

**Doctoral School of Sociology and Communication Science  
Communication Science Doctoral Program**

**THESIS SUMMARY**

**Ágnes Virág**

**„Wild Democracy”**

**The figurative conceptualization of the Parliament in Hungarian editorial cartoons  
(1989 – 2019)**

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## I. Background and relevance of the research

Parliament<sup>1</sup> is such an expression that we often associate with a wide variety of concepts. Public opinion polls (i.a. Szabó & Oross, 2018) pointed out that Hungarian university students usually associate the term of politics with the parliament, parties, democracy, lie, corruption, and power among others. While according to Kapitány and Kapitány (2002, p. 274), the Parliament as a building got special place in Hungarian intellectuals' mind and is often linked to national emotions, specifically to nationhood. As previous research proved in the case of the expression of the Parliament, the figurative meaning often comes to the fore when the Parliament is not understood as a building *per se*.

The question related to the emerging problem is that in what medium and how can the figurative meaning be examined. Political cartoon is rich in figurative devices (e.g., conceptual metaphors discussed by Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Đurović & Silaški, 2016 among others) mostly because this genre is built on two different scenarios (El Refaie, 2009, p. 108), one comes from the political field, the other belongs to a well-known, more concrete world (e.g., a scene of physical fight). Political cartoonists tend to create, sometimes re-use or reformat conceptual metonymies and use symbols (often based on stereotypes) which are relatively easy to understand mainly to their familiarity (e.g., Marín-Arrese, 2008; Negro Alousque, 2013, 2014). Familiarity is crucial in the sense that readers only have seconds to comprehend the meaning of these political cartoons (Duus, 2001). In general, political cartoons aim to humorously criticize political actors, doings, and events (Connors, 2010, p. 299) where the cartoonist and the individual (viewer) share cognitive environment including knowledge on current political news (past and present), and cultural experiences (cf. van Dijk's (2009) context model); thus, the political cartoon does not aim to change the reader's ideological or political position (instead, it rather laughs with the reader). Its specific form inserted alongside various articles in dailies is called editorial cartoon. These are also referred as op-ed cartoons because they can express or reflect opinions of editors (Abdel-Raheem, 2018, p. 32). By all these characteristics it seems that editorial cartoons that depict the Parliament can serve as a corpus for the investigation of the figurative meaning of the Parliament.

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<sup>1</sup> In the following and throughout the thesis summary, *Parliament* (with capital "p") will refer to the building itself, and *parliament* (in lowercase) will refer to the institution.

The figurative meaning of a concept can be examined through the study of conceptual devices (conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy were mentioned earlier). According to cognitive linguists (cf. Kövecses, 2020), in the case of a conceptual metaphor (Figure 1), the target domain (in our case it is the PARLIAMENT<sup>2</sup>) is understood through the conceptually distant source domain (for instance, via the domain of the COLOSSEUM) and one or more features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT (THE ASSEMBLY HALL) IS A COLOSSEUM can be decomposed into the following mappings: gladiator games < political negotiations, wild animals/gladiators < politicians, the emperor < the prime minister (Gyula Horn), and finally, showing the hand sign of the mortal judgement < authoritarian decision-making procedure. The identification of the conceptual metaphor is helped by conceptual metonymies as well. In a conceptual metonymy, the source entity provides access to the target entity while these entities are in close conceptual relationship with each other (cf. Littlemore, 2015, p. 4). When we look at Figure 1, we can realize consecutive arcs behind each other, they are standing for two cages (par-for-whole metonymy), one on the right side, one on the left. From the combination of these cages, the circular platform (part-for-whole metonymies), the finger pointing down (action-for-the event) and crawling on all fours standing for the features of animals (characteristic feature-for-the entity) we can conclude that the cartoonist wanted to depict the Colosseum through its individual elements where FEATURES OF AN ANIMAL FIGHT OR GLADIATOR GAME STAND FOR THE COLOSSEUM.



