

Ágnes Virág

“WILD DEMOCRACY”

**THE FIGURATIVE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PARLIAMENT
IN HUNGARIAN EDITORIAL CARTOONS (1989 – 2019)**

Supervisor: Réka Benczes, DSc

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Corvinus University of Budapest
Doctoral School of Sociology and Communication Science
Communication Science Doctoral Program

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Doctoral Thesis

Ágnes Virág

Budapest
2022

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Abbreviations

CMA	Critical Metaphor Analysis
CMMT	Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DK	Demokratikus Koalíció (lit. Democratic Coalition)
ECMT	Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory
Fidesz	Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség (lit. Fidesz (Alliance of Young Democrats – Hungarian Civic Alliance)
FKGP	Független Kisgazda, Földmunkás- és Polgári Párt (lit. Independent Smallholders Agrarian Workers and Civic Party)
Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (lit. Movement for a Better Hungary)
KDNP	Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (lit. Christian Democratic People's Party)
LMP	Lehet Más a Politika (lit. Politics Can Be Different)
MDF	Magyar Demokrata Fórum (lit. Hungarian Democratic Forum)
MDP	Magyar Dolgozók Pártja (lit. Hungarian Working People's Party)
MH	<i>Magyar Hírlap</i>
MIÉP	Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja (lit. Hungarian Justice and Life Party)
MN	<i>Magyar Nemzet</i>
Momentum	Momentum Mozgalom (lit. Momentum Movement)
MST	Mental Space Theory
MSZMP	Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt (lit. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party)
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt (lit. Hungarian Socialist Party)
N	<i>Népszabadság</i>
NS	<i>Népszava</i>
SZDSZ	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (lit. Alliance of Free Democrats)

Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to my mentor, Réka Benczes because I got an incredible amount of support from her who is the best trainer I could ever wish for. She was always there when I needed fair and inspiring criticism, understanding, or guidance. I learned the term “to be straight to the point” from her and I try to apply it with more or less success in my work. Her personality inspired me to dare to take on challenges, for example, to try to teach at a university, something I had never thought of before. Another thing she promoted was to publish in international journals.

I am also grateful to my professors, present and former colleagues:

Petra Aczél, Orsolya Bencsik, András Benedek, Orsolya Endrődy, Marlies de Groot, László Kálmán, Alfons Maes, Kristóf Nyíri, Éva Osztényi, Jessica Storey-Nagy, Lilla Petronella Szabó, Zsófia Szlama, Katalin Tellis, Ágnes Veszelszki, to the artists I interact with, specifically to Marabu and Gábor Pápai and to the staff of the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét and the Institute of Fine Arts and Art Theory at Eszterházy Károly Catholic University, Eger.

I am very much obliged to Rita Brdar-Szabó and Veronika Jávör-Szelid, the referees of the earlier draft of this thesis for their thoughtful comments and efforts towards improving the dissertation.

I would like to thank to my family for letting me struggle with myself and pushing me to get to know my capacities: to my parents, Erika and Sándor, to my brother, Barni, to my partner Szabolcs, and to my soulmate Róbert who were patient, tolerant and even spiritually motivating in hard times throughout writing this thesis. Lastly, my huge thanks go to my grandma, Rozália who always struggled to get the girls to learn, which she did not have the opportunity to do.

My special thanks go to Bharatanatyam dancers' community, especially to Panni, Móni, and Csilla who kept all my body refreshed through continuous trainings, dance camps, performances, and chats.

Dedication

For my Grandma and Mom

Cartoons reveal a side of political culture not found in official memoranda, public speeches and newspaper editorials, theoretical tracts, and ideological pamphlets. They provide access to “everyday” reactions to politics that even public opinion polls cannot capture. (Duus, 2001, p. 995)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Parliament¹ is an expression that we often associate with a wide variety of concepts. To show that consider those public opinion polls (cf. captured Szabó & Oross, 2018) which proved that Hungarians² associate the term of politics with the parliament³, parties, democracy, lie, corruption, and power among others. What we must see here is that in the case of political discourses, the parliament seems an inevitable term. However, it is a polysemous expression in Hungarian because it also refers to the building where the institution of the parliament meets. To differentiate the building, we will use capital “P”. The importance of the building in Hungarians’ minds was pointed out in another sociological survey⁴ (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002, p. 274) which focused on the research of national symbols. The survey revealed that the respondents attached a particularly important role to the building of the Parliament, which, according to them, expressed Hungarian nationhood better than the castles of Buda and Eger. These results also highlight that the parliament/Parliament is often associated with other abstract concepts (e.g., politics or nationhood) that go far beyond the literal meanings of both the institution and the building.

When the Parliament is not understood as a building *per se*, we are speaking about figurative meanings. Political cartoons are effective tools for figurative communication on politics, and in doing so, they often represent different parts of the Parliament to show complex political events. Political cartoon as a genre is rich, for instance, in conceptual metaphors (El Refaie, 2003, 2009) (for further discussion on conceptual metaphor, see Section 2.2.2). This genre is considered as a “multimodal text” (El Refaie, 2009, p. 182) which is a “visual

¹ In the following and throughout the thesis, *Parliament* (with capital “p”) will refer to the building itself, and *parliament* (in lowercase) will refer to the institution.

² Opinion polls were carried out among university students three times in various years (in 2013, in 2015, and in 2016).

³ We do not know whether it is the reference of the institution or the building, but the authors (Szabó & Oross, 2018) used lowercase, so we can suspect that parliament refers to the institution.

⁴ The survey was conducted with 300 intellectuals in 1999 (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002).

expression of metaphorical thoughts or concepts” (El Refaie, 2003, p. 78) and it counts on both the political interests and the communicative purposes: political cartoons “typically use a fantasy scenario to comment upon an aspect of topical social, political, or cultural reality” (El Refaie, 2009, p.182, following Suls, 1972). In short, we usually define political cartoons as “self-contained, stand-alone pictures where the cartoonist comments on a current event.” (Abdel-Raheem, 2018, p. 32) Political cartoon (as it is an umbrella term) has more specific subgenres, for instance, editorial cartoon. Editorial cartoons are illustrations, they “summarize or reflect opinions expressed in the op-ed texts they accompany.” (Abdel-Raheem, 2018, p. 32) (For a more detailed discussion on political cartoons, see Section 1.2).

Looking at an example of figurative (metaphorical) representation in editorial cartoon, consider Figure 1.1. It represents the Parliament (more specifically the Assembly Hall) as the Colosseum where politicians are fighting against each other like gladiators, it is considered a metaphorical representation of the parliament which is built on the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FIGHT⁵. As we can observe the conceptual metaphor has two diverse domains, the target domain is POLITICS which is understood through various aspects of the source domain that is the PHYSICAL FIGHT. So in the case of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FIGHT, the following mappings can be identified: Colosseum < Parliament, gladiator games < political negotiations, gladiators < politicians, the emperor < the prime minister (Gyula Horn), and finally, showing the hand sign of the mortal judgement < authoritarian decision-making procedure. At the same time, the Parliament is also shown as a circus (supported by the title of the editorial cartoon), where the politicians act like wild animals. Thus, COLOSSEUM (antique circus) and the CIRCUS (in general) were applied as metaphorical source domains to indicate the features of politics during the period of transition.

⁵ Small capitals are used to indicate concepts (in accordance with the Cognitive Linguistic literature), therefore conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies are written in small capitals.



Figure 1.1 Conceptual metaphor in editorial cartoon: POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FIGHT

Title: Circus⁶

The editorial cartoons⁷ have the potential to speak about certain eras, even about longer periods, they can criticize the field of politics and its participants by reacting quickly to daily domestic political events (Duus, 2001) and they do this by using figurative devices. The dissertation takes the challenge to study a corpus of such editorial cartoons which depict the Hungarian Parliament between 1989 and 2019. Thus, the elements of the corpus examined are assumed to speak about abstract terms (and not about the building *per se* that is shown in the cartoon) because they try to represent highly complex political processes.

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. In doing so, the dissertation studies the caricaturistic representations of the Parliament in three various periods⁸ (Körösényi, 2015); thus, the investigation is longitudinal (describing thirty years) and comparative. It is expected that by the investigation of the

⁶ 5.5.1997, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

⁷ The editorial cartoon is a specific political cartoon which is inserted among articles and cooperates with the textual materials, but in fact, it means more than an illustration of an article (Abdel-Raheem, 2019), it can even display the exact opposite of what is described in the article. For elaborated discussion on political cartoons and its specific type, namely editorial, see Section 1.4.

⁸ In his book entitled *The Hungarian political system – after a quarter of a century*, András Körösényi (2015) set up the periodization of the era and designated three consecutive periods but significantly different in their character. These are the following: the period of transition (1989-1998), the period of consolidation (1999-2006), and finally, the period of crisis and regime change (after 2007). For detailed presentation of this division of democracy, see Section 3.1.2.

cognitive devices in the corpus, we will manage to describe how the Parliament and the related concepts (e.g., parliament, politician, democracy, etc.), were understood and criticized during the past thirty years. Until now the concept of the Hungarian parliament was not investigated through the examination of the figurative devices in the Hungarian literature.

However, a similar corpus research (discussing the occurring metaphorical representations of the US Congress) was carried out linked to the US Congress (Frantzich, 2016, pp. 134–150; Frantzich & Scheier, 1995) to reveal how the US Congress was represented in such media genres as editorial cartoons, among others. This research meant a starting point to the study of the Hungarian corpus. In sum, Frantzich's research confirmed the existence of the figurative representation of a legislative institution in editorial cartoons, provided tendencies of the politicians' criticized features, and showed the trends of the criticized features of democracy. Nevertheless, he did not connect these variables in his corpus analysis.

Another essential contribution to the dissertation was Reehorst's (2014) comparative corpus research that aimed to investigate the metaphorical representation of the American presidential elections of 1936 and 2012 in editorial cartoons. Reehorst's analysis showed an increasing number of metaphorical frames linked to power relations, competition and aggressivity. All in all, Reehorst drew attention to the flexible meaning of the metaphoric framing which was determined by the knowledge about the source and the target domain (ELECTION).

The following section of the Introduction (in Section 1.1) gives an overview of the literary definitions of the political terms linked to the Parliament/parliament which is followed by the discussion of figurative associations about the Parliament/parliament (in subsections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2). Section 1.2 presents the genre of the political cartoon. Section 1.3 gives a short overview of the corpus (for details see Section 3.3), then Section 1.4 introduces the aims of the research, which is followed by Section 1.5, it describes the relevance of the research and introduces research questions with hypotheses. Finally, Section 1.6 delineates the structure of the dissertation.

1.1 The parliament and its closely related terms

In this section, the political terms strongly linked to the concept of the parliament are interpreted (Szabó & Oross, 2018), what makes this necessary is the polysemous nature of the parliament on the one hand, and the associations linked to the parliament on the other. This seems important

in the sense that we suppose that the representation of the Parliament metonymically can recall these political terms. In the case of conceptual metonymies, one or more metonymical source domain(s) (e.g., the building of the Parliament) can provide access to a metonymical target domain (e.g., the parliament) where metonymical source and target domains are conceptually related entities. In short, we can say that for instance, THE BUILDING OF THE PARLIAMENT can STAND FOR THE INSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT. (For further discussion on conceptual metonymy, see Section 2.2.1).

The *Hungarian Parliament* ('Országház', literally the "House of the Country") refers to the neogothic building in Budapest on the riverbank of the Danube, where the *parliament* chosen by the people can gather. This institution means the supreme power and legislative body of the country. Smuk (2018, pp. 1–2) considers that *parliament* is a polyseme word and has three literal meanings: first, it is part of the constitutional system, the legislative body of the state, but it also refers to the building that ensures the functioning of this body (hereinafter, if we understand the building then Parliament is capitalized). Second, it is essential for the functioning of representative democracy, and it is the protagonist of the exercise of public authority. Third, among its most important functions we can find legislation, control over the executive power, election of officials, and it serves as a forum for political debates on public affairs. In one of his previous papers, Smuk (2014, p. 2) claims that the Hungarian Parliament and also the Saint Crown are the symbols of statehood. Moreover, the Parliament is protected by law (Act XXXVI of 2012) (Smuk, 2014, p. 2), is included among the national symbols in the compulsory educational curriculum (Dancs, 2018; Smuk, 2014, p. 4), and the infringement of national emblems is subject to criminal law (Smuk, 2014, p. 4).

The members of the Parliament (MPs) refer to democratically elected representatives who can enter the Parliament, represent the interests of citizens during a political cycle (officially meaning four years); thus, politicians who can belong to pro-government or non-pro-government parties, but they can also be independent.

Parliamentarism meant the opposite of the absolute monarchy in the 19th century, but by the 20th century, it was rather "the form of government in which the government is politically accountable to the parliament, and it can be replaced for political reasons." (Csink, 2019, p. 164) By the 21st century, the executive power (the government) decides about the laws. The Parliament should remain the forum for democratic debate (Csink, 2019, p. 164). According to the first paragraph of the Basic Law, the prime minister determines the general policy of the government (Csink, 2019, p. 164). In general, parliamentarism is determined as proportional representation with its characteristics (free discussion, interference, the right to ask questions,

vote, majority and minority rights, the right of the President, adherence to the rules in the debate) applied in most of the fields (Fencsik, 1976, p. 261).

Parliamentary democracy means representative democracy (Komáromi, 2020manuscript, p. 327) in which the National Assembly (parliament) is the main body of state power and popular representation of the Hungarian Republic and members of the parliament carry out their activities for the benefit of the people (the Preamble of the 1989 Constitution, first paragraph of Article 1 of the Basic Law). The members of the parliament exercise their functions freely and shall not be instructed. In a narrower sense, parliamentary democracy means the form of the parliamentary government in which the government can operate due to the support of the majority of the parliament, however, the majority of the parliament may replace the government with a motion of no confidence in the absence of trust (Komáromi, 2020manuscript, p. 328). Democracy must be reflected in the functioning of constitutional institutions and in the exercise of the fundamental rights of citizens (e.g., such as in the freedom of opinion and press, right of association and assembly) (Komáromi, 2020manuscript, p. 342).

According to public opinion polls (e.g., Szabó & Oross, 2018), the Hungarian people most closely associate the Parliament/parliament with political concepts – MPs, parliamentarism, and parliamentary democracy – discussed above. In advance, we note here that this could mean that when the viewer sees the Parliament in the editorial cartoon, the viewer is actually thinking of parliamentary democracy due to the metonymic relationship (THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY based on the conceptual metonymy BUILDING STANDS FOR THE GOVERNANCE SYSTEM).

1.1.1 Symbolic meanings related to the parliamentary building

In the literature (art historical and sociological) considering the symbolic meaning of the Parliament, the building itself is linked to such thoughts as the place for commemoration, tourist destination (national attraction), or a synonym of being Hungarian, among others. These symbolic meanings have been preserved and usually appeared in the corpus which is not surprising in the light that symbols change very slowly while the emotions associated with them change at a faster rate (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002). Here, we provide a short overview of those symbolic meanings which have arisen in relation to Parliament since its construction until recently. Sometimes the editorial cartoons ridicule these emotions (for instance, Hungarianness) and represent them in exaggerated ways, for instance, as overheated patriotic emotions.

First, consider the Parliament as a place for commemoration. The Parliament as a building is a condensed, historically multilayered symbol consisting of diverse historical references such as the Hungarian invasions of Europe and the Árpád Era, the golden age of the Anjou-Hunyadi dynasties, the Hungarian Reform Era with the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, and the Epoch of the Millennium (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2012, p. 82). Historical approach and national pride appear visually when national holidays are celebrated on Kossuth Square in front of the House of the Parliament (e.g., May 30, 1938 the first opening ceremony of Saint Stephen's Year when the building was decorated with a huge Latin cross under a canopy with the Hungarian crest on its peak; a similar decoration was reproduced on August 20, 2018, on the National Day of Saint Stephen). From a historical point of view, it can be taken as a place for commemoration (e.g., think of the discussion and debates about Kossuth's statue, its replacement, and the inauguration of the copy of the original).

Secondly, the Parliament is a prominent tourist destination, it is an iconic emblem of the capital of Budapest (Kerekes, 2016, p. 107). It has an elegant Eastern entrance, which is manifested in a staircase preserved by two proudly sitting lions which became a popular photo spot among tourists as well. These bronze lions (made by the sculptor Béla Markup) date back to the medieval lions that often guard in front of the churches as references of the Temple of Solomon the Wise (Kerekes, 2016, pp. 104–105). Their prominent position is due to their symbolic content involving such values as courage, strength, ruling power, and justice (Pál & Újvári, 2001). Apart from historical events, celebrations, and commemorations, the Parliament is also a Hungarian spectacle, an outstanding national attraction.

This building seems so prominent that it became almost the synonym of being Hungarian. When its picture is paired with a cultural icon then it refers to the Hungarian product, its silhouette was also used together with the name of the media specifically referring to the Hungarian Television in the 1960s and was the background when taking photographs of Hungarian mannequins in the 1970s.

From art historical point of view, its Hungarianness, the national characteristic features of the building became important. During the 19th century when the building was planned and its construction was started (1885), choosing a Hungarian architect and a style with local and national characteristic features were a must. Imre Steindl's plan won the tender.⁹ At least, we

⁹ Steindl studied in Germany and in Vienna, in addition, the Hungarian nature of the plan is questionable as Steindl previously used the first version of this plan for the Reichstag tender in the 1870s.

know two descriptions of the building written by the architect, Steindl: the first (1882)¹⁰ judged the neo-Gothic style as French (so not German)¹¹. The second description appeared in a speech what Steindl held at the Academy in 1899: it focused on the transformability of the style (examined it not from the perspective of the past but from the perspective of the present), and emphasized the creation of a national pantheon by using a series of statues.¹² It can be stated that the chosen plan and the realization of the building got its symbolic meaning through ideological, political, historical, and art historical dimensions.

