → Former President John Mahama

Priest → President Nana Akuffo Addo Dankwa

Sinful deeds → mischievous comments from Former President John Dramani Mahama

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures the opposition's change of opinion to a confession of sins. According to Lakoff and Johnson, an unfamiliar experience is understood in terms of a familiar one. Therefore, we understand Ex-president Mahama's change of opinion on the Free SHS Policy in terms of a confession activity. These mental concepts enable the properties of the source domain to be mapped onto the target domain.

The cartoonist uses a religious practice predominately done by the Catholic sect, where members are encouraged to go for a confession at least once every month. However, every Catholic member confesses to the priest during Easter, specifically the Lent season. A believer can only confess when s/he realizes that s/he has sinned. Ex-president Mahama is alleged to have passed ill comments about the Free SHS Policy during the 2012 and 2016 general elections. After introducing the Free SHS Policy by President Nana Addo Dankwa in 2017, Former President Mahama, on several platforms, rescinded his initial decision concerning the Free SHS Policy. He mentions removing all the bottlenecks associated with the current Free SHS Policy when he is re-elected into office. On October 1, 2018, Former President Mahama, addressing the media, reiterated his

aversion to Free SHS, stating that the policy will undergo a review. He pledges to hold more consultations and possibly review the policy if NDC returns to power.

In the Catholic sect, those who go to confess their sins stand, but on this occasion, the confessor kneels to show remorsefulness and submissiveness to God through the priest. With this notion in mind, the cartoonist metaphorically conceptualizes Ex-President Mahama as the sinner (confessor) who comes to the priest to pour out his sins in the hope of receiving forgiveness from God through the priest. These are the words that emanated from the sinner's mouth: "*FATHER, I SIN AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF GANA, BEFORE BEFORE I SAY FREE SHS NO BE POSSIBLE, THEN I SAY UNLESS CHRIST SECOND COMING, AND THEN HMMM AO FATHER....*" The cartoonist captures some of the comments by Ex-President John Dramani Mahama deemed cynical about the Free SHS policy in the form of prayers. Prior to the 2016 general elections, the then President of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama, touts himself as a youthful person; therefore, the cartoonist projects him as seen from his bubble speech because the youth mostly speaks Ghanaian pidgin.

When it comes to the Catholic faith, the priest does not see the face of the one confessing. There is a barrier between the confessor and the priest. The essence of the fence is to prevent the confessor from being seen by the priest, which also contains stigmatization and finger-pointing. The priest only hears the voice of the confessor. The cartoonist metaphorically replicates the same concept from the Catholic faith.

'Akosua' imagines rescinding Ex-President Mahama's decision to a confession activity; definitely, there should be someone (confessor) to perform that act, and there should be sinful deeds and a priest to receive the confession.

The cartoonist metaphorically represents President Nana Addo (physical features such as height, bald head, round specs) as a priest. After the sinner has confessed, the priest should utter words that permit the confessor to leave. Below is the priest's message to the confessor, *"A-YOOOO, 200-OUR FATHER PRAYERS, 44 HAIL MARY FULL OF GRACE. THE BATTLE IS THE LORDS"*. According to the priest (President Nana Addo), for the confessor to receive forgiveness, he must recite our 'Father Prayers' and 'Hail Mary Full of Grace,' 200 and 44, respectively. The priest believes that if the confessor does what he has been instructed to do by reciting the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary the required number of times, his sins will be forgiven. The cartoonist conceptualizes the promise made by Former President John Dramani Mahama of building 200-day secondary schools across the country as the Our Father Prayers that should be recited by the confessor for his sins to be forgiven. Similarly, the cartoonist conceptualizes the forty-four of the day secondary schools completed and commissioned by Former President John Dramani Mahama before leaving office as the number of 'Hail Mary Full of Grace Prayer' to be recited by the confessor before his sins are forgiven. Furthermore, the cartoonist represents the malicious comments purported to have emanated from the camp of Former President John Dramani Mahama against the Free SHS policy as sinful deeds.

Although a biblical phrase, the 'Battle is the Lords' rings a bell when mentioned in Ghanaian politics. It is associated with President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo because he is heard on several campaign platforms to have used this mantra. This mantra is his source of inspiration, and the cartoonist uses it to help readers and viewers understand his message.

4.14 Diverse Opinions by Former President Mahama on Free SHS Policy

The cartoon below was published on Daily Guide online (on August 21, 2019) when NDC's flagbearer, Former President Mahama and other NDC top officials made several comments on the Free SHS Policy.



I identify the conceptual metaphor in this cartoon as DIFFERENT MOUTHS ARE EX-PRESIDENT MAHAMA AND NDC'S VARIOUS COMMENTS MADE ON FREE SHS POLICY.