Figure 1 Conceptual metaphor in editorial cartoon: THE PARLIAMENT (THE ASSEMBLY HALL) IS A COLOSSEUM

Title: Circus

<sup>2</sup> Concepts are written in small capitals in accordance with the Cognitive Linguistic literature.

As it has been illustrated above, we are able to interpret politics and the Parliament itself as the site of real, dangerous, life-or-death physical battles with the help of conceptual devices. Why is it interesting to deal with these figurative meanings? Mostly, because all of these can influence how we think about politics, its processes, and actors, how we argue in the case of a political problem and how we would try to solve it. Otherwise, the Parliament seems a permanent phenomenon throughout the years, however, this research could point to its different meanings and nuances of meaning variants. So even the stability of the meaning of such a strong national symbol can be questioned.

The research aims to investigate how the Hungarian Parliament is visually represented in editorial cartoons and how these visual representations – through figurative framing devices such as conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies – construct the concept of the parliament. Furthermore, the thesis discusses how these cognitive devices cooperate with ironies and cultural references (such as idioms, allusions, and national symbols) which are determinant in evaluation procedures and the creation of emotional bonds between the viewer and the cartoon. In doing so, the dissertation studies the caricaturistic representations of the Parliament in three various periods (Körösényi, 2015); thus, the investigation is longitudinal (describing thirty years since 1989) and comparative.

### **1.1 Novelties of the research**

In terms of novelties, the dissertation examines Hungarian editorial cartoons in a cognitive linguistic framework, unlike this, so far Hungarian political cartoons have been discussed by historians (e.g., Tamás, 2014, 2017; Vörös, 2018). Second, although the Parliament is an important concept (which has been confirmed), its figurative meaning has not been studied so widely yet. Third, it is a multimodal investigation of conceptual processes that fits into the trend of cognitive linguistic research that focuses on the cooperation of different processes. Fourth, this research examines a large data set in context where the contextual factors are limited to three types, namely idioms, allusions, and national symbols (context types are usually not defined in such concrete ways, e.g., Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2017). Fifth, the dissertation applies Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) (Kövecses, 2020) in practice in a larger corpus. Sixth, it is diachronic investigation which is rare in the field of cartoon research (e.g., Frantzich, 2013; Riad, 2019) also in cognitive research, especially in multimodal research.

## **1.2 Hypotheses**

Based on the observations linked to the Parliament (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002; Szabó & Oross, 2018) and on the results of previous research of recurring metaphors in political discourse (Reehorst, 2014) and the critical appearance of the US Congress in editorial cartoons (Frantzich, 2016), three hypotheses were established. The hypotheses seek to delineate assumptions that draw a comprehensive and larger picture of the process of criticism by examining a number of variables occurring in editorial cartoons representing the Parliament over the past thirty years.

H 1: It is assumed that the Parliament is strongly related to abstract concepts that is why the Parliament is often represented via conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies which cooperate with ironies, and is heavily influenced by cultural references (such as idioms, allusions, and national symbols).

H 2: It is assumed that only a limited number of cognitive devices (supplemented with cultural references) is used in editorial cartoons, this means that the members of the set come up again and again based on stereotypes. However, the distribution and the constellation of certain cognitive devices can uniquely characterize and distinguish various periods; thus, trend-like changes can be detected.

H 3: It is assumed that the increasing number of the metaphorical source domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT with its metonymical perspectivization in the corpus anticipates the use of increasingly aggressive figurative language which is related to other figurative means.

## **1.3 Theoretical background**

To revise the hypotheses Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) (Kövecses, 2020) and Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) were applied in combination. As for the choice of ECMT, it allows us to systematically organize the conceptual metaphorical processes according to the schematicity hierarchy due to the multilevel view of metaphor. In that way, we can differentiate more abstract (at image schematic, domain, and frame levels) and more concrete (at the mental spaces level) metaphorical processes. This differentiation is

crucial in the sense that the first belongs to the offline procedures (as part of the long-term memory), while the second belongs to online processes (as part of the short-term memory). With the help of the study of the offline procedures, editorial cartoons are expected to be comparable and trend lines of the most frequent metaphorical source domains can be created. By examining the online procedures, uniqueness, creative, and heavily context-dependent features of the conceptual metaphors in editorial cartoons can become perceivable at the mental spaces level.