Regarding the symbolic meanings that appeared in the contemporary media, it can be stated that media reactions were biased: supporters of the construction of a new building for the parliament used extreme phrases (mostly superlative adjectives, hyperbolic comparisons) to express the significance of the construction via its size, value, and style. *Vasárnapi Újság* (1888) reported on the building as “the biggest, the most expensive and the most decorated future palace of legislature” and compared the mock-up of the Hungarian Parliament with the mock-up of Saint Peter’s cathedral planned by Michelangelo. About eight years later, in the atmosphere of the millennium celebrations, *Budapesti Hírlap* (1896) announced that “the home of the country is the proud fortress of the Hungarian freedom... The castle is beautiful where the Hungarian constitution will live. Will it be filled with national feelings and freedom?” The non-government parties, however, opposed the large investment from the beginning, especially as long as it was considered reversible, citing overspending, economic bankruptcy, unnecessary ostentation, while drawing attention to the fact that in Hungary there are no proper roads, hospitals, and schools. The building was identified pejoratively, for instance, with a lacy cake. During the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the ruler Franz Joseph expressed his views on the construction based on the fact that the neo-Gothic Parliament was ideologically and

¹⁰ In the description of the plan (1882), Steindl dealt with the historical past of the gothic style and referred to the words of the great art historian, Imre Henszlmann who was highly respected in the era. Against the German neo-baroque sacral architecture, the French neo-gothic style (Steindl, 1882, 1899) was selected, and it was appreciated for its serious mood and beautiful aesthetics (Steindl, 1882).

¹¹ This meant political distancing from the German style followed by the Austrians, consequently, it can be interpreted as a distance from the Austrians in an era when Hungary was part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

¹² As for its function, this style was perfect in its structure (Steindl, 1882) and compatible with modern functions (meant by the dome) (Steindl, 1899). What is more important from our point of view, it was able to relate to the blooming Hungarian historical periods, figures, and events (Steindl, 1882) and it was compatible with the Hungarian national characteristic features (floral motifs, national pantheon) (Steindl, 1899). It got support from the prime minister Gyula Andrassy due to its strong references to the British parliamentarism. In sum, the style of the Parliament was considered modern and national.

architecturally balanced against the neo-baroque mass of the royal palace of Buda (Kerekes, 2016, p. 107) which is located on the other side of the Danube. Franz Joseph found that the monumental building of the Parliament provided a great view from the royal palace. However, he also expressed that "...the birth of the ornate building (Parliament) was also motivated by compensation and lust. Its establishment was accompanied by an unparalleled strengthening of national self-consciousness - and the illusion of a vision of Hungary's power status." (Sisa, 2018, p. 16)

By now, the neo-Gothic building of the Hungarian Parliament is known as the "symbol of Hungarian statehood" (Kerekes, 2016, p. 107), as well as "the most important building of the Hungarian state", "the home of legislature" and as a "national monument" (Sisa, 2018, p. 61, p. 63). It is also the reflection of the constitutional order, the political ambitions, and the historical approach of an era (when the country was limited in its sovereignty) (Sisa, 2018, p. 61, p. 63), elsewhere, it is mentioned as "the symbol of our constitutionality" (Jávor, 1984, p. 5).

Symbolic meanings – commemoration, national attraction, national entity, Hungarianness, national self-consciousness, power, statehood – discussed above can also be metonymically linked to the image of the Parliament (more precisely, to the concept of the parliament), which is confirmed by sociological surveys (e.g., Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002) as well.

1.1.2 Trust-motivated associations related to the concept of the parliament

Why might it matter to us what people thought about the Parliament in the past and what people think about the parliament in the present? In the case of the Parliament appearing in editorial cartoons, we assume that it goes beyond its literal meaning through associations that are metonymically close to it. By presenting the Parliament, the editorial cartoons often criticize the operation of the government or the parliament, politicians' behavior, and the operation of democracy among others. In the previous section, we saw how historians, the architect, Steindl, other influential figures of his age, and contemporary press reacted and interpreted the building. What we look at in this section is how today's people generally relate to the parliament (as an institution).

First and foremost, we must know that trust in parliament (and its related institutions) is a changing phenomenon, however, the extent of this trust highly influences the associated concepts as well (e.g., think of such concepts as lie and corruption) as it was demonstrated by

Susánszky and his colleagues (2021)¹³. The Hungarian people's relationship to the parliament, the government, diverse political parties, and the democratic system was measured by the Eurobarometer (throughout the years). According to these surveys, trust in the parliament declined since 2002, and reached its lowest point in 2009¹⁴, then it started to increase again. Even today it did not reach the 2002 level. Data, regarding the trust in the national government, political parties and democracy show similarities to the trust in the parliament (discussed before) in the sense that they also follow a U-shaped curve. We assume that by applying cognitive devices, editorial cartoons depicting the Parliament can express the value judgements people make about parliament and related concepts.

We have already briefly referred to those sociological polls that showed how the parliament appears among policy-related concepts in the Hungarian people's mind. Szabó and Oross (2018) mentioned similar sociological polls from three diverse years (conducted among university students) that focused on the associations linked to politics where parliament always came to the fore; thus, it seems a salient concept of the political discourse. In 2013, politics was mostly associated with lie, corruption, power, parliament¹⁵, parties, debate, money, public life, etc. (Szabó & Oross, 2018, p. 76). This survey was repeated in 2015 when politics was linked to corruption, lie, Orbán, parliament, power, cheating, shit, stealing, etc. (Szabó & Oross, 2018). Third time, in 2016, the answers culminated around the following words: corruption, bad, lie, feud, complicate, cheating, power, fight, society, crime, democracy, parliament, ordure, etc. In sum, it can be observed that one of the recurring associations among the policy-related concepts is parliament (beside corruption and power), while stereotypical actions of the politicians are also often mentioned (e.g., lie, steal, cheat).¹⁶

¹³ Susánszky and his colleagues (2021) proved that the pro-government citizens judged the operation of democracy in Hungary much more positively than anti-government citizens. Consequently, Hungarian people's trust in the government influenced how they evaluated democracy or pro-government citizens' democracy concept is closer to the government's democracy concept and it resulted in greater satisfaction.

¹⁴ We can speculate about political and economic reasons behind the decline of trust and can mention such possible causes as the Speech of Ószöd and its consequences (2006) or the global economic crisis of 2008-2009 which affected people negatively. But surveys do not provide such direct causations.

¹⁵ It is not clarified by the authors whether parliament means the building or the institution, but as it is written in lowercase we consider it as a reference of the institution.

¹⁶ Based on another survey conducted in 2016, Szabó and Oross (2018, p. 80) differentiated positive (53 occurrences), neutral (153 occurrences) and negative associations (504 occurrences) of politics given by the interviewed people. In their conclusion, the authors state (Szabó & Oross, 2018, p. 91) that thinking about politics in negative or in a non-negative way has strong impact on political interest and political activity. However, the

In contrast to politics, the term democracy is usually evaluated positively, it is considered as a desired form of governance that should be maintained.¹⁷ According to the interpretation of the Pew Research Centre's survey (*Mandiner* 4.11.2019), Hungarians are significantly more satisfied with democracy than after the change of the political system.¹⁸ It was measured through the following features of liberal democracy: "fair judiciary, gender equality, free speech, regular elections, free internet use, free media, free opposition parties, free civil society, and free religious practice." (2019, p. 9)¹⁹ The Hungarians considered "fair judiciary", "regular elections" and "free speech" to be particularly important factors of democracy which can easily be associated with the operation of the parliament. When a representative group of Hungarian people was interviewed about their associations close to democracy (Erős & Murányi, 1996) they linked "political parties, opposition, parliament, local government, freedom of speech and minority rights" to the concept. In sum, it can be presumed that these entities are close to each other in the Hungarian people's mind.

The parliament is the representative body of the people; therefore, trust plays a decisive role in the assessment of the functioning of the parliament and in the associations related to it, and according to surveys (e.g., Erős & Murányi, 1996), people mostly expect democratic functioning from the parliament. In Section 1.1 and its subsections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, we primarily focused on the Parliament/parliament by highlighting its literary and figurative associations.

1.2 The genre of the political cartoon

Section 1.2 focuses on a detailed description of the genre called political cartoon (stand-alone cartoon with political content) and its subgenre editorial cartoon (a cartoon inserted among articles with political content). It is therefore important to note that the characteristics of political cartoons are also true of editorial cartoons.

tendency that shows less political interest year by year can mean that there are more and more people who consider politics in a negative way.

¹⁷ The Bennett Institute (2020, p. 10, p. 25) showed that the countries joined the EU in 2004 think about democracy in a more positive way than the founding members of the EU.

¹⁸ According to the database, 7% of the interviewed Hungarians scored over 7 in 1991, while it raised to 15% by 2009, and it reached 47% in 2019.

¹⁹ Wike, Richard et.al. *European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism* conducted by the Pew Research Center. URL: https://www.pewresearch.org/global/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2019/10/Pew-Research-Center-Value-of-Europe-report-FINAL-UPDATED.pdf?utm_source=mandiner&utm_medium=link&utm_campaign=mandiner_202003

Political cartoon is a genre that belongs to non-live mediated mass-communication (as for the dissertation, it is printed) 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 and idea of mutual knowledge between the producer and the recipient). In the case of the editorial cartoon, we can speak about an ideologically biased subgenre (just as newspapers usually are, and the cartoonist needs to represent the standpoint of the editorial board). It means that the cartoonist and the reader are not complete strangers to each other. In other words, editorial cartoons are designed to this special audience, the cartoonist wants the reader to critically revise certain political affairs, at the same time the viewer is aware of being fooled.

During the procedure of interpretation, the importance of genre and knowledge associated with it is highlighted by many researchers (e.g., Chandler, 2017; Forceville, 2020; Schilperoord & Maes, 2009). For instance, Forceville says that "The point is that as soon as viewers (or readers, or listeners) recognize that a given discourse belongs to a genre with which they are familiar, they know what conventions to recruit in interpreting it and what responses are appropriate to it" (Forceville, 2020, p. 119). We usually recognize the genre due to a specific situation or context inferred from the discourse (Forceville, 2020, p. 122). Being part of the cognitive environment, genre awareness is shared between the communicator and the viewer, and it also limits the pragmatic processes in comprehension. Forceville (2020, p. 121) differentiates context from genre according to which genre-attribution is relatively stable and part of the first phase of perception (occurs in a very short time), while context is endless and everchanging. For all these reasons, let's consider the specific characteristics of the genre of the political cartoon.

1.2.1 The definition of the political cartoon

In the present thesis, the political cartoon as a genre is considered an umbrella term meaning "self-contained, stand-alone pictures where the cartoonist comments on a current event." (Abdel-Raheem, 2018, p. 32), it uses "a fantasy scenario to comment upon an aspect of topical social, political, or cultural reality" (El Refaie, 2009, p. 182, following Suls, 1972). Besides, editorial cartoons are differentiated and considered as specific subtypes of political cartoons which are illustrations, they "summarize or reflect opinions expressed in the op-ed texts²⁰ they

²⁰ Op-ed is the abbreviation of opinion-expressed.

accompany.” (Abdel-Raheem, 2018, p. 32) The corpus investigated in the thesis is made up of editorial cartoons.

Cartoon literature, however, dealt with political cartoons without mentioning any subgenres, therefore, in this section the relevant literature review will primarily focus on political cartoons in general. We can also see that different scientific fields categorize political cartoons differently. According to linguistics (e.g., semiotics), the political cartoon is a "multimodal text" (Felicia, 2019, p. 2; Wawra, 2018, p. 11); thus, its brief definition highlights the use of various modalities of the genre. By contrast, communication studies define it as "a journalistic genre of opinion" (Domínguez & Mateu, 2014, p. 999) or as a "genre of media discourse" (Felicia, 2019, p. 2), "a multimodal mode of communication" (Marín-Arrese, 2019, p. 124) which pinpoints its evaluative effect on the audience. Discourse studies determine this genre as a "social practice" (Conradie et al., 2012, p. 41), "discursive", "performative practice" (Robson, 2019, p. 117) and thinks it a useful tool for analyzing the social reality (Domínguez & Mateu, 2013, p. 187) which also makes it a "form of commentary" (Domínguez & Mateu, 2013, p. 187), "a powerful transmitter of the popular mood in societies" (Domínguez & Mateu, 2014, p. 1000). The last-mentioned approach deals with the image of the society what is constructed by the cartoons. Sometimes, cartoons are also seen as "art forms" that "visualize culture" and also that "shape aesthetic sensibilities" (Whitworth, 2020, p. 146), or as elements of world popular culture (Abdel-Raheem, 2020b, p. 716 following Seip, 2003). Political cartoons seen as "historical records of contemporary attitudes" are also mentioned in the literature (Swain, 2012, p. 82 cited in Hart, 2017, p. 143).

1.2.2 The functions of the political cartoon

First, being part of the mass media genres (such as advertisement, press photo, and political cartoon as well), the political cartoon usually hangs on to the main topics of the mainstream media discourses (Austin & Fozdar, 2017, p. 69), "reinforces and reproduces the commentary of opinion columnists, editorial writers" (Hecke, 2017, p. 132). It can also fight against the mainstream or construct these discourses (Austin & Fozdar, 2017, p. 69; Henson, 2019, p. 162). Particularly, cartoons can differentiate themselves from media discourses by "investigating and lampooning topics that are known to many but are generally left untouched by the media at large" (Fernando, 2013, p. 234). What is more a cartoon can introduce novel and sensitive topics as well.

Second, being a social practice, it enables to “reflect and echo political, economic, and cultural realities presented in the real world” (Fernando, 2013, p. 234) from entirely new perspectives. Researchers in gender studies (e.g., Helber, 2012) and political science (e.g., Hecke, 2017) argue for its role in the creation of realities (e.g., by reinforcing stereotypes): being “part of mediated filtering system” it “helps the construction and framing of social reality” (Hecke, 2017, p. 132), furthermore, “discourses not only portray reality, but also construct the reality around us and develop and exercise power” (Helber, 2012, p. 118). Although, this imagined world can “enact or resist the current situation” by indicating and thereby overriding stereotypes (Felicia, 2019, p. 2). Nevertheless, sometimes (e.g., in the case of Brexit) it provides a general insight into the debated issues in a highly complex and synthesized way due to its density and high degree of implicitness (Godioli & Pedrazzini, 2019, p. 310). In this latter case, it avoids detailing current events and issues. It is practically carried out by “its argumentative synthesis” which means that “it translates a multi-faceted political reality into a mini-narrative” (Godioli & Pedrazzini, 2019, pp. 310–311). However, cartooning does not mean a quick and easily readable process as Hecke (2017, p. 132) expresses, but if we compare it to the complexity of the reality it might be accepted that cartoons “facilitate the comprehension of social issues and events” (Hecke, 2017, p. 132) by showing a usually extreme reading of a situation (we do not think that cartoons demonstrate objective social problems and situations).

Third, being an opinion genre, the political cartoon has two main roles, namely that it can attack people and situations, and entertain its viewers at the same time. It reflects on abuse of power and the collapse of leadership, criticizes the great social differences and the violation of moral norms accepted in society (Felicia, 2019, p. 2), and sets up a kind of moral expectations (Chikaipa, 2019, p. 2). Political cartoon provides humorous criticism (Connors, 2010, p. 299) for being satirical (understood as sharp, bitter, and negative), humorous and cartoonish (Felicia, 2019, p. 4), and aims to cheer up, educate, or enrage the reader (Felicia, 2019, p. 2; Fernando, 2013, p. 233).

1.2.3 Research agenda on political cartoons

By now the political cartoon became a widely researched genre²¹ which is explored by various disciplines: political communication (e.g., Frantzich, 2013, 2016; Forceville & van de Laar, 2019; Schilperoord, 2013), semantics, semiotics, pragmatics within linguistics (e.g., Abdel-Raheem, 2020a, 2017; El Refaie, 2003; Fernando, 2013; Hart, 2017; Kwon & Roh, 2018; Prendergast, 2019), cultural studies (e.g., Eko, 2010), visual rhetoric (e.g., Whitworth, 2020), sociology (e.g., Domínguez & Mateu, 2014), geopolitics (Robson, 2019), psychology (e.g., Reiser, 2014), pedagogy (Bronstein et al., 2017; Wawra, 2018), and many others.²²

Among the methodological frameworks used to investigate political cartoons, we can find Content Analysis (Frantzich, 2016), Critical Discourse Analysis (Labuschagne, 2011; Mazid, 2008), more specifically Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Prendergast, 2019); Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005; Hart, 2007; Koller, 2008, 2009; Musolff, 2012), Critical Multimodal Metaphor Analysis (Marín-Arrese, 2019; Muelas-Gil, 2021, 2019), and Blending Theory (Lin & Chiang, 2015; Marín-Arrese, 2019; Schilperoord, 2013), among others.

Many of the researches in the field of political cartoons focus on such topics that are strongly linked to presidential elections (e.g., Conners, 2005; Reehorst, 2014), authoritarian rules of various eras (e.g., Fernando, 2013; Krstić et al., 2020), highlight people who are said to be politically dominant (e.g., Forceville & van de Laar, 2019; Henson, 2019; Lordan, 2006), or explore periods that can be featured by economic crises (e.g., Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Lin & Chiang, 2015), refugee crises (e.g., Robson, 2019; Wawra, 2018), or hinge upon such hot topics as Brexit (e.g., Godioli & Pedrazzini, 2019; Marín-Arrese, 2019; Rodet, 2020), or COVID-19 (e.g., Abdel-Raheem, 2021). Beside these complex abstract concepts, more concrete visible phenomena, namely metaphoric source domains of POLITICS, such as SPORT and GAMBLING are also studied (e.g., Cohen, 2011; Raento & Meuronen, 2011).