Therefore, I represent the metaphorical conceptualizations of this cartoon as follows;

DIFFERENT MOUTHS ARE NDC'S SEVERAL COMMENTS ON FREE SHS POLICY

Source domain (different mouths) Target domain (various comments from NDC on free SHS)

Different mouths → Ex-President Mahama and NDC'S various comments made on Free SHS policy

The man with different mouths → Former President John Mahama

Microphone → political campaign platform

This set of mappings is systematic because it captures a man with different mouths to the several comments made by NDC stalwarts against the Free SHS Policy. The cartoonist conceptualizes and represents Former President John Dramani Mahama and NDC's other comments against the Free SHS Policy with human mouths. The use of mouth metonymically means the campaign. The image in the above cartoon resembles Ex-President John Dramani Mahama (owing to the physical features in the cartoon). Prior to the 2016 general election campaign, Mr Mahama touts himself as a youthful candidate to lure the electorate to vote for him. He sees himself as a young candidate compared to his major contender, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo. For this purpose, the cartoonist presents him as a youthful person. This attribution can be seen from the physical features given to him by the cartoonist. His hairstyle depicts youthfulness, and how he has put on

his sunglasses is peculiar to the youth. In light of this, the cartoonist projected him as such.

When the then opposition leader, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo, declared his intentions to make secondary education free, Mr John Dramani Mahama, the then President of Ghana, and other former government functionaries criticized this decision. On record, Former President Dramani Mahama and the NDC in 2012 sponsored over forty-six (46) different radio and television adverts to malign the Free SHS Policy in the eyes of the electorate (<https://www.newsghana.com.gh>). Prominent comments purported to have come from Former President John Dramani Mahama comprise the following; on November 23, 2012, addressing a rally at Okere in the Eastern Region, they said: "Free SHS will hit a snag which would eventually collapse the education system in Ghana" (<https://www.myjoyonline.com>). Former President Mahama further argued at the University of Cape Coast (UCC) in 2016 that "the Free Senior High School by the NPP is a political gimmick" (<https://www.modernghana.com>). During NDC's unity walk on February 27, 2017, at Tarkwa, Mr Mahama strongly rejected the Free SHS policy stating that it is unwise to implement it. (Free SHS Policy) (<https://mobile.ghanaweb.com>). On November 25, 2017, he again said, "Lalasalala Free SHS will fail" (<https://mobile.ghanaguardian.com>). Finally, on his presidential primaries tour, he said, "Akufo-Addo's Free SHS is not working".

Aside from Former President Mahama's mischievous comments about the Free SHS Policy, other NDC stalwarts also passed malicious comments about the policy. Among them include; Madam Hajia Joyce Zeinabu, the then National

Women's Organizer of the NDC on November 20, 2016, who said, "Free SHS will breed teenage pregnancies (<https://www.peacefmonline.com>). Again, the general secretary of NDC, Mr Johnson Asiedu Nketiah, is on record to have said on October 1, 2018, that "Free SHS is shambolic and that it has to be scrapped". (<https://www.modernghana.com>). Also, on December 18, 2018, the national chairman of NDC, Mr Ofori Ampofo, said, "The double-track system of the Free SHS policy is causing teenage pregnancies." (<https://www.ghanaweb.com>). Furthermore, on October 5, 2018, Mr Joshua Akamba, the national organizer of NDC, urged Tempone SHS students to "reject President Akufo-Addo in next polls for implementing such a shambolic education system" (Free SHS Policy). (<https://www.gbcghanaonline.com>). On June 19, 2018, Honourable Kwame Agbodza, an NDC Member of Parliament for Adaklu Constituency, stated, "Over concentration on Free SHS Policy is stifling funds meant for flood prevention." (<https://www.dailyguidenetwork.com>).

The cartoonist conceptualizes and represents one person with different mouths; each mouth represents the ill comments from the camp of former President Mahama and NDC's stalwarts about the Free SHS policy. The man with different mouths has been identified as Ex-President Mahama, comes with varying verbal language (bubble speeches) that read, starting from the top right corner; *FOR THE WHERE?!...2076, MAYBE!* On September 10, 2012, the then Minister of Education, Ambassador Lee Ocran, in the Mahama-Amisshah Arthur led administration, said, "Free SHS can only be possible in 2032, thus, 20 years (<https://newsghana.com.gh>). He doubted Nana Addo's idea as something which

was not possible within the shortest possible time. The following bubble speech reads, *EBI JOKE! COMEDY. 44,000 LAUGHS*, Former President Mahama described the Free SHS policy message as a joke-because he doubted the success of the Free SHS Policy. The cartoonist uses 44,000 figures to represent NDC's total votes in the 2016 general elections. (<https://www.eisa.org.za>) Therefore, the cartoonist decides to name the joke with that figure. The 44,000-laugh is a programme organized for comedians to entertain their audience; hence, the message of the Free SHS Policy is taken as a joke, according to Mr Mahama. The NDC's flagbearer, Mr John Dramani, describes the decision to make secondary education accessible as a political gimmick (<https://www.gbcghanaonline.com>).

Another bubble speech reads *IMPOSSIBLE!* – This suggests that making secondary education free is not achievable. This statement emanated from the camp of NDC on September 24, 2012. Mr Dramani Mahama and the NDC did not believe the Free SHS Policy message was feasible.

The next bubble speech reads *...SECOND COMING OF JESUS...* After losing the 2016 general elections, Former President Mahama initially decided not to contest in the 2020 general elections. After a period of political hibernation, Mahama rescinded his decision not to contest the 2020 general elections. The cartoonist uses biblical allusion to present Former President Mahama's decision to compete in the 2020 general elections as a *Great Parousia* (the second coming) of the Lord Jesus Christ. The loyal supporters of NDC tout Ex-president Mahama as the saviour coming to save Ghanaians from the economic hardship confronting them (Ghanaians) due to Nana Addo-Bawumiah's bad governance.