Beside ECMT, we needed a theory which can handle more concepts at the same time (not only two domains as in the case of conceptual metaphors) and Mental Space Theory (MST) (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) is turned out to be flexible enough to describe how a blended mental space, namely the editorial cartoon can be construed by projecting elements from various input mental spaces. However, with the help of MST, one editorial cartoon can be described in such detail that it does not allow for a general comparison in a large corpus. This is more of a discourse theoretical approach because it seeks to map online processes. As a result, we made use of both theories in the hope of capturing the figurative meaning of the Parliament on both a concrete and an abstract level and we even managed to connect these two.

## II. The presentation of the corpus and the applied methodology

The current research is based on the corpus of 585 editorial cartoons retrieved from the Hungarian dailies *Népszava*, *Népszabadság*, *Magyar Nemzet*, and *Magyar Hírlap* from the period between 1989 and 2019 (available at [arcanum.com](http://arcanum.com)). The only criterion for selection was the visible representation of any architectural part of the Parliament, namely, its façade, dome, entrance, Assembly Hall, or a pulpit, in case, the Parliament was named overtly, the editorial cartoon was gathered into the corpus. The elaboration and confirmation of the annotation procedure was supported by an interrater reliability test (with two co-coders). Due to some properties of the corpus (e.g., a large number of representations of some cartoonists), it may be thought that the corpus is not balanced enough. The aim was to examine all editorial cartoons related to the Parliament which were published between 1989 and 2019. From this point of view, we believe that the corpus can be said to be complete.

The basic structure of the methodology can be divided into three major stages, identification, interpretation, and explanation (set up by Critical Metaphor Analysis, Charteris-Black, 2004). We could also see that various stages are interested in diverse questions.

In the first stage, before the identification of cognitive devices, it was inevitable to study the major topics of the editorial cartoons (Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020). The detection of these topics meant the examination of politicians' criticized features (personal criticism) and violated democratic values (institutional criticism). This was also the stage where cultural references could be identified with deductive lists by applying Qualitative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006). In the case of cognitive devices, however, step-by-step identification procedures were provided, and this was the stage where their first step took place (e.g., the identification of incongruencies in the case of conceptual metaphors).

The second stage, the interpretation was intended to describe the operation and co-operation of the various cognitive devices and cultural references. Within the stage of interpretation, we tried to answer to the question how the parliament was represented figuratively and how the cartoonist criticized it. This was where the conceptual structures were revealed by the application of diverse step-by-step methodologies for each cognitive process. In the case of conceptual metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (Forceville, 2019) and multilevel view of metaphors (Kövecses, 2020) were used for description. As for conceptual



metonymies, a step-by-step method carried out by Pérez Sobrino (2017) was applied. In the case ironies, the methods developed by Barnden (2018) and by Lozano-Palacio (2020) were combined. The various step-by-step identification procedures are summarized in Table 1.

<b>Conceptual procedure</b>	<b>Conceptual metaphor</b>	<b>Conceptual metonymy</b>	<b>Irony</b>
<b>Step 1</b>	Identify the domain-level source different from the political situation (e.g., PHYSICAL CONFLICT)	Define the metonymical source domain of the PARLIAMENT (e.g., ASSEMBLY HALL)	Define the ironic contrast
<b>Step 2</b>	Identify the source domain of the PARLIAMENT (understood as a target domain) (e.g., COLOSSEUM)	Define the metonymical target of the PARLIAMENT (understood as a metonymical source domain) (e.g., government)	Define the type of the contrast occurring, namely the type of the irony: oxymoron-based (based on evaluation) or causal type of irony (based on illogical reasoning)
<b>Step 3</b>	Define the type of the conceptual metaphor	Define the modality of the metonymical source domain	
<b>Step 4</b>	Define the modality of the metaphoric source domain	Define the modality of the metonymical target domain	
<b>Step 5</b>	Define the modality of the metaphoric target domain	Other conceptual metonymies linked to the previously detected conceptual metaphor or conceptual metonymy	
<b>Step 6</b>	Define the mappings between the target and the source domains		

