

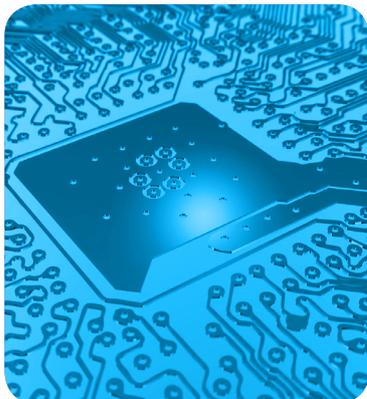
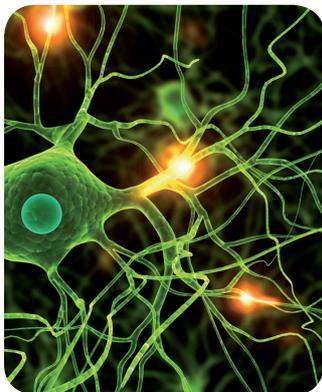
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**Multimodal
creativity in the
metaphors of the
Syrian&Egyptian
Spring Movements**
Khalid Suhad



Abstract

This project attempts to study the metaphorical expressions which were created by Arab protestors during the Arab Spring demonstrations which erupted in the Middle East in 2010. These demonstrations took place in all the Arab countries in protest against the bad living conditions and despotism, among many other reasons. This project focuses on the analysis of the metaphorical expressions that were created specifically in the Egypt and Syria demonstrations. For this purpose, I use the theoretical and methodological tools coming from Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Jonson 1980; Kövecses 2002), metaphor in discourse (Kövecses, 2010a, 2009; Semino, 2008; Romano, 2013), and multimodal metaphor approaches (Forceville, 2009). These are used to show how cognitive and cultural factors interact in the creation of the slogans. The Egyptian metaphors under study were created mostly in Tahrir Square in Cairo – the site of the protestors, but also in other places. The Syrian metaphors were created in many different Syrian cities. Most of these expressions were created during the many eruptions of these revolutions in these two countries in 2011, though slogans are still being created today. In short, the metaphors chosen for this analysis are multimodal (more than one mode is used for their creation, mostly verbal and pictorial) and closely related to the socio-political and cultural context in which they exist, and which is crucial for them to be understood.

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1. Introduction

This project studies the metaphorical expressions that were created in the Arab Spring revolutions that took place in Egypt and Syria in 2011, and their close relationship with the historical, political, cultural, and social situation of the countries under study. Section one, the Introduction, provides a brief overview regarding the context which led to these protests or revolutions, and is necessary to understand the creative process behind the metaphorical slogans. In section two, I present the main premises of the theoretical approaches to metaphor which is used in the analysis of the data. All three approaches – CMT, metaphor in discourse and multimodal metaphor analysis– are cognitive; this is because cognitive linguistics is the model which best explains the relationship between cognitive and socio-cultural factors in metaphorical creation. Section three, explains how the data were collected and how the metaphors were analyzed. Section four provides the analysis of the data, and section five provides a categorization of the metaphors and the main differences between Egyptian and Syrian metaphors. Lastly, section six provides a conclusion to this thesis.

The Arab Spring revolutions started first as peaceful protest movements, but soon turned into violent street battles and even civil war, as in the case of Syria. The protests began at the end of 2010 and early 2011, influenced by the revolution in Tunisia, which broke out on December 17, 2010 when local street-vendor Mohamed Bouazizi self-immolates after the wagon he used to sell fruits and vegetables was confiscated by the police and he was publically humiliated. The main causes of these revolutions were corruption, economic stagnation, bad living conditions, lack of democracy, in addition to political restrictions and lack of integrity of the elections in most Arab countries, among other issues. These revolutions resulted in the overthrow of four regimes in four countries, which are Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. The

ex-Tunisian President, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, went into exile in Saudi Arabia; the ex-Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, is now in prison; Muammar Gaddafi, ex-President of Libya, was killed; and the ex-Yemeni President, Ali Abdullah Saleh, resigned from the presidency. Meanwhile, numerous other protests erupted in Iraq, Morocco, Jordan, Mauritania, Bahrain, Oman, among other countries. This project focuses on metaphors created by protestors in Egypt and Syria. A brief overview of the events taking place in these two countries is necessary to understand the metaphorical expressions.

Inspired by the Tunisian revolution, manifestations began in all the areas of Egypt on January 25, 2011. This revolution is known as the January 25th revolution, or the 'Anger Revolution'. These protests grew worse because of the bad treatment by the police, especially after the emergence of many recordings showing Egyptian policemen violating people's human rights. The beginning of the protests in Egypt occurred in the province of Suez and then spread to other cities. Later, the protestors came out against other grievances such as heavy-handed tactics by the police, poor living conditions, unemployment, corruption and the overall negative economic situation. These manifestations were met with violent responses from the Egyptian government and police forces, while the authorities also cut the nation's internet access in order to prevent protestors from organizing themselves through social media. As the manifestations continued, on February 11, 2011 Hosni Mubarak resigned from the presidency and transferred power to the Egyptian Armed Forces, but the manifestations against the state continued. On July 24, 2012, Mohamed Morsi became the first elected President of Egypt, promising the people that he would make changes and reforms within one hundred days though this was not forthcoming another revolution erupted against him. This second revolution led to Morsi's end as

president and the emerge of army general Abdel Fattah el-Sisi coming to power. He became the President of Egypt after the internationally criticized elections in May 2014.

In Syria, the revolution began on March 15, 2011 mainly directed against state repression, corruption and lack of freedom of speech. The revolutionary spark broke out when some children in Daraa (Syrian city) wrote on their school wall *Ash-sha'ab yurid isqat an-nizam!* – “The people want to overthrow the regime”¹. As a result of this action, security forces arrested the children and they ripped out their nails. Soon, protests erupted over the arrest and abuse of these children. The Syrian authority's response to these manifestations was to attack them using helicopters, which led to more protests in other cities.

These manifestations in Egypt and Syria were accompanied with slogans written on banners or walls or even on protestors' bodies in several languages, such as Arabic, English, and Chinese (see Appendix), to express their demands, and to show and make the world understand what was happening. People of all ages, even toddlers, participated in the demonstrations and held banners.

Lastly, although Arabic is spoken in both countries, the expressions that were used varied because of each country's own sub-culture, history, and linguistic variety. The working hypothesis of this project is that it is impossible to understand these banners and the metaphorical expressions without their contexts, whether it is the political, cultural, or social, as well as to show how these socio-cultural parameters interact with cognitive-linguistic ones in metaphorical creation processes. Readers from other cultures cannot understand these slogans without the cultural, political, social information and hence its need to be analyzed explicitly.

I could have tried out many types of tests such as presenting the slogans to different people to see if they could understand them, but the analysis of the slogans is so deep that there is no space and no time to carry out such tests. Empirical tests in the future may be useful, but this project is applied for the analysis of the slogans only. The methodology employed here is to analyze all the linguistic-cognitive-cultural factors that help to understand how the slogans were created and how we can understand them.

2. Theoretical Framework:

2.1. Metaphor Theory

2.1.1. Conceptual Metaphor:

According to Kövecses (2002), Cognitive Linguistics views a metaphor as “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain”, this view can be represented as “CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B)”, and, moreover, this representation is termed as ‘conceptual metaphor’ (2002:4). Thus, metaphor is different from metonymy which is “talking about something in terms of something else that is closely associated with it, often via a relationship of contiguity” (Semino, 2008: 20). The first to set up a theory for the conceptual metaphor were Lakoff and Johnson (1980) with their *Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)*, which is one of the central areas of research concerning metaphors and conceptual metaphors. According to this theory, metaphor is not related to a language only, but to thought too, and this is why it is “pervasive” in our ordinary life and also an important tool, which helps us to understand our world. In short, according to CMT, “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3).

Within this framework, conceptual metaphors are not the same as metaphorical linguistic expressions. The ultimate are “words or other linguistic expressions that come from the language or terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain (i.e., domain B)” and that those metaphorical linguistic expressions “make manifest” specific conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2002:4). To make this clear, I will mention two examples regarding how some metaphorical linguistic expressions constitute particular conceptual metaphors. These two examples are taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980 in Kövecses 2002: 5). If we look at metaphorical linguistic expressions that are used by speakers of English such as: ‘Your claims are *indefensible*’, ‘He *attacked every weak point* in my argument’, and ‘I *demolished* his argument’, we notice that these metaphorical expressions, which are in italics (also in the original example given by Kövecses), make a clear conceptual metaphor which is ARGUMENT IS WAR. Also, metaphorical linguistic expressions like: ‘This relationship is *foundering*’, ‘I don’t think that this relationship is *going anywhere*’, and ‘Look *how far* we’ve *come*’, all make the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. Kövecses indicates that the relationship between metaphorical linguistic expressions and conceptual metaphors is that the first makes the latter clearer because linguistic expressions are “ways of talking” and conceptual metaphors are “ways of thinking” (2002: 6).

A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains: the source and target domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002). According to Kövecses, “the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called **source domain**, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the **target domain**” (bold in original) (Kövecses, 2002: 4). We try to understand one conceptual domain (A), which is the target, through

another conceptual domain (B), which is the source; in other words, when we try to understand one concept (domain) (B) we think of another concept (domain) (A) in order to understand the concept (B) because metaphorically there is a relationship between the two concepts (2002: 4). Moreover, there is, “a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that constituent conceptual elements of B correspond to constituent conceptual elements of A”, and those correspondences are called ‘mappings’ (2002: 6). Generally, the mapping of a metaphor is from a concrete domain to an abstract domain, in other words, the elements that are mapped between two concepts are mapped from a concrete concept to an abstract concept (see Lakoff & Johnson, 1980 in Kövecses, 2002: 67). This does not mean that the mapping cannot happen between two concrete concepts or two abstract concepts, but usually we try to understand an abstract concept by means of a concrete concept because it is easier to understand abstract concepts in this way (see Forceville, 2009; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Also, we cannot “use” or make a mapping from whatever concrete domain to whatever abstract domain, the mapping has to be between two concepts that have a certain degree of “similarity” between them (Kövecses, 2002: 67). For example, people talk about abstract concepts, such as mind, argument, and love, in terms of concrete concepts, such as container, war, and journey, because there is a similarity between those concepts (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). If we look at the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS A WAR we find that the target domain WAR is understood as an ARGUMENT because just as someone can “win or lose” a war, also s/he can “win or lose” an argument (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 4), so a ‘war’ is similar to an ‘argument’ because we can lose or win in both (concepts).

Kövecses (2002) argues that the mapping between any two concepts is “partial”, which means that “only a part of concept B is mapped onto target A and only a part of target A is involved in the mappings from B”, because if there is a full mapping between the two concepts this denotes that a whole concept (abstract concept) is similar to a whole other concept (concrete concept), and this, according him, is impossible as there is no concept that is entirely similar to any other concept; it is just that some aspects of a specific concept are similar to aspects of another concept (2002: 79).

As stated by Kövecses (2002), because the mapping between two concepts is partial, there is a “metaphorical highlighting” and a “metaphorical utilization”, the first one is related to the target domain, while the latter is related to the source domain (2002: 79). Metaphorical highlighting can occur when a metaphor or, more precisely, a source domain “focuses” on one aspect or more of a target domain, and “highlighting necessarily goes together with **hiding** [bold in original]” because while a metaphor focuses on a specific aspect, or aspects, of a target domain, the other aspects of the target will be covered, meaning that the metaphorical highlighting is partial (2002: 79-90). On the other hand, metaphorical utilization is related to the source domain, and this occurs when someone “utilize(s)” one aspect or more of a source domain in order to understand a target domain (2002: 79-81). As metaphorical highlighting is partial, this process is also partial and, “although just one or a few aspects of a source and target concepts are utilized and highlighted in conceptual metaphors, the processes of utilization and highlighting concerning those aspects work according to normal principles of mapping” since highlighting and utilization are properties of metaphorical mapping (2002: 81- 82).

Although conceptual metaphor theory has been criticized by many linguists who argue that it focuses on verbal metaphors and omits or does not give any importance to other kinds of metaphors, such as pictorial ones (among other things) – still, it is undeniable that it is still the basic framework for metaphor analysis, no matter the approach.

2.1.2. Multimodal metaphor

Metaphors are not of one type only; in addition to verbal metaphors, there are also other types of metaphors, such as pictorial (visual) and combined (blended) metaphors (pictorial + linguistic) (Forceville, 2009). So metaphors can be verbal or non-verbal; non-verbal metaphors are just as important as verbal metaphors, especially if we consider recent research in advertising, cartoons, and graphics, and other fields (Forceville, 2009: 3-4). Each type of metaphor can be transmitted via one or more than one ‘mode’, which is “a sign system interpretable because of a specific perception process” (2009: 22). According to Forceville (2009: 23), there are several modes, for instance, spoken signs; pictorial signs; written signs; gestures; smells; music; sounds; touch and tastes. Forceville also distinguishes between ‘monomodal metaphors’ and ‘multimodal metaphors’. Monomodal metaphors, such as pictorial (visual) metaphor, are the metaphors “whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode”, while multimodal metaphors are metaphors “whose target and source are each presented exclusively or predominantly indifferent modes” (2009: 23-25). So a multimodal metaphor is a metaphor whose source and target domains are expressed by various modes, such as verbal, pictorial, etc., but also one domain, source or target, can be demonstrated by more than one mode at the same time (2009: 25), or in the same banner, as we will see in the analysis of the banners

used during protests for the Arab Spring revolutions. Forceville mentions that not only can abstract domains be understood by concrete domains, but concrete domains can also be understood by concrete ones (2009: 27).

As there are both verbal and non-verbal (e.g., pictorial) metaphors, Forceville (2009) argues that verbalizing non-verbal metaphor could have some “consequences”, that is, verbalizing non-verbal metaphor could have more than one mapping from a source domain to a target domain, and those mappings can have various meanings according to the interpretation of each group of people or each individual. Therefore, “[the] inability to agree on a single verbalization of the source domain that is shared within a community shows that the source has no conceptual status, and reflects a ‘quasi-concept’ at best” (Bartsch, 2002: 50 cited in Forceville, 2009: 30). Also, this process of ‘verbalization’ could be considered as “a conscious action” (Forceville, 2009: 30). Forceville argues that, although multimodal metaphors and non-verbal metaphors are expressed (manifested) by modes other than verbal ones and that they “do not have the ‘is’ or ‘is like’” to indicate what is the metaphorical relationship between “two entities” or two concepts, this metaphorical relationship can still be predictable through the “stylistic means” that are used to show the resemblance between those two concepts or entities (2009: 31). Verbalization (and conceptualization) concepts in terms of other concepts vary from one culture to another and from one sub-culture to another, as it is the case of Syrian and Egyptian sub-cultures of the larger Arabic culture, something which is shown in section 5.