The next bubble speech reads *LEGAL PROGRESSIVE* – as Nana Addo Dankwa proposes free secondary education, Former President Mahama and the NDC also propose progressively and gradually free secondary education. In the spirit of the 1992 constitution and a promise in their manifesto, the NDC government started the progressively Free SHS for the 2015/2016 academic year by absorbing fees paid by 320,000 SHS Day students. (<https://www.brightdzokoto.wordpress.com>). For NDC to achieve the progressive legal slogan, they decided to build community day secondary schools all over the country and other infrastructure that reflect their ideology and educational achievement.

The last bubble speech reads *AH WELL...O.K. ...WE GO TRY TEST AM FOR REVIEW* – Mr Mahama, on February 24, 2018, stated that “Free SHS’s implementation was rushed and it is constricting government’s budget, therefore, the need reviews it”. (<https://www.modernghana.com>). According to him (Mr Mahama), spending two billion Ghana Cedis on Free SHS is unthinkable, significantly affecting the government's budget. Some months later, on October 1, 2018. Former President Mahama reiterated his aversion to Free SHS by stating, "Free SHS policy will undergo a review and hinted on the possibility of the policy being scrapped." (<https://www.myjoyonline.com>).

From the cartoon under discussion, there is an image of an umbrella in the man's shirt, which is the visual symbol of the NDC party- this indicates the political affiliations to Ex-President Mahama belongs. He is seen with a microphone. The

microphone metonymically represents the campaign. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the cartoonist using this tool. (Microphone)

4.15 Access Metaphor

The cartoon below was published on 3 news online (on October 9, 2018) regarding who qualifies to access Free SHS Policy. Although the policy is free, it comes with limitations for individuals who stand to benefit.



With cartoon 4.15, I identify the metaphor as CLIMBING A LADDER IS AN ACCESS TO FREE SHS POLICY.

Therefore, I represent the metaphorical representation of this cartoon as follows;

CLIMBING A LADDER IS ACCESS TO FREE SHS POLICY

Source Domain (Climbing of a ladder) Target Domain (access to Free SHS policy)

Climbing a ladder → access to Free SHS policy.

The ladder → the route to Free SHS policy.

The container → the Free SHS policy/school.

Lakoff and Johnson (2004) espouse that the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (p. 5). The cartoonist conceptualizes the concept of someone getting access to Free SHS as persons climbing a ladder. The use of the *ladder* serves as a link that connects a student to Free SHS Policy. The only requirement to be a beneficiary of the Free SHS Policy is to register for Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) and complete junior high school since this gives the person the license to enter the Free SHS represented by the cartoonist as a container.

Nevertheless, every right has its limitation; Free SHS is not accessible to international students. The media report that some foreigners disguise themselves as Ghanaians and register for BECE to access Free SHS (<https://www.adomonline.com>). From the cartoon under discussion, it can be envisioned that one of the students is carrying a 'chop box' with the inscription 'Togo student'. The term 'chop box' is a Ghanaian coined word for a wooden box used by students, especially those in the boarding houses of senior secondary schools to keep their provisions and other valuables. The cartoonist uses 'Togo' metonymically to represent international students because Togolese are our immediate neighbours from the eastern side of Ghana's borders. Again, the cartoonist's use of Togo can be attributed to the rumours that the Togolese usually come to Ghana to register during voter registration exercises, enabling them to

vote during the general elections. Since they (Togolese) took part in the voting, they also stand to benefit hence the use of ‘Togo’.

The cartoonist employs an ontological type of metaphor and Lakoff’s container image schema with its three structures—an interior, an exterior and a boundary- to present this phenomenon. The cartoonist conceptualizes the Free SHS policy as a container to house the students. Thus, either one is in the container or out of the container. Lakoff’s basic logic in the container image schema; the boundaries prevent what is outside from affecting the entity or entities found within the container. There is no relationship between the entities outside and inside the container (school). Those inside the container enjoy the goodies in it, and those outside are trying every means possible to enter the container with the hope of enjoying the goodies in the container (school). Therefore, the only means to access the container is by registering for the BECE, which the cartoonist conceptualizes as climbing the ladder. One can envisage from the cartoon that one of the students in the container is squatting with his book on the bare floor, which suggests that the population in the container outnumber the available facilities such as a desk.

Kress and Van Leeuwen highlight the role of colour when analyzing cartoons as a discourse genre. In the cartoon under discussion, the students in the Free SHS Policy container are dressed in yellow and green uniforms, metaphorically representing the *Green and Yellow tracks* of the Free SHS Policy.

The use of these colours highlights the cartoonists’ messages.

4.16. Linguistic Analysis of the Bubble Speeches in the Cartoons

This study's scope and limitation section indicate that the analysis is not syntactic or grammatically based. Therefore, the investigation did not dwell much on the bubble speeches' sentence structure, language choice, and patterns. Studies like that of Sani et al. (2012) examine the linguistic devices used in political cartoons in Nigeria, focusing on the choice of lexical items. Also, Alimi (1991) studies the stylistic markers in Nigerian political cartoons. The current study focuses on how these bubble speeches contribute to understanding the cartoonists' messages since the speeches are believed to be the views and opinions of the participants in the cartoons.