Table 1 Step-by-step identification procedures of conceptual devices

The third stage, the explanation wanted to look at the figurative meaning of the parliament from a wider perspective and asked how this figurative meaning changed over the years. In this stage, Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) offered the method of comparison. In our case, it happened with the help of the periodization of the Hungarian democracy set up by Körösnéyi (2015). In sum, the trends of cognitive devices and cultural references linked to the concept of the parliament were compared from three different periods (which are transition, consolidation and crisis and regime change). The goal of this stage was to indicate similarities and differences in distribution and preference of the variables for each era.

### III. Discussion of the results

The dissertation sought answers to questions related to the figurative representation of the Hungarian Parliament in editorial cartoons published between 1989 and 2019. What the present research could demonstrate was not about politics but about its conceptualization linked to the depiction of the Parliament in a specific genre during the past thirty years.

The main results show that

1) the representation of the Parliament was strongly linked to such conceptual procedures as conceptual metonymy and conceptual metaphor. These cognitive devices were likely to cooperate with ironies and cultural references. In many cases, it seems that the analysis of conceptual metaphors alone would not have been sufficient to grasp the meaning of the caricature. In the case of idioms and allusions, we could observe more active metonymic and metaphoric motivation, and these cultural references often appeared multimodally.

2) in the editorial cartoons of the corpus, there were permanent cognitive devices during the entire period (e.g., the conceptual metonymy *THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT*, or the conceptual metaphor *THE PARLIAMENT IS A PLACE FOR PHYSICAL CONFLICT*). However, regarding the contents and functions of these cognitive devices, it could be observed that the compared periods of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015) showed significant differences based on the diverse preferences and distribution of the cognitive devices with specific cultural references in each era (shown in Table 2 and Table 3). In general, the results show that the use of the limited number of conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors, with again a limited number of allusions and national symbols were supplemented with less repetitive, surprising, and creative devices as ironies and idioms. Furthermore, on the basis of the investigation of cognitive devices and cultural references, the increase of a more verbally dominant ironic language featured by double talk and fine mockery could be observed which was dominated by indirect elements (conceptual metonymies and causal ironies).

3) the increase of more aggressive scenes emerged from the metaphoric domain of *PHYSICAL CONFLICT*, which went hand in hand with a change in the use of national symbols referring to the perceived extreme nationalist content, and political slogans which were dominated by the direct elements (literal citations, showing violence overtly). While in linguistic changes indirect

processes took place (criticism appeared in an increasingly disguised form), in visual processes direct changes became predominant, so for instance, violence appeared literally. These shifts in the communication strategies of the editorial cartoons are able to contribute to the increasing critique of the perceived violated democratic values and corrupt, partisan politicians shown in the editorial cartoons.

In the next three subsection (3.1, 3.2, and 3.3), we will look at the studied variables with more details.

### **3.1 Institutional and personal criticism**

We can state that general stereotypical features of the politicians (Frantzich, 2013) appeared from time to time, but each period was significantly different, because some stereotypical features played a prominent role in them. In sum, the period of transition was mostly characterized by politicians' undesirable behavior, later, in consolidated democracy, politicians were rather featured by immorality (but undesirable behavior remained an influencing factor.) However, in the period of crisis and regime change, politicians were again featured by immorality, but it was supplemented with partisanship (expressing abuse of power) and corruption.