2.1.3. Metaphor in discourse

The use of a specific metaphor is closely related to the type of discourse it occurs in. Semino (2008) defines ‘discourse’ as “instances of writing or speech which are

produced and interpreted in particular circumstances and for particular purposes”. According to this scholar, metaphor is a tool of persuasion that is used in “several forms of communication” whether it is a “formal” or informal ways of communicating and has several “textual manifestations” (2008: 1). It also can be used to reveal the points of view of individuals, as we will see in the discussion of the Syrian and Egyptian banners, and also to evaluate a “situation” (2008: 2). Semino further argues that “conventional conceptual metaphors” can be employed to achieve specific aims, as discussed in her study of political speeches, if combined with “creative elements” (2008: 8-9).

On the other hand, Semino mentions that, although the function of metaphor is mainly to talk about an entity “in terms of” another entity in a language, metaphors also have other functions in discourse that are related “to the representation of (particular aspects of) reality”. Metaphors are thus used in persuasion to “evaluate”, “reason”, “explain”, and “offer new conceptualizations of reality”, to summarize an idea, and in “the construction and negotiation of interpersonal relationships”(e.g., “convey humour”, “express attitudes”) (2008: 30- 32).

In relation to the idea in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) that the mappings between metaphors is partial and that mappings cannot happen from any source domain to any target domain, Semino argues that this does not indicate that individuals cannot conceptualize or understand a particular target concept by a source concept that is not usually used to conceptualize it with; instead, they can understand it and may lead to “new ways of making sense of particular experiences” (2008: 33). Semino, moreover, argued that this is not easily applied to metaphors that are related to the ‘ideology’ of individuals or a group, which can be defined as:

Both in its neutral and its 'loaded' senses, ideology is a system of beliefs and values based on a set of cognitive models, i.e. mental representations - partly linguistic, partly non-linguistic - of recurrent phenomena and their interpretations in culture and society (Dirven, Frank and Putz, 2003: 1-2 in Semino, 2008: 33)

When CMT talks about creative metaphors, the type which is analyzed in this project, it refers to how metaphors are “capable of giving us a new understanding of our experience” and can give “a new meaning” to our ordinary life (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 139).

Creating new metaphors, or what is known as “metaphorical creativity”, is defined by Kövecses (2010a) as: “the production and use of conceptual metaphors and/or their linguistic manifestations that are novel or unconventional”. Metaphorical creativity can be related to creativity within the source domain, which is called ‘*source-related*’ creativity and can be of two types. The first is ‘*source –internal*’ (meaning that additional, not employed “materials” of source domain help in the understanding of the target domain), for instance, Kövecses mentions that the metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP might have “dreaming” as “an extension of the source domain” (Lakoff and Turner, 1989 in Kövecses, 2010a). The second is ‘*source-external*’ creativity (where a target domain can have more than one source domain in the mapping, that is, “in its conceptualization”, for example, the target domain HAPPINESS has more than one source domain in the Chinese metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART (Yu, 1998 in Kövecses, 2010a). *Target-induced* creativity emerges from creativity related to the target domain, meaning that a target domain ‘connects back’ to its source domain in order to take “further knowledge structures” from the source (Kövecses, 2005 cited in Kövecses, 2010a).

On the other hand, metaphorical creativity can be divided into three various kinds that are: situationally-triggered, topically-triggered, and culturally-triggered (Semino, 2008; Romano, 2013). The concept situationally-triggered refers to metaphorical expressions that are related to “physical location” or “situation of the protests”, topically-triggered is utilized for metaphorical expressions that are elicited through “the topic of the discourse itself”, while the concept of culturally-triggered is employed for metaphors that have a relationship with a culture (in this case the Arabic culture) (Romano, 2013).

The banners that I analyzed for this project are considered creative metaphors since the protestors of the Arab Spring revolutions created ‘novel’ and ‘unconventional’ metaphors from already existing, conventional ones to express and explain to the world the situation they are faced with (Romano, 2013). Since the context (wars and protest) where these banners were produced affected their creation of the banners, I also need to explain the role of ‘context’ within the process. The best approach that can be used here is the *context-induced creativity* approach introduced by Kövecses, which teaches us that creating novel and new metaphors can be affected by contextual factors that are, “the immediate physical setting, what we know about the major entities participating in the discourse, the immediate cultural context, the immediate social setting, the immediate linguistic context itself” (Kövecses 2009, 2010a). Moreover, the metaphors of the Arab Spring revolutions were, and still are, produced under what Kövecses calls the *pressure of coherence* (2010a), referring in this case to the pressures faced by protestors, which are, as mentioned above, frequent demonstrations and wars, as well as “their bodily experiences”.

The choice of a metaphor is closely related to whom the creator is addressing (trying to influence); for example, when addressing a specific group of people or

people from another culture, there would be different approaches used according to our awareness of the theme being covered (subject matter) (Semino, 2008; Kövecses, 2009). Some subject matters, according to their characteristics, can have a “multi-faceted nature” that can add elements of facetiousness if the “conceptualizer” of a metaphor knows how to use it (Kövecses, 2009).

2.2. Language and Culture

Languages, in general, are related to and affected by cultures, that is, the cultures of the individuals who speak these languages. In this section, I will speak about the relation between language and culture, in addition to cognition and their relation with conceptualizing metaphors.

Bernárdez (2004) defines culture as “geography variable forms of socially transmitted behavior”, and he sees language as connected to culture because “we all speak a particular language and are always members of a particular culture” (2004: 23- 24). This signifies that these two components cannot be separated.

Concerning language and thought, many scholars see that language influences cognition (see Boroditsky, in press; Driven and Verspoor, 2004). The expression of *linguistic relativity* proposed by Whorf (cited in Driven and Verspoor 2004) indicates that language, to some extent, impacts on how people think (Driven and Verspoor, 2004). On the other hand, Bernárdez (2004) states that cognition can bind culture and language because what we perceive is related to the kind of “activity” we are performing, meaning that cognition is manifested “in terms of *practice*” and culture is a “*system of practices*” (2004: 26).

As in any other creative process, metaphorical creativity is related to its context, as mentioned in the previous section. Kövecses (2010b) states that this context “is determined by local culture”, which means that metaphor is influenced by culture.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, in Kövecses 2010b) argue that in most cases individuals employ metaphors in their communication “about the world”. Moreover, Kövecses (2010b) states that despite the fact that there are different cultures around the world and many different languages, some languages share what he calls “universal metaphors” and, although there are some universal metaphors, this does not imply that all metaphors, or conceptual metaphors, are the same in all languages. Of course, according to this scholar, metaphors can differ within the same culture as well, due to several reasons and “dimensions” within the same culture such as the social dimension (people’s class and gender), the ethnic dimension, the subcultural dimension (subcultures of a specific culture), the individual dimension, and the style dimension (surrounding environment, subject matter, etc.,).

In addition, CMT introduces an important notion, that is, the notion of ‘embodiment’ – the idea that the human body represents a ground for humans’ knowledge, mind and language (Frank, Driven, Ziemke and Bernárdez, 2008:1), and that the “physical nature” of the human body represents a good source for conceptualizing the “abstract concepts” in terms of concrete concepts (Forceville, 2009: 28).

Yu (2008) argues that as our minds are “embodied” and as, in general, metaphors are taken from our “bodily experiences”, this would mean that different people who speak different languages conceptualize metaphors in the same way, but, that this cannot happen because every group of people belongs to a specific culture or

sub-culture, which together with bodily experiences, also effects how individuals conceptualize metaphors. He calls this relation between culture, metaphor and the body a ‘circular triangle relationship’ (Yu, 2003 as cited in Yu, 2008 in Frank, Dirven, Ziemke, & Bernárdez, 2008 p: 387- 404) and he defines and explains it as follows:

Conceptual metaphors are usually grounded in bodily experiences; cultural models, however, filter bodily experiences for specific target domains of conceptual metaphors; and cultural models themselves are very often structured by conceptual metaphors. As such, any one of the three constraining the next one will affect the third one as well. Thus, culture by interpreting bodily experience, affects the formation of conceptual metaphors; body, by grounding metaphorical mappings, affects cultural understanding; and metaphor, by structuring cultural models, affects the understanding of bodily experience. (Yu, 2008 in Frank, Dirven, Ziemke, & Bernárdez, 2008 p: 389)

This means that not only the human body, as a physical object, affects the construction of abstract concepts which are normally vague concepts, but also that it is also the individual’s culture that is “metaphorically constructed”, as it filters the bodily experiences, effects on the constructing of a metaphor and which elements are mapped from a source domain to a target domain; this is because each culture has unique beliefs and “values” (Yu, 2008 in Frank, Dirven, Ziemke, & Bernárdez, 2008 p: 387- 404).

In Arabic there are some concepts (words) that have no corresponding words or concepts in other languages. This is an issue which is relevant to my analysis of protests banners, and I therefore decided to provide the meaning of those concepts in English in order to explain what they mean; in other words, “paraphrasing” those concepts because they are “culture-specific words” (Driven and Verspoor, 2004). In

my opinion, those concepts do not have corresponding words for them in English, or in other languages, because most of them are related to the Islamic religion ; this does not mean that other people (non-Arabs) which also share the Islamic religion understand the concepts, for this, they would also have to speak Arabic.

3. Data and methodology

The data collected for this project were taken from different websites on the Internet, but most of the banners/slogans were found on several Facebook pages that are related to the Egyptian and the Syrian revolutions². The reasons for searching for protest banners on Facebook was that protestors actively use online social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, to discuss events, share their problems and possible solutions, get organized, decide meeting points, etc. As a result, Facebook in Egypt and Syria was blocked for a time in order to prohibit the protestors from organizing.

Several types of metaphors were found in the slogans: linguistic, pictorial (visual), and blends (linguistic+ pictorial), but the type that this project focuses on are the blend metaphors, in which metaphors are expressed by the interaction of more than one mode (multimodal metaphors) and not through one mode only. All the slogans analyzed refer to the same topic, the unbearable social, economic and political situation of the countries under study. Egypt and Syria were chosen for the analysis first, because of the space limitations of this project, and second, because, although the Arab Spring revolutions have occurred in most of the Arab countries and many metaphorical slogans have been created, this project focuses only the banners created in those countries in which the revolution turned more serious and violent. In Syria a civil war developed while violent clashes between protestors and the security forces occurred in Egypt. These terrible events clearly led to the creation of different and

interesting types of metaphors being used by the protestors in several languages, mainly in Arabic and English, as means of explaining the situation to the world.

Many more slogans than the ones presented in this project were retrieved. The corpus of this study consists of 98 Egyptian metaphors (71 linguistic metaphors, 2 pictorial, and 33 multimodal (blended)) and 174 Syrian metaphors (130 linguistic, 16 pictorial, and 63 multimodal metaphors), of which 39 multimodal metaphors (20 Egyptian metaphors and 19 Syrian metaphors) were analyzed. It is also worth mentioning that some of the slogans had to be eliminated for political reasons, as we know, the political situation in these countries is far from stable even today. Some of the slogans that are analyzed here are written in Arabic while others are written in English, and few mixed Arabic and English ones can also be found. All the Arabic slogans have been translated by the researcher, and the dates indicating when the slogans were written are included in the analysis.

It is also worth mentioning that all the slogans analyzed are written by protestors who supported the revolutions and were against their regimes, since the Facebook pages where the slogans were taken are all 'pro-revolution'. As a matter of fact, very few Facebook pages are available which support the regimes, and they do not contain any banners with metaphorical expressions. Furthermore, in my analysis of the slogans I consulted Syrian and Egyptian subjects (bachelor degree students, PhD students, and lawyers, among others) – most of whom live in Syria and in Egypt. Some information was also taken from news portals (BBC News, Youm7, and Wikipedia). All the information has been checked using several means before the final version of this work was written. All the information presented here thus does not reflect my personal point of view, and does not necessarily represent my opinion.

This work is qualitative and not quantitative. The main idea is to explore how the metaphors are created. Also, these metaphors follow other mechanisms as other metaphors studied in other cultures like the Spanish cultures (see Romano, 2013).

Finally, the method used to select the metaphors in the slogans was based on Cameron and Low's 1999 model (in Romano, 2013); that is, a slogan was considered metaphorical when the referential sense of a word or words included in it did not correspond with its usual context of use. Non-metaphorical expressions, such as "tanks... airplanes... bombs....veto for sale..!" and "dragging the cities from the military areas!", were thus discarded, as well as the mono-modal expressions, analyzing only those figurative slogans created by means of multimodal (verbal + pictorial) mode.

4. Analysis

This section studies and analyzes multimodal metaphors coming from banners of the Arab Spring revolutions, more precisely, coming from the Syrian and Egyptian revolutions' banners. In order to explore these banners, analysis will be based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), Multimodal Metaphor (Forceville, 2009), and metaphorical creativity related to source or target domains (Kövecses, 2010a).

4.1. Egyptian metaphors

Egypt-Banner 1



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner is written by supporters of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (The current President of Egypt). Supporters of el-Sisi usually write banners like this one to support and motivate the Egyptian Army since it helped them to overthrow Mohamed Morsi, (the president who was ruling Egypt before el-Sisi).

Mappings

As we can see, two hands clasped together strongly are drawn in the picture; around the hands, we read in Arabic (“they are the army and we are the people, and it is hard to separate us”), and in English (“One Hand against the Dictator”), which is written in red. The hands in this picture are a metonymy (part-whole metonymy), the hands standing for the people, which in addition refer metaphorically to UNITY and POWER: thus, SOCIAL UNITY IS HOLDING HANDS. Also, (One Hand against the Dictator) is written in English to convey to the world that the Egyptian people support the Egyptian army which is represented by el-Sisi; this is written in red to show that it is the most important sentence in the banner because the words ‘One’, ‘Hand’, and ‘Dictator’ are written with capital letters which means that the Egyptian army and the Egyptian people are ‘One Hand’ against the ‘Dictator’ who, according to them, is Morsi (the ousted president).