1.2.4 The political cartoon as a multimodal genre

²¹ The geographical spread of the investigated regions covers a wide range of territories from Europe (e.g., Denmark, Hungary, Netherlands, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, UK, Turkey) through Africa (e.g., Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa), Asia (e.g., Iran, Sri Lanka) and Australia to North America (US).

²² Literature cites (Barnhurst & Quinn, 2012, p. 286) that the first call for studying editorial and other cartoons happened in the mid-1960s (Streicher, 1967) and reached its peak in the 1980s (Bivins, 1987; Bostdorff, 1987; Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981) occurring in the field of rhetoric, communication, and psychoanalysis.

Political cartoons are usually made up of visual and verbal contents. Gombrich (1971, p. 128) was one of the first who announced that metaphor, especially visual fusion, is a main “weapon” for cartoonists. Forty years later, El Refaie (2009, p. 182) defined political cartoons as “multimodal texts” which are “visual expressions of metaphorical thoughts or concepts” (El Refaie, 2003, p. 78) and it counts on both the political interests and the communicative purposes: “they typically use a fantasy scenario to comment upon an aspect of topical social, political, or cultural reality” (El Refaie, 2009, p. 182, following Suls, 1972). So multimodality is ultimately used for frame shifting.

Some linguistic studies focus on the interplay of the visual and the verbal modes and attempt to describe their operation: “the textual message reinforces rather than directs or curbs the pictorial message” (Abdel-Raheem, 2017, p. 182). While Wekesa (2012, p. 237) notes that if pictorial statements had been translated into verbal mode, it would have been appeared cruel, improper, or simply too sensitive to the audience. In a controversial way it is also remarked that “crudity and offensiveness” expressed visually would not be accepted in their verbal forms (Bounegru & Forceville, 2011, p. 224). Thus, researchers attribute different roles to different modes.

The highlighted investigations below emphasize the occurrences of figurative conceptual processes – targeted by the dissertation as well. A relatively high number of research has been conducted focusing on the operation of metaphors in political cartoons (e.g., Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Đurović & Silaški, 2016; Edwards, 2001; El Refaie, 2003; Godioli & Pedrazzini, 2019; Lin & Chiang, 2015; Schilperoord & Maes, 2009; Templin, 1999). It seems there is no agreement whether these are novel or conventional metaphors. For instance, Domínguez and Mateu (2013, p. 187) explicate that political cartoons provide new metaphors and are able to “popularize and structure new concepts”. By contrast, Fernando (2013, p. 234) asserts that political cartoons offer “easily recognizable metaphors that delimit their content, form, meaning and interpretation” which are often crude and offensive (Fernando, 2013, p. 234).

There are phenomena that have been less researched so far. Only a few investigations have been carried out linked to the significance of metonymies in the genre (e.g., Marín-Arrese, 2008; Negro Alousque, 2013, 2014). Plastic features of cartoon (such as size, orientation, and distance) have been studied only by very few researchers, e.g., Feng and O’Halloran (2013). The link between irony and humor have been mainly addressed by semioticians (Groupe Mu, 1978; Pedrazzini & Scheuer, 2018, 2019), communication experts (Olson & Olson, 2004; Stewart, 2013), and linguists (Conradie et al., 2012).

Particularly, semiotic research, but also discourse studies highlight the density of the genre which means that a political cartoon may involve a wide variety of conceptual processes and other framing devices, such as metaphor, hyperbole (Conners, 2010, p. 299; Hecke, 2017, p. 132), irony (Chikaipa, 2019, p. 3; Conradie et al., 2012, p. 44; Robson, 2019), symbols (Austin & Fozdar, 2017, p. 69), incongruous and surprising elements (El Refaie, 2009, p. 185), other narrative devices (Fernando, 2013, p. 233), sarcasm, word play, sight gag (Frantzich, 2013, p. 157), stereotypes (Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Gombrich, 1999), allusion and intertextual references (historical events, contemporary culture, paintings, literary works and illustrations) (Henson, 2019, p. 162; Pinar-Sanz, 2020), and parody (Godioli & Pedrazzini, 2019, p. 310) as well. These intertextual strategies link the cartoonist to the viewer of the cartoon (Pinar-Sanz, 2020, p. 20).

1.3 Corpus data

Some Hungarian researchers, e.g., Tamás (2014, 2017) have addressed the booming period of the 19th-century satirical magazines with a focus on stereotypical depictions of the minority, but there has been little discussion on the contemporary cartoons of the 20th and 21st century (except for Takács, 2018 and Vörös, 2018). Despite this interest, there has been no systematic research carried out on Hungarian editorial cartoons in the field of conceptual metaphor and metonymy research. In this framework, the investigation of the genre appeared with El Refaie's (2003) study and has been followed by more and more scholars who focused on methodological, theoretical problems (e.g., Abdel-Raheem, 2018; Forceville, 2016), or on hot topics of the media such as religious or geopolitical conflicts (e.g., Muelas-Gil, 2021). Diachronic approach is still scarce in the research of editorial cartoons (e.g., López López, 2019; Reehorst, 2014; Riad, 2019).

The present study 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). 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 first date was set because of the establishment of a multi-party political system (Csillag & Szelényi, 2015, p. 19), and in political cartoons, the depiction of the Hungarian Parliament became a hot topic after the fall of the party-state system

inasmuch as the conditions of the first free elections started to be discussed. For a detailed discussion of the corpus, see Section 3.3.

1.4 The aims of the research

The dissertation studies how the Parliament is visually represented in editorial cartoons and how these visual representations can change the meaning of the parliament primarily through conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies. 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, as for the topic, the research fills a gap in that it examines Hungarian editorial cartoons in a cognitive linguistic framework with the help of which it can reveal figurative meanings. Hungarian political cartoons are usually discussed by historians who were primarily interested in stereotypical representations of various minorities (e.g., Tamás, 2014, 2017; Vörös, 2018), or the content of the cartoons by themselves (e.g., Argejő, 2003; Takács, 2018). A second research gap targeted to be filled by the dissertation is the analysis of the figurative meaning of the Hungarian Parliament. The importance of the Parliament as a symbolic building in Hungarians' minds is highlighted in semiotic studies (e.g., Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002) and its significance linked to the concept of politics is also emphasized in sociological polls (Susánszky et al., 2021; Szabó & Oross, 2018), but those studies do not focus on the Parliament itself, instead they discuss it in relation to other concepts. So we can say that although the Parliament is an important concept (which has been confirmed), its figurative meaning has not been studied yet.

As for cognitive linguistics, although there is growing interest in the multimodal investigation of conceptual processes other than conceptual metaphor, their study is still scarce (e.g., Benczes, 2019). It is even rare that research examines the interplay of different processes (e.g., Negro Alousque, 2013). The dissertation undertakes to investigate, on a large data set, how conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy work together with ironies in editorial cartoons. The large number of these cognitive processes in political cartoons has already been proven by caricature literature (e.g., Pedrazzini & Scheuer, 2019). The present research assumes that exploring the connections between processes contributes to a deeper understanding of the meaning of caricatures.

Early metaphor studies were often criticized for working with decontextualized material (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). Among today's research directions, we can find those (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2017) that take into account contextual factors and examine online processes. However, contextual factors are often not formulated in an exact way, so they include a wide range of knowledge types such as political, historical, or cultural knowledge, knowledge on the discourse among others. These studies usually work with a small corpus. When examining a large corpus like ours, it was important to define the cultural factors, and in that way, these were limited to three types, namely idioms, allusions, and national symbols. The presence of idioms and allusions in political cartoons has been pointed out before (e.g., Alsadi & Howard, 2021), but they have not been examined in relation to cognitive processes in this genre. The study of national symbols was motivated by the study of the topic itself, the Parliament, and its continuous cooperation with national symbols.

Another novelty of the dissertation is that it applies Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) (Kövecses, 2020) in practice in a larger corpus. To my knowledge, ECMT has not yet been applied in practice, except for the examples provided by the theory. This theory creates systemic relationship between offline and online processes of metaphor production and reveal the connections among the conceptual metaphors at abstract levels (image schematic, domain, and frame level) and at the more concrete level of mental spaces. This approach makes it possible to study the editorial cartoons at the mental spaces level pointing out unique examples of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and irony relations and the role of cultural factors in interpretation. Otherwise, it also let us to compare editorial cartoons at domain and frame level, which means much more general conceptual processes, and thus to point out tendencies. In sum, due to ECMT the micro- and macro investigations of the corpus become possible in a unified theoretical framework.

Lastly, the research presented in the dissertation is a diachronic one. It is again rare in the field of cartoon research (e.g., Frantzich, 2013; Riad, 2019) also in cognitive research, especially in multimodal research. However, by applying diachronic approach, modifications and variants of the figurative meaning of the Parliament become detectable, and it can be demonstrated that even such a seemingly stable symbol does not have a permanent meaning.

In sum, the research presented in the dissertation was conducted in the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics, more specifically applying the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020) supplemented with the Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) through which it wants to contribute to the study of the figurative representation of the

Parliament²³ by investigating the metonymic target domains of the Parliament, the metaphoric source domains of the Parliament, ironies, and such cultural references as idioms, allusions, and national symbols that include or relate to the representation of the Parliament. All these variables had to be detected with specific methods known from cognitive linguistics (because there is not a single method to identify all the examined procedures). For instance, to identify and interpret conceptual metaphors the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT) (Forceville, 2019) provided a step-by-step method, while the multimodal view of metaphors (embedded in Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory) (Kövecses, 2020) was used to organize these conceptual processes systematically. In the interpretation and explanation of conceptual metaphors, however, the Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) was applied that heavily focuses on the context revealing hidden (sometimes ideological) motivation behind the procedures. Before the identification of cognitive devices, it was inevitable to study the major topics of the editorial cartoons (Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020). As for detection of these topics, this research examined politicians' criticized features (personal criticism) and violated democratic values (institutional criticism) with the help of Qualitative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006).

1.5 Relevance of the research, research questions and hypotheses

Why is it necessary to study the figurative meaning of parliament? As remarked in Section 1.1.2, politics is often seen through the concept of the parliament, and it seems a permanent phenomenon throughout the years. Its conceptualization determines the public discourse on politics and besides, describes the intersections of how the media and the ordinary people are thinking of the members of the political field, their interplay, the institution what they are managing and also whether democratic principles are being met. Effects of cartoons on the audience, however, are not the topic of the dissertation (for extensive discussion, see Abdel-Raheem, 2019; El Refaie, 2009; Pinar-Sanz, 2020; Swain, 2012).

There are three major thought-provoking observations which have significantly advanced the subject matter of the present research. First, Körösenyi (2015, p. 24) outlined that the period of democracy after the system changed in Hungary could be described by common features (which ensure basic democratic functioning), but three diverse periods could be

²³ The editorial cartoons of the corpus show the Parliament or mention it by name which was an objective criterion for selection.

differentiated based on the constellations of the unique political changes. The second observation is somewhat connected to the first; Reehorst (2014) concluded his corpus analysis with the statement that the conceptual metaphors used in political discourse were limited in number and recurring, but their meaning was highly context-dependent and flexible.

The third line of observations pointed to significant changes in media communication related to the appearance of the US Congress in editorial cartoons. Frantzich (2016) described these changes aptly:

democratic politics includes conversations between the public and elected officials, facilitated, in part, by the media. (Frantzich, 2016, p. 2) [...] the message about Congress “is not something that is delivered overnight...” (Frantzich, 2016, p. 2) It is no surprise the public seems to see Congress as the institution we love to hate and is even characterized as a “public enemy” (Frantzich, 2016, p. 17).

and

“Press coverage of Congress over the years has moved from healthy skepticism to outright cynicism.” (Rozell & Semiatin, 2008, p. 46 cited by Frantzich, 2016, p. 19) Skeptics look at a situation and ask: “What is wrong and how can we fix it?” Cynics assume the worst and categorize the problems they see as intentional and intractable. Media coverage seems to involve “Journalistic hit-and-run specialists (who) perpetuate a cartoon-like stereotype of Congress as ‘a place where good ideas go to die in a maelstrom of bureaucratic hedging and rank favor trading.’” (Davidson et al., 2014, p. 2 cited by Frantzich, 2016, p. 19)

Based on the above-mentioned observations and research outlined earlier, we seek answers to the following questions:

RQ 1: What cognitive devices can be identified in Hungarian editorial cartoons depicting the Parliament?

RQ 2: How do these cognitive devices shape/construct the meaning of the parliament?

RQ 3: How do the cognitive devices and/or the conveyed figurative meaning change over time?

Based on the analysis of 10% of the total corpus, the research tries to justify the following assumptions:

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.

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 over the past thirty years. The dissertation discusses all the variables one after the other, but with the aim of ultimately pointing out their relationships.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The dissertation consists of two main parts and seven chapters: within the first part, after the Introduction, Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive theoretical overview by highlighting first, the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020) supplemented with the Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002); second, it presents the key concepts used in the dissertation. Chapter 3 demonstrates the methodological framework of the corpus by describing Qualitative Content Analysis with its specific focus on institutional and personal criticism. Then it continues with the presentation of such methodologies as the step-by-step method of the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT) (Forceville, 2019) and the Critical Metaphor Analysis in discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004). Chapter 3 concludes by the detailed presentation of the corpus. Then it shows the procedure of the interrater reliability test among three coders in order to confirm the veracity of the annotation procedure of the corpus.

The second, empirical part starts with Chapter 4. From chapters four to six, the results will be discussed in the following order: Chapter 4 points out the appearing tendencies both for institutional and personal criticism. Chapter 5 includes three subsections: Section 5.1 outlines the metonymical target domains linked to the metonymical source of the PARLIAMENT (e.g., THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT), Section 5.2 discusses the metaphorical source domains of the PARLIAMENT (e.g., THE PARLIAMENT IS THE COLOSSEUM), and in Section 5.3 the characteristic of the various types of ironies will be presented. In Chapter 6, cultural references are examined: idioms (Section 6.1), allusions (Section 6.2), and national symbols (Section 6.3) are analyzed and illustrated by showing the diverse periods of democracy. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings by answering to the research questions which were posed at the beginning of the dissertation. It builds a complex profile of each era and draws conclusions regarding the correlations among the examined variables. At the same time, it offers novel ways to scrutinize the production and reproduction of stereotypes. Ultimately, the dissertation closes with the limitations of the research and admits future remarks.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis including the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020) supplemented with the Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). It is followed by the demonstration of the major variables examined in the dissertation such as conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor, and irony. Each subsection is structured as follows: after the verbal cases, examples in visual and multimodal discourses are presented, then the typology and the methodology are shown, and finally pragmatic functions of the cognitive devices are discussed. After presenting the individual cognitive devices, we deal with their relationships with each other. The chapter closes by the introduction of the variables such idioms, allusions, and national symbols that are heavily dependent on the local cultural context.

2.1 Cognitive linguistics

The dissertation applies the framework of cognitive linguistics, more specifically, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT).²⁴ Although experts in CMT accept the presence and the interplay of conceptual metaphors with other cognitive devices such as conceptual metonymies, or ironies among others but the literature which tries to capture the combination of these tools is still scarce. It seems that the refined version of the CMT called Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) (Kövecses, 2020) with the combination of Mental Space Theory (MST) (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) can establish a theoretical background in which the operation of figurative tools such as irony, idioms, allusions, and national symbols can be examined in the genre of editorial cartoons.

2.1.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its extended version, Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The cornerstone in CMT was Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) book *Metaphors We Live By* emphasized the conceptual nature and structure of human thinking and comprehension of the surrounding world. In this book, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that conceptual metaphor

²⁴ The dissertation does not attempt to present the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT), because they would overstretch its framework. Only relevant party are discussed here. For further literature, see Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2020).

is the understanding of an abstract domain through a more concrete domain that happens by mapping selected features of the source domain onto the target domain. In sum, there are systemic correspondences among the features of the source and the target domains based on resemblance (due to physical or generic-structure similarities) or correlations (for instance based on cause-and-effect relations). Not all features of the source domain can be mapped onto the target domain (invariance principle), mappings usually correspond to the meaning foci of the source domain (Kövecses, 2020, p. 61; cf. Grady, 1997). For instance, the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDING profiles three aspects of the THEORY, namely its construction, structure, and stability (based on the meaning foci of the source domain of the BUILDING). Being conceptual, conceptual metaphor can be manifested not only in verbal but also in other modalities as well. Metaphors are not only decorative devices and not only the privilege of talented people. Due to our bodily experience, most of the metaphors are embodied and part of our everyday life. During the past decades, in CMT, diverse terms – image schema, domain, frame, and mental space – appeared to express the conceptual structure in general.

What is extended by ECMT (Kövecses, 2020)? How does it go against traditional beliefs of CMT?

- ECMT combines offline (non-analogue) and online (analogue) procedures in metaphor production and comprehension by setting up the multilevel view of metaphors while early practitioners of CMT focused on the offline processing and avoided dealing with natural discourse
- ECMT provides a model of contextual factors that makes metaphor production and comprehension dynamic at the level of mental spaces, traditional CMT excluded the study of context and dealt with decontextualized patterns (Kövecses, 2020, p. 105); thus, primarily focused on conventional, almost universal conceptual metaphors

In ECMT, Kövecses (2020) worked out a multilevel view of conceptual metaphor that focuses on the abstractness of concepts²⁵ and organizes those at four levels, namely at the level of image schemas, domains, frames, and mental spaces (from the most abstract to the most specific levels). Kövecses (2020) proves that this sort of schematicity of concepts works in the case of metaphoric idioms (2020, pp. 78–80) and visual metaphors (2020, pp. 80–86) as well.