Notwithstanding, it is worthy of shedding a brief light on the linguistic components of the bubble speeches. In terms of sentence structure, the cartoonists predominately used simple sentences in the bubble speeches. The reason for simple sentences perhaps makes the cartoonists' message brief and precise to readers and viewers. Also, simple sentences make the cartoonists' message straightforward for the readers to comprehend. For instance, we are on track (fig. 4.8).

Regarding punctuation marks, the cartoonists use a lot of question marks, exclamations and ellipses. The dominant use of question marks indicates that the cartoonists sought answers perhaps from the audience. It is worth mentioning that most of these questions are rhetorical since rhetorical questions provide a way of controlling the speech and thoughts of the audience. For instance, is it salty? (fig. 4.11).

Also, cartoonists use interjections because they can be used to express a strong sense of emotions or feelings. In this case, the emotions of the participants in the cartoons. For example, the pikin no fine! and jealousy go! (fig. 4.3).

Furthermore, the cartoonists deliberately use ellipses because of their role, thus providing realistic details, emotional effects, and the reader's trust to fill in what was left out. For instance, in 5 yrs time...he will be history! (fig.4.4), for the where?!...in 2076 may be!

From a cursory look at the bubble speeches, the cartoonists do not follow the grammatical rules; they do that deliberately to achieve artistic effects or are naïve of English grammar rules.

4.17 Chapter Summary

As the study's heart, Chapter four looked at how the metaphors in the selected cartoons were construed. I provided the conceptual metaphor in each of the cartoons, after which the elements of source domains were mapped onto the target domain. The cartoonists used familiar concepts (source domains), including cooking, childbirth, a sick person on life support, athletic oval, farming, feeding, herdsman pasturing his cattle, caring mother feeding her children, religious activity, etc. the Free SHS policy is the target domain. I extended the analysis to the verbal language of the cartoonist's various characters. Some verbal language explained the ideological stance of the major political parties on the Free SHS policy. Also, the contributions of the various semiotic tools in understanding the cartoonists' message were elaborated

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. 0 Introduction

This chapter summarises the analysis findings and provides general conclusions and recommendations. The research questions are answered, and the implications are briefly discussed.

5. 1 Summary of Findings

This study sought to answer the research questions below:

1. What source domains are used by the cartoonists to metaphorically conceptualize Ghana's Free Senior High School policy?
2. How do the semiotic tools contribute to understanding the cartoonists' message?

The data analysis revealed that the cartoonists used the following source domains to conceptualize the Free SHS Policy to answer research question one. These include a newborn baby, sick person, food, cow, farming, athletic oval, confession, climbing a ladder, and a man with different mouths. It was observed from the analysis that the cartoonists predominately used personification as a ubiquitous form of metaphor-this personification allows the Free SHS policy to assume human status.

The source domains identified in the data analyzed can, therefore, be summarized as follows;

- Food cooking is conceptualized as the preparation to launch the Free SHS policy, while President Nana Addo is conceptualized as the cook.
- The newly introduced Free SHS policy is conceptualized as a newborn baby, whereas President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo is a nursing mother who delivered a baby.
- Free SHS policy is conceptualized as a seriously sick person on a life support system, while President Nana Addo is conceptualized as a doctor.
- The double-track of Free SHS policy is conceptualized as an athletic oval, whereas President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo and Honourable Mathew Opoku Prempeh are conceptualized as track officials.
- The sustainability of Free SHS policy is conceptualized as the watering of seedlings, while President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo is conceptualized as the farmer (horticulturist).
- Financing Free SHS policy is conceptualized as the feeding of children. The food is conceptualized as Free SHS policy, and President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo is conceptualized as a caring mother.
- Financing Free SHS policy is conceptualized as pasturing of a cow, while President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo is conceptualized as a herdsman.
- Ex-President John Dramani Mahama's change of opinion on Free SHS policy is conceptualized as a confession activity. Ex-President Mahama is

conceptualized as a sinner (confessor), whereas President Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo is conceptualized as a priest.

- Climbing a ladder to enter a container is conceptualized as getting access to the Free SHS policy.
- A man with different mouths is conceptualized as Ex-President John Dramani Mahama and NDC stalwarts' comments on Free SHS policy. Each mouth represents a comment from NDC's camp against Free SHS policy.

The analysis revealed that the cartoonists heavily relied on various semiotic tools to present the issues by answering research question two. For instance, using specific colours in a particular scene was not a mistake, but they (cartoonists) did that for a purpose that helped in the message being put forth. In one of the data, the cartoonist correctly used blue, red and white colours to decorate the characters. These colours are associated with the NPP party, which introduced the Free SHS policy. Therefore, the use of NPP colours helped understand the cartoonist's message.

Again, the cartoonist purposely selected certain scenes to make cogent points. For instance, the cartoonist's use of a hospital setting (maternity ward) indicated a place of delivery which also helped understand the cartoonist's message. The same applies to the various characters in a particular scene, suggesting they are done on purpose. For instance, President Akuffo Addo was used in almost all the scenes to achieve a particular effect because he introduced and implemented the Free SHS policy. The cartoonists again assigned President

Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo different participant roles. Some roles included the President as a ‘cook’, ‘nursing mother’, ‘doctor’, ‘caring father’, ‘farmer’, ‘track official’, and ‘priest’. Accordingly, President Nana Addo Dankwa’s image throughout was helpful in the cartoonists’ message because he implemented the policy; hence his name cannot be taken out from the discussion on the Free SHS policy.