Multimodal analysis

The target domain SOCIAL UNITY is an abstract concept and it is understandable through the concrete concept HAND. In the picture the source domain is pictorial and verbal (written in red), while the target domain, SOCIAL UNITY, can be understood through the two consolidated hands so it is pictorial only. The metaphor is target-induced because the target can take additional knowledge structure from the source HAND which is ‘united fingers’ referring to united people.

Egypt-Banner 2



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

Suzanne Mubarak is the wife of former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. She was the first lady of Egypt from 1981 to 2011. She devoted herself to social work in different areas, such as the area of women's rights, children, and in the field of reading and literacy but was well known in other initiatives too. In 1991, she came up with the idea of a festival she called 'Reading is for all'. This festival was annual and each year it featured book fairs and books which were presented to children, young people, and families, in addition to providing opportunities to those people to use computers and to have the opportunities to learn foreign languages within the activities of the festival. This festival was held not only in Egyptian cities but also in Egyptian villages, too.

Mappings

This banner above reads: ("reading is for all, and injustice is on all"). What the protestors mean is that not only is 'reading for all', referring to the Suzanne gave to the festival she established, but that 'injustice is on all' also because Hosni Mubarak (her husband) ruled Egypt for thirty years and those years were full of poverty and oppression. So, MUBARAK and SUZANNE stand for/are INJUSTICE.

Multimodal analysis

The target domain INJUSTICE, which is verbal, is comprehensible through the source domain MUBARAK and SUZANNE which is pictorial. The negative connotations projected by Mubarak and his wife are enhanced with the use of the cross over their pictures. This metaphor is ‘source-induced’ and more precisely ‘source-external’ because the target domain INJUSTICE has more than one source domains in its conceptualization (as in the analysis of Kövecses 2010a).

Egypt-Banner 3



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this banner protestors have drawn a man who is playing the flute to stimulate the snake which is inside the basket (so that the snake may reveal itself). This activity is well known in Arab culture, especially in Arabic markets, though nowadays it barely exists, or may not exist anywhere at all. The man who plays the flute is the ‘snake charmer’ and he has a basket made of wicker with a snake inside, usually a cobra. When the snake charmer starts to play the instrument, he swings his hand from right to left and then the opposite direction, and when the snake sees his hand it starts to swing, following the movement of the hand. Many people believe that the snake

swings its body because of the music, but actually the snake has no ears so it cannot hear the music.

Mappings

In this picture, the snake charmer plays the flute and says (“shows up, may God burn you up”). He is not saying this to the snake, but to Mubarak, who is hiding (not facing up to his people’s demands) like a snake hides in a basket. Comparing someone to a snake is not positive, it is negative. Thus, MUBARAK IS A SNAKE because he is hiding like a snake, he does not want to leave the presidency as the protestors demand in their demonstrations, he is as poisonous and dangerous as a snake, and he is destroying Egypt. Also, The SNAKE CHARMER stands for the PROTESTORS, the MUSIC stands for their DEMANDS, because as a snake charmer plays the music to make a snake show itself, the protestors are protesting and demanding Mubarak to leave the ruling of the country.

Multimodal analysis

In this example there is more than one mapping. The target domain in the metaphor MUBARAK IS A SNAKE is pictorial and verbal. This metaphor can only be understood through the context of the Egyptian revolution, and the source domain SNAKE is understandable in the same way, because there is nothing that refers directly to a snake in the picture, except through the cultural context of the basket. This metaphor is ‘source- induced’, and more specifically ‘source-internal’, because the implicit adjective ‘poisonous’ is a prototypical feature of snakes that can help in the understanding of the target MUBARAK. In addition, the target domain PROTESTORS in the metaphor PROTESTORS ARE SNAKE CHARMERS can be understood through the context, but the source domain SNAKE CHARMER is pictorial. We also see that the target domain DEMANDS, in the metaphor

DEMANDS ARE MUSIC, is verbal (“show up”), and the source domain MUSIC is pictorial. These two metaphors are ‘source-internal’ as well, because they contain or elicit additional features from the source domains, such as ‘patient’ from the source domain SNAKE CHARMER, because a snake charmer has to be patient in order to encourage the snake to show itself; a feature that is mapped on to the protestors, whose demands might also need a long time to be attended.

Egypt-Banner 4



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In the Egypt during the Middle Ages, several methods of torturing those who rose against the regimes were employed. One of these involved the use of camels. This was done by fixing wooden boards on the sides of a camel and putting the person who they wanted to torture on those wooden boards; they would fix him/her by using metal nails, then the camel walked around the streets of Cairo carrying the convicted person and accompanied by another person pronouncing the words: “This is what happens to everyone who insults the Sultan”. After the defamation of the convicted person he/she were usually executed.

Mappings

In this picture, the banner on the protestor's head reads: ("the National Democratic Party is symbol of [the] camel") and the banner in his hands: ("you are still living in the time of camels, you bully...! The bullies of Mubarak"). The National Democratic Party is an Egyptian political party that was founded by former Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat. He led this party until his assassination in 1980 after which Hosni Mubarak became the head of the party until the dismissal of the party on sixteenth April 2011 as a result of its involvement in corruption. The protestor writes on the paper that "the National Democratic Party is symbol of [the] camel", which means that The National Democratic Party is a symbol of oppression; therefore The National Democratic Party is both a symbol and metaphor for oppression. The words "You are still living in the time of camels" are used because Mubarak used camels at the beginning of the revolution to stop protestors from demonstrating, just as camels had been used in the Middle Ages to torture opponents of the regime. This action caused the death of many Egyptian protestors. Thus, CAMEL stands metaphorically for THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. And the words "you bully...!" stand for the criminals and bullies Mubarak used to attack the protestors.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain, CAMEL, in the metaphor THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS A CAMEL is verbal and pictorial, and the target domain THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY is verbal. This metaphor is 'target-induced', because the target domain can take more knowledge structure from the source domain CAMEL, which is the expression 'torturing tool'. Since a camel was a torture device in the Middle Ages, The National Democratic too is now a kind of torturing tool for the Egyptian people.

Egypt-Banner 5



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

One of the reasons that lead to the outbreak of the Egyptian revolution was that during Mubarak's Government, Egyptian people, especially journalists, did not have freedom of speech. Many journalists were attacked, tortured, and arrested during his reign after being accused of publishing 'false news' about the regime.

Mappings

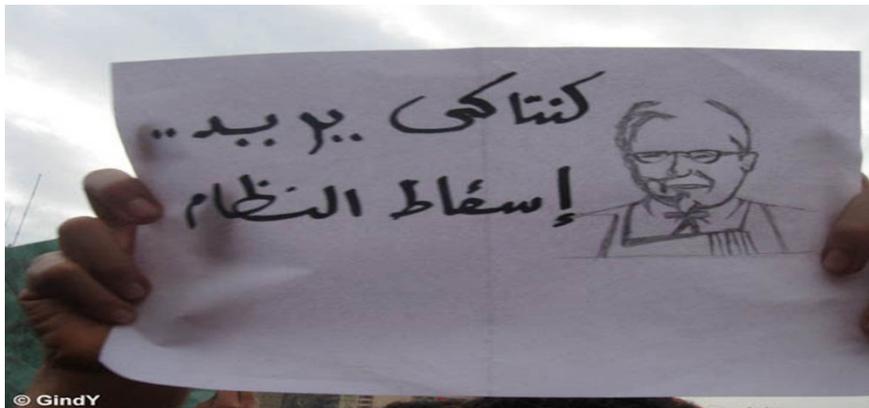
Because of this history of oppression, this picture depicts MUBARAK as PHARAOH because he was arrogant and unjust; cultural connotation of pharaohs. It is written on the banner that ("freedom is a severe birth"), and in the picture MUBARAK is depicted as PREGNANT. The mappings in this example entail that Mubarak does not want the Egyptian people, represented by the 'baby' inside his womb, to obtain freedom. However, this is inevitable because every pregnant mother will eventually give birth thus FREEDOM IS A HARD OPERATION and FREEDOM IS A POLITICAL SURGERY.

Multimodal analysis

The source and the target domains in MUBARAK IS A PHARAOH are both pictorial and this metaphor is 'source-induced' (source-internal) because 'unjust' can be an additional feature that helps to understand the target domain MUBARAK. In

MUBARAK IS A PREGNANT WOMAN, both source and target domains are also pictorial; the target domain can have more knowledge from the source domain PREGNANT, which is ‘stubborn’, because he does not want the Egyptian people to obtain freedom, which is a ‘baby’ inside his womb. Moreover, the metaphors FREEDOM IS A HARD OPERATION and FREEDOM IS A POLITICAL SURGERY are ‘source-external’ metaphors because the target domain FREEDOM has two source domains.

Egypt-Banner 6



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

Kentucky, or KFC, is a very famous American fast food chain of restaurants and it is widespread in many countries around the world, such as North America, Canada, Europe, and some Arab countries also. When the revolution started in Egypt, the Egyptian regime wanted to present evidence to the Egyptian people that proved protestors were being supported by KFC in order to show that the U.S.A. was involved in overthrowing the regime in Egypt. The regime announced that the protestors were having Kentucky meals daily and that sums of money (around ninety Euros) were given to each person who was protesting. By announcing this information, the Egyptian regime ‘hit two birds in one stone’ to indicate that North

America and Europe were involved in the attempted overthrow Mubarak's regime, since the Euro is a European currency and Kentucky is an American restaurant. The information that Mubarak's regime published was false and far from reality because during the demonstrations the protestors did not have the capacity to buy Kentucky meals due either to a lack of money or to the difficulty they would have faced had they tried to obtain the food. Also, many women tried to feed the protestors by giving them bottles of water and sandwiches consisting of bread and cheese; many protestors had only one meal a day. Thus, this banner is written by the protestors to make fun of what the Egyptian regime had announced.

Mappings

Because of those rumors, this picture shows the face of the person that it used as a logo for Kentucky restaurants; beside the picture it is written ("Kentucky wants to overthrow the regime"). So KENTUCKY stands metaphorically for NORTH AMERICA'S AND EUROPE'S SUPPORT to the protestors.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain in this metaphor, KENTUCKY, is pictorial and verbal; while the target domain, NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE is comprehended through the political context of the Egyptian revolution. This metaphor is 'target-induced'; the expression 'fast food' is related to the source domain KENTUCKY, which can add more knowledge to the target domain NORTH AMERICA' AND EUROPE'S SUPPORT.

Egypt-Banner 7



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner is made in the form of a school certificate. Normally, educational certificates contain the subjects that a student has studied, name of student, his/her marks, name of headmaster of that school etc. This banner depicts Muhammad Hosni Mubarak as a students and the ‘certificate’ contains all the areas (the subjects) that he studied. The banner reads: (“Ministry of Education”), and underneath: (“School: The Republic”) which refers to the Egyptian Republic. Then under these (“the name of the student\ Muhammad Hosni Mubarak”), and the table includes all the names of the Egyptian ministries, as well as the marks that Mubarak gained in each ministry (school subjects) and his marks. The ministries that this table mentions are: the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of commerce, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Unemployment. Each ministry is a metonymy for a subject. As the table shows, there is a red circle in the middle of the banner that reads: (‘failed’) indicating that Mubarak has failed in all the subjects because he gained score of zero in all the subjects; this means that he did not do anything to develop Egypt.

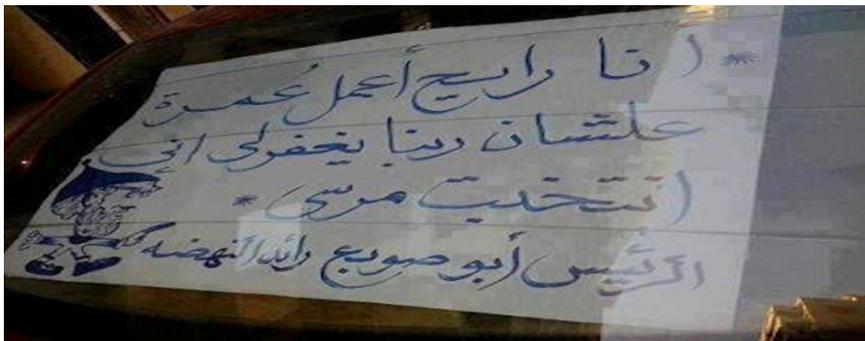
Mappings

The metaphorical mapping is: MUHAMMAD HOSNI MUBARAK IS A FAILING STUDENT and MINISTRY DEVELOPMENT IS ZERO. His politics have failed like a bad student's exams. Also, beside the marks (above the stamp) we can read in red: ("failed and the mentioned person cannot repeat") which means that he cannot be reelected again to rule over Egypt because he ruled for thirty years and failed.

Multimodal analysis

All source domains in the metaphors MINISTRY DEVELOPMENT IS ZERO and MUHAMMAD HOSNI MUBARAK IS A FAILING STUDENT are verbal and pictorial (the certificate), while target domains are only verbal. The first metaphor is 'source-internal' because the implicit feature 'bad' of the source domain helps in the understanding of the target domain MINISTRY DEVELOPMENT, and the second one is 'source-internal' as well, because of the implicit feature 'incompetent' of the source domain helps in the comprehension of the target domain MOHAMMED HOSNI MUBARAK.

Egypt-Banner 8



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner is about Mohamed Morsi, the Egyptian president who was elected president after he won with 51.7 percent of the votes in the 2012 elections. Morsi

belonged to The Muslim Brotherhood, which is an Islamic political organization. He officially became president on June 30, 2012 and right after his election he announced his resignation from The Muslim Brotherhood. He was the first president that was elected after the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak in February 2011 and the first civilian president of Egypt. Morsi promised the Egyptian people that he would make reforms to improve the situation in the country within one hundred days, but after the first one hundred days, he had not done any of the things that he had promised. New protests began against him in June 2013, asking him to leave the presidency. In the same month, the Egyptian Armed Forces issued a statement warning Morsi to leave. Morsi did not respond, and then the Egyptian Armed Forces, led by the Field Marshal Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, removed him from the presidency on July 3rd 2013 in a coup. It is written on the banner that (“the president of finger, the pioneer of the renaissance”) because whenever Morsi delivers a speech he points out with his finger, and he is ‘the pioneer of the renaissance’ because before the elections The Muslim Brotherhood and Morsi had a project called ‘The renaissance project’; a project designed to increase development in different fields, such as transportation, tourism, electricity, salaries, among other areas. They presented this project before the elections, but after the elections the Egyptian people did not see anything being done with relation to that project. Because of this, they called Morsi ‘the pioneer of the renaissance’.