These changes shown in the editorial cartoons are likely to be linked to the changes in meaning of the term "politician". In the initial period (but already in the parliamentary democracy), this occupation itself was a novelty compared to the politician who appeared in the socialist regime. In the analyzed editorial cartoons, politicians of previous regimes were depicted as politicians who did not think, did not act, and executed instructions (set up by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party). Presumably, the learning process of this profession and taking advantage of the related benefits were also reflected in the change in meaning. Thus, we have to make an important statement according to which stereotypes seem constant, but their prototypes are variable.

As for the representation of democracy, if only the main factors are highlighted, we claim that the editorial cartoons pointed out that most people wanted a better life (general welfare, fair wages, and social security). On the other hand, however, the first period was characterized by violations of such democratic rules as transparent decision-making. By contrast, in the second

period, editorial cartoons showed the violations of consensual democracy the most, namely the ruling parties did not take into account the other parties' opinion at all. By the third period, high level of corruption became a major theme in cartoons, which also threatened democratic functioning according to the cartoonists.

In line with the corpus, sociological polls also confirmed (with the method of word association) that democracy was more and more linked to freedom, equality, representativeness of the people and the institutions which maintained democracy, by contrast, economic and material aspects such as welfare, fair wages, and development were much less associated with democracy (Susánszky et al., 2021, pp. 40–49). Based on the analyses of the corpus, we can only state that the concepts of “politician” and “democracy” presented in editorial cartoons have changed over time.

### **3.2 Metonymy, metaphor, and irony**

Overall, we could see that certain visual parts of the Parliament triggered metonymically different target domains which could be motivated by their visual form and their semantic content. It also meant that metonymic understanding did not finish at the conceptual metonymy part-for-the-whole in which AN ARCHITECTURAL PART OF THE PARLIAMENT or THE VERBALLY EXPRESSED PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE PARLIAMENT. Furthermore, the Parliament could recall a wide variety of concepts linked to politics, namely POLITICAL TOPICS, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, PARLIAMENT AS AN INSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, POLITICIANS, and even CITIZENS among others.

In the period of transition, the three most popular visual elements of Parliament were THE ASSEMBLY HALL, THE BUILDING, and THE DOME (metonymical source domains). Consequently, among the most preferred metonymical target domains we found POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS, GENERAL POLITICAL TOPIC, THE GOVERNMENT, and POWER. In the second period, namely during the consolidation, the representations of THE ASSEMBLY HALL and THE BUILDING (as metonymical source domains) were still popular, but these were supplemented by the depiction of THE CORRIDOR (as a metonymical source domain) which entailed such metonymical target domains as OFFICIAL CEREMONIES, MEETING OF THE POLITICIANS AND THE PRESS, CORRUPT AFFAIRS, NETWORKING, and NEPOTISM. In the third period, during the crisis and regime change, the position of THE CORRIDOR became even stronger (appeared in higher number

than before). In sum, metonymical targets were very diverse in the earlier periods, while recently the depicted parts of the Parliament narrowed down to two locations (namely the Assembly Hall and the corridor) which significantly narrowed the metonymical target domains.

As for conceptual metaphors, we tried to systematically organize the various levels of conceptual metaphors following the multimodal view of metaphor (Kövecses, 2020). The most frequent domain-level conceptual metaphors linked to the depiction of the Parliament in editorial cartoons were discussed and illustrated where the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS X occurred. In sum, it can be stated that the target domain of POLITICS was usually conceptualized through the following metaphorical source domains, PHYSICAL CONFLICT, ENTERTAINMENT, and MOVING.

We could see that PHYSICAL CONFLICT as a metaphoric source domain was always prominent, but it showed various aspects of the conflict during the timespan examined. In the first period, cartoons focused on the preparation for the fight or showed tension, then in the second period, they depicted ongoing fights, while in the third period, the representation of more intense and aggressive scenes with the use of modern weapons appeared and the depictions of death or death penalty were not rare at all. As for the aggressive behavior, in the third period, beside THE PHYSICAL CONFLICT, novel domain-level metaphoric sources appeared, these were the domains of SPORT and CLEANING. SPORT was related to highly aggressive phases of the sport activities in which the opponent was completely destroyed (in previous periods, this was rarely occurring metaphorical source domain, and then the difficulty of the game and the unpreparedness of the teams were emphasized). As for CLEANING, it was intertwined with corruption by showing a new aspect of dirtiness (in previous periods, it related to the pressing the buttons, and to dirt left in the Assembly Hall). We claim that selection and perspectivization of each source domain has shifted in an increasingly personal, direct, and aggressive direction over the time; and this shift shows how the representation of democracy got wilder then it had been after the change of the political system.