5. 2 Correlation between the Images and the Verbal Language

The analysis revealed that the cartoonists presented the ideological stance of the dominant or major political parties through the bubble speeches accompanying the cartoons from the various cartoon characters. The verbal language/ bubble speeches confirmed the political position of the major political parties on the Free SHS policy.

For instance, the verbal language attributed to MPs that metonymically represent NDC (Honourable Samuel Okudjeto Ablakwa and Honourable Haruna Iddrisu) in figure 4.3 read *the pikin no fine*. To wit, they dislike the newly born baby. Likewise, NPP characters (Dr Bawumia and Honourable Matthew Opoku Prempeh) in figure 4.3 liked the newly born baby (Free SHS Policy) by saying *jealousy go shame* as seen in figure 4.3 illustrate the position and attitude of the two major parties to this policy.

The analysis further revealed that all the verbal language from NDC characters condemned or spoke evil of the Free SHS policy. Some of these comments included *the pikin no fine* (fig. 4.3), *in 5 yrs time he will be history* (fig. 4.4), *this Fulani activity is against petroleum revenue management* (fig. 4.6), *he should have waited until rainy season* (fig. 4.9), among others.

Similarly, the verbal language/bubble speeches such as these; *small time, September go don.... Who no dey believe?* (fig 4.2) *jealousy go shame* (fig. 4.3), *we are on track* (fig. 4.8) *if you wait until the weather is right, you will never sow anything and never harvest anything* (fig. 4.9), among others emanating from NPP characters in the cartoons supported the implementation of the Free SHS policy.

One significant observation from the verbal language/bubble speeches is the reality of multilingualism in Ghana. From the analysis, English Language, Akan (Twi), and Ghanaian Pidgin English were predominately used in the verbal language in the selected data. The use of these languages reflects Ghana's linguistic diversity and multilingual landscape. The cartoonists, perchance, realized that the English language is used as the de facto official language of the country; therefore, employing the language served the interest of most readers and viewers. According to the 2010 population and housing census, Twi, a dialect of Akan, is second only to the English language in terms of frequency of use in Ghana. Due to the cartoonists' knowledge of Twi being the second most spoken language, the cartoonists used Twi in some verbal language to serve a broader population. The use of Pidgin could also be attributed to the cartoonists' desire to reach readers and viewers who are not well-versed in the Standard English language to understand the intended message. It is widely speculated that Pidgin is assumed to be the language of the less educated people on the street.

5.3 The Implication of the Study

This study has shown that using familiar source domains such as cooking and delivering a child provides a visual understanding of government policies and country events. The study has highlighted the relevance of political cartoons in Ghanaian political discourse, explicitly bringing viewers' and readers' attention to issues through humour. One fascinating thing about political cartoons as a discourse genre is that they appeal to the sense of sight because of the colourful appearance of some cartoons.

Again, the sense of humour that characterises political cartoons attracts readers and viewers' interest in the issues being discussed in the media. For instance, editors will report on the financial challenges of the Free SHS policy with lengthy essays. At the same time, the cartoonist, with his art, will present the same phenomenon with a single image that encompasses the lengthy write-up. This feat makes political cartoons reader and viewer-friendly.

Furthermore, political cartoons may appeal to a broader audience (both educated and uneducated) in the country because one does not need any academic qualification to understand and appreciate the visual elements of these cartoons. This nature of cartoons arouses the interest of readers and viewers. Political cartoon as a genre leaves an unforgettable memory in the minds of readers and viewers compared to reading the editorial section of the newspapers.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Research

From the collection and analysis of data for this research, some research-worthy areas came up that I had to gloss over because they did not directly fall within the purview of the research objective for this work. It was evident from the analysis that the discussions focused on the metaphors and ideological stance of the characters in the cartoons. However, an exciting area other researchers can focus their attention on is the semiotic tools that accompany the cartoons, possibly with particular attention paid to the projections of the characters, settings, colour effects, and font sizes, among others.

Another exciting area for consideration is the cartoons' verbal language/bubble speeches. The current study focused on the ideological stance espoused by politicians on the Free SHS policy. Another researcher can focus on the linguistic diversity used by the cartoonists in presenting their message and make a case for the cartoonists' choice of one language over the other. Again, a researcher can focus on the dominant use of a particular language in verbal language. Another researcher can also look at the sentence structure of the verbal language to identify the patterns used frequently, especially those in terms of structure; simple, compound, or complex sentences. Finally, the cartoonists use a lot of ellipses, question marks and exclamations, an area worthy of consideration by any researcher. When all these areas are considered, it will improve the scholarly attention political cartoons have received in the Ghanaian context.