To illustrate this idea with an example, consider the conceptual metaphor COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE VERTICAL OBJECTS (Kövecses, 2020). It operates at image schematic

²⁵ Further readings on the abstractness of concepts are Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Charteris-Black, 2004; Bolognesi and Vernillo, 2019.

level, and it is determined by such image schematic features as EXTENSION, CONTAINER, OBJECT, and WHOLE-PART. This level is featured by meaningfulness where the image-schema metaphors give naturalness and bodily motivation for metaphorical conceptualization (Kövecses, 2020, p. 157).

At the next level (domain-level) which is more important from the dissertation's point of view, the conceptual metaphor COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEM IS A BUILDING occurs, meaning that we have more detailed knowledge about the metaphoric source and target domains. As for the target domain, we know features such as ABSTRACT CREATION, ABSTRACT FUNCTION, ABSTRACT PARTS, ABSTRACT SYSTEM, and ABSTRACT STRUCTURE. While about the source domain of BUILDING we know its SHAPE, SIZE, CREATION, among other features. This level still provides decontextualized meaning just like the frame-level metaphors. This meaning is shared by most members of a community.

At the frame-level, the conceptual metaphor CONSTRUCTION IS BUILDING appears. In that case the following metaphorical mappings can be revealed: architect < designer, plans < designs, from materials < from ideas, among others.

And finally, at the level of mental spaces, very specific conceptual metaphors can be construed such as MARY BUILDING HER CAREER IS MARY IS BUILDING A HOUSE which is based on the metaphorical expression "Mary is *building* her career." In ECMT, Kövecses (2020) highlights the role of the mental space level and discusses that mental spaces inherit structures from frames, and in some cases, more frames can organize the structure of a mental space. Kövecses (2020, p. 54) connects mental spaces to working memory, which is very much dependent on the discourse situation and highly influenced by contextual factors. Hence, mental spaces operate in online processing, they are very rich conceptually and specific (Kövecses, 2020, p. 57), novel and deliberately used metaphors can be perceived at this level where emotional values are also added (Kövecses, 2020, p. 117). What is important here is the dynamic processes between the levels, meaning that for instance, mental spaces, which are usually individual and situation-dependent, do not only inherit structures from the higher-level frames but also can create frames through conventionalization (there is movement back and forth between the levels). It also means that there is a strong connection between working memory (belonging to the level of mental spaces with online processing) and long-term memory (belonging to frame, domain, and image schematic level with offline processing).

Figure 2.1 illustrates the various levels in a visual way:

Image schema: COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE VERTICAL OBJECTS



Domain: THE CREATION OF THE SYSTEM IS THE PHYSICAL CREATION OF THE BUILDING



Frame: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SYSTEM IS BUILDING (process)



Mental space: MARY BUILDING A CAREER IS MARY BUILDING A HOUSE

Figure 2.1 Schematicity hierarchy of conceptual metaphors

2.1.2 Communicative situation in Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Kövecses (2020, p. 94; cf. van Dijk, 2009) sets up a communicative situation with the participation of a speaker/conceptualizer 1 and a hearer/conceptualizer 2 who share knowledge on the situation and knowledge about each other. At this point, Kövecses refers to Clark (1996) who claimed that symbols are part of this “common ground” between the speaker and the hearer, so those are also parts of this shared knowledge. Following van Dijk’s (2009) context model, Kövecses assumes that relevant context is essential in meaning-making procedure, and just like Clark (1996) and van Dijk (2009), who differentiates personal and communal contexts, Kövecses (2020) also differentiates local and global contextual factors, and he connects those to metaphor production and comprehension. Kövecses (2020, p. 95) argues that such contextual factors as situational context (physical environment, social situation, and cultural situation), discourse context (knowledge about the main elements of the discourse, previous discourses on the topic, and form of the topic), conceptual-cognitive context (metaphorical conceptual system, ideology, knowledge about past events, and interests and concerns), and bodily context (state of the body, general conditions of the body), even a combination of these factors can motivate the meaning-making procedure. These contextual factors are dynamic produced both by the speaker and the hearer in a given situation (Kövecses, 2020, p. 166 following van Dijk, 2009) and the conceptual factors are considered to involve contentful knowledge; such pragmatic effects like “humor, emotion, narrative function, rhetoric effect, etc.” (Kövecses, 2020, p. 166) follow from the contentful knowledge. It is important that according to Kövecses’s (2020, p. 166) theory, communicative intention, emotion, and attitude are not contextual factors (cf. Gibbs, 2017) but considered as organizing principles of the human behavior and the discourse. In Kövecses’s (2020, p. 184) view, these principles can push forward certain contents, which “organize and are *about* content.”

The dissertation follows this position, and it does not examine the intention, behavior, or emotional state of either the caricaturist or the viewer.

2.1.2 Mental Space Theory

Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 2008) started to use the term of mental spaces to demonstrate how dynamic online meaning-making process; thus, naturally occurring discourse can work. According to Fauconnier,

Mental spaces are very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They contain elements and are structured by frames and cognitive models. Mental spaces are connected to long-term schematic knowledge, such as frame for walking along a path, and to long-term specific knowledge... (2007, p. 351)

Two major terms in Mental Space Theory are projection and blending (conceptual integration). Projection describes how certain elements from two or more input mental spaces can be transported into a common, blended space. The blended space itself is such a mental space where diverse elements of input mental spaces are combined or integrated in various ways. In addition, it is assumed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) that there should be a generic mental space (at the most abstract level) that shares all common elements of the input spaces; thus, generic space has a very schematic and abstract structure.

Those cases of blending when structural elements of two input spaces (known as metaphorical target and source domains) can be matched and their incompatibility can be shown in the blended space are called metaphoric blends. For instance, in the case of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, which can be detected in the metaphorical expression “*God, he was so mad smoke was coming out of his ears*” (Kövecses, 2020, p. 138), input space 1 is HEAT, while input space 2 is ANGER. The image of a smoking head can only appear in the blended space because smoke being element of input space 1 (HEAT), is the cause of intensive heat (but it does not exist in the case of intensive anger), and it is projected from HEAT into the blended space. At the same time, the head is an element of input space 2 (ANGER), being a body part of the human being and it is projected from input 2 into the blended space. Only the blended space can show puzzled (originally incompatible) elements, which did not exist together before. We must notice here that mental spaces are not only necessarily the constituents of conceptual metaphors; thus, not all co-operating mental spaces are metaphors.

In the dissertation, the editorial cartoons are understood at the mental spaces level²⁶; thus, they themselves are blends. In addition, in our case, the most important input space will be the PARLIAMENT (Figure 2.2) and its operation with other mental spaces will be studied. Overall, it is supposed that the input space PARLIAMENT involves elements which can be broken down into even more specific elements. For instance, the input space PARLIAMENT involves the Parliament (building) with one of its specific parts, namely the Assembly Hall. Another element of the input space PARLIAMENT can be the parliament (institution) with such specific political events as the elections. MPs are also characteristic elements of the PARLIAMENT who can possess stereotypical characteristic features. While policymaking or doing politics are major actions within the input space PARLIAMENT which can be further specified to the means of policymaking. In a metonymic relationship any of the elements of the input space can stand for another element of the same input space. In doing so, the building of the Parliament can be understood as a stereotypical feature of an MP (e.g., lie).

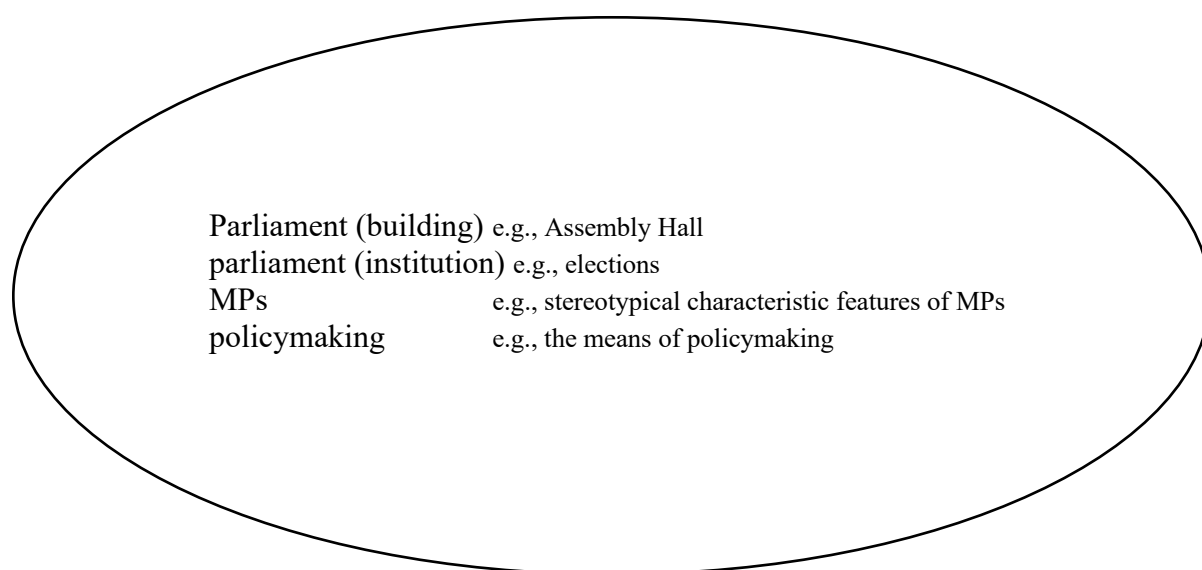


Figure 2.2 Input space PARLIAMENT

Overall, ECMT makes us able to present the relationship between online and offline procedures, and at the same time it helps to organize conceptual metaphors in a systemic way based on the schematicity of the concepts. MST, however, contributes to the description of processes

²⁶ In the dissertation, due to space limitations and comprehensibility limits, it is not possible to present all the cartoons discussed at each level and illustrate those through the mental space model. In some cases, the representation of mental spaces will be used to illustrate a specific problem.

operating with mental spaces and makes it available for us to connect conceptual metaphors with processes other than metaphors (such as ironies, for instance). Otherwise, it illuminates the functioning of the level of more specific mental spaces (which are more detailed than other levels).

2.2 Cognitive devices

In the following sections, those cognitive devices – conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor, and irony – will be presented that heavily co-operate in editorial cartoons. The discussion starts with the conceptual metonymy as it often provides basis for conceptual metaphors. As it will be seen later, irony is especially important in the case of caricatures and significantly affects the meaning, it can even change it to the opposite. In doing so, it can reverse the metaphorical conceptualization.

2.2.1 Metonymy

From the 1970s, the relationship between metaphor and metonymy reappeared in literature and “metonymic motivation and basis of metaphor” (Tóth, 2017, pp. 1–2) came to the fore. By now, the primacy of metonymy and its fundamental role in everyday life are emphasized in cognitive literature (e.g., Panther & Radden, 1999; Panther & Thornburg, 2003). Although as Tóth (2017, p. 4) pointed out, the previous thought could easily lead toward the acceptance of the idea that there were metonymies everywhere, and in that sense “metonymy” as a term would become limitless and could be useless, what only meant that something was motivated (Tóth, 2017, p. 35).

In the dissertation, we accept the metonymy definition worked out by cognitive linguists within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT) (Littlemore, 2015, p. 1; cf. Bolognesi & Vernillo, 2019; Feng, 2017; Forceville, 2009; Negro Alousque, 2013; Pérez Sobrino, 2016; Tóth, 2017) according to which “metonymy is a figure of language and *thought* in which one entity is used to refer to, or [...] ‘provides access to’, another entity to which it is somehow related.” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 4); thus, in metonymies the source and the target domains are semantically close to each other. For instance, a specific building or an address can refer to governments of nation states, and it can be formulated as follows: A SPECIFIC BUILDING or AN ADDRESS STANDS FOR THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

(Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 48). What CMMT states is that metonymical thinking, just like metaphor, is rooted in cognition, and similarly, we can state that we live by metonymies²⁷.

One of the main objectives of Tóth's (2017, p. 81) thesis was the determination of an operational definition of linguistic metonymy:

linguistic metonymy is the implicit co-activation of mental content of any type. This view rests on the assumption that linguistic metonymy involves a special act of reference which activates complex referential units – formed by the source, the target, and the relationship between them – implicitly, i.e., only the source appears on the linguistic level, with meaning constructional purposes.

Unlike metaphor, metonymy often involves ambiguity (Tóth, 2017): from one side, its target domain is usually implicit (the reader needs to figure out); from the other side, its explicit source domain can provide access to more targets in the same context which also causes vagueness (cf. Brdar & Brdar-Szabó, 2007; Forceville, 2009, p. 83) in construing metonymy. Therefore, among the essential characteristic features of metonymy, there is potential for perspectivization (with evaluative dimension) and expression of ambiguity.

The characteristic of perspectivization is emphasized by many researchers (cf. Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Benczes, 2019; Forceville, 2009; Pérez Sobrino, 2016). In the approach of ubiquity, Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020, p. 80) argue that “We think metonymically because this enables us to focus on the aspect of a concept that is relevant in the situation at hand and use this as point of access to the whole concept.” For instance, if people are asked to think of France, they grab an iconic element (e.g., the Eiffel tower) from the total, and in that case, the conceptual metonymy EIFFEL TOWER STANDS FOR PARIS can be construed.

2.2.1.1 Metonymy in visual and multimodal discourse

Empirical studies on metonymy are scarce, although there is no accepted metonymy identification procedure, etc. (Tóth, 2017, p. 3), but the book-length discussion of metonymy (Littlemore, 2015, p. 9, pp. 74–75, pp. 115–116) serves a good starting point to argue about metonymy not only in verbal but in visual and multimodal discourse (gesture, sign language, art, music, film, and advertising studies) as well.

²⁷ For further reading on the definition of conceptual metonymy, see Bolognesi and Vernillo, 2019, pp. 28–29; Panther and Thornburg, 2003, p. 2; Panther and Radden, 1999; Radden and Kövecses, 1999.

In the dissertation, due to its extension to visual and multimodal discourse the criteria for metonymy set up by Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020, p. 81) will be followed:

- (1) A metonym consists of a source concept/structure, which via a cue in a communicative mode (language, visuals, music, sound, gesture ...) allows the metonym's addressee to infer the target concept /structure.
- (2) Source and target are, in the given context, part of the same conceptual domain.
- (3) The choice of metonymic source makes salient one or more aspects of the target that otherwise would not, or not as clearly, have been noticeable, and thereby makes accessible the target under a specific perspective. The highlighted aspect often has an evaluative dimension (Forceville, 2009, p. 58).

Examination of metonymies in visual and multimodal discourse has been started during the recent years (Benczes, 2019; Feng, 2017; Forceville, 2009, 2020; Feng & O'Halloran, 2013; Villacañas & White, 2013; Pérez Sobrino, 2016, 2017). Following the example of the multimodal metaphor, the term multimodal metonymy has appeared in the literature. The definition of multimodal metonymy was formulated by Littlemore (2015, p. 116) as follows: "metonymy is particularly likely to appear in more than one mode at once, and these modes work together to form a coherent message." One of Forceville's (2012) multimodal examples, linked to the film *Nuits de brouillard* (1955), recalls two scenes: in the first scene, the views of the deserted camps of Auschwitz are accompanied by full orchestra; in the second, the mass of soldiers is accompanied by a solo. According to his analysis, THE FULL MUSIC STANDS FOR THE PEOPLE WHO WERE CLOSED IN AUCHWITZ, while THE SOLO MUSIC STANDS FOR THE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE SOLDIERS. These metonymies are considered "multimodal metonymies" in which musical and visual modes co-work.

It must be noted that the critical revision of the concept "multimodal metonymy" also appeared (Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2022forthcoming). Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2022forthcoming) question the existence of multimodal metonymies and argue that in the case of metonymies, multimodality can only appear in such forms as complex metonymies, in "parallel combinations of modalities with or without the interaction with metaphors", etc. They assume that usually we can speak about the co-work of simple verbal or non-verbal metonymies and metaphors and claim that the accumulation of modalities causes resonance (between the domains). These resonances can strengthen and reinforce the modality of another figurative device. They

conclude that it would be better to speak about monomodal metaphors and monomodal metonymies in multimodal discourse.

Although the dissertation does not discuss the modalities of conceptual metonymies, we still have to face the problem as it also affects the identification of the conceptual metonymy. In the dissertation, it is accepted that conceptual metonymy can occur in different modalities across various genres (e.g., cartoon and film). Therefore, in a visual metonymy, both metonymic domains are rendered visually, while in its verbal counterpart both metonymic domains appear verbally.

However, in the case of metonymies, the metonymic target domain is often (if not always) implicit²⁸ in nature. The question arises how to call a metonymy when only the source domain is rendered visually, but the target domain is missing. The same problem pops up if the source is verbally expressed, but the target can only be inferred (without its explicit verbal manifestation). In the latter cases, based on the mode of the source domain the metonymy will be called visual and verbal respectively. All in all, the dissertation avoids using the misleading term “multimodal metonymy”.

2.2.1.2 The typology of metonymies occurring in visual and multimodal discourse

Taxonomies of metonymy can differ depending on the main objective of the research. There are three major tendencies in metonymy literature: (1) structural categories (e.g., source-in-target metonymies)²⁹, (2) topical categories (e.g., SUB-EVENT STANDS FOR THE EVENT), and (3) categories depending on the modalities (e.g., visual).

Now we focus on the second one – considered topical – as it will be applied in the dissertation. This approach was introduced when Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp. 38–39) listed PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, OBJECT FOR USER, CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED, INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION, THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT among the most conventional metonymies (cf. Panther & Radden, 1999; Radden & Kövecses, 1999; Tóth, 2017). The first systematized version of such metonymies appeared in Radden and his

²⁸ Tóth (2017, pp. 8–9) provides an operational definition of verbal metonymy describing its main distinctive features such as its implicit nature, and he adds that metonymy “co-activates the source content, the target content, and the conceptual relation holding between them, thus forming a referential complex”.