Mappings

In this picture, the protestor indicates that he did not do the right thing by electing Morsi: (“I am going to perform an Umrah, so that God will forgive me because I have elected Morsi”). The Umrah is a kind of pilgrimage, specific for Muslims; Muslims can perform any time of the year, and it has its specific rituals and conditions, but Umrah is not Hajj (pilgrimage). Hajj is a pilgrimage that is a duty for every Muslim

who can afford to do it and it has a specific time in the year. Muslims go to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to perform Umrah or Hajj in order to ask Allah (God) for forgiveness and for other demands. Thus, the protestor has written that he wants to perform an Umrah because he thinks that he did not do the right thing by electing him, so VOTING IS A SIN.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain SIN is neither verbal nor pictorial; it can be comprehended through the religious concept of Umrah. However, the target domain, VOTING is verbal and pictorial represented by words and by the finger of the former Egyptian president Morsi. The metaphor VOTING IS A SIN is 'source-internal' because the implicit material 'harmful act' of the source domain SIN supports the understanding of the target domain VOTING.

Egypt-Banner 9



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner reads: (“the army of October. Where are his men! Come and carry out the CC and his garbage.”). In 1967 a war broke out between Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. This war lasted for five days, from June 5 to June 10, and led to the

occupation of the Golan Heights in the north of Syria, the West Bank of the Jordan River, the city of Jerusalem, and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula in the south by Israel, reaching up to the eastern bank of Suez Canal. During this war, Gamal Abdel Nasser was the President of Egypt, and after the Egypt's defeat in the war he announced his resignation, but he returned to rule Egypt after many protests took place in several Egyptian cities asking Abdel Nasser to not quit the presidency. After his death, Anwar el-Sadat became the President of Egypt. Sadat, the next president, then decided to resort to another war in 1973 to retrieve the land that the Arabs lost in the war of 1967. On October 6, 1973 Egypt and Syria and other Arab countries participated in this war (some helped economically) as Israel was attacked and Egypt retrieved the Suez Canal, all the lands in the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights. This war ended on May 31, 1974 and all sides suffered many casualties; Egypt and Syria lost 8,528 people and Israel lost 10,000.

Mappings

The banner reads that (“the army of October. Where are his men! Come and carry out the CC and his garbage”) because protestors consider that the OCTOBER ARMY IS A REAL ARMY. El-Sisi is the actual President of Egypt and the protestor who wrote this banner wrote the name of el-Sisi using the English/Roman letters CC. This is just a way of poking fun at him. According to this banner, some Egyptians think that the actual army of Egypt, presented by el-Sisi, is garbage, and they are not real men, unlike those in the October army. So el-Sisi is a metonymy for army, and GARBAGE stands metaphorically for THE ACTUAL ARMY. This picture triggers another metaphor that is used by many people across the world which is the idea that THE PAST IS BETTER.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain, GARBAGE, in the metaphor THE ACTUAL ARMY IS GARBAGE is verbal and pictorial, and the target domain THE ACTUAL ARMY can be inferred through the historical background of the war of 1976. The metaphor is ‘target- induced’ because the expression ‘useless things’ is additional knowledge that can be selected from the source domain GARBAGE. The metaphor THE PAST IS BETTER, projected from the political context of the Egyptian army, is a ‘source-internal’ metaphor.

Egypt-Banner 10



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

When public manifestations of dissent first began in Egypt, the goal of the protestors was not to overthrow the regime of Hosni Mubarak. They had only a few demands which were freedom, safety, improved living condition, and not to see the country go to Mubarak’s son Gamal Mubarak after the former retired. This is because Gamal was increasingly becoming a famous figure in the political arena and some political forces saw that Mubarak wanted his son to become his successor. The protestors also wanted to see an end to the torture and repression they had endured at the hands of Egyptian policemen. This became important when a young Egyptian man, Khaled Muhammad Saeed, died from police torture. The death of this young man was one of the triggers

that led to an outbreak of the first revolutionary sparks. Five days after the revolution had started, many people had been killed, and after this event, the protestors decided that Mubarak definitely had to leave the presidency.

Mappings

Mubarak in this picture is depicted as a monster because his men caused the death of many people; the banner also reads (“stupid, he does not understand. Why have you understood late....?”) and (“the overthrow of the slaughterer”). This means that MUBARAK IS A MONSTER AND A KILLER, and MUBARAK IS STUPID.

Multimodal analysis

The source domains MONSTER is pictorial; KILLER is verbal (slaughterer); and STUPID is verbal, while the target domain MUBARAK is pictorial. The two metaphors are ‘source-external’, because the target domain MUBARAK has more than one source domain.

Egypt-Banner 11



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

We can see that in this picture there is an old woman who is reading Mubarak’s palm and trying to predict his future. Predicting the future through reading the hand (palmistry) or mostly through reading a cup of coffee of the person who wants to see

what is going to happen in his/her future is one of the habits that are widely spread in the Arab world, especially in the Middle East. It is usually women who read palms in Arab culture.

Mappings

In this picture, the old woman is saying to Mubarak: (“you have a road to travel”), which means that (you are going to travel) like Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, the ex-Tunisian President, who fled to Saudi Arabia; so Mubarak also has to get ready. So THE OLD WOMEN stands for his FUTURE. Travelling for Mubarak means that he has to leave Egypt and leave the presidency, thus A TRIP IS A DIFFICULT AND RISKY WAY. In addition, we notice that some drops of sweat are falling down from Mubarak’s face, which refer to his fear of encountering the same destiny as Ben Ali. In the picture there is an amulet in the form of a hand. Some Arabs use these amulets because they think that they can prevent them from envy.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain OLD WOMAN in the metaphor THE FUTURE IS AN OLD WOMAN is pictorial and the target domain FUTURE can be deduced through the cultural context of this act of palmistry. This metaphor is ‘source-internal’ because the implicit material ‘terminated’ of the source domain OLD WOMAN helps us to understand the target domain, which is the FUTURE of Mubarak, meaning that his future is coming to an end. Moreover, the source domain DIFFICULT AND RISKY WAY, in the metaphor A TRIP IS A DIFFICULT AND RISKY WAY, is partially verbal (way) and partially understandable through the political situation of Tunisia and through the drops of sweat that are falling down from Mubarak’s face. This metaphor is ‘source-external’, because the target domain has two source domains in its conceptualization.

Egypt-Banner 12



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

“La Vache qui rit” (French), in English ‘The Laughing Cow’ or in Arabic (*Al-Baqara Ad-Dahika*), is a very famous brand of French cheese. This brand is widely known in many countries around the world and it is sold under the original name ‘La Vache qui rit’, or under other languages according to the country. What is special about this brand of cheese is the photo of the cow that represents the logo of this brand. The cow is red, always laughing, and sometimes wearing earrings which resemble the shape of the cheese box.

Mappings

This banner reads: (“La Vache qui rit MUUHBARAK”). Ever since this brand of cheese entered the Egyptian market, Egyptians began to compare Mubarak to the cow of ‘La Vache qui rit’, because of the way that he used to laugh and because his cheeks are similar to that of the cow. Thus, the source domain COW, which is represented by the picture of the cow, stands for MUBARAK. Another element that refers to MUBARAK as a COW is the way his name is written (MUUHBARAK). As mentioned before, the cow on the original cover of the cheese box is wearing round earrings. In this picture, the cow – Mubarak – is wearing earrings in the shape of locks. This indicates that MUBARAK IS STUPID, just like a cow, (which is a common connotation of cows in many cultures) because he does not understand that

the protestors are asking him to step down from the Government. Also, under the photo of the cow in the original logo there is an arrow in red that says ‘croissance + vitamine d + calcium \times^2 ’, while in this picture there are two red arrows. The one that is above the photo reads ‘degage’ (which is a French word that means ‘go away’) and the one that is under it reads ‘out’. These two expressions mean that Egyptians do not want Mubarak; the protestor also uses the French word ‘degage’ to ensure that the (western) world also understands the banner.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain COW in the metaphor MUBARAK IS A COW is pictorial (represented by the face of the cow) and verbal (represented by the French word ‘vache’) while the target domain MUBARAK is verbal and it could be pictorial as well, since the Egyptian people are known to liken Mubarak to the cow of La Vache qui rit. The metaphor is ‘source-internal’, as the implicit features ‘brutal’ and ‘stupid’ are projected onto the target domain MUBARAK. Furthermore, the source domain STUPID in the metaphor MUBARAK IS STUPID is represented by a drawing of locks in the ears of the cow. This source domain can be deduced from the drawing of the locks coming from the cultural connotation of locks in the Arabic culture as ‘silly looking’. This metaphor is ‘target induced’ because expression like ‘locked-minded’ is projected the source domain STUPID.

Egypt-Banner 13



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture features a portrait of a man who is looking at his watch and saying: (“oh God, Mubarak is really late..!!”). The Arab Spring revolutions started first in Tunisia when a poor and young Tunisian man (Mohamed Bouazizi) burned himself alive on December 17, 2010 after a policewoman and her two colleagues confiscated his wagon that he used to sell fruits and vegetables and humiliated him in front of onlookers. This incident led to many protest actions by Tunisians, especially after the death of this young man on January 4, 2011. One month after the beginning of the manifestations, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, the former Tunisian president, was forced to leave Tunisia on January 14, 2011 and escape to Saudi Arabia as a result of protests which had developed against him and his regime.

Mappings

The man in this picture, who is wearing traditional Saudi Arabian clothing, is a metonymy for Saudi Arabia, and he is saying: (“oh God, Mubarak is really late..!!”) because everybody, mostly Egyptians, expected that after the protests against him Hosni Mubarak would also leave Egypt and go to Saudi Arabia, just as Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali had done. Thus, SAUDI ARABIA IS A HAVEN FOR DEPOSED ARAB RULERS. Also, the man in the picture is looking at his watch to check the time, which means that Mubarak was running late while the man was waiting for him to come.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain HAVEN FOR ARAB DEPOSED RULERS is neither verbal nor pictorial; it can be elicited through the political situation of Tunisia, whereas the target domain SAUDI ARABIA is understood through the political context of Saudi Arabia and the cultural context where Saudi men wear outfits such as what the man in this

picture is wearing. The target domain SAUDI ARABIA has two source domains meaning that this metaphor is of the type source-external metaphor.

Egypt-Banner 14



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture shows a bride with the word (“Egypt”) written on her, a group of people pulling her from one hand, and a man (Mubarak), standing beside a prison door, pulling her from the other end. On the prison door we read: (“the National Democratic Prison”), which is a metonymy for the National Democratic Party, a political party headed by Hosni Mubarak. This party was founded in 1978 by Muhammad Anwar el-Sadat who was President of Egypt at the time. In 1981, after the assassination of el-Sadat, Hosni Mubarak became the President of Egypt and he headed this party until he stepped down in 2011. The party was dissolved definitively on 16 April 2011. The existence of this party has corrupted the political process in Egypt and all opposition to it were put in jail. Moreover, this party was accused of conducting mass election fraud. An unlikely thing to be written in books is the idea that Egypt has always been called ‘The bride’ by Egyptians, a depiction which features prominently in the arts such as cinema and poetry.

Mappings

THE BRIDE, the source domain, in this picture stands for EGYPT, and Mubarak is pulling her from one hand which means that he does not want Egypt to obtain freedom. The group of people pulling from the other hand represent the Egyptian protestors, which means that they want freedom for her. In the Islamic religion, a man cannot secure a bride unless he pays her dowry (money, gold, etc.). So, Egyptians are not going to obtain freedom for Egypt unless they work hard for it.

Multimodal analysis

In the metaphor EGYPT IS A BRIDE, the source domain A BRIDE is pictorial, while the target domain is verbal. This metaphor is ‘target-deduced’, based on the knowledge of EGYPT. This target domain contains more knowledge structures from the source domain BRIDE, such as ‘being violated’ and ‘sense of deception’, because in conflicts Egypt is almost always depicted as a bride.

Egypt-Banner 15



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture is not about Mubarak or any another Egyptian president, it is about Facebook. Facebook has played a key role in the starting, spreading, and thus the success of the revolution of January 25, 2011 that led to the overthrow of Mubarak. This is because it allowed Egyptian people, mostly young people, from different

Egyptian cities to come together and meet and to discuss the bad situation of the country, from poverty to the rampant spread of diseases and illiteracy. They also discussed ways to solve these issues.

Mappings

In this picture there is a man who is holding a banner that reads: (“Facebook”), (“#Jan 25”), (“the Egyptian social network”), and (“people book”). (“Facebook”) and (“# Jan 25”) mean that Facebook helped the revolution of ‘Jan 25’ to succeed, so the source domain FACEBOOK stands for FREEDOM. While (“the Egyptian social network”) and (“people book”) mean that Facebook was the social media that Egyptians used to meet and thus stands also for FREE RELATIONSHIPS.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain FACEBOOK in the metaphor FREEDOM AND FREE RELATIONSHIPS ARE FACEBOOK is verbal, whereas the target domains FREEDOM and FREE RELATIONSHIPS can be understood through the context of the role of Facebook in the Egyptian revolution. This metaphor is ‘source-internal’ because the implicit feature or material ‘connecting ground’ from the source domain FACEBOOK helps in understanding of the target domains FREEDOM and FREE RELATIONSHIPS.

Egypt-Banner 16



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this picture there is a young man holding a banner that is similar to the cover of a famous American type of cigarettes (Marlboro) and at the bottom of the banner there is a picture of Mubarak with a sentence that reads: (“be careful, this president destroys the country”). Of course, with time, any type of cigarettes can lead to the development of diseases for the person who smokes.