REFERENCES

- Adejuwon, A., & Alimi, S. (2011). Cartoons as illustration: Political process in Nigeria. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(3), 57-76.
- Ademilokun, M. (2016). Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Some Newspaper Political Campaign Advertisements for Nigeria's 2015 Elections.
- Agbo, I. I., Kadiri, G. C., & Ijem, B. U. (2018). Critical Metaphor Analysis of Political Discourse in Nigeria. *English Language Teaching*, 11(5), 95.
<https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v11n5p95>.
- Agu, N. M. (2017). A Pragmatic Analysis of 'Leadership' Cartoons in selected Nigerian dailies. *Ansu Journal of Language and Literary Studies*, 1(2).
- Alimi, M. M. (1991). A study of the stylistic markers of the language of cartoons in Nigeria. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 22(2), 190-206.
- Alousque, I. N. (2013). Visual metaphor and metonymy in French political cartoons. *Revista española de lingüística aplicada*, (26), 365-384.
- Amankwah, A. S., Adade-Yeboah, A. Agyemang, K. O. (2012). An investigation into the methods of cartoonists as social communicators in Ghana. *International Journal for the Humanities*, 9(4), 229-237.
- Amore, K. P., & Atoloye, L. (2016). A Systemic Functional-Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Some Cartoons Connected with Nigeria's 2015 General Elections.
- Anthony, L. (2001). Characteristic features of research article titles in computer science. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, 44(3), 187-194.

- Archer, A., & Stent, S. (2011). Red socks and purple rain: the political uses of colour in late apartheid South Africa. *Visual Communication*, 10(2), 115-128.
- Aristotle (1952). Translated by I. Bywater. In W.D. Ross (Ed.), *The works of Aristotle* (Vol. 11): *Rhetorica, De rhetorica ad Alexandrum, Poetica*. Oxford: Clarendon
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *The dialogic imagination. Four essays*. Translated by C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.
- Barcelona, A. (2000). *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Benson, T. (2005). 'The Greatest Political Cartoons of All Time?', *History Today* 55(3): 20-3.
- Bounegru, L., & Forceville, C. (2011). Metaphors in editorial cartoons representing the global financial crisis. *Visual communication*, 10(2), 209-229.
- Cammaerts, B. (2012). The strategic use of metaphors by political and media elites: The 2007- 11 Belgian constitutional crisis. *International journal of media & cultural politics*, 8(2/3) 229-249. https://doi.org/10.1386/macp.8.2-3.229_1
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Springer.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). Why "an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm": a corpus-based comparative study of metaphor in British and American political discourse. In *Advances in Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 133-150). Brill Rodopi.

- Conners, J. L. (2005). Visual representations of the 2004 presidential campaign: Political cartoons and popular culture references. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(3), 479-487.
- Conners, J. L. (1998). Hussein as enemy: The Persian Gulf War in political cartoons. *Harvard international journal of press/politics*, 3(3), 96-114.
- Corbett, E. P. (1965). The rhetoric of the open hand and the rhetoric of the closed fist. *College Composition and Communication*, 288-296.
- Cortés de los Ríos, M. E. (2010). Cognitive Devices to Communicate the Economic Crisis: An Analysis through Covers in *The Economist*. *Ibérica*, 20, 81-106.
- Dălălău, D. & Maior, P. (2014). The use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in editorial cartoons depicting the Euro crisis. In *The Proceedings of the International Conference Globalization, Intercultural Dialogue and National Identity. Section: Language and Discourse*.
- Danjoux, I. (2007). Reconsidering the decline of the editorial cartoon. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40(2), 245-248.
- DeSousa, M. A., & Medhurst, M. J. (1984). "Political Cartoons and American Culture: Significant Symbols of Campaign 1980." *Studies in Visual Communication* 8: 84-9
- Đurović, T., & Silaški, N. (2017). Multimodality and the Construal of Reality in Political Cartoons – the Case of Serbia-Eu Relationship. *Facta Universitatis, Series: Linguistics and Literature*, 14(1980), 117. <https://doi.org/10.22190/full1602117d>.

- Edwards, J. L., & Winkler, C. K. (1997). Representative form and the visual ideograph: The iwo jima image in editorial cartoons. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 83(3), 289-310. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00335639709384187>.
- Ezeifeke, C. R. (2013). Critical discourse analysis of interpersonal meaning and power relations in selected inaugural political speeches in Nigeria. *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 14(2), 46-65.
- Fairclough, N. (2008). The language of critical discourse analysis: Reply to Michael Billig. *Discourse & Society*, 19(6), 811-819.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*, 2, 258-284.
- Fiankor, D. K., Dzegblor, N. K., & Kwame, S. (2017). Illustrating and shaping public political memories through cartoons: the 2013 presidential election petition in Ghana. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 10(1), 240-265.
- Flood, C. (1999). Myth and ideology. In *Thinking Through Myths* (pp. 186-202). Routledge.
- Forceville, C. (1996). *Pictorial metaphor in advertising*. Psychology Press.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Routledge
- Galperin, I. R. (1981). Text as an object of linguistic study. *M: Academiya*.–2007-356
- Gibbs, R. W. (1987). Linguistic factors in children's understanding of idioms. *Journal of Child Language*, 14(3), 569-586.

Glucksberg, S., & Keysar, B. (1990). Understanding metaphorical comparisons: Beyond similarity. *Psychological Review*, 97(1), 3-18. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295x.97.1.3>.

Gustavii, B. (2008). How to prepare a scientific doctoral dissertation based on research articles. Cambridge University Press.

Hart, C. (2011). Force-interactive patterns in immigration discourse: A cognitive linguistic approach to CDA. *Discourse and Society*, 22(3), 269–286. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926510395440>

Hodge, B. R. I. V., & Kress, G. R. (1993). *Language as Ideology* (2nd ed.). U.K: Routledge.