²⁹ For further literature on structural categories, see Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco, 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa, 2011; Negro Alousque, 2013; Pérez Sobrino, 2017, and Kashanizadeh and Forceville, 2020.

colleagues' (1999) papers where metonymies were classified under idealized cognitive models (e.g., THING AND PARTS idealized cognitive model involves part-for-the-whole metonymy).

Regarding the purpose of the current research, namely the identification and analysis of the conceptual metonymies linked to the Hungarian Parliament, the dissertation applies Bolognesi and Vernillo's (2019) adaptation (with refinements) of the previously mentioned content-driven taxonomies. That is why the following classification (Bolognesi & Vernillo, 2019, p. 31) was used as a starting point to differentiate metonymies occurring in the corpus:

Sign ICM	FORM FOR CONCEPT
Thing and parts ICM	PART FOR THE WHOLE, WHOLE FOR THE PART
Category and property ICM	SALIENT PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY, CATEGORY FOR SALIENT PROPERTY
Category and member ICM	MEMBER FOR CATEGORY
Event ICM	SUB-EVENT FOR EVENT
Action ICM	AGENT FOR ACTION, ACTION FOR RESULT, OBJECT FOR ACTION/FUNCTION, INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT
Containment ICM	CONTAINER FOR CONTENT

For refined taxonomy and its annotation, see Section 3.3.3.

2.2.1.3 Methodologies for identification procedures

As for identification procedures, Tóth (2017, pp. 155–165) summarizes that there is much less empirical data on metonymy compared to metaphor, and a corpus-linguistic method is not applicable yet. Metonymy is mostly investigated by intuitive-introspective methods, mostly manually.

The dissertation adapts Pérez Sobrino's protocol due to similarities in research goals: a large genre-specific corpus and decisive genre conventions. Pérez Sobrino (2017) set up a corpus of advertisements and tried to extract patterns of metonymy and metaphor complexes. The exact protocol contained the next steps (Pérez Sobrino, 2017, pp. 88–90): (1) identification of the target domain (driven by the question What is the product?), (2) identification of the source domain (driven by the question What is being said about the product?), (3) identification of the operation, decision-making on whether it is metonymical or metaphorical (How does the product connect with what is being said about it?), and finally, (4) identification of the patterns

that had to do with the product while secondary figurative configurations are excluded (What the advertisement shows, what it conveys, and how these are connected.)

In the dissertation, the adaptation will not apply step 4, as the visually represented Hungarian Parliament is not always the major target of the editorial cartoon (although it is in the focus of this research), and it would be difficult to stop the level of abstraction and technically define the most appropriate structural type. For instance, if the Hungarian Parliament only stands for the political topic, and it is hung up on the wall of a pub as photo, while two civilians are chatting about the parliament in which politicians are playing the drama then two processes will be remarked (those that are more closely linked to the parliament), namely the conceptual metonymy PARLIAMENT FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC and the conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENT IS A THEATER. Further elaborations will not follow the structural metaphor and metonymy identification, but the analyses offer interpretations and explanations of editorial cartoons in the framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2011). Sometimes, the Hungarian Parliament is linked to secondary figurative configurations and those are studied more deeply than the primary ones, because of the topic of the dissertation. In sum, we need to take into consideration that significance of the Parliament shown in the editorial cartoons is not always the same.

2.2.1.4 Pragmatic functions

Among the motivating factors of conceptual metonymies, shared knowledge, expectations, worldview (Littlemore, 2015, p. 7), and communicative factors of specific situations are mentioned (Tóth, 2017, p. 7). Furthermore, Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020, p. 107) emphasize that metonymies, just like metaphors, are often motivated by “an enormous number of facts, beliefs and attitudes” and “(sub)cultural background knowledge”, therefore, “analyzing visual and multimodal tropes can never be a matter of mere textual analysis alone.”

In order to summarize the major pragmatic functions of metonymy in general, several cognitive linguists’ statements will be cited as a list. To begin with, we know that metonymy can create textual cohesion, can communicate humor, irony, euphemism and even hyperbole, and it can “build identity”. Metonymy usually facilitates speedy communication (Littlemore, 2015, p. 1), and helps the comprehension processes through “optimizing the effort-effect balance (via oversimplification and perspectivization)” (Benczes, 2019). It is heavily “context-dependent” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 6), and due to its context dependence, it contributes to dynamic meaning-making processes in discourses (cf. Benczes, 2019; Forceville, 2009;

Littlemore, 2015). Besides, metonymy enables to create stereotypes through MEMBER-FOR-CATEGORY and CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymies (Feng, 2017, p. 456). It can easily have “depersonalizing effect” (when A NON-ANIMATE ENTITY STANDS FOR PERSON) (Littlemore, 2015, p. 7). Considering metonymy-based metaphors, visual source domains can metonymically provide access to more abstract concepts which are the source or target domains of verbo-pictorial metaphors (Bolognesi & Vernillo, 2019).

What are those specific features of the metonymical processes that come to the fore in political discourse? The evaluative edge of metonymy complexes has already been highlighted in cognitive literature (cf. Barnden, 2018; Feng, 2017; Forceville, 2009; Kövecses, 2000; Levin & Lindquist, 2007; Littlemore, 2015). For instance, Littlemore (2015, pp. 99–104) elaborates on the evaluative function of metonymy in connection with personal attacks that occur due to the highlighting feature of the metonymy (e.g., “pretty face” meaning a derogatory term which emphasizes only physical traits and excludes the intellect). In sum, metonymy seems to be a potential device for evaluation and attack which are essential features of political cartoons.

According to Charteris-Black (2011, pp. 48–49), metonymies are more invisible than metaphors so they have more ideological potential via creating hidden meanings and can make the bed for political thought in a creative way. Likewise, metonymy is a finely tuned device with polyseme character (Salamurović, 2020, p. 188); thus, its reference is often implicit, and there is uncertainty, vagueness about deciding what exactly it refers to (Forceville, 2009, p. 83). Moreover, metonymy can help to understand particular social imagery and legitimate those by which the government can easily have the support of the ordinary people for its unjust measurements (Catalano & Musolff, 2019, p. 11) (e.g., one-sided portrayal of migrants as a dangerous mass, this type of representation can legitimate military action against “dangerous forces”). Visual metonymies are proper candidates for shaping people’s thinking about the role of the government (Bleiker, 2018) and political power (Riad, 2019, p. 506).

Nevertheless, we must mention other functions of metonymy that can serve political purposes. Hence, metonymy can advance the creation of national identities through PLACE-FOR-PEOPLE metonymy (e.g., the name of the country can stand for its institution but also for the population) (Benczes, 2019). Metonymies can recall common knowledge and strengthen social relations (Littlemore, 2015, p. 1), therefore, they are crucial in the processes of cultural representation and collective memory (Salamurović, 2020, p. 184). Although they have cohesive force, they can also express exclusion as well (Pražmo, 2019, p. 5).

In sum, the most essential pragmatic functions of metonymy are its ideological potential (deliberative vagueness), evaluative character, and tendency to cooperate with other figurative

devices. All in all, metonymy may seem like a versatile and even dangerous tool that has a prominent role in political discourse.

2.2.2 Metaphor

Metaphor is rooted in human cognition (Black, 1954–55; Cuccio, 2018; Gibbs, 2008; 2011; Hampe, 2017; Johnson, 2013; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Turner, 2006) stating that we live by metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). By saying “We will win in Iraq as long as *we stay the course*.”, President George Bush could express “progress toward a goal is a journey” (motivated metaphorically) (Gibbs, 2011, pp. 529–530). The metaphorical expression *staying the course* came from the metaphoric source domain of SPORT, and it was applied to the US (army) what planned to remain in Iraq to complete the military operation; thus, US (army) appeared as a highly promising sport team, furthermore, the war got supported and legitimated in front of the public (Gibbs, 2011) who were placed into the role of sport fans.

As the dissertation relies heavily on Kövecses’s (2020) theoretical and Gibbs’ (2008, 2011) empirical results, we intend to provide a short introduction to those starting with the presentation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). In standard CMT, metaphor is a conceptual process that helps to structure and understand the world around us (not exclusively linguistic) (Gibbs, 2011, p. 530). In a conceptual metaphor, the target domain (usually an abstract concept) is understood in terms of a conceptually distant source domain (usually a concrete concept), and it can be formalized as $A = B$ (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

CMT provides a view on systemic correspondences, for instance, which emerge from the mapping of the familiar NATURAL FORCE onto the abstract idea of LOVE. When we say *She swept me off my feet* or *Waves of passion overcame him*, those metaphorical expressions are not clichéd idioms with literal meanings, but the manifestations of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS NATURAL FORCE (Gibbs, 2011, p. 531). The early research in CMT studied offline processes (decontextualized metaphors).

In his book, Kövecses (2020) extends CMT by setting up several claims; as we already mentioned two of those are relevant for us now. First, the multilevel view of metaphors (with four different levels that are image schema, domain, frame, and mental space). Second, by introducing the mental-space level, he managed to connect metaphors to contextual factors and online discourse (natural discourse). Both theoretical findings are related to the dynamic metaphor approach based on the empirical experiments of Gibbs and Cameron (2008).

As for the comprehension of metaphors, on the one hand, it was assumed that metaphors are understood quickly, on the other hand, it is claimed that the understanding of metaphors needs extra cognitive effort. Indeed, Gibbs and Tendahl's (2006) psycholinguistic research concludes that there is no systemic relationship between cognitive effort and cognitive effects; thus, neither of the presupposed statements are true. Possible reasons why we speak metaphorically can be traced back to "bodily, cognitive, linguistic, social, and cultural variables" (Gibbs & Cameron, 2008).

In sum, in the dissertation, conceptual metaphors will be identified at various conceptual levels of schematicity and their specific local cultural contextual motivation will be taken into account (Kövecses, 2020) (cf. dynamic approach discussed in Gibbs, 2011).

2.2.2.1 Metaphor in visual and multimodal discourse

Being a conceptual process occurring in thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3), metaphor can appear in various modalities, in verbal, in sonic, and in visual, among others.

In cognitive framework, Forceville (1988, in which he refers back to Black, 1954–55 even with the terminology used) wanted to justify the legitimacy of CMT in surrealist paintings, generally speaking the manifestations of metaphors (verbal, pictorial, and verbo-pictorial types) in visuals.³⁰ Later he (Forceville, 1994) found that mass media (e.g., advertisements) provided more objective features (regarding their communicative goal and structure), and in that way the early examination of metaphor in multimodal discourse became more transparent and well-founded than it was previously in surrealist paintings. The book *Multimodal metaphor* (Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009) was a real breakthrough in distinguishing monomodal and multimodal metaphors in diverse genres (advertising, film, music, gestures, logos, and political cartoon, among others). Here, Forceville (2009, p. 4) briefly defines monomodal metaphor as

a metaphor whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode.

In the same volume, Forceville (2009, p. 6) describes multimodal metaphor

³⁰ For further discussion on various definitions and typologies of visual/pictorial metaphors see Virág, 2017a (specifically focusing on Forceville's papers on visual metaphor typology) and Virág, 2020 (it mostly focuses on the multimodal conceptual complexes applying Pérez Sobrino's (2017) typology). Where among the cited authors there are e.g., Kennedy, 1982; Carroll, 1994, and Šorm and Steen, 2018.

whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes.

The domains are not reversible; thus, a unidirectional process of mapping occurs when the viewer picks up the relevant feature(s) of the source and projects them (at least one) onto the target domain. Hence, the conceptual link between the domains is necessary to create a metaphor (physical similarity is not enough). Correspondences are not necessarily pre-existing (that is usually true for conventional metaphors), they are rather created during the interaction (that is true for creative, novel metaphors). As for the visual metaphors, the most preferred formulas of mappings are ABSTRACT TD = CONCRETE SD and CONCRETE TD = CONCRETE SD.

More recently, Forceville (Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Forceville & van de Laar, 2019) uses the term “multimodal metaphor” only for those cases where both visual and verbal modes are necessary for understanding the conceptual metaphor and this is a stricter version of the previous definition. It means that the appearance of any of the domains in mixed modes is not yet enough to speak about a multimodal metaphor. The analyst decides whether the use of each mode is necessary to create a metaphor.

By contrast, in the dissertation (as in Virág, 2020), the broader understanding of multimodal metaphor is applied, and it means that if any of the domains appear in mixed modes, the metaphor is marked as multimodal. The analyst does not decide about which modes are more prominent, or in the case of a domain in mixed modes, whether one or two modes are necessary to create the metaphor. If one of the domains appears in one mode, while the other domain appears in another one then the conceptual metaphor is also listed among the multimodal ones. For instance, hypothetically, if the parliament is depicted in the form of a cake, moreover, the title confirms the target saying “Honorable House” then the metaphor will be considered as a multimodal metaphor (even if the visual parts provide enough help to construe the conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENT IS A CAKE). It seems a technical problem, a nuance, but this definition actually results in a larger number of multimodal metaphors. Furthermore, this view does not determine whether the mere visual parts would be sufficient to create the metaphor but insists on the fact how it is depicted in the editorial cartoon. For these reasons, Pérez Sobrino’s (2017, p. 166) definition is applied, according to which

[...] a multimodal metaphor is a metaphor whose source and target domain are either rendered in two different modes, and/or whose source and target domain are composed of different modes. [...] multimodality tends to occur within domains for simple operations (that is metonymy and metaphor), and across domains for complex operations.

Consequently, in the current research, visual metaphor is a metaphor whose source and target domains appear exclusively in visual mode, and neither of them are supported by any other modes.

2.2.2.2 The typology of metaphor in visual and multimodal discourse

In the framework of cognitive metaphor research, metaphors in general can differ, for instance, according to their structure (image metaphors vs. structural metaphors), complexity (from primary to novel metaphors), and cultural specificity (from almost universal to culture specific).

When we are speaking about visual and multimodal discourse, various modalities establishing the conceptual metaphor are taken into consideration. As for metaphor types, the dissertation intends to differentiate four types of visual metaphors, namely simile, contextual, integrated, and hybrid³¹ versions based on their structure which follow Forceville (2008), while the fifth metaphor type is multimodal metaphor (according to Pérez Sobrino's (2017) definition). But how has this kind of typology evolved over the years?

In the field of visual rhetoric, Phillip and McQuarrie's (2004) typology differentiated three types of visual metaphors according to their structure: juxtapositions (objects placed next to each other), fusions (two merged objects), and replacements (an object depicted within distant context).

In the same vein, the following extended typology was set up by Forceville (2008, p. 278): a) simile when the target and the source domains are juxtaposed as separate entities, b) contextual metaphor where the target domain appears in a context belonging to the source, c) integrated (or design) metaphor where the target is depicted in a position conveying source while the source is not presented overtly, and d) hybrid when the target and the source domains are visually rendered and conflated into one entity (this is the one which has already been noted as visual fusion and visual hybrid in previous literature).³²

³¹ For the detailed discussion of the motivational factors in visual metaphorical hybrids and their relations to metonymical hybrids, see Virág (2022b). It provides a typology of the potential motivational factors by exemplifying each with analysis of hybrids including the PARLIAMENTARY DOME as a metaphorical target domain.

³² For detailed literature on visual metaphors, see Šorm and Steen, 2013, 2018; Bolognesi et al., 2018; Schilperoord, 2018, and Abdel-Raheem, 2021.

2.2.2.3 Methodologies for identification procedures

Cognitive linguists were blamed for intuitive metaphor identification, which results in questionable data. Among the first proposals for systemic identification procedure, we know about MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure, carried out by the Pragglejaz Group, 2007), its developed version called MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure VU University Amsterdam, Steen et al., 2010), and corpus analytical tools (e.g., software system). For being able to compare metaphors appearing in verbal and visual modalities, VISMIP (Šorm & Steen 2018), a counterpart of MIPVU was developed and tested over the years.³³

Despite a lot of work, there is still a lack of a way to identify the metaphors objectively in multimodal discourse (if it is possible at all, e.g., Charteris-Black, 2011) argues that metaphor construction itself is a subjective procedure). VISMIP also fails to define complex conceptual processes where more metaphors or even more types of figurative devices co-work.

Of course, this does not mean that there would be no attempts to do so, but they are very different depending on the definitions, typology, and genre used. Research design proposed by Forceville (Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Forceville & van de Laar, 2019) is largely accepted among multimodal metaphor researchers (e.g., Pinar-Sanz, 2020) and the current research will follow this step-by-step method insisting on the previously mentioned change in definition of visual and multimodal metaphor (using its broad version).

From an analytical point of view, it includes the following steps: (1) construction of the link between two distant phenomena in the given context, (2) metaphoric domains are identified in terms of target and source, lastly, (3) correspondence(s) are associated with the relation of the source and the target domains. Among these correspondences there can be characteristics, connotations, emotion, attitude, it can also have the shape of a cluster.

Apart from metaphor identification (appearing at multiple conceptual levels, Kövecses, 2020), Critical Metaphor Analysis is applied (Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 45–46) to interpret and explain the conceptual metaphorical strategy:

Critical metaphor analysis therefore enables us to identify *which* metaphors were chosen and to explain *why* these metaphors were chosen by illustrating *how* they contribute to political myths. (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 47)

³³ For detailed methodologies for metaphor identification in visual and multimodal artworks, see Virág 2017b and Virág 2021b.

However, critical metaphor analysis does not focus on metaphors exclusively but studies other conceptual processes (e.g., metonymy) in discourse as well because metaphor does not work in isolation and has greater impact in persuasion if it is combined with other strategies. In the vein of Charteris-Black (2011, pp. 49–50), the current research maintains that “identification of conceptual metaphors is inevitably subjective, like all qualitative judgments, but the analytical method is clear and the reader is free to challenge metaphor classification.” (For detailed examples, see Section 5.2).