Mappings

The source domain CIGARETTE -metonymically projected from the logo Marlboro- stands for MUBARAK, because for this young man, Mubarak is as bad as cigarettes, and PHYSICAL BAD HEALTH stands for THE BAD SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY. The reason behind using the logo of Marlboro and not another brand of cigarettes is that Marlboro is a very famous brand of cigarettes in Arab countries and is one of the oldest and earliest brands sold in Egypt. Furthermore, using this American brand draws a clear link to the United States and the fact, for many Egyptians, Obama was in control of Mubarak (for example, Mubarak stepped down from power only when Obama ‘asked’ him to do so). Moreover, the protestor or creator of the banner tried construct something similar to what is written on the original cover of Marlboro, like ‘smokers die young’ or ‘smoking kills’. This banner is humorous and witty, and is designed to persuade more people to confront Mubarak.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain, CIGARETTE, in the metaphor MUBARAK IS A CIGARETTE is pictorial (represented by the logo of Marlboro); and the target, MUBARAK, is pictorial as well. This type of metaphor is ‘source-internal’ because the implicit term ‘deadly’ coming from the source domain CIGARETTE helps us to understand the target domain. However, the source and the target domains in the second metaphor

THE BAD SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY IS PHYSICAL BAD HEALTH can be comprehended through the social context of Egypt and through the logo of Marlboro. This metaphor is ‘source-internal’ also because the implicit feature ‘disease’ facilitates the comprehension of the target domain BAD SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY.

Egypt-Banner 17



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture is not written on paper like the other banners, but instead it is written on a wall. The face that has been drawn on the wall consists of two halves of two different faces that belong to two different people. The half face on the right side belongs to Mubarak, while the left belongs to Mohamed Hussein Tantawi Soliman. Tantawi was the Defence Minister and the Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces during Mubarak’s reign as President of Egypt. When Mubarak resigned on February 11, 2011, Tantawi became the president of Egypt. He remained this position until Mohamed Morsi officially became president after taking the presidential oath of office on July 1, 2012. In August 2012 Tantawi was forced to retire via a presidential resolution from Morsi. Many protests developed against Tantawi because Egyptians

saw him as yet another Mubarak and because he, according to one Egyptian electronic newspaper³, delivered the country to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Mappings

In this picture, protestors used a banner to write (“the revolution is continuing”) and (“the one who reauthorized did not die”) and, as mentioned before, there is a half face of Mubarak and a half face of Tantawi, which means that half a face is a metonymy for each person, and ONE/WHOLE FACE is a metaphor for SAME POLITICAL IDEAS because the person who became the president after Mubarak (Tantawi) is just like him.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain, ONE/WHOLE FACE, in the metaphor SAME POLITICAL IDEAS ARE ONE FACE is pictorial, and the target domain, SAME POLITICAL IDEAS, is created through the political context of the Egyptian revolution. This type of metaphor is a ‘source-internal’ one, as the implicit feature ‘twins’ of the source domain ONE FACE facilitates the understanding of the target domain SAME POLITICAL IDEAS.

Egypt-Banner 18



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture is also drawn on a wall and not on paper. In this picture, we see a drawing of Mohamed Morsi, who is saying (“maaa, maaa”); there is also an arm that is drawn using three colours: red, white, and black, which are the colours of the Egyptian flag, with the words (“REBEL...rebel”) written on it. The arm is holding Morsi’s jacket. Tamarod (meaning ‘rebel’) is an Egyptian movement that was founded with the purpose of weakening public confidence in Morsi, the former Egyptian president who ruled Egypt from June 30, 2012 to July 3, 2013. This movement called for early presidential elections in 2013. This movement began on 26 Friday April 2013 in Tahrir Square and ended on 30 June of the same year. Young people who founded this movement started collecting signatures in order to give the impression that there was low confidence in Morsi. After two weeks, they had reportedly collected 22 million signatures.

Mappings

This movement spread rapidly in Egypt and many people joined it, which means that TAMAROD stands for OVERTHROW. On the other hand, Morsi is saying “maaa, maaa” (bleating) because individuals who belong to the Muslim brotherhood are referred to as ‘sheep’ by their opponents in Egypt; therefore, this phrase indicates that MORSI IS A SHEEP (meaning that he is stupid as a sheep is) because he was a member of the Muslim brotherhood organization.

Multimodal analysis

In the metaphor OVERTHROW IS TAMAROD the source domain TAMAROD is verbal, while the target domain OVERTHROW is perceived through the knowledge Egyptians have on the Tamarod movement. The metaphor is ‘source-internal’; the term “signature”, related to this movement and was its main objective, enhances the

comprehension of the target domain OVERTHROW. Furthermore, the source domain SHEEP in the metaphor MORSI IS A SHEEP is understood through the onomatopoeic expression “maaa, maaa” (bleating) that is written in the banner. The target domain MORSI is pictorial, and this metaphor is ‘source-internal’ too because the target domain can be understood through the implicit features ‘stupid’ that can be elicited from the source domain SHEEP.

Egypt-Banner 19



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This is another example of a wall-banner. It features two people saying a few words: Hosni Mubarak is saying (“let them have fun”), and Mohamed Morsi is saying (“let them become paralyzed”), which means (let them be paralytic). Under Mubarak there is a platform which contains the words (“before the revolution”) written on it, and under Morsi there is the same platform but with the words (“after the revolution”). Mubarak’s words (“let them have fun”) refer to the time when the revolution was a peaceful movement. This can be explained through historical knowledge of the context in which the drawing has arisen. When the Egyptian revolution started, it was initially peaceful and Mubarak thought that Egyptians were going to protest only for a little while or ‘to have fun’, but the revolution continued and turned into violent clashes between protestors and the security forces. On the other hand, with Morsi

(after the revolution) the heading reads (“let them become paralyzed”). This refers to the fact that when he became president, he promised the Egyptians that he was going to make reforms within one hundred days, but when the one hundred days had passed, Egyptians saw that he did not do anything for them or for the country, and this triggered a revolution asking Morsi to resign in June 2013 in several Egyptian cities. Morsi thought that those protests could not affect him because the Egyptian people elected him and he was supported by the United States of America, but then the armed forces, headed by Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (who was the defence minister at that time) staged a coup against Morsi’s government and ousted the president.

Mappings

As a result, from these events, REVOLUTION stands for (POLITICAL) OVERTHROW because after each revolution there is an overthrow of an Egyptian president. It is worth mentioning that in this picture there is a red dot on both of their foreheads, which is a metonymy for a bullet and THE BULLET is a metaphor for (POLITICAL) OVERTHROW as well.

Multimodal analysis

The first source domain REVOLUTION of this metaphor is verbal and it can be understood through the context of the Egyptian revolutions, whereas the second source domain BULLET is pictorial. Furthermore, the target domain OVERTHROW is understood through the context of the revolutions also. This metaphor is ‘source-external’, as a result of the presence of two source domains in the conceptualization of one target domain.

Egypt-Banner 20



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture pokes fun at Hosni Mubarak. It shows Mubarak leaving (the presidency) and holding a bag in one hand and a paper that reads (“I am leaving”) on the other. In the banner beside his picture, it is written: (“I have finally understood, ohhhh Wadih!!”). Above, in the circle, it is written (“the revolution of January 25th”). Wadih is a character in a famous Egyptian TV series. This character works for a film producer named Tuhami Basha. Every time Wadih proposes an idea for a new film in one of the publicities of this TV series, Tuhami Basha rejects it.

Mappings

Mubarak did not listen to the demands of the protestors and he did not want to leave the presidency at the beginning of the revolution because he thought that it would only last for a while and then fizzle out, but this did not happen and Mubarak had to eventually leave the presidency. So MUBARAK IS TUHAMI BASHA; he never listens to what is said to him, and WADIH stands for THE PROTESTORS because they kept demanding Mubarak give them their basic rights, but he did not attend to the protestor’s demands.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain, TUHAMI BASHA, is elicited through the cultural knowledge shared by Egyptians about the famous TV series; while the target domain is pictorial. This metaphor is ‘source-internal’ because the implicit feature ‘stupid’, coming from the source domain TUHMI BASHA helps to understand the target domain. In addition, the source domain WADIH in the second metaphor is verbal, and the target PROTESTORS is understood through the story of this Egyptian series and the political context.

4.2. Syrian metaphors

Syrian-Banner 1



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

Elections were supposed to be held in Syria in 2011, but the outbreak of the Syrian crisis hindered this process. In 2012, Bashar al-Assad adopted a new Syrian Constitution that guaranteed political pluralism, explaining that the delay in the elections was necessary to give parties time to become known and develop their position in the Syrian community. The opposition Syrian forces and parties refused to participate in the elections and called for a boycott as they considered the delay in the elections and the deployment of the Syrian army in most the provinces as illegitimate.

Mappings

In this picture there is a young man who is holding a banner that reads (“looking for a new regime”) and above this sentence there is a drawing of the symbol for Bluetooth which indicates that the protestors are looking for an opposition party to represent them in the elections. Thus, the source domain BLUETOOTH, which is represented by the drawing, stands for A SYRIAN OPPOSITION PARTY and it also stands for FREEDOM because for the protestors freedom means a new Syrian regime.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain BLUETOOTH in this picture is pictorial and the target domains A SYRIAN OPPOSITION PARTY and FREEDOM can be drawn from the Syrian political context. This metaphor, SYRIAN OPPOSITION PARTY AND FREEDOM ARE BLUETOOTH, is ‘source-internal’ because the implicit word ‘communication’ that is related to the source domain BLUETOOTH helps to grasp the target domains of this metaphor.

Syrian-Banner 2



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this picture, Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian president, is taking part in an Arab reality Television show called *Arabs' Got Talent*. This show is the Arabic version of the

popular American reality show called *America's Got Talent*. It is a show that seeks talented individuals of all ages which perform acts including singing, dancing, and others. Normally, there is a jury that consists of three judges who sit in the middle of the stage, and in front of them there are three red buttons that light up three large 'X' letters. When any one of the judges presses this button, this means that he/she does not like the 'talent' that the person is performing on the stage. In the original Arabic version the judges were a Lebanese singer, a Saudi actor, an Egyptian actor and a dean from the American University of Dubai.

Mappings

In this banner, Al-Assad is performing in front of three judges represented as Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Prime Minister (to the right), Hassan Nasrallah, the Secretary General of a political Lebanese party Hezbollah (center), and Vladimir Putin, the current President of Russia (to the left). Al-Assad is saying ("Allah [God], revolution and my people only"), and it is obvious that Netanyahu and Nasrallah agree with him because they are shown to have not pressed the red button. Netanyahu is saying ("bravo my best neighbour"), and Nasrallah is saying ("wow!!! What is this, he is the biggest liar in the world"). Putin shown to have pressed half of an X (half of the button that light up the letter X) and he is saying ("what a donkey, say a lie that people can believe. We are going to give you another chance"). In Arab culture, as in many other cultures, the donkey is a symbol of stupidity, so here Putin is calling al-Assad a donkey which means that he thinks Assad is stupid for his saying that he only cares for "Allah, revolution, and his people", while – as a matter of fact– he is killing his own people. We also see in this picture that Bashar al-Assad is drawn with donkey's ears. Thus, this can be explained as POLITICS IS A GAME and THE SYRIAN POLITICAL SITUATION IS A REALITY SHOW. Putin, Nasrallah, and

Netanyahu are supporters of Bashar al-Assad, but after much international condemnation of al-Assad (because of his crimes against the Syrian people) according to BBC News⁴, the Israeli Ambassador in the United States also said that al-Assad must depart. Because of this Netanyahu is saying to Bashar al-Assad “bravo” to encourage him to continue speaking, whilst Putin and Nasrallah – although Nasrallah did not disagree with him (by not pressing the red button) – are telling him that he is a ‘liar’ and a ‘donkey’ and he has to say something better for the people to believe him. Therefore, Putin is a real supporter, Nasrallah is a supporter because although he supports Bashar but he did not press the red button to stop him from continuing his ‘talent’, which is lying, and Netanyahu is an enemy.

Multimodal analysis

In the metaphors POLITICS IS A GAME and THE SYRIAN POLITICAL SITUATION IS A REALITY SHOW, the source domains GAME and REALITY SHOW can be understood through the picture in the banner, and the target domains POLITICS and THE SYRIAN POLITICAL SITUATION can be understood through the Syrian political context. The metaphor POLITICS IS A GAME is ‘target-induced’ because the target domain POLITICS obtains additional knowledge from the source GAME, which can be ‘entertaining’. THE SYRIAN POLITICAL SITUATION IS A REALITY SHOW is ‘target-induced’ because the target THE SYRIAN POLITICAL SITUATION attains the additional features ‘programmed’ from the source domain REALITY SHOW.

Syrian-Banner 3



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this case, there is a young man who is holding a banner in one hand that reads (“what a pressure casserole can say if it remains any longer on the people ‘You Bashar’”). Bashar al-Assad has ruled Syria since 2000 and before him his father Hafez al-Assad had ruled the country from 1971 until his death in 2000. Therefore, the family of Al-Assad has been ruling Syria since 1971 or more than forty years.

Mappings

These decades of rule contained much suppression of basic freedoms and high-level of corruption and are some of the reasons that led to the revolution of 2011 against the regime of Bashar al-Assad. Accordingly, the source PRESSURE CASSEROLE/COOKER stands for THE SYRIAN SOCIAL POLITICAL SITUATION because the situation has been boiling for forty years and it exploded in the revolution of 2011. This metaphor is a variant of the well-known ANGER IS FIRE/BOILING LIQUID metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002).

Multimodal analysis

In the metaphor THE SYRIAN SOCIAL POLITICAL SITUATION IS A PRESSURE CASSEROLE/COOKER (ABOUT TO EXPLODE), the source domain PRESSURE CASSEROLE/COOKER is verbal and pictorial, while the target domain

can be understood through the Syrian political context and the history of the family of al-Assad. This metaphor is ‘target-induced’ because the target domain THE SYRIAN SOCIAL POLITICAL SITUATION can have additional knowledge from the source PRESSURE CASSEROLE/COOKER, which can be ‘boiling’.

Syrian-Banner 4



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In the above case, the picture depicts Bashar al-Assad as a snail with a shell. It reads (“I do not live in a shell, but I am going to die in it”). We notice here that the words have been manipulated; the sentence is taken from one of al-Assad speeches after British Prime Minister David Cameron had offered to ensure a safe exit to al-Assad, though refused, announcing in one of his speeches that “...I’m Syrian and I’ll live and die in Syria”. Moreover, rumours have surfaced that Bashar al-Assad has been hiding in the presidential palace in Damascus since the beginning of the revolution.