As for ironies, we differentiated two types (oxymoron and casual types) in the corpus by applying the methods developed by Barnden (2018) and Lozano-Palacio (2020). As a result of our analyses, we can claim that ironies showed differences in their type and function in various periods of democracy. In the first period, both types of ironies were used quite similarly to criticize the system, and to question the operation of democracy, the government, and the press,

furthermore, proficiency and morality of the politicians in general were also examined through ironies. In the second period, oxymoron-based ironies came to the fore and were used to differentiate criticism against the first Orbán-government and the Gyurcsány-government. Finally, in the third period, we could observe that ironies as a figurative device became quite popular, however, the causal type of irony was much more dominant than the oxymoron-type. The basic tone of ironies expressed that the government ruled the country with the application of authoritarian techniques and used abuse of power. In sum, with the increasing number of causal ironies, it can be said that hidden irony and non-direct criticism came to the fore. When analyzing the examples, we saw that irony can also cooperate with conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors, but it is the most independent and the most verbal of the variables examined.

<b>Periods of democracy</b>	<b>Metonymy</b>	<b>Metaphor</b>	<b>Irony</b>
<b>Transition (1989 – 1998)</b>	1. THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS & ACTIONS (1) 2. THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT (2) 3. THE DOME STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT/POLITICAL EVENT & ACTION/ GOVERNMENT/POWER/ POLITICIANS/THE COUNTRY, and THE POLITICAL TOPIC	1. POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT (without physical touch) 2. POLITICS IS MOVING (e.g., referring to the accession to the EEC) 3. POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT	same ratio of oxymoron and causal type ironies used for the critique of the creation of political parties and factions, and for the critique of the operation of the parliament
<b>Consolidation (1999 – 2006)</b>	(1) (2) 3. THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC (such as official ceremonies, meeting of the politicians and the press, corrupt affairs, networking, nepotism) (3)	1. POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT 2. POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT (ongoing fights) 3. POLITICS IS MOVING (referring to the career of a person or a party)	increasing no. of oxymoron-based irony used for the critique of the two-block system and the increasing role of the party leaders (presidentialization)
<b>Crisis and regime change (2007 – 2019)</b>	(1) (3) (2)	1. POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT (coercion, death, mortal judgement, mutilation) 2. POLITICS IS SPORT 3. POLITICS IS A DIRTY ACTIVITY	increasing no. of causal type ironies used for expressing more sarcastic and pejorative tone in an implicate manner in order to criticize the PM and the measurements of the government from a starting point that usually expresses repression and abuse of power

Table 2 Metonymies, metaphors, and ironies in different periods of democracy

### 3.3 Cultural references

In the case of idioms, it could be seen that all the investigated types (saying and proverb, polylexemic idiomatic expression, compound word, and polysemous word) could be found in each period of democracy but in different proportions. The most striking is that the number of sayings halved by the second period, and it stagnated in the third period. Furthermore, polysemous words in editorial cartoons almost disappeared in the third period. The decline of sayings and polysemous words can also be linked to the decline in metaphoricity of the editorial cartoons in the corpus (62%, 53%, then 47% of the editorial cartoons were identified metaphoric in diverse periods) which also confirms that direct mappings between metaphoric source and political metaphoric target domains show a declining trend. The multimodal appearance of idioms was dominant over their verbal and visual representation. Idioms could cooperate with ironies, and most probably due to their multimodal and visual appearance in editorial cartoons, their metonymic motivation was stronger than their metaphoric motivation.