2.2.2.4 Pragmatic functions

The dissertation goes in line with those approaches that investigate cognitive devices in context (i.a., Charteris-Black, 2011; Hampe, 2017; i Ferrando, 2019; MacArthur et al., 2012).

In the framework of pragmatics, we can consider the main motivating factors of the metaphor and its effects on the audience. As for the motivating factors of the construction of metaphors, Forceville lists four major components: (1) the cultural connotations (e.g. genre expectations³⁴ and special knowledge on the source) that are usually metonymically linked to the source domain (Forceville 2009, p. 28; cf. Schilperoord, 2018, p. 17, p. 29), (2) the external similarities/perceptual resemblance (e.g., size) between the two domains or situations (Forceville, 2009, p. 28; cf. Schilperoord, 2018, p. 36), (3) the internal/conceptual similarities between the two domains or situations (Forceville, 2009, p. 29, p. 31), and (4) the personification.

Emphasizing that metaphor arises from discourse, among the motivating factors, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 31) discusses “expectations about meaning based on our knowledge of how words have previously been used” and “socially influenced expectations”; thus, conceptual metaphor is not certainly construed by the audience, and it gives the members of the public the possibility to construe it differently. This is how motivations and effects are connected to each other. Another important purpose of the metaphor is to show the speaker in the role of a legitimate source, a trustable authority (performing the right speech) which can

³⁴ Linked to *genre attribution*, Forceville (2016, p. 253) confirms that political cartoon critically approaches to a state of affair or a person, and this genre invites the viewer to map negative features from the source onto the target. Indeed, knowledge of the genre reveals its communicative function (Schilperoord, 2018, p. 29) and builds upon the viewers’ expectations.

also ensure the delegitimization of the opponent (2011, p. 33). Manifestations of delegitimization can take the forms of

negative other-presentation, acts of blaming, scape-goating, marginalizing, excluding attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other, attacking the rationality and sanity of the other. The extreme is to deny the humanness of the other (Chilton, 204: 47).

I cited these examples to point out that delegitimization by metaphoric expression goes hand in hand with the purposes of the editorial cartoon as a genre (see Section 1.2).

Beside the motivating factors, we should focus on the intentions and effects of metaphoric expressions, bearing in mind that all these are not so clearly separable. Black (1954–55, pp. 277–278) remarked that metaphor rather belonged to “pragmatics” than “semantics”.

CMT goes a step further and asserts that metaphor can “influence how people think, reason, and imagine in everyday life” (Gibbs & Cameron, 2008, p. 3), solve problems, make decisions, and resolve everyday dilemmas (Gibbs, 2011, p. 540), it has impact on how people speak about emotions, and other topics, for instance, politics. Various conceptualizations lead to alternative reasoning (e.g., the American Dream) (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 40), or various solutions. Crucial functions of metaphor are summarized by Chuang (2012, p. 262):

[...] metaphors have been found to externalize thinking (Roth, 2001), facilitate learning (Ortony, 1975), label new concepts (Clark, 1981, 1982; Dirven, 1985), and provide frameworks for ideas (Cameron & Low, 1999). Furthermore, some researchers have gone so far as to claim that the acquisition of new knowledge is not possible without the use of metaphor (Ortony, 1975, 1993)

The role of images was emphasized by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 33), who remarked that metaphor enabled to see complex political issues in more simple forms, he called these metaphors image-based that could visualize and make the political topics tangible and intelligible (Charteris-Black understood mental image under the term “image”). Later he added, “[...] images are striking and memorable: it is often the iconicity of metaphors that leads to them becoming historical myth” (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 44). “Mental image” and “image in physical sense” show kinship in the sense that they are detailed. As for visual metaphors with incongruity (in visual material), Schilperoord (2018, pp. 16–17) argues that they are more memorable than other metaphor types and encourage the viewer to resolve the anomaly.

And it is in connection with the effects of metaphors on public. Research that studies metaphor in political discourse (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2011; Chilton, 2004; Musolff, 2006; Musolff & Zinken, 2009; Semino, 2008) focuses on the embodiment and socio-cultural embeddedness of cognition, and the multimodal and socio-interactive nature of communication (Hampe, 2017).

According to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 28), the same metaphor can be used by critical voices to express an entirely different evaluation from the one that was previously intended, for instance, the politician as a “moral compass” metaphor can be elaborated in such way that it evokes a protective family model which “implies moral accounting”. By contrast, in counter-narratives, “moral compass” can be used for individual purposes in career planning, or it can be instable which fails to provide the right direction (Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 29–30). In these cases, Charteris-Black supposes that the counter-narratives have greater effect on the audience by highlighting affective meaning.

It is not rare in political discourse, that metaphor wants to entertain or provoke a specific public, when it is “intellectually seductive in argument” (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 43). In that case, the creator and the viewer are accomplices, and metaphor is more like a persuasive strategy. It is again the case in editorial cartoons, where the cartoonist works to a specific audience who reads the newspaper and most probably share, at least partly, the same worldview.

In sum, first and foremost, metaphor in political discourse is a matter of right speech, argumentation, persuasion, and it challenges the public.

2.2.3 Irony

Editorial cartoons are rich in metonymies, metaphors, and ironies. Although irony is getting increasing attention in cognitive linguistics (Coulson, 2005; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014; Lozano-Palacio, 2020; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2017; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Lozano-Palacio, 2019, 2021; Tobin & Israel, 2012), it has been neglected by cartoon researchers.³⁵ The dissertation considers verbal irony as merely a type of irony and discusses irony in the framework developed by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Lozano-Palacio (2019, 2021), because

³⁵ Previously, this framing device has received interest from such fields as rhetoric, literary theory, philosophy, linguistics (pragmatics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics), and even from artificial intelligence (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 11).

their novel theoretical approach includes verbal, visual, multimodal, and situational ironies respectively.³⁶

In the late 20th century, linguists were deeply involved in research on irony. A novel, longstanding definition of irony was published (Wilson & Sperber, 2012, p. 125 based on 1981), according to which irony echoes an utterance, a thought, a belief or a norm-based expectation, and presents an attitude of dissociation (e.g. disappointment, disgust) toward the expressed thought.³⁷ Beside the linguistic Echo Theory, another theory appeared in the field, it was called Pretense Theory (Clark & Gerrig, 1984). It defined irony as a pose in which the speaker pretended a character and wanted the situation to be taken seriously (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 3). More recently, the cognitive linguist, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2017) argued that in verbal irony, there was a clash between the observable and the echoed scenarios, and the attitudinal element derives from this clash.

In collaboration with Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Lozano-Palacio (2020) provides an integrated framework for verbal and situational irony that explains the nature of the attitudinal element and takes the role of the socio-cultural context into consideration. This integrated framework takes over the concept of echo and implants it into cognitive linguistics. Moreover, it also connects echo with the notion of pretense.

Specifically, for verbal irony, Lozano-Palacio (2020, p. 231) points out three major necessary conditions:

- (1) the speaker's pretended agreement with real or attributed beliefs or thoughts,
- (2) an observable situation that manifestly clashes against the pretended agreement, and
- (3) an inference on the speaker's dissociation from the pretended agreement.

Echo is not the only agreement-building strategy of pretended scenarios (but it seems a unique feature of the verbal ironies and not included in situational irony); furthermore, idiomatic expressions and adverbs can also express agreement or consent. For instance, after a badly spent family day, the exclamation *You must have had a whale of a time at the Smiths!* can be expressed with a partial echo *A whale of a time!* or with the combination of a partial echo and adverbs *Yeah, right, a whale of a time indeed!* (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 64). Both variations reinforce

³⁶ For literature on the early usage of irony and its definitions, see Lozano-Palacio, 2020, pp. 13-22.

³⁷ It was critically revised by Garmendia (2018) who stated that the utterance is not always echoed explicitly, furthermore, it can be echoed partially as well (e.g., when a thought is echoed).

the pretended scenario. According to Lozano-Palacio's view, irony is always associated with intentional pretense, and its verbal form with some form of echo.

In cognitive linguistics, most of the time Burgers and his colleagues' (2016) definition is used, who state that in an ironical utterance there is an evaluative contradiction between the said and the understood meanings; thus, if one of them is positive, then the other one is negative. For instance, if it is raining heavily outside, and at the same time, somebody tells that "What a wonderful weather we have!", we can be pretty sure about the ironic tone of the positive utterance, which is immediately understood negatively. Despite the implicit nature of this type of irony, it can be identified in a fairly objective way (based on the evaluative decision). However, it should be remarked that irony based on such a direct evaluative contradiction is only a type of irony and does not cover all the ironies defined by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Lozano-Palacio (2021).

2.2.3.1 Irony in visual and multimodal discourse

Irony is not exclusively a linguistic phenomenon, it can also be situational irony, for instance, when a fire station is on fire (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 11). Although it is a crucial feature of political cartoons, it has almost been entirely neglected in the field of multimodal cognitive studies (except for El Refaie, 2005). This section cites three examples of ironies in visual and multimodal discourse, which are merely intended to support the fact that irony can materialize in both visual and multimodal forms.

In her dissertation, Lozano-Palacio (2020) shows the operation of two examples belonging to visual and multimodal categories. The first example presents a mural from Banksy depicting *Madonna with gun* (in Naples). Based on the analysis, Madonna represents (metonymically stands for) Catholicism which generates the expected scenario in relation to the city, Naples. The irony arises due to the gun, which refers to (metonymically stands for) "the crude reality of violent death" (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 73). The first is the expected, idealized scenario that is transformed into a criticism of society.

The second example shows a woman looking through a round glass of a door of a washing machine, which is accompanied by the text "*Women adventures*". The irony is based on the visual ambiguity according to which the round glass can be understood as an airplane window but also as a part of a washing machine. The epistemic scenario consists of a woman who is free and independent due to the airplane window that refers to (metonymically stands for) travel, and due to the accompanying text (Women adventures) that triggers (metonymically

stands for) freedom and independence. This ideal scenario clashes the observable scenario in which the woman is understood as a stereotypical housewife based on the following conceptual process: washing machine refers to (metonymically stands for) housework and it symbolizes (metonymically stands for) a work stereotypically done by a housewife. As we could see, there are visual and multimodal possibilities built on metonymic relations to provide ironic clash between an epistemic and an observable scenario.

Additionally, among the situational ironies, Lozano-Palacio (2020, p. 133) cites the example of a photograph showing a sign of gun hanging from a building of a gunsmith store that is located opposite the police station (the photo shows how the gun is pointing toward the police station). The title is *Gunsmith and Police Department, 6 Center Market Place, Manhattan*. According to Lozano-Palacio's analyses, based on general knowledge, the epistemic scenario involves the idea of a police station which is a workplace of policemen carrying guns that clashes the observed scenario, namely the juxtaposition of the gunsmith store and the police station (the one that is visible in the photo).

2.2.3.2 The typology of ironies

As the dissertation examines the relationships between criticism and framing devices, Barnden's (2018) typology was chosen and applied in the identification of ironies and during the procedure of the interpretation of the corpus. Barnden (2018, p. 99) studies the types of contrasts in metonymies which can result in ironies (as we saw that before in Lozano-Palacio's examples as well). Based on the examples above, we could see that visual and multimodal ironies were heavily built on metonymic processes. Hence, according to Barnden's views on the differentiations among the contrast types, we can set up the list of the major schemas. In the dissertation, two schemas of those, namely oxymoron-based and causal type of ironies will be used to make differences among various irony types.³⁸

Here, the oxymoron-based and causal type of ironies will be demonstrated. According to Barnden (2018), contrast can arise:

³⁸ For examples of devaluation and stereotype-based ironies, see Littlemore, 2015, pp. 31–32; Barnden, 2018, p. 106, and Littlemore, 2015, p. 88. These types were excluded from the study because those are built on strategies like devaluation and contempt with the use of stereotypical utterances, and these strategies are genre-specific features of editorial cartoons, these make the cartoon itself working, so these ironies are not unique, rather they are ubiquitous in the cartoons.

(A) between the metonymic source and target, in semantic sense, they are exactly the opposite of each other, e.g., “*our friends* are the cockroaches”. (Littlemore, 2015, pp. 84–85) where FRIENDS STAND FOR ENEMIES, and “You’re *a real friend*.” (Barnden, 2018, p. 110) where FRIEND STANDS FOR ENEMY. In both cases, we can speak about oxymoron-based irony. This type is identical to the irony discussed by Burgers and his colleagues (2016).

(B) between metonymic target and normal expectation, more specifically between literal and metonymical reading of the expression in context based on EFFECT (THE ACTIONS) FOR CAUSE (THE REASONS) metonymy (its implicate meaning can be formulated as follows, “it shouldn’t be the case”). In fact, it is a critical statement even if a question (not a neutral one), e.g., “*What are the French [army] doing in Mali?*” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 85) where the normal expectation would be that the French army have no reasons for being in Mali, by contrast, the French army is in Mali. For another example, consider “*What’s that fly doing in my soup?*” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 85) when a guest says this to the waiter, the guest is expressing criticism and outrage, and does not expect the waiter to begin to explain the movement of the fly. These examples are discussed as causal type of ironies where criticism is based on an illogical statement.³⁹

2.2.3.3 Methodologies for identification procedures

In the dissertation, the main focus is not on the structure of the irony but on the critical purpose and the target of it. That is the reason why we use the typology set up by Barnden (2018) (see above in Section 2.2.3.2), but our methodological approach borrows from the one offered by Lozano-Palacio (2020). It means that the first step is the identification of the clashing scenarios (epistemic and observable), however, their relationship is described based on the abovementioned oxymoron-based irony (contradiction in evaluation), and causal irony (logical contradiction). Barnden’s (2018) approach can be smoothly combined with Lozano-Palacio’s

³⁹ Additionally, Alsadi and Howard (2021, pp. 56–57) analyze a cartoon where they show an example of “intratextual verbal allusion” (built on the story of the immediate context) that can be considered as a causal type of irony. In the cartoon, a couple is watching the news reporting a murder of a husband by his first wife (the man shown on the TV remarried). The speech bubble of the wife watching the news asks (most probably a first wife): “Did you hear that?” Of course, the question is the formulation of an ironic threatening of the husband, and warns him not to have a second wife, if he wants to live a longer life. In an ordinary case, we would expect a surprised or horrified wife, but instead, the wife picks up the story and uses it for her purposes, namely that a husband should not have a second wife.

(2020) theory, because Barnden similarly assumes the ironic clash between the expected (called epistemic by Lozano-Palacio) and the literal (called observable by Lozano-Palacio) expressions.

We can assume that ironies in editorial cartoons can operate like verbal ironies; thus, some sort of echo appears in them, but rather operate like situational ironies where (1) both scenarios are derivable from the context, (2) the epistemic scenario is based on the perceiver's knowledge and the observable is evident, and (3) delayed situational ironies occur where the interaction of the scenarios is made understandable later in time (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 133).

As for the subjectivity of the analysis, Lozano-Palacio (2020) justifies how the qualitative approach and chain of reasoning enable one to analyze and interpret irony. She calls the attention to the fact that “experimental work trusts the experimenter's own decision as to what counts as a possible ironic utterance or an irony-triggering context” (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 91). However, the analyst must convincingly break the whole down into analytical constituents. Beside the clear categories, the interaction between them must be shown up.

2.2.3.4 Pragmatic functions

More recently, irony has been considered a figurative framing device which can alternate a relatively stable frame (Burgers et al., 2016, p. 417; El Refaie, 2005) by revealing a no longer valid problem, causation, expectancy and norm, but it can also help to maintain a certain frame. It does not introduce a new frame but comments on an existing one.

As for the purposes of ironic use, Lozano-Palacio (2020, p. 230) claims that there are a limited number of ironic uses, and novel-like ironies can be the “developments of previous forms as a consequence of a change in the socio-cultural context”. All in all, irony can be didactic, can enhance humor, persuade the audience, can be applied to formulate group togetherness, direct at a common enemy (e.g., ridicule the political authority), mark the audience as victim, create cohesion among groups with opposing views, and depict a fallacious character (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 187). Moreover, irony can cooperate with hyperbole and can more easily instigate an ideological change which usually leads to sarcasm, and it is a “stronger and more polemical or interactionally more face-challenging subtype” of irony (Musolff, 2017, p. 103).

Besides, Partington (2007, p. 1566) emphasizes the emotional functions of irony, and among these, we can find the desire of the speaker “to be interesting, incisive, dramatic and memorable”. This is realized when irony appears with “metaphorical vividness” and

“communicative attractiveness” (Musolff, 2017, p. 102). Musolff (2017) studies the discourse career (meaning a series of re-contextualizations) of a specific idiom, *Britain at the heart of Europe*, and discusses that follow-ups can denounce the preceding versions and/or derive a new, contrarian conclusion from same idiom. To understand the ironic reversal (e.g., on the periphery of the heart or cracked heart), the precondition is that the optimistic version of the idiom (e.g., in the center of or essential for Europe) needs to be remembered and recognized first, finally the follow-ups create a virtual dialogue together with knowledge of the optimistic aspect (Musolff, 2017, p. 98). In sum, journalists can build on and maintain a detailed discourse-historical memory (and in our view, the same role can be picked up by cartoonists as well) when irony becomes a tool in sharing critical evaluation with the public on a certain topic (Musolff, 2017, p. 103).

2.2.4 Interrelations

Various conceptual processes do not work in isolation (e.g., Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020, p. 86), it is much more common, and even general, that several framing devices work together in multimodal discourse at the same time. It is also not rare that the same conceptual processes are combined that can result in metonymy chains, or metaphor complexes (Pérez Sobrino, 2017). Linked to the complexity of the issue of interrelations, from a semiotic point of view, Pedrazzini and Scheuer (2018) argue that political cartoons show semiotic density with a minimum of 2-4 resources to a maximum of 8-12 resources (for the rhetorical resources see Pedrazzini & Scheuer, 2018, p. 107). According to their results, the most dominant devices are metonymy, irony, and metaphor. In the following points (2.2.4.1, 2.2.4.2, and 2.2.4.3), the research on the interplay of various framing devices will be summarized.