Mappings

The source domain SHELL stands for SYRIA, the country, and for THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE because both are secure homes for Bashar, and the similarity between al-Assad and the snail is that it is dangerous for both to live outside of their shells. The slowness of the snail is not related to Bashar in this picture.

Moreover, there is a hand that is drawn on it with the old flag of Syria, which was

used during and after Syria obtained its independence from France and now it is used by the Syrian opposition because it represents independence; the hand is depicted sprinkling salt over Bashar. In Arab countries, there is an expression that says “do not put salt on the wound”, which means that one should not make bad things worse. In this picture, the salt means that al-Assad, due to his statements, is making the situation worse. By saying that he is “going to die” in the shell, he means to say that he is going to stay on as president of Syria. This idea is seen as preposterous in the eyes of the protestors, a fact that is shown in the picture with the donkey’s ears drawn on him. Moreover, the salt could be used to convey the idea that Bashar is melting, as can be shown in the banner, meaning that the opposition is going to make him disappear.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain SHELL in this metaphor is verbal and pictorial and the target domains SYRIA and THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE are understood through the political background of al-Assad and through common, shared rumors which circulate in Syria. This metaphor is ‘target-induced’, since it is based on what is known about the target domains, which, in addition, receive the additional idea of ‘secure’ from the source domain SHELL because as a shell is a thing that protects the snail and keeps it safe; Syria and the presidential palace are secure shells for al-Assad.

Syrian-Banner 5



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this case, the protestor is holding a banner that reads (“born to prey”) and there is a drawing of a lion in the middle of the banner. The lion’s face is missing. Instead, there is a picture of Bashar al-Assad to represent the lion’s face. At the top of the banner we can see the words ‘National Geographic’. What is meant here by ‘National Geographic’ is *The National Geographic Channel* which is an American television channel that shows programs relating to history, animals, culture, science, among others. There is also an Arabic version, which is called *National Geographic Abu Dhabi*. Lions have both positive and negative characteristics; they can be very brave and strong, but on the other hand they are wild and can be ruthless.

Mappings

The LION that is in this picture represents BASHAR AL-ASSAD, and here Bashar is not given the positive characteristics of a lion but the negative ones, because when a lion eats its victim (prey), whether it is a deer or any other animal, it eats it alive, and likewise Bashar is killing his people. So the similarity between a lion and Bashar is that both kill their victims without mercy. Also, the surname of Bashar is al-Assad and ‘assad’ in the Arabic language means ‘lion’; therefore, it is clear also that the protestor is playing with the word and with its phonetics and meaning.

Multimodal analysis

In the metaphor BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A LION, the source and the target domains are both pictorial, and this metaphor is ‘target-induced’, since the target domain Bashar al-Assad inherits additional knowledge from the source domain LION that is ‘wild’.

Syrian-Banner 6



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this picture we see an image in the form of movie poster. It reads ('The Lord of the Thrones'), and Bashar is depicted as a monster that is saying ("my precious"). The interesting thing is that the title of this banner is that it is a mixture of two American movie titles: *The Lord of the Rings* and *Game of Thrones*. The latter is a fantasy series that tells the story of seven families battling for control over an Iron Throne of Seven Kingdoms. On the other hand *The Lord of the Rings* is a fantasy movie that involves people and creatures such as hobbits, humans, wizards, and others. The film is centred on a 'ring of power' – or the – 'One Ring', which was made by a 'Dark Lord'. One of the main characters in this movie is Gollum. He is one of the hobbits and a liar who betrays his friend as they find the One Ring. He killed his friend and he keeps staring at the ring for years on end, until he becomes a monster; he refers to the ring as "my precious". Also, this ring extended Gollum's life, so it represents eternal life and power, and wherever the ring goes he goes after it.

Mappings

The drawing of the monster that is in this banner is that of Gollum, but the head of the monster is that of Bashar al-Assad. So GOLLUM stands for BASHAR AL-ASSAD.

The reason for using a mixture of two movies titles in the title of this banner is that

Bashar is battling with those who are against his rule so that he can remain the president of Syria, just as the families in the movie battle for control over the Iron Throne as in the *Game of Thrones*. Also, he is trying to remain in his position, president of Syria, in order to have the power as the One Ring (in *The Lord of the Rings*) has and gives the power to his owner. Therefore, Bashar is trying to extend his presidential term as the One Ring extended Gollum's life.

Multimodal analysis

The source and the target domains in this metaphor are both pictorial, and this metaphor, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS GOLLUM, is 'source-internal' because the implicit material 'monster' of the source domain GOLLUM helps in understanding of the target domain Bashar al-Assad.

Syrian-Banner 7



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner is inspired by a very famous American movie called *Titanic*. This movie portrays dramatized version of the disastrous sinking of a ship called RMS *Titanic* during her first voyage in 1912. In the movie, a young man named Jack Dawson falls in love with a young woman, Rose DeWitt Bukater. In this banner the drawing shows Vladimir Putin holding Bashar al-Assad – a drawing that is inspired by one of

Titanic's most epic scenes. In this scene, Jack, the young man, asks Rose to give him her hand, to close her eyes, and to step up to the edge of the ship where they are standing. Then he asks her if she trusts him? And she says "I trust you". After that, he holds her hands and he opens them wide, and he asks her to open her eyes. When she opens her eyes and sees the view of the sea she tells him: "I am flying, Jack".

Mappings

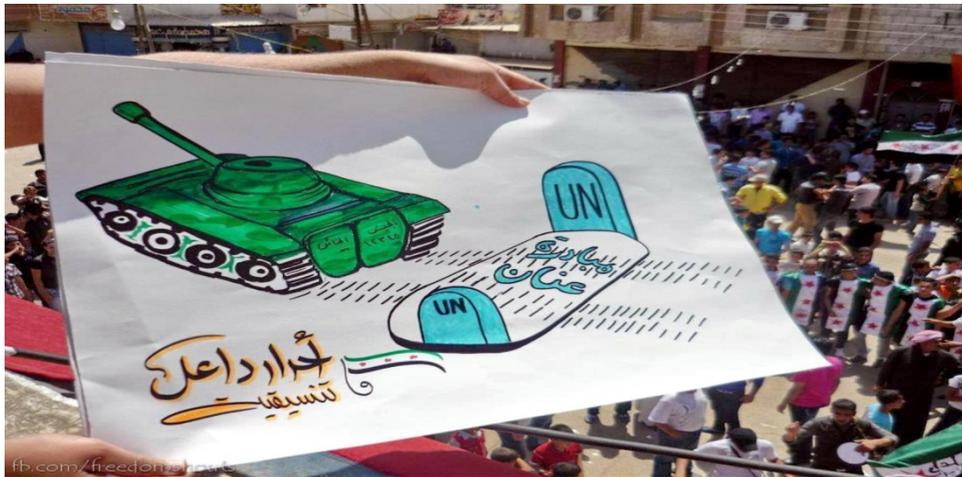
Vladimir Putin is one of several leaders who actively supports Bashar al-Assad, and in this banner he is depicted holding al-Assad just as Jack holds Rose in the Titanic scene so as to prevent her from falling; indeed al-Assad is also in a 'dangerous position', just as Rose was in an unstable and dangerous position in the scene. This indicates that al-Assad trusts Putin. Thus, the source domain JACK DAWSON stands for the target domain VLADIMIR PUTIN, and the source domain ROSE DEWITT stands for the target domain BASHAR AL-ASSAD. On the other hand, the name of the ship here is 'Alaed' and not Titanic. This ship is a Russian ship that was sent to hand over, according to London's *The Telegraph*, a load of 'helicopter gunships and air defence systems' to Syria; indeed, we can see guns and the Russian flag in the banner.

Multimodal analysis

The source domains JACK DAWSON and ROSE DEWITT are comprehended within the historical context of Titanic and of the movie, and the target domains VLADIMIR PUTIN and BASHAR AL-ASSAD are pictorial. The metaphors VLADIMIR PUTIN IS JACK DAWSON and BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS ROSE DEWITT are 'source-internal' metaphors, because both target domains are understood through the implicit

knowledge ‘man’ (referring to Putin) and ‘woman’ (referring to al-Assad) that can be related to the source domains.

Syrian-Banner 8



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this picture there is a protestor holding a banner that has a drawing of a tank and a grave, and on the grave we read (“Anan's initiative”) and (“UN”). Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, was sent as the joint representative of the Arab League and the United Nations to Syria in order to find a solution for the Syrian crisis. His plan consisted of six points: 1) all the Syrian parties must collaborate with him, 2) a commitment from all parties to stop fighting and to protect civilians, 3) ensure the provision of humanitarian aid for all the areas that are affected by the fighting, 4) ensure the freedom of movement of journalists throughout the country, 5) release of all the persons who were captured arbitrarily or due to their participation in peacefully political activities, and finally, respect for the right of peaceful protest.

Anan’s plan failed because some of the Syrian parties did not apply what was outlined in the plan, and President al-Assad did not withdraw his army from the cities.

Mappings

In this picture Anan is a metonymy for the UN plan, and the GRAVE is a metaphor for ANAN'S INITIATIVE meaning that the plan is dead. Moreover, the TANK stands for AL-ASSAD'S ARMY, because written on it are the words ("the betrayer army"). We understand from the picture that al-Assad did not commit to the plan because his army's tank is depicted running over the grave which represents Anan's initiative.

Multimodal analysis

In the first metaphor, ANAN'S INITIATIVE IS A GRAVE, the source and the target domains are pictorial, and this metaphor is 'source-internal' because the feature 'terminated', that is related to the source domain GRAVE, facilitates the understanding of the target domain ANAN'S INITIATIVE. In the second metaphor AL-ASSAD'S ARMY IS A TANK, the source domain is pictorial while its target domain is verbal ("the betrayer army"). This metaphor is 'target-induced' as the feature 'deadly' can be selected from the source domain TANK, based on the knowledge of the target domain AL-ASSAD'S ARMY.

Syrian-Banner 9



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

Here, there is a young man holding a banner that reads (“you have to know Bashar that the revolution is not caused by Facebook! But you and your father the he-goat”) which means that (‘you have to know Bashar, that the one who caused the revolution is not Facebook! But rather, it is you and your father the he-goat’). There is also a picture of Bashar near this sentence showing him thinking about Facebook. One of the protestors’ demands was freedom and this freedom included the right to use social media such as Facebook. Facebook was blocked in 2007 in Syria by the Syrian ‘Communication Foundation’. In 2011, one month after the revolution broke out, this block was removed via a resolution from al-Assad. With this, he argued that he had given Syrians their freedom.

Mappings

Therefore, the source domain FACEBOOK stands for the target domain FREEDOM. Of course, freedom is not about the right to use Facebook alone, but to have the right to speak freely thus ARTIFICIAL FREEDOM IS FACEBOOK. Also, Facebook was used by the Syrian protestors to talk about what was happening in Syria and to agree on places to meet and protest. So, in this banner the protestor is saying that Facebook is not the reason for the outbreak of the revolution, but rather, it was caused by ‘you and your father the he-goat’. What they mean is that this revolution happened because of the actions of Bashar and his father Hafez al-Assad. ‘He-goat’ in the Arab culture has the same connotation as ‘donkey’, which is a symbol for stupidity.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain FACEBOOK in this picture is verbal (written in Arabic and in English) and the target domain ARTIFICIAL FREEDOM is being comprehended within the context of the Syrian revolution. The metaphor ARTIFICIAL FREEDOM

IS FACEBOOK is 'source-internal' because the feature of the source domain 'limited territory' helps in understanding the target domain ARTIFICIAL FREEDOM.

Syrian-Banner 10



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This is another example of banners that are written in English. We can see here that there is a vulture standing on a burned tree in the middle of a burned city. This city represents Syria, mostly Damascus, because the banner says: *Welcome to Syria*. When the revolution turned to war, many families moved to other cities and even to other countries, mainly to Turkey, Iraq or Lebanon, among other countries. The number of Syrian refugees outside of the country has reached more than three million, and most of them live in camps.

Mappings

This banner shows that no one is living in Syria because of the bad situation, thus SYRIA is like A PHANTOM and A DEAD PLACE. Nevertheless, there is a vulture living there, and this VULTURE stands for BASHAR AL-ASSAD because he is the President of Syria and, according to Syrians, he is the main person responsible for the bad situation in the country. The vulture is considered an inferior creature for Arabs, because it is characterized as 'cowardly' due to it eating carrion, unlike the eagle that

eats only fresh animals that it captures in its claws. Thus, for Arabs, the vulture has negative connotations while the eagle has positive ones.

Multimodal analysis

In the metaphor SYRIA IS A PHANTOM AND A DEAD PLACE the source domains PHANTOM and DEAD PLACE are both pictorial; the target is verbal. This metaphor is ‘source-external’, as the target domain has two source domains. The source domain in the second metaphor, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A VULTURE, is pictorial and the target is understood within the political and the cultural contexts. This metaphor is ‘source-internal’ because the feature ‘killer’ of the source domain VULTURE helps in the realization of the target domain BASHAR AL-ASSAD.

Syrian-Banner 11



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this picture, protestors are carrying a banner that reads (“I am not the owner of the country!”), and to the left side there is a high-class, such as a presidential chair, with one of its legs featuring the head and the body of Bashar al-Assad. ‘A leg of the chair’ is a proverb that is used by people in Middle Eastern countries to describe someone who is useless.

Mappings

As the banner illustrates, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A LEG OF CHAIR because he has not managed to solve the deplorable situation in Syria.

Multimodal analysis

In this metaphor, both the target and the source domains are pictorial, and this metaphor is 'source-internal' as the term 'furniture', which is linked to the source domain, facilitates the comprehension of the target domain BASHAR AL-ASSAD.

Syrian-Banner 12



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner says: (“may the eyes of the cowards never rest”) and it contains a portrait of Bashar al-Assad trying to close his eyes but he cannot because his eyes are glued by two pieces of an adhesive tape on his forehead. One piece has the Russian flag and the other piece has the Chinese flag. Al-Assad used to say before the war had begun ‘may the eyes of the cowards never rest’ when speaking of his army in the sense that he portrayed army as an institution which look after the safety and comfort of the Syrian people. Al-Assad quoted this phrase from Khalid ibn al-Walid, a prominent *sahabi* (companion) and a military commander at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Khalid was one of the best military commanders of all time, and he was known for his

courage and bravery. He fought around a hundred battles and did not lose a single one; he hoped to die during battle, as a martyr, but he died in his house instead. While on his death-bed he said that “I've fought in so many battles seeking martyrdom that there is no spot in my body left without a scar or a wound made by a spear or sword. And yet here I am, dying on my bed like an old camel. May the eyes of the cowards never rest”⁵. He said that because he considered himself a coward because he did not die in a battle, but in his house.