Hoffman, D. R., & Howard, A. D. (2007). Representations of 9-11 in editorial cartoons. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, 40(2), 271–274. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096507070424>.

Holloway, I., & Wheeler, S. (2002). Establishing quality: Trustworthiness or validity. *Qualitative research in nursing and healthcare*, 297-314.

Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Free-SHS-not-practicable-Murtala-Mohammed-577259> September 5 2017

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/TTU-lecturers-lambast-Mahama-over-Free-SHS-indecision-1119161> November 25 2017

<https://www.modernghana.com/news/976186/free-shs-has-increased-enrolment-by-69-percent.html> December 29 2019

<https://newsghana.com.gh/npps-free-shs-will-suffer-a-big-blow-prez-mahama/> reported by myjoyonline.com, November 23 2012

<https://www.facebook.com/CotsanBosomtwe/posts/mahama-in-2016-at-ucc-said-free-shs-by-npp-is-a-political-gimmick-mahamawillcanc/2562848857266259/>

<https://dailyguidenetwork.com/mahama-fights-nana-for-free-shs/> November 26 2020

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Mahama-jabs-Akufo-Addo-over-Free-SHS-603930>

<https://ghanaguardian.com/lalasalala-free-shs-will-fail-mahama> November 25 2017

<https://www.adomonline.com/hot-audio-free-shs-will-breed-pregnancies-ndc-women-organizer/>

<https://gh.opera.news/gh/en/politics/6cf9a14f16434eeade41e39e1519a27b> November 20 2016

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Free-SHS-NDC-will-abolish-double-track-system-Nketia-689541>

<https://www.seekapor.com/free-shs-double-track-system-causing-teenage-pregnancies-ofosu-ampofo/>

<https://www.theghanareport.com/ndcs-akamba-slammed-for-inciting-students-against-free-shs/>



<https://3news.com/free-shs-lacks-proper-plan-kwame-agbodza-tells-govt/>

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Akufo-Addo-s-free-SHS-policy-is-cheap-talk-Lee-Ocran-250059>

<https://www.ghanaiantimes.com.gh/mahama-reiterates-review-of-free-shs-policy-to-safeguard-quality/>

<https://www.myjoyonline.com/it-is-not-too-late-to-review-free-shs-to-ensure-quality-mahama-to-government/>

Igwebuike, E., Abioye, T., & Chimuanya, L. (2016). A pragma-semiotic analysis of ‘Occupy Nigeria Group’ online posts on the 2012 fuel subsidy removal in Nigeria. *Journal of Visual Literacy*, 35(3), 201–214.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1051144X.2016.1275340>.

Ingutia, A. A., & Matu, P. M. (2016). *Scholars Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* ISSN 2347-5374 (Online).

Jabeen, S. (2016). *Ideological Representations of Pak- India Relations in Political Cartoons of Post 9 / 11 Print Media of. II(Ii)*, 90-110.

Jamieson, K. H. (1985). *Communication and persuasion*. London: Croom Helm.

Kelly, L. H. (2016). Critical metaphor analysis of cosmetics metaphorical advertising slogans: A cross-cultural perspective. *Cognitive Linguistic Studies*, 3(1), 134-150.

Kerlinger, F. N. (1986). *Foundations of behavioral research*, 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

- Kertész, A. (2004). *Cognitive Semantics and Scientific Knowledge*. John Benjamins Publications Company.
- Kondowe, W., Ngwira, F. F., & Madula, P. (2014). Linguistic analysis of Malawi political newspaper cartoons on President Joyce Banda: Towards Grice's conversational implicature. *International journal of humanities and social science*, 4(7), 40-51.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: Universality and variation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, G. R. & van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*.
- Kulikova, L. V., & Detinko, I. I. (2014). Construction of political "others" through multimodal texts (cartoons) in British press.
- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners*. Sage Publications Limited.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2004). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago press.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (2003). Afterword. *Metaphors we live by*, 243-276. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). 'The contemporary theory of metaphor.' In A. Ortony (ed.). *Metaphor and Thought* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 202-251.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). Image metaphors. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 2(3), 219-222.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226470986.001.0001>
- Landtsheer, C. L. D. (2004). Collecting political meaning from the count of metaphor. In *Metaphor and discourse* (pp. 59-78). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Langacker, R. W. (1999). Assessing the cognitive linguistic enterprise. *Cognitive linguistics: Foundations, scope, and methodology*, 13-59.
- Lobo, E. (2002) "A Brief History of Cartooning". Retrieved from <http://www.fal.net/html/toonpast.html> on Friday, October 17, 2014.
- Mateus, S. (2016). Political Cartoons as communicative weapons—the hypothesis of the “Double Standard Thesis” in three Portuguese cartoons. *Estudos em Comunicação*, (23).
- McNally, M. (2014). *The marketing techniques of William Hogarth (1697-1764), artist and engraver* (Doctoral dissertation, Durham University).
- Mio, J. S. (1997). Metaphor and politics. *Metaphor and symbol*, 12(2), 113-133.
- Morris, R. (1993). Visual rhetoric in political cartoons: A structuralist approach. *Metaphor and symbol*, 8(3), 195-210.
- Musolff, A. (2012). The study of metaphor as part of critical discourse analysis. *Critical discourse studies*, 9(3), 301-310.