2.2.4.1 The interplay of metaphor and metonymy

Metaphor and metonymy interaction occurring in the verbal mode has already been discussed by Goessens (1990) and further elaborated by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2002). Goessens calls metonymy-based metaphors metaphonymy and argues that metonymy and metaphor can be placed on the same continuum (cf. Prandi, 2017). We will use the definition of metaphonymy set up by Pérez Sobrino (2017) who studied the phenomenon in multimodal environment:

a multimodal metaphonymy consists in the principled integration of a metonymy in either the source or target domain of a metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2000, 2002), in a process that involves a mode shift. (2017, p. 125)

We must remark that metonymy-based metaphor is not the only way of the interplays of metonymies and metaphors.

The research of metonymy-metaphor combinations in multimodal discourse was started by Negro Alousque (2013) specifically in the genre of political cartoons. She exemplified the possible combinations with one example per each, i.e., when the metaphoric source domain is realized metonymically, when the metaphorical target domain appears metonymically, when both of them are rendered metonymically. Negro Alousque applied the differentiation between part-for-the whole (e.g., when A HAND STANDS FOR A HUMAN BEING) and whole-for-the part (e.g., when AN INSTITUTION STANDS FOR A PERSON) metonymies (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Otal Campo, 2002, p. 58). Practically, it means that when any of the domains is realized metonymically then the metonymy can be identified as part-for-the whole or whole-for-the part (and it provides more possibilities combinatorically).

To illustrate the procedure of a metonymy-based metaphor, consider the example (Negro Alousque, 2013, pp. 374–375) of an editorial cartoon that depicts the building of the Pentagon from which US soldiers march toward a pentagonal spider's web. The spiders's body itself remembers Osama bin Laden's head. Thus, the editorial cartoon introduces the conceptual metaphor THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE US AND THE TERRORISTS IS WAR. It can be broken down as follows: THE BUILDING metonymically STANDS FOR THE COUNTRY, more specifically THE PENTAGON STANDS FOR THE US (part-for-whole metonymy), A PLANE CRASHED INTO THE PENTAGON STANDS FOR TERRORIST ATTACK (part-for-whole metonymy), MARCHING US SOLDIERS STAND FOR MILITARY ATTACK (part-for-whole metonymy), while THE TERRORISM IS A SPIDER'S WEB, and at the same time, OSAMA BIN LADEN IS A SPIDER. Finally, Negro Alousque construes the conceptual metaphor EXTENDING ONE'S POWER IS MAKING A WEB. Negro Alousque emphasizes the relation between the conceptual metonymy THE INSTITUTION STANDS FOR THE COUNTRY and the conceptual metaphor EXTENDING ONE'S POWER IS MAKING A WEB.

Negro Alousque concludes that part-for-the whole metonymies occurred more times than whole-for-the part metonymies. It must be added that it is somewhat natural, that is, highlighting a characteristic element of a topic is easier, more time-saving for both the caricaturist and the reader, and more efficient for the observer, and it can refer to a larger whole.

By contrast, a very detailed drawing would refer to a small element, the inference of which would be a risky undertaking to say (cf. Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020, p. 106).

What can be the reasons behind the use of metonymies linked to metaphors in multimodal discourse? Somewhat similarly, in her corpus research (including hundreds of printed advertisements), Pérez Sobrino (2017) states that metaphonymy⁴⁰ is the most frequent pattern in advertising, furthermore, she points out the function of the metonymic source:

The metonymy in the source of verbal metaphors has the role of providing an economic point of access to a more complex scenario that will map onto a target situation. (2017, p. 125) [...] it can favour the inferential task required in metaphorical reasoning (2017, p.201)

Following Pérez Sobrino's (2017) typology and methodology, Virág (2020) presented analyzed cartoon examples of such complex conceptual processes (occurring in multimodal discourse) as metaphonymy in metaphoric scenario (Virág, 2020, p. 231), metaphonymy scenario (Virág, 2020, p. 234) involving hybrid metaphor (Virág, 2020, p. 236) and metaphonymy involving contextual metaphor (Virág, 2020, p. 236). Among the multimodal conceptual patterns, metaphonymy played a role in the 80% of the corpus (included political cartoons depicting Hungary). Although the close interplay of metonymies and metaphors has been demonstrated in the corpus, it could be also argued that metonymies played a particularly significant role in emphasizing negative qualities, contributing to criticism of politicians and political events.⁴¹ With the use of metonymies, cartoonists can avoid criticizing their target overtly.

2.2.4.2 The interplay of irony and metaphor

Discussion on the interplay of irony and metaphor is much less common in cognitive literature than the analysis of metonymy-metaphor relations. In other linguistic fields (in pragmatics and semantics) (cf. Grice, 1975; Leech, 1969), it arose that there were devices – just like irony,

⁴⁰ For analyzed examples, see Pérez Sobrino's (2017, pp. 125–140) book, for schematic representations of the types, see p. 201. In the wake of Pérez Sobrino, Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020) wanted to set up the typology of metonymy-metaphor patterns in materials coming from diverse cultural environment, for analyzed examples, see their article.

⁴¹ Pérez Sobrino's (2017, p. 204) corpus analysis showed up that metonymy contributed to highlighting positive features of a product and “served as a cognitively economic point of access to a broader scenario”. Otherwise, using metonymy advertisers can avoid representing the product in its entirety (it is enough to show up a part of it).

metaphor, hyperbole, and litotes (ironic devaluation) – which were similar in their function (say something different from the truth, but at the same time, intend to refer to the truth), consequently, these framing devices could easily cooperate with each other.

As for political discourse, the frequent co-presence of irony, sarcasm and metaphor was pointed out (Charteris-Black, 2014, pp. 45–49; Musolff, 2017, p. 95), and out of these, irony was considered the most complex one due to the fact that it applied the metarepresentation of thoughts (cf. Colston & Gibbs, 2002; Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 51).

What can irony do in connection with conceptual metaphor? In irony-metaphor combinations, irony can set up conceptual incongruency which deviates from the norm, and this deviation is mapped onto the metaphoric target domain (Gerritsen, 2019). In one of Gerritsen's examples, in an editorial cartoon⁴², a COOKING situation (as a source domain) is referring to a certain politician (Thom de Graaf) working on a NOVEL VOTING SYSTEM (the target domain). The norms violated are expressed through three visual elements (not through the conceptual metaphor MINISTER IS A COOK! (Gerritsen, 2019, p. 15) which are the child-like cook, the messy kitchen, and the black smoke coming out from the dish (Gerritsen, 2019, p. 13). Visually evoked incongruities also express what conceptually should be the case, namely that an adult cook is preparing tasteful steaming dish in tidy kitchen. According to Gerritsen (2019, p. 15),

the cartoon invokes particular norms or values that the behavior/event depicted in the cartoon school conform to, by (visually) invoking a conceptual domain the norms of which the reader is assumed to be familiar with. Via the metaphor it is implied that the norms of this domain also apply to the conceptual domain the behavior/event belongs to.

Gerritsen (2019) featured irony with five determining characteristics: 1) it conveys ironic and non-ironic meaning, 2) these meanings are contradictory, 3) the intended meaning is implicit and 4) evaluative, while 5) the evaluation points at the target. Gerritsen (2019) explained that the literal meaning was incongruent with its co- or context, and he added that shared conceptual knowledge (focusing on the norms) was necessary between the communicators for revealing the incongruity, deviation from the norms. Due to this knowledge, irony could remain implicit.

In Gerritsen's other example, the cartoon shows Donald Trump and the EU Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker. Trump is squeezing Juncker's hand with a metal glove (labelled

⁴² There are only a very few examples when irony is studied in editorial cartoons (e.g., Burgers et al., 2012; Conradie et al., 2012; Olson & Olson, 2004; Pedrazzini & Scheuer, 2018).

as “Steel Tariffs”) and Juncker’s face reveals that the handshake is painful. The cartoon entitled “Friendship”. In a usual case, friends do not hurt each other. Thus, in the cartoon, the contradiction between the caption and the visually depicted situation causes conceptual incongruity what Gerritsen calls irony. At the same time, metaphorical mappings can be deduced from the inscription – “steel tariffs” – on the glove. According to Gerritsen’s (2019, p. 26) analysis, the following metaphorical mappings can be construed: relations between friends < relations between allies, squeezing a friend’s hand with a metal glove < levying steel tariff on an ally, and physically hurting a friend < economically hurting an ally. The conceptual metaphor helps to map the features of the (ironic) source domain (FRIENDSHIP WITH ITS DEVIATIONS FROM THE NORMS) onto the target domain (ALLIES THAT ENACT POLICIES AGAINST EACH OTHER).

In Gerritsen’s (2019) theory, irony is always created through the contradiction of the caption and the visually depicted situation, and their conceptual incongruity is transferred onto the metaphoric target domain. It is assumed that this is only one of the possible ways to display irony, but in our corpus analysis, irony can appear in the form of casual type of irony as well which can also cooperate with conceptual metaphor (for detailed discussion see Section 5.3).

2.2.4.3 The interplay of irony and metonymy

By emphasizing one of the fundamental dimensions (e.g., contiguity, similarity) that underlie the various framing devices, Barnden (2018) investigated how contrast arose in metonymies that enabled to create metonymies (see in Section 2.2.3.3). Contrast (e.g., evaluative metonymies such as euphemism and dysphemism relying on contrast) as a distinctive feature of ironies has been already discussed by Herrero Ruiz (2009), Littlemore (2015), and Panther and Thornburg (2003), among others.

Consider some verbal examples to reveal the cooperation between ironies and metonymies. For instance, the expression “our+friends+the” is usually expressed to talk about people who are our enemies where the conceptual metonymy FRIENDS FOR ENEMIES is at work (Littlemore, 2015, p. 95). Hence, when the French President, Nicolas Sarkozy tells “our friends the Greeks”, he is aware of the European financial crises and the collapse of the Greek economy, and he uses the term with its ambiguity, suspiciously, he does not really think of the Greeks as friends. Due to the metonymic base, irony can hide Sarkozy’s offensive statement that will not attack overtly.

In the case of causal ironies, however, metonymic irony does not necessarily contain an opposition, for instance, consider the rhetoric question “What are they (the French army) doing in Mali?” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 96). The question clearly expresses disagreement with the French army’s presence in Mali; thus, it questions the reasons of the French army’s stay in Mali. Namely, “what” is asked instead of “why”, and it can be formulated in the conceptual metonymy EFFECT FOR THE CAUSE. There is logical contradiction between the question read literally and metonymically. However, this contradiction is not an evaluative one (in which negative and positive values conflict with each other).

Regarding metonymy-irony co-operations, it can also happen that the opposite meaning of the occurring metonymy is expressed by the entire ironic expression, just like in the case of “it’s not a rocket science” where ROCKET SCIENCE metonymically STANDS FOR THE THINGS THAT ARE (VERY) DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND (Littlemore, 2015, p. 96). However, its negation refer to the exact opposite, namely that it is a very easy thing to understand.

As we saw earlier (in Section 2.2.3.2), metonymy played an important role in the description of the ironic interaction between scenarios belonging to source and target domains in a visual (Madonna with gun) and in a multimodal example (woman looking out of the window of the washing machine). The role of metonymies is also emphasized in the formation of epistemic (implicit) and observable scenarios (explicit) of ironies (Lozano-Palacio, 2020, p. 124). In addition, situational ironies can also depend on metonymies (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó, 2007).

In sum, co-operation of metonymy and irony is facilitated by the similar characteristic features of these processes: none of them are direct, but remains vague, and unclear (open to interpretation), both rely heavily on shared experience and context, both can express evaluation, can be used for ideology and positioning, and in the service of euphemism and dysphemism, creative language play, and humor (Littlemore, 2015, p. 192).

2.3 Cultural References

In the dissertation, specific attention was put on contextual factors both on intra- and extra-textual factors. Among the intra-textual factors (which occur within the editorial cartoon) cultural references, namely idioms, allusions, and national symbols will be taken into account in interpretations. Cultural references are defined as such visual or verbal contents which require the knowledge of a specific culture, they can be traced back to recurring forms known to a specific community. These cultural references are considered as part of the local context, specifically belonging to the immediate cultural and linguistic context (Kövecses, 2017, p.

102).⁴³ The abovementioned cultural references, however, differ in their pragmatic functions: idioms can play a role in double speech, while sayings and proverbs specifically convey moral value judgement. Most of the time these are metonymically or/and metaphorically motivated. Allusions can recall stories and networks of different cultural products but also the events of certain political situations with the moral evaluations linked to them. Allusions can also be understood metonymically (usually as part-for-whole metonymies) and metaphorically as well. The use of national symbols can metonymically indicate certain official places and objects, but they can also stand for national feelings, and in extreme cases, they may refer to nationalism.

Among the extra-textual factors (which occur outside the editorial cartoon) newspaper articles alongside the editorial cartoons will be investigated, because these help us to determine the political topic of the cartoon (these will only be cited in necessary cases in the analysis, otherwise, they are noted in Appendix 6 - Excel). The present chapter focuses on the relevant features of literature (Kövecses, 2015; Sharifian, 2017) on contextual factors and characterizes various cultural references because the research aims to take into consideration the role of Hungarian cultural knowledge in the interpretations of editorial cartoons, wants to reveal their relationship with various conceptual processes, and their role in criticism.

2.3.1 Contextual factors

Despite the fact that context has been a factor largely ignored by the first version of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), focus on the context and cultural specificity is recently coming to the fore in the field of cultural and cognitive linguistics (Cameron & Deignan, 2006; Charteris-Black, 2009; Kövecses, 2005, 2015; Semino, 2008; Sharifian, 2017), including multimodal research (i Ferrando, 2019; Jewitt & Jones, 2008; Norris, 2004; O'Halloran, 2011). Thus, context has a large impact on conceptual metaphorical processes (Charteris-Black, 2011; Semino, 2008) and it plays an important role in the interpretation of political cartoons as well (El Refaie, 2009). Context dependency (for instance, cultural knowledge, political knowledge) has always been emphasized linked to the editorial cartoon as a genre (cf. El Refaie, 2003), and also in connection with the framing devices (cf. Forceville, 2020; Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020). The important role of context was highlighted in the methodology of Critical Metaphor Analysis in discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004) as well. In

⁴³ We now disregard global cultural references, for instance, the stylistic features of the genre, or the personal character of the artist.

sum, we strongly believe that context plays essential role in the interpretation procedure of editorial cartoons.

Present CMT accepts that metaphors can be very specific and nearly universal as well. Kövecses (2005) proposed some reasons behind the variations in metaphor use such as cultural diversity, individual perspective, historical, and developmental dimensions. These observations highlight that context has the potential to motivate and prime metaphors. Later Kövecses (2015) said:

[...] the conventional conceptual metaphors exist in long-term memory as part of a symbolic representational system, they also function as a type of context in relation to an act of metaphorical conceptualization in discourse. (Kövecses, 2015, p. 199)

It confirms that conventional metaphors also have the potential to act as a context. This two-way contextual effect becomes evident in the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020) by the combination of offline (image-schematic, domain, and frame-levels) and online (mental-space level) procedures. In sum, on the one hand, Kövecses considers conventional conceptual metaphors as part of the context; on the other hand, he claims that context serves as a motivational factor for metaphor production and comprehension.

Kövecses (2015) elaborated on the system of the possible context types and according to his classification, knowledge about the main elements of the discourse, surrounding discourse, previous discourses on the same topic, dominant forms of discourse and intertextuality, ideology underlying discourse, physical environment, social situation, cultural situation, and interests and concerns were among the salient contextual factors. These contextual factors were distributed into four main groups: situational, discourse, conceptual-cognitive, and bodily context, which could be featured through their specificity along the continuum from local to global variations (Kövecses, 2015, pp. 186–187). In the vein of Sharifian (2011, p. 28) and van Dijk (2009), Kövecses (2015, p. 53) adopted the differentiation of local (more personal, intimate, specific knowledge) and global context (more general knowledge shared at societal level). These might be placed on a continuum that leads from specific (specific for a communicative situation) to general (affect all members of a language community).

Now what we are looking for is a typology stable enough to be applied in cartoon research. Various factors of cultural context were vaguely articulated in the context-theory

model (Kövecses, 2015); it intended to clarify the meaning of cultural context, but this still remains a heterogeneous category with a large set of various members:

The cultural factors that affect metaphorical conceptualization include the dominant values and characteristics of members of a group, the key ideas or concepts that govern their lives, the various subgroups that make the group, the various products of culture such as TV shows and films, *and a large number of other things* [emphasis added]. All of these cultural aspects of the setting can supply members of the group with a variety of metaphorical source domains. (Kövecses, 2015, p. 59)

From the dissertation's point of view, cultural references (among which we discuss idioms, allusions, and national symbols) are considered as elements of the specific local cultural factors. All in all, it is true for cultural references that they can be revealed by specific cultural knowledge (e.g., language, knowledge of national history, literature), they are likely to be motivated by conceptual metonymies and/or conceptual metaphors, and they can also affect metonymical and metaphorical procedures.

Due to the more objective identification and grouping of cultural references, we needed to develop a more rigorous, manageable typology that could be applied to our corpus. Several thematic typologies exist, for instance, Connors (2005) examined references from popular culture in political cartoons and argued that these helped readers to understand the picture in an easier way, as the public could be more attached to the image due to the familiar context. Additionally, Connors (2005, p. 481) used a self-made typology according to which, popular cultural references can belong to literature, music, film, contemporary televisions, and holidays (cf. Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, p. 201).