Mappings

This banner projects the metaphor BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A COWARD and the mappings that he is trying to sleep, to step down, but the adhesive tape that is represented by Russia and Iran, both allies of al-Assad, are not allowing him to sleep.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain COWARD is realized through the cultural context of the phrase that is written in the banner, whereas the target domain is pictorial. The metaphor BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A COWARD is ‘target-induced’, because based on the knowledge of the target domain, it can obtain further knowledge from the source domain COWARD, which is the expression ‘self-centered’.

Syrian-Banner 13



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner is different from the other banners; it is not in paper form but in cardboard and constructed in the shape of a flip-flop sandal with the words (“you are going to leave with this”) written on it. Most Arabs, although this has no relationship with the Islamic religion, consider flip-flops to be unclean footwear and most Arab people do not wear this type of footwear outside of their house because they consider that improper. However, poor people wear them outdoors because they do not have enough money to buy other types of shoes. Moreover, flip-flops are also used by some parents to discipline their children if they behave badly or do not listen to them.

Mappings

In this picture, there is a man holding a cardboard flip-flop with the words (“you are going to leave with this”) written inside. By ‘you’ he is referring to the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad. This means that the protestors are going to force him to leave by way of the ‘flip-flop’ since he has not understood that the Syrian people want him to step down. Therefore, FREEDOM IS A FLIP-FLOP.

Multimodal analysis

In this metaphor, FREEDOM IS A FLIP-FLOP, the source domain FLIP-FLOP is pictorial; the target domain is understood through the political context of Syria. This kind of metaphor is ‘target-induced’, as the feature ‘indispensable’ can be selected from the source domain FLIP-FLOP as a further knowledge for the target domain FREEDOM.

Syrian-Banner 14



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This picture shows a Syrian girl holding a banner that reads (“after every boot a great explosion oh Bouti”) which means that (‘after every boot, there is a great explosion, oh Bouti’). Mohamed Said Ramadan al-Bouti was the Syrian grand mufti (the highest Islamic scholar in the country) and an important Islamic figure in the Muslim world. In 2011, when the Syrian revolution began Bouti came out against it and declared his support for the al-Assad regime. He was killed on March 21, 2013 in a bomb attack in Damascus.

Mappings

In this banner, a drawing of a boot features prominently and this BOOT, the source domain, represents AL-ASSAD’S ARMY because it is in the form of a soldier’s boot, and the banner reads (“after every boot a great explosion, oh Bouti”) because the army of Bashar al-Assad was killing innocent people and Bouti was a supporter of al-Assad. Thus, for the protestors, Bouti was also one of the causes of each explosion. Also, the pronunciation of ‘Bouti’ without the last letter ‘I’ means ‘a boot’ the Syrian dialect. Therefore, the protestor who wrote this banner is playing with the meaning of the word and with the way it sounds, in other words, its phonology.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain in the metaphor AL-ASSAD’S ARMY IS A BOOT is pictorial; the target is being comprehended through the social and the political contexts of Syria. This metaphor is ‘target-induced’ because it is based on the knowledge of the target, an expression like ‘killing-machine’ can be selected from the source domain BOOT, as it is a military boot, as an additional knowledge for the target domain AL-ASSAD’S ARMY.

Syrian-Banner 15



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this case, the protestors are holding a banner that reads: (“splitting of al-Assad”) and it shows two ropes pulling Bashar al-Assad from two different sides and splitting him down through the middle. One rope represents Damascus and the other one represents Aleppo. After the Syrian revolution had begun and fighting between the army of al-Assad and the opposition had erupted, Aleppo, a Syrian city, came under the control of the Syrian Free Army and independent from the control of al-Assad, though Damascus remains under the control of Al-Assad.

Mappings

In this banner two ropes– marked, ‘Damascus’ and ‘Aleppo’, are seen pulling and splitting al-Assad into two parts, which means that al-Assad is not in control of the entire country anymore, only parts of it. Therefore, AL-ASSAD IS A TORN MAP.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain TORN MAP can be recognized through the Syrian social and political contexts, while the target domain AL-ASSAD is pictorial and verbal. The metaphor AL-ASSAD IS A TORN MAP is a ‘target-induced’ one as the term ‘useless’ can be inferred from the source domain TORN MAP based on the knowledge of the target domain within this banner.

Syrian-Banner 16



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner is inspired from the well-known cartoon, *The Smurfs*, that features a group of blue creatures that are called ‘smurfs’ and who live in a village in a forest that also includes a ‘Gargamel’ with his cat Azrael– both are enemies of the smurfs. In this banner Gargamel is putting a liquid into a large cooking pot which has the current flag of Syria stuck onto it, and there is an arrow coming out from a callout that reads (“chemical weapons with a Russian guaranty!”) and is pointing at the large cooking pan. Moreover, to the left there is a smurf looking at the pan and he seems afraid, and just above him there is a flag which is called ‘the independence flag’ because it was used in Syria before and after Syria had obtained its independence from the French Mandate (1932- 1958). In 1958 this flag was replaced with the current official flag (the one that is drawn on the large cooking pan). This new flag was used until 1961, and in 1980, when Hafez al-Assad was the president of Syria, this flag was again used as Syria’s flag and is still used today.

Mapping

The current flag of Syria is a metonymy for Bashar al-Assad’s regime. If we look at Gargamel’s face we notice that it is the face of Bashar al-Assad, thus BASHAR AL-

ASSAD IS GARGAMEL. Al-Assad was accused of attacking Syrian people with chemical weapons, thus in this banner he is depicted preparing chemical weapons in a large pan and those weapons come with a (“Russian guaranty”) because Russia was accused of supplying al-Assad with chemical weapons. On the other hand, THE SMURF stands for SYRIAN PROTESTORS, because they are using the flag of independence during their manifestations against al-Assad’s regime. The cat, Azrael, does not represent anyone. It is worth mentioning that this banner has a relation with a Syrian proverb: ‘we cooked it together’, which means that (‘we are conspirators together in evil’).

Multimodal analysis

The source and target domains in the metaphor BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS GARGAMEL are both pictorial, represented by the head al-Assad and the body of Gargamel, and the metaphor is ‘target-induced’ because the target domain may have additional knowledge from the source domain GARGAMEL that is ‘evil magician’. Moreover, in the second metaphor, where THE SMURF stands for SYRIAN PROTESTORS, the source domain is pictorial and the target domain is recognized through the historical background of the Syrian flag of independence.

Syrian-Banner 17



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This man is holding a banner that reads: (“a country...in a baby’s hand!!”). The picture is drawn to include the face of Bashar al-Assad on a baby’s body that is also wearing a wet diaper and has a pacifier in his mouth. Beside the baby there is a duck. It is worth mentioning that Bashar is called ‘duck’ by Syrian after the media revealed emails between Bashar and his wife Asmaa, wherein Bashar is referred to as a ‘duck’ or ‘my duck’ by his wife. From this moment on, all the websites of the Syrian opposition –as well as those on Facebook – became filled with jokes about ducks and the Syrian President.

Mappings

The source domain BABY, which is verbal and pictorial, represents BASHAR AL-ASSAD because a baby does not know how to act or the difference between the right and wrong. In the same vein, although Bashar is the President of Syria, most Syrians believe that he is not really in control of the country any longer and that he does not know how to make any decisions; they believe that those ruling over Syria includes the states such as United States, Russia, Iran and groups such as Hezbollah.

Moreover, the DUCK represents the COUNTRY because, just as babies play with toys and do not know how to use them, Bashar is also doing the same thing with Syria.

Multimodal analysis

The source domain BABY and the target domain BASHAR AL-ASSAD in the first metaphor BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A BABY are pictorial. This metaphor is ‘target-induced’, because the target domain can have more knowledge from the source domain BABY, which is ‘spoiled’. The source domain DUCK in the second metaphor

is pictorial and the target COUNTRY is understood within the context in which al-Assad is the president of Syria.

Syrian-Banner 18



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

In this case, a protestor is holding a banner that is written in English and not in the Arabic language. There are two hurricanes in the banner, one in blue and the other in red. The hurricane that is in blue is Hurricane Sandy that wrecked parts of the United States in 2012 and also affected other countries (Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, The Bahamas, Dominican Republic, and Canada). It is drawn in blue because it came from the sea, started as a small wave and then turned into a hurricane in the Atlantic Ocean. So BLUE is a metonymy for SEA. In the other half of this banner there is also a hurricane that is named 'Aneesa' and it is coloured in red, with the head of the Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad part of it too. Aneesa is the mother of Bashar al-Assad and it is said that she has a great influence on al-Assad and his decisions. This banner was written in 2012, as is indicated with the writing on the bottom of the banner with the significance here that during this year the number of Syrians which had died increasing significantly. This is why the hurricane is drawn in red, because red is a metonymy for blood.

Mappings

From what the banner indicates, Hurricane Sandy killed only 90 people in 2012, while al-Assad had killed 40,000 in the same year. Therefore, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS WORSE THAN A HURRICANE.

Multimodal analysis

The source and the target domains in this metaphor, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS WORSE THAN A HURRICANE, are both pictorial, and this metaphor is ‘source-external’ because the target has more than one source domain in its conceptualization.

Syrian-Banner 19



Background knowledge and socio-cultural frames

This banner shows Bashar al-Assad carrying a suitcase and running after a train that has written on it: (“the Arab initiative”). The Arab initiative was first proposed by the Arab League on November 16, 2011 to solve the crises in Syria. The plan was to send Arab observers to Syria, but the Syrian government did not sign the protocol of this initiative and, therefore, the Arab League delayed the deadline for signing this protocol until 5 December, later delaying it again for a further two weeks. Only then did the Syrian government approve the signing of this protocol on 19 December. After the Arab observers had gone to Syria and then delivered their report to the Arab League, Qatar proposed to transfer the Syrian file to the UN Security Council. The

situation in Syria became an international issue when the Syrian file was taken to the UN Security Council, so the problem became even bigger (for al-Assad that is).

Mappings

This banner depicts al-Assad running after the train of the Arab initiative carrying a suitcase, his clothes are falling from it, and he has sweat on his face which means that it would be better if the Syrian file remained in the hands of the Arab League and did not go to the UN Security Council. Therefore, THE ARAB INITIATIVE, the source, stands for A SECURE HOME for al-Assad, the target.

Multimodal analysis

The source THE ARAB INITIATIVE is verbal (written on the train), and the target domain is deduced from the political situation of Syria and what happened after the intervention of the United Nations in the situation in Syria.

5. Discussion

Many personal factors led the protestors of the Arab Spring revolutions to create the banners that were analyzed in the previous section. Some are common factors (bad living conditions, corruption, etc.) while others are more personal. Among these personal factors, the oppression inflicted on people by the ruling class, the desire to express their opinions and thoughts about what was happening around them, to express their anger, to poke fun at their rulers, and to break their silence are also noteworthy factors.

In order to classify the metaphorical slogans in the banners under study, this section follows Kövecses' (2010a) classification that includes five categories: (i) the immediate physical location, (ii) the knowledge that is known about the entities that are engaged in the discourse, (iii) the immediate cultural context, (iv) the immediate

social setting, and (v) the linguistic context. These categories (factors) are clearly related to Semino's (2008) classification of topic-triggered, situational-triggered, and culture-related metaphors. Even though these five categories overlap with each other (see Romano, 2013) as they all deal with the same topic (the bad social, economic and political situation of Egypt and Syria) and they were created within the same cultures, five big groups have been distinguished for the classification of the banners.

5.1. Main interacting factors in the Egyptian and Syrian metaphors

Regarding the first category, **the immediate physical location**, only five examples from the Syrian corpus have been found: THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE IS A SHELL, SYRIA IS A SHELL, ANAN'S INITIATIVE IS A GRAVE, A SECURE HOME IS THE ARAB INITIATIVE, and SYRIA IS A PHANTOM AND A DEAD PLACE. These metaphors are classified within this category because their source/target domains are physical locations (places), such as SYRIA, GRAVE, and THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. No Egyptian metaphors have been found within this category.

Knowledge about the entities engaged in the discourse (or topic-triggered, meaning that the metaphors are triggered by the topic of the discourse (as in the analysis of Semino, 2008; Romano, 2013), the second category, is clearly related to the main reference in most slogans (politicians, leaders, etc.), which can be illustrated in the following Egyptian metaphors: MUBARAK IS A MONSTER AND A KILLER, MUBARAK IS STUPID, MUBARAK IS A SNAKE, MUBARAK IS A PREGNANT WOMAN, MUHAMMAD HOSNI MUBARAK IS A FAILING STUDENT, MUBARAK IS A COW, MUBARAK IS A CIGARETTE, MUBARAK IS TUHAMI BASHA, and MORSI IS A SHEEP.

As for Syrian examples of this category: BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A LION, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS GOLLUM, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS ROSE DEWITT, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A COWARD, AL-ASSAD IS A TORN MAP, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS GARGAMEL, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A BABY, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS WORSE THAN A HURRICANE, and VLADIMIR PUTIN IS JACK DAWSON.

The third category, metaphorical expressions created from **the immediate cultural context** (or culture-related), are metaphors triggered by a culture, and in this case are the metaphorical expressions that are related to the Arabic culture. Examples from Egyptian metaphors are: PROTESTORS ARE SNAKE CHARMERS, THE FUTURE IS AN OLD WOMAN, VOTING IS A SIN, EGYPT IS A BRIDE, MUBARAK IS A PHARAOH, THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS A CAMEL, and OCTOBER ARMY IS A REAL ARMY.

Syrian metaphors belonging to this category are: BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A LEG OF CHAIR, BASHAR AL-ASSAD IS A VULTURE (as vulture is considered an inferior creature for Arabs due to eating carrion), and FREEDOM IS A FLIP-FLOP.