- Nyoni, M., Grand, N., Nyoni, T. (2012). Beyond The Humour: a Newspaper Cartoon as Socio-Politico-Economic Commentary: The Case of 'Wasu' of the Manica Post in Zimbabwe. *Greener Journal of Social Science*, 2(6): 179-190.
- Oduro-Frimpong, J. (2013). "Better Ghana agenda"?: Akosua's political cartoons and critical public debates in contemporary Ghana. In S. Newell & O. Okome (Eds.), *Popular Culture in Africa* (131-153). London, England: Routledge.
- Oluremi, T., & Ajepe, I. (2016). Signifying cartoons: A pragmatic reading of Nigeria's 2015 political cartoons. *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies*, 26(2), 1-33.
- Opeibi, B. O. (2009). *Discourse, politics and the 1993 presidential election campaigns in Nigeria: a re-invention of June 12 Legacy*.
- Padilla, X. A. (2018). Political cartoons on Greek debt crisis: a cognitive and pragmatic approach.
- Parahoo, K. (1997). *Nursing Research: Principles, Process and Issues*, Macmillan, London
- Rapp, C. (2010). Aristotle's Rhetoric, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2010/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/>.
- Refaie, E. E. (2009). What makes us laugh? Verbo-visual humour in newspaper cartoons. In *The World Told and the World Shown* (pp. 75-89). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

- Refaie, E.E. (2009). Multiliteracies: How readers interpret political cartoons. *Visual communication*, 8(2), 181-205.
- Richards, I. A. (1936). *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rivas-Carmona, M. D. M. (2014). Cartooning for Gender Equality: A Multimodal Expression of “Humour” and „Vindication“. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(24), 8-20.
- Rockson, K. (2012). ‘Akosua Cartoons in the ‘Daily Guide’: A Discourse Analysis’. *Journal of Communication, Media and Society*, 2(1), 1-23.
- Ross, D. (1992). *The origins of American social science* (No. 19). Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, D. W. (1952). *The Works of Aristotle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sacristán, M. S. V. (2005). Metaphor and ESP: metaphor as a useful device for teaching L2 Business English learners. *Ibérica: Revista de la Asociación Europea de Lenguas para Fines Específicos (AELFE)*, (10), 115-131.
- Samuel, A. (2017). Satirizing the Nigerian Climate: Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Selected Political Cartoons from TELL Newsmagazine. *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences*, 3(4), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.9734/arjass/2017/33327>.
- Sani, I., Abdullah, M. H., Abdullah, F. S., & Ali, A. M. (2012). Political cartoons as a vehicle of setting social agenda: The newspaper example. *Asian Social Science*, 8(6), 156–164. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v8n6p156>.

Sani, I., Abdullah, M. H., Ali, A. M., & Abdullah, F. S. (2012). Linguistic analysis on the construction of satire in Nigerian political cartoons: The example of newspaper cartoons. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 4(3), 52-59.

Saraceni, M. (2003). *The Language of Comics*. London: Routledge.

Siddique, R. M. S., & Rahman, B. H. (2016). Cartoon war...A political dilemma! A semiotic analysis of political cartoons. *Journal of Media Studies*, 3(1), 74-922.

Soares, C. T. (2017). 'Red is the colour of the heart': making young children's multilingualism visible through language portraits. *Language and education*, 35(1), 22-41.

St. Clair, R.N. (2004) *The Major Metaphors of European Thought: Growth, Game, Language, Drama, Machine, Time and Space*. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Sturmer, M. (2008). *Media history of Tanzania*, Ndanda Mission Press.

Szabo, J., & Lent, J. A. (1994). *Cartoonometer: taking the pulse of the world's cartoonists*. Witty World Books.

Tehseem, T., & Bokhari, Z. (2015). *Asian Journal of Social Science & Humanities; Spoiling or the Saving Faces in Pakistani Newspaper. A Multimodal Discourse analyzing political cartoons.*

Thompson, S. (1996). "Politics without metaphors is like a fish without water."

In *Metaphor: Implications and applications*, pp. 185-201. Psychology Press.

Tsakona, V. (2009). Language and image interaction in cartoons: Towards a multimodal theory of humor. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(6), 1171-1188.

Ungerer, F., & Schmid, H. J. (1996). *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics Text*.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). New (s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. *Ethnic minorities and the media*, 37, 33-49.

Van Dijk, T. (1998). Discourse, opinions and ideologies in the press.

Van Teeffelen, T. (1994). Racism and metaphor: The Palestinian-Israeli conflict in popular literature. *Discourse & Society*, 5(3), 381-405.

Verschueren, J. (2012). *Ideology in language use: Pragmatic guidelines for empirical research*. Cambridge University Press.

Wei, Z. (2006). The Discourse Function of Metaphor-Both on the Research between Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics. *J Foreign Language Education*, (5), 10-15.

Weller, S. (2006). The deaths of poetry: Sylvia Plath and the ethics of modern elegy. *Textual Practice*, 20(1), 49-69.

Willett, R. (2006). 'Baddies' in the classroom: Media education and narrative writing. *Literacy*, 39(3), 142-148.

Wodak, R. (1989). *Language, power and ideology: Studies in political discourse* (Vol. 7). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

APPENDICES