Allusions were differentiated based on their origin (European, Hungarian). While the first period focused on the change of political forces, the development of political power relations, and the formation of parties and coalitions through Christian and antique references, the second period was featured by the characteristics of the two-block system and presidentialization mainly through Hungarian quotations from various genres (from music to cabaret). In the third period, the presence of the political slogans was considerable, which resulted in the criticism of the person of the prime minister and the government which was mostly mocked for its excessive dominance and abuse of power. All in all, we can say that allusions were primarily to a wider audience (due to well-known, often metaphorically represented stories), on the contrary, in the latter period they addressed a narrower readership of the newspapers (due to specific political slogans, often intertwined with ironies).

As for the national symbols, we differentiated four types based on their origin and featured them according to their value judgment (neutral and negative/pejorative). These four types were permanent, ancient and early Hungarian, 19th-century, and 20th-century national symbols. Overall, it could be observed that in the first period, editorial cartoons mostly criticized the past

political regime and sought to remove their visual cues (e.g., the five-pointed star), while at the same time, policy responses to problems posed by the past system were also criticized (e.g., a compensation ticket appeared as a paper boat on the Danube indicating that this was not a real solution to the problem). In the second period, national symbols related to personal and governmental national ideologies (e.g., yurt or Bocskai suit), and in 2006, certain national symbols (e.g., Árpád-striped flag) indicated the existence of movements professing far-right views. Finally, in the third period, national symbols that are specifically related to violence and abuse criticized the operation of the parliament alongside these ideologies. During the same period, as it was illustrated by the representations of the national flag in editorial cartoons, nationalism evolved into a populist concept, and it was able to divide the nation. All these latter examples were linked to the civilians as the editorial cartoons represented the Kossuth Square (with a homeless person, showing a demonstration, and a preparation for the national holiday of August 20) while the Parliament appeared in the background in a somewhat faceless way, therefore, no one was accountable. The investigation of national symbols in the corpus confirmed that criticism of the ethnonationalist thinking appeared in the editorial cartoons which was reflected in the expropriation and use of certain national symbols.

<b>Periods of democracy</b>	<b>Idioms</b>	<b>Allusions</b>	<b>National symbols</b>
<b>Transition (1989 – 1998)</b>	dominance of proverbs with negative evaluation	international (Christian and European)	Referred to the past political regime (socialist regime) (e.g., five-pointed star)
<b>Consolidation (1999 – 2006)</b>	number of proverbs halved	Hungarian cultural products (music, literature)	Linked to personal and governmental national ideologies (e.g., Bocskai suit) Linked to far-rights movements (e.g., Árpád-striped flag)
<b>Crisis and regime change (2007 – 2019)</b>	stagnated (compared to the previous period)	political slogans and quotations	Linked to nationalism (within populism) (e.g., national flag)

Table 3 Cultural references in different periods of democracy

The dissertation faces some limitations, with reference to the specificity of the corpus, the investigated variables, the lack of empirical research, and unique focus of the research on the figurative representation of the Parliament. The extension of the corpus (contextual, including various platforms, or genre), the examined variables (e.g., verbal aggression), and shift in the major focus (e.g., defining year-over-year trendlines) are all possible options for further research.



The research can attract attention for cognitive linguists who are interested in multimodal research and want to study cognitive processes different from conceptual metaphor or want to examine the interplay of various cognitive devices embedded in cultural contextual knowledge. It also attempts to provide guidelines regarding the application of the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020). The operation of these cognitive processes can attract the interest of political cartoon experts and semioticians who can gain insight how the variables examined in the corpus can be identified and connected to each other. The other target audience is the circle of those dealing with political science and media without whom the exploration of the reasons for the presented results cannot be fully completed. The author believes that the research can be connected with media representation and trends described by political science, but all of this requires a different apparatus than the theoretical framework and methods used in the dissertation.

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## V. The author's publications about the topic

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