Kövecses' fourth category of metaphorical creativity, the **immediate social setting** (or what Semino (2008) called situational-triggered metaphors), are metaphors triggered by the social, political and economic situation of a country. Examples of Egyptian metaphors that are relevant within this group are: NORTH AMERICA'S AND EUROPE'S SUPPORT IS KENTUCKY, FREE RELATIONSHIPS ARE FACEBOOK, SOCIAL UNITY IS HOLDING HANDS, SAUDI ARABIA IS A HAVEN FOR DEPOSED ARAB RULERS, FREEDOM IS A POLITICAL

SURGERY, FREEDOM IS A HARD OPERATION, and A TRIP IS A DIFFICULT AND RISKY WAY. All these metaphors are situational-triggered because they are triggered by several situations of the country. For example, the target domain NORTH AMERICA'S AND EUROPE'S SUPPORT in the metaphor NORTH AMERICA'S AND EUROPE'S SUPPORT IS KENTUCKY is triggered by the political context of the Egyptian revolution as Mubarak's regime published false information to indicate that North America and Europe were involved in overthrowing Mubarak's regime. Also, the source domain DIFFICULT AND RISKY WAY in the metaphor A TRIP IS A DIFFICULT AND RISKY WAY is triggered (partially) by the political situation of Tunisia to indicate that travelling to Saudi Arabia will be difficult and risky way for Mubarak as it was for the ex-Tunisian President Ben Ali.

The Syrian group of banners contain only three metaphors that are situationally-triggered: SYRIAN OPPOSITION PARTY AND FREEDOM ARE BLUETOOTH, POLITICS IS A GAME, and THE SYRIAN POLITICAL SITUATION IS A REALITY SHOW, as all the target domains in these metaphors are triggered by the political context of Syria.

Finally, Kövecses' last category, **the linguistic context**, is related to expressions that are manipulated phonetically (Kövecses, 2010a). For example, in Egyptian banners, the words 'people' and 'hard' in the banner that says "they are the army and we are the people, and it is hard to separate us", related to the metaphor SOCIAL UNITY IS HOLDING HANDS, end with the same letter, which in Arabic is called Saj' (assonance), and this is applied also for the verbs 'have fun' and 'be paralytic' in the banner that reads "let them have fun" and "let them be paralytic", and for the words 'for all' and 'on all' that end with the same word in the banner that reads "reading is for all, and the injustice is on all". Moreover, the words 'degage' and 'out'

that are written in the banner that says “La Vache qui rit MUUHBARAK” have the same meaning which is ‘leave’ or ‘go away’ but each word is written in a different language (French and English).

Finally, several Syrian banners include morphological and the phonological manipulation of words. For instance, in the banner that reads “born to prey”, the protestor who wrote this banner plays with the word ‘Assad’ and with its phonetics since ‘Assad’ is the surname of Bashar al-Assad and means ‘lion’ in the Arabic language. Also, the same thing happens with the banner that reads “after every boot a great explosion oh Bouti” because the word ‘bout’ in the Syrian dialect means ‘a boot’, so, again, this is a manipulation of the morphology and the phonology of the word. On the other hand, Saj’ (assonance) is found in two examples of the Syrian banners that are in the banners that reads “a country... in a baby's hand!!” and “you have to know Bashar that the revolution is not caused by Facebook! But you and your father, the he-goat”. The words ‘country’, ‘baby’, and ‘hand’ in the first banner ends with the same letter in Arabic (D), while the words ‘(Face)book’ and ‘your father’ in the second example ends with the same word in Arabic.

5.2. Contrastive aspects between the Egyptian and Syrian metaphors

Although both Egyptian and Syrian protestors used banners to show the world their outrage and demands, and they were all fighting for very similar reasons, there are some differences between the metaphorical slogans in the Egyptian and Syrian banners:

In the first place, the Egyptian metaphors only show creative mechanisms coming from four of Kövecses’ categories: metaphors triggered by the knowledge of the entities, the cultural context, the social context, and the linguistic context, but no

metaphors have been found which were created by the physical location. While the Syrian metaphors are triggered by all five factors or categories.

In the second place, regarding the source and target domains, most target domains in the Egyptian metaphors are related to the former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (eight target domains), three to the term 'freedom', two domains to the Egyptian army, two are related to countries other than Egypt, one is related to Morsi, one to Mubarak's wife, one to Egypt, and one to Egyptian political party, among other concepts, while the source domains are mostly associated with cultural concepts (five source domains), animals (four domains), the concept 'freedom' (three), medical terms (two), human organs (two), Egyptian series (two), restaurants (one), Egyptian army (one), Egyptian political movements (one), products (one), and social media (one domain).

In respect of the source and target domains in the Syrian metaphors, most of the frequent target domains are relevant to the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad (twelve target domains), four source domains related to physical locations (places), two to other leaders (Putin, Maher), two domains related to the concept 'freedom', two related to al-Assad's army, two to the Syrian political situation, and one to a Syrian party. Whereas the source domains are mostly associated with animals (five source domains), movies (three domains), objects (two), footwear (two), guns (one), carton (one), facebook (one), and natural disasters (one). The main difference regarding source and target domains is that there are no source domains related to al-Assad, which is the main reference for most of the target domains.

In the third place, even though factors relating to humour have not been analyzed in this project due to the limitation of space and time, generally, all the Egyptian and Syrian metaphorical banners contain factors that create humorous meanings for

readers. In fact, a first analysis shows that humour is more pervasive in the Syrian slogans (a fact that is made evident in the drawings), than in the Egyptian ones. It is worth mentioning also that the Syrian protestors/creators pay special attention to small details that trigger humour. For instance, in many banners, al-Assad's ears are depicted as donkey's ears (this is not mentioned in all the analysis of the banners in order to avoid repetition). Moreover, in the banner that shows al-Assad performing in Arab's Got Talent, al-Assad says "Allah [God], revolution and my people only". The word 'only' ends with the letter 's' in Arabic, but since it is known that al-Assad cannot pronounce this letter, the protestor who drew this banner substituted the letter 's' with the letter 'th' so as to indicate that al-Assad cannot pronounce the letter 's'.

In the fourth place, many Egyptian banners express the personal points of view of the Egyptian protestors, such as the banners that say "they are the army and we are the people, and it is hard to separate u'" and "I am going to perform an Umrah, so that God will forgive me because I have elected Morsi", while a few banners reveal Egypt's problems. Unlike the Egyptian slogans, Syrian banners do not express any personal points of views of the Syrian protestors, except in three examples, but reveal Syria's problems and other important issues.

In the fifth place, the multimodal metaphors of the Syrian and Egyptian banners are expressed by several modes (pictorial and verbal), but the Egyptian creators, according to the data presented in this project, used materials like papers and walls to display their banners, while the Syrian protestors used papers and cardboards for the same purpose and no walls.

Finally, the analysis of the data has revealed that some of the Syrian banners are related to Arabic proverbs that are used mostly by people in the Middle East, such as 'A leg of the chair' (meaning useless person) and 'we cooked it together' (meaning

that we are conspirators together in evil). However, this case is not found in the Egyptian banners because, in my opinion, the first proverb does not exist in the Egyptian dialect and culture, and because, as mentioned above, most of the Egyptian banners represent the points of view of the Egyptian protestors.

6. Conclusions

This work wishes to contribute to the latest developments of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, namely, the study of metaphor in real discourse situations. Metaphors are created by different people in different contexts according to different purposes, and it is only by analyzing all these situational or socio-cultural, linguistic and cognitive factors in interaction that we can fully understand how metaphorical creativity works.

More specifically, this work has shown, on the one hand, how the multimodal metaphors of the political slogans of the Egyptian and Syrian revolutions of 2011 were created through both verbal and pictorial means. And, on the other, how the specific socio-cultural setting, physical location and entities or participants involved are crucial for the analysis and understanding of these figurative expressions.

Although both Syria and Egypt are Arab countries and share a common Arab culture, the specific interests and socio-historical contexts of both countries explain the differences between the metaphorical slogans. Section five in this work, the 'discussion', has revealed that the Syrian metaphors can be classified into five categories, while the Egyptian metaphors into four (no metaphors related to physical location were found within the Egyptian corpus). In addition, regarding source and target domains, the target domains in the Egyptian metaphors are mostly related to the former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and the Egyptian army, among other domains, while the source domains are related generally to cultural concepts, animals, human organs, and the concept of 'freedom', in the main.

As for the Syrian slogans, the target domains in the Syrian metaphors are associated mostly with the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, physical locations (places), and politicians, and the source domains are related mostly to animals, Western-cultural elements such as particular movies, and also specific cultural objects such as footwear.

The Egyptian and Syrian banners also differ in that the Egyptian slogans represent mostly what the Egyptian protestors personal opinions about specific people and institutions like Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian army, Egyptian presidents among other, with this idea made evident through two expressions that are written on two Egyptian banners that were analyzed analyzed here: “they are the army and we are the people, and it is hard to separate us” and “the army of October. Where are his men! Come and carry out the CC and his garbage”. The first expression clearly shows support for the current Egyptian President, el-Sisi, while the second shows the opposite, since it is written by the supporters of deposed president, Morsi. Unlike the Egyptian banners, Syrian banners (although some represent the protestors’ personal opinions) reveal more general information of political and economic problems of the country. Egyptian slogans are thus more culturally specific than the Syrian ones which typically concern more general issues.

Finally, many Syrian and Egyptian banners contain humorous factors that are manifested through verbal and pictorial means, though the Syrian banners clearly use more humorous devices than Egyptian ones (such as drawing al-Assad’s ears as donkey’s ears), a difference that will be analyzed in future research.

New banners and new metaphors are still being created in several Arab countries where protest movements continue. Further research within this contrastive field of

study is thus needed. In the first place, it is necessary to study more Arabic languages and cultures, and to compare these metaphorical expressions to those of western languages and cultures, such as English and Spanish. And in the second place, it would also be interesting to see how humour interacts as another creative factor, as it is closely related to culture as well. Finally, I intend to study the role of social media (Facebook and Twitter) in the spreading of the Arab Spring revolutions' messages, as well as in the creation of the metaphors. As other studies have already shown, social networks help to organize protesters and demonstrations, but also act as real triggers of metaphorical and metonymical creativity by enabling creators to capture and spread their creations online, while the creative process is taking place, with no filter or control by mass media/power.

Notes

1) *Ash-sha'ab yurid isqat an-nizam!* – “The people want to overthrow the regime”, was the most widespread repeated sentence among many protesters across the Middle East and Northern Africa.

2) See references.

3) <http://www1.youm7.com/News.asp?NewsID=1546033#.U5NzD3TfrmJ>

4) http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2013/09/130917_israel_syria_assad.shtml

5) Quoted from Wikipedia.

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https://www.facebook.com/kafnbl/photos_stream

https://www.facebook.com/HnadmshqHnaAlqds/photos_stream

Internet websites:

https://www.google.es/search?q=%D8%B4%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA+%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9+%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9&biw=1188&bih=559&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ei=WUkMVOGIFMvYasLQgagL&ved=0CAYQ_AUoAQ#tbn=isch&q=%D8%B4%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA+%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9+%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1+2011

<https://www.google.es/search?q=banners+of+egypt+revolution+2011&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=JsYZU7OqGupp7QbAx4HgAg&ved=0CCcQsAQ&biw=1053&bih=704>

Appendix

- Slogans written in languages other than Arabic:



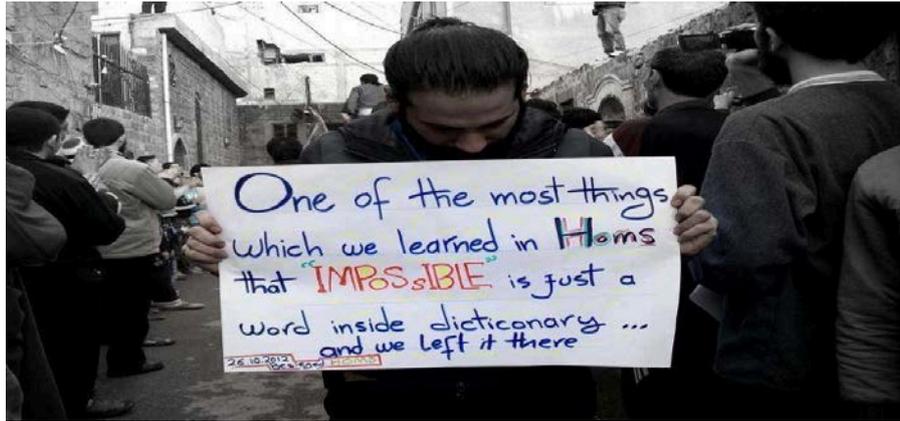
Hieroglyphic



Spanish



Chinese

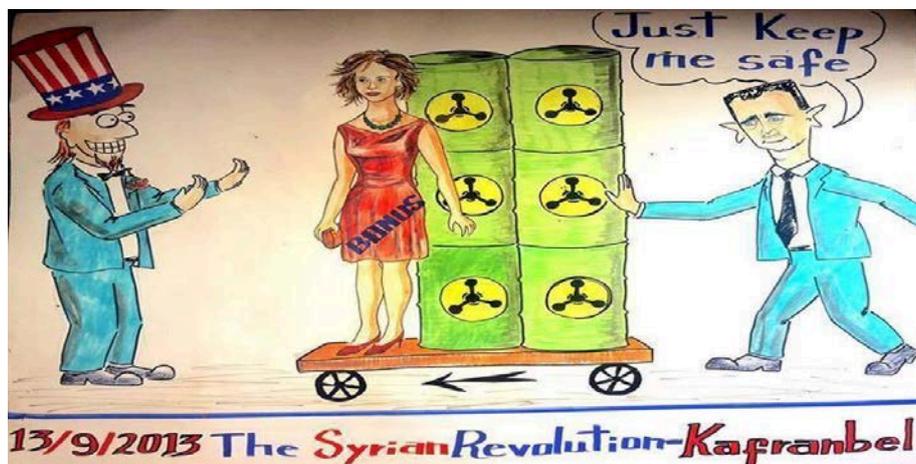


English

- Non-metaphorical expressions:



Dragging the cities from the military areas!





From people of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the regime (Egyptian regime).

We say NO to Military Trails for civilians

- Conventional metaphorical expressions:



Search with the people

He came out and did not return since thirty years.

The one who finds him: hand him to Tahrir square.

Infected with: fear, horror and stupidity.

A reward: 70 billion dollar.