In the dissertation, cultural references are named by their types and subtypes. Furthermore, their function in criticism is also discussed (for a detailed discussion see Chapter 6). Virág and Szabó's typology (Virág & Szabó, 2022 in press) on the basis of the Hungarian cover pages of an economic-political weekly, *Heti Világgazdaság*, served as a starting point and was refined to better describe the patterns found in the corpus. Categorization is thematic consisting of three major subcategories: (1) idioms, (2) allusions, and (3) national symbols. These will be discussed in detail below.

2.3.2 Idioms

Idioms do not have a single exclusive standard definition, first we consider the major statements of traditional linguistic approach, then we turn to the cognitive linguistic approach to idioms,

which appears in the present research as an accepted position. Then we draw attention to idioms studied in political cartoons, and finally, we set up the typology applicable for the present corpus research. In the dissertation, four major types of idioms will be distinguished such as monophrasal polysemous words, compound words, polylexemic expressions, and sayings.

According to the traditional linguistic approach, one of the main characteristic features of idioms is that their meaning cannot be derived from the compositional elements (Benczes, 2002, p. 17; Kálmán & Trón, 2007, p. 54; Kiefer, 1992), for instance, *kick the bucket* (fig. die) or *shoot the breeze* (fig. have a casual conversation) (Benczes, 2002, p. 18). At the same time, in the standard view, idioms are stored in our mind, and they function syntactically as other expressions of a dictionary. Regarding the compositionality of idioms, it can be stated that some idioms seem more decomposable than others (Gibbs & Nayak, 1989; Kálmán & Trón, 2007, p. 55; Nunberg, 1978), for instance, *pop the question* is partially decomposable compared to *kick the bucket* which is a semantically non-decomposable idiom (Benczes, 2002, pp. 19-20).

Another feature, usually mentioned in the traditional literature is that idioms contain more word forms (Kiefer, 1992), by contrast, other typology (Kálmán & Trón, 2007, p. 55; Kerékjártó, 2000, p. 224) does not apply this restriction. According to the latter, idioms can be single morphologically unstructured terms (e.g., *bat*), monophrasal or idiomatic compound words (e.g., *deadline*), and polylexemic idiomatic expressions (e.g., *face the music*). Idioms are often said to be motivated metaphorically but they lost their metaphoricity and became dead metaphors; thus, they behave as ordinary words in a dictionary and hearers do not necessarily activate metaphorical links between the literal and the figurative meanings (cf. Benczes, 2002, p. 19; Csábi, 2004, pp. 20-21).

In the cognitive linguistic approach, numerous idioms may seem motivated because a conceptual metaphor, a conceptual metonymy, or conventional knowledge link the non-idiomatic meaning of terms to the idiomatic meaning of the idiom (Benczes, 2002, p. 21; Csábi, 2004, p. 21). Csábi (2004, p. 23) also points out that not all the metaphors are idioms, and not all the idioms are metaphoric. Metaphors and metonymies, and thus idioms, are often based on embeddedness (Benczes, 2002; Gibbs, 1990, p. 423), and this can also be the reason why decomposable idioms (a part of the idiom is used literally) are easier for people to understand, for instance, *lay down the law* (Gibbs, 1990, p. 428).

Metaphoric motivation appears for instance in the idiomatic phrase, *put ideas into someone's head* (fig. make unwelcome suggestions to somebody) in which the conceptual metaphor identified as THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER and THE IDEAS ARE OBJECTS (Benczes, 2002, p. 24). Metonymic motivation occurs in the idiomatic phrase, *have a good head for doing*

something (fig. have a natural talent for something) where the motivation can be traced back to the conceptual metonymy THE HEAD STANDS FOR MENTAL ABILITY (Benczes, 2002, p. 26). Metaphoric and metonymic motivation operate together in the idiomatic phrase, *put their heads together* (fig. confer with/consult with each other) where the conceptual metaphor MORE IS BETTER and the conceptual metonymy THE HEAD STANDS FOR MENTAL ABILITY are activated (Benczes, 2002, p. 26). Idiomatic expressions, however, can be motivated by conventional knowledge, for instance, *be soft in the head* (fig. be stupid) whose meaning can be revealed on basis of our ordinary knowledge about a newborn baby whose skull is soft (naively linked to a lack of mental abilities) and hardens by time, although the development of mental capacities are not directly linked to hardening of the skull, yet conventional knowledge is able to connect these processes (Benczes, 2002, p. 27).

As for cartoons, it was observed that idiomatic phrases (e.g., idiomatic polylexemic expressions and polysemous words) visually appear with their literal meanings, which can be supported verbally but this is not always the case (Alsadi & Howard, 2021, pp. 45–52). What is more, metaphorically motivated idiomatic phrases can occur multimodally, for instance, a man wearing a snorkeling apparatus is under the water (visual), while the sea level is tagged by “loans” (verbal); thus, the conceptual metaphor LOANS ARE (DEEP) SEA can be formulated which triggers the idiom *drowning in loans* (Alsadi, 2015). Besides, the visual element usually helps to create a kind of word-play that interacts with the idiomatic phrase, so idioms play important role in the creation of humor. Moreover, the idioms used by the cartoonists can usually be associated with the negative aspects of the society which help to satirize problems at social level; thus, idioms are efficient devices of evaluation (Alsadi, 2015, p. 58).

Idiomatic polylexemic expressions are likely to cooperate with repetition suggesting an endless unresolved issue by the government (Alsadi & Howard, 2021, pp. 52–53). Pragmatically speaking, polylexemic expressions can achieve humorous or satirical effect through their use in an inappropriate context as well, for instance, in a cartoon, all students say “system down” (fig. out of order), they criticize English teaching in Saudi Arabia, and at the same time, in a broader sense, they mock the government institutions (Alsadi & Howard, 2021, pp. 54–55). In certain cases, more polylexemic expressions can appear in one cartoon, for instance, in juxtaposition. Furthermore, the same visual scene can be re-used with different polylexemic expressions. In sum, Alsadi and Howard (2021) showed up various strategical patterns involving idioms to make criticism more humorous and available primarily to that cultural community which “enjoy[s] sharing the same source of inspiration with the cartoonist.” (Alsadi, 2015, p. 18)

As for the typology of idioms, we took into consideration the previously mentioned lists linked to verbal contents (Kálmán & Trón, 2007, p. 55; Kerékjártó, 2000, p. 224) and lists related to multimodal discourses (Alsadi, 2015; Alsadi & Howard, 2021; Bárdosi, 2012; Tamás, 2012, pp. 66–74). From the dissertation's point of view, the studied material, namely the corpus of editorial cartoons is in Hungarian, therefore, the latest Hungarian phraseology database (Bárdosi, 2012) was checked where idioms were differentiated as follows: (1) occasional and infinite number of free collocations; (2) permanent collocations (sayings, analogies, citation, wise saying, situational expressions, works of speech such as political slogans, graffiti, or T-shirt inscriptions); and (3) inseparable phrases. All in all, in the dissertation, polysemous words, idiomatic polylexemic expressions, compound words, and sayings will be identified and interpreted with their motivation. However, citation and political slogans (mentioned by Bárdosi, 2012) will be discussed among the allusions (for further discussion see Section 2.3.3).

We will return to the detailed discussion of idioms in Section 3.3.3.5 where their identification is explained.

2.3.3 Allusions

The current research focuses on allusions among cultural references: we accept that allusions are such cultural citations which recall culturally well-known events and figures and as usually evaluation is linked to them, they are likely to serve as metonymical sources (e.g., an angel), but they can even stand as metaphorical sources (e.g., Eve in the paradise) to political issues in editorial cartoons. The term allusion applied in the study refers to the citation of Christian (e.g., angel, cross), European (e.g., Theseus, Colosseum), and national cultural products (e.g., pop song, literary work, film, cabaret, and painting), besides, political slogans and political quotations are also discussed here and understood as citations (from the field of politics). It must be noted that allusions can appear in various modalities. To outline the topic of allusions, we will consider the umbrella term of intertextuality first, then the definition of allusion will be introduced, and finally, examples will demonstrate the operation of allusions in political cartoons.

Intertextuality (Allen, 2000; Alsadi, 2015; Werner, 2004) means the reproduction of certain texts in which the recontextualized text is understood through the original one. This phenomenon is essential in cartoon research as it is a source of humor and satirical effects. However, intertextuality can appear in various forms, such as direct quotation, allusion, plagiarism, parody, and pastiche among others (Alsadi & Howard, 2021, p. 44).

The study of intertextuality would go beyond the scope of the present research, therefore, in the dissertation, we focus exclusively on allusions, which aims to examine the role of the local context in connection with the operation of framing devices. To specifically define allusion, we will take the explanation of Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) who said that one of sources

used by cartoonists is the literary/cultural allusion, by which we mean any fictive or historical character, any narrative form, whether drawn from legend, folklore, literature, or the mass media, which is used to frame a political event or issue. Such allusions are used to call attention to the contrast between well-known fictions and contemporary political realities. (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, p. 201)

From a broader perspective, allusions are those indirect cultural citations (which are expected to be revealed by the readers due to shared experiences between the author and the reader) which occur in an environment foreign to their own context (for instance, literary intertextuality), and can be connected to the present as well as the past (1981, p. 634). Hence, allusions can be linked to a broader culture (for instance, European, or Christian) when they belong to the global, nearly universal context (Kövecses, 2015).

From a narrower perspective, allusions can belong to a specific nation, when they are part of the more local context (Kövecses, 2015). According to Zsilka (1981, p. 632), political allusions are mostly linked to the present social reality which can cause them to expire quickly. Therefore, allusions occurring in political discourse are motivated by current events and happenings. In Connors' (2007) example, for instance, a political cartoon (drawn by Rob Rogers) depicts Bush with a screaming face known from Munch's painting which was stolen from the Munch Museum the very same week when the cartoon was published. The cartoonist's choice is, of course, the result of a well-motivated decision. The cartoonist said himself that the reader is left behind (not following the current news) is left out (Connors, 2007, p. 262).

In another cartoon (drawn by Steve Benson), the presidential candidate, John Kerry appeared as Frankenstein's monster and this fusion was easily accessible mentally due to the proximity between Halloween and the day of the Election Day (Connors, 2007, p. 264). According to Connors, by applying well-known pop characters, cartoonists can describe complex characteristic features with their narratives and social networks in a very simple and effective way; thus, "pop cultural reference" seems essential in building close relationships with the audience.

Linked to the dissertation, it is important to note that Zsilka (1981, pp. 643–644) assumed metonymic and metaphorical motivation of allusions. For instance, allusions can appear in the form of part-for-whole metonymy (when an element of a previous work, or a piece of reality is reused). Other time, allusion can appear in the form of metaphor when the previous text functions as a metaphoric source domain to a novel target domain (e.g., in a historical parallel) (Zsilka, 1981, pp. 643–644). To continue the investigation of metonymic and metaphoric aspects of allusions, consider a more recent cognitive linguistic study by Schilperoord (2013).

Evaluative function and narrative framing potential of allusions were demonstrated via the analysis of the appearance of the Iwo Jima photograph (1945) in contemporary cartoons (1988-2013) (Schilperoord, 2013). To recognize and recall the topic (of the iconic original Iwo Jima photo), formal similarity (such as composition or gestures) is enough; thus, an exact copy of the original is not necessary; “interpreting the image is a matter of *inferencing* which might lead to enriched meaning construction.” (Schilperoord, 2013, p. 188) Technically, the alluded image changes the original image through such specific operations as removal, distortion, insert and substitution, moreover, these processes can also co-operate with each other.

According to Schilperoord, due to the readers’ rudimentary knowledge of the original topic, the recalled issue is metonymic in its nature, and it can be associated with “communality, patriotism, sacrifice and prosperity” (Schilperoord, 2013, p. 191) in the case of Iwo Jima. In short, the original photo carries symbolic meaning and stands as a moral statement. Interestingly, however, in a political cartoon, the alluded image can not only trigger the connoted associations but also their opposites depending on the context. In these latter cases, the explanations of the alluded images are not analogies but contradictory to the original one.

Beside the metonymic appearance of an allusion, it has the potential to work as a metaphorical frame highly depending on the more detailed knowledge of the reader. For instance, as for Iwo Jima, the photo is often used for narrative framing “in terms of collective effort, sacrifice, heroism, endurance and ultimately victory over a hostile enemy.” (Schilperoord, 2013, p. 191) Metaphorical mappings between these metaphorical source elements and the target elements directed can only be construed by more knowledge.

In sum, Schilperoord (2013, pp. 197–201) emphasized the metonymic and the metaphoric use of an allusion in a given context depending on readers’ knowledge. He differentiated three types of readers according to which the ignorant one reads the alluded image literally, the ordinary reader usually understood the allusion metonymically (had symbolic knowledge, recognized analogy, and compared the two images, drew conclusions regarding the

evaluation of the symbols seen), and finally, the all-knowing reader could interpret the allusion metaphorically (mappings were set up and argumentative interpretation was given).

2.3.4 National symbols

The importance of the Hungarian Parliament among the national symbols was supported by a sociological survey (1999) that investigated which building expresses Hungarian nationhood the most.⁴⁴ The majority of the respondents chose the Parliament (58%), which thus preceded the castles of Buda (33%) and Eger (30%) (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002, p. 274).⁴⁵ Although the self-image of a nation is not static, in the case of Hungary, the romantic model⁴⁶ (19th-century ideas linked to the national movements) has highly affected the evaluation of national symbols (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002, p. 320).⁴⁷ Lastly, the researchers assumed that the respondents could be divided into two groups based on their traditionalist or modern approach towards Hungary which could also be an influencing factor in terms of their responses. In their conclusion, Kapitány and Kapitány (2002, pp. 322–323) stated that symbols changed slowly compared to the evaluation and emotional relations linked to the symbols that is why studying the importance of motivation behind the choice of a symbol seems inevitable. The building of the Parliament (as a national symbol itself) often appears together with other national symbols (e.g., national flag) in the editorial cartoons of the corpus under scrutiny. These related national symbols are the subject of the examination of national symbols.

⁴⁴ The survey was conducted in 1999 with 300 respondents of intellectuals.

⁴⁵ Another question touched upon the most characteristic features of the Hungarian political culture. The responses supported the negative self-image with such features as partisanship (49%), voluntary fulfillment of the wishes of the current occupiers (26%), dreamy “air castle construction” (26%), one to the right, one to the left (shuttlecock policy) (25%), state-forming wisdom (24%), passive resistance (19%), unity (7%), and realistic common sense (6%) (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002, p. 278). The respondents justified these by perceiving them as recurring or continuous phenomenon (Kapitány & Kapitány, 2002, p. 310).

⁴⁶ For instance, wheat, folk song, Hungarian song (in *Hu. magyar nóta*), Hungarian Great Plain, the Parliament (as a symbol of the millennium celebrations, the results achieved), the poet Sándor Petőfi (the son of the people), and the War of Independence of 1848.

⁴⁷ Kapitány and Kapitány (2002) reported on a past Hungarian research (1996) focusing on the national symbols from the traditional foods to politics. (The research mentioned by Kapitány and Kapitány (2002) was carried out in 1997, 1000 respondents participated from different age groups.) As for the official and policy-related symbols, the crowned coat of arms, the Reform Era and the foundation of the Hungarian state were highlighted by the respondents.

In this section, first we look at how CMMT defines symbol in cognitive linguistics as it will be the position adopted in the dissertation. Then specific functions of symbols will be discussed linked to cartoon research which leads us to the concept of national symbol. Finally, a recently researched topic of the Hungarian national symbols' appearance in contemporary artworks (Soós, 2014) will be discussed to show some tendencies behind the use of national symbols.

In CMT and later in CMMT, symbols remained somewhat neglected. They are often mentioned in empirical analysis, but not defined and explained. In general, the term refers to a conventional stock image, well-known by the community (e.g., dollar sign mentioned by Bolognesi, 2015).

According to Forceville's (2013, pp. 251–252) definition, "in symbolism we understand a source domain B, in a given (sub)cultural community, to stand for a target domain A." Consider for instance that THE ROSE STANDS FOR LOVE, or THE CROSS STANDS FOR SUFFERING, among others. Forceville emphasized that both B and A domains belong to the same semantic domain; thus, they are metonymically related to each other. He confirmed that "most symbols are rooted in metonymy rather than in arbitrary convention" (Forceville, 2013, p. 252).

We must see here that Forceville's definition goes against Peirce's often-cited definition of symbol which supports an arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified in symbols (cf. Bellucci, 2021). Forceville (2013, p. 252) suggested a solution to resolve this contradiction "in symbolism one metonym of a concept has become so salient at the expense of other (existing or unrealized or possible) metonyms of that concept that this privileged metonym suffices to evoke that concept on its own, even with no or minimal context." From the dissertation's point of view, this statement is accepted as the definition of symbol (which positions the symbols within the metonymies).⁴⁸

Based on Forceville's conception of the symbol, we suppose that national symbols are overused metonymies, in which a symbol specifically unique for the nation, and can stand for the nation-related concepts (such as state, nation, patriotism, etc.). For instance, THE NATIONAL FLAG CAN STAND FOR THE STATE as well as FOR NATIONALISM. Therefore, among the national symbols, we can mention flag, map, heraldry (e.g., crown, currency, colors of the flag), national legends and myths, national historical events, and folk culture. These symbols (characters or events) can designate a sacred mental place while their violation in any form can refer to the desacralization of the concept.

⁴⁸ For literature on the relation of symbols and metonymies, see Szabó, 2014.

Roles of symbols have been already discussed several times in cartoon literature.⁴⁹ It was highlighted that cartoons themselves could “tap the collective consciousness of readers in a manner similar to religious rituals, civic ceremonies, and communal observances”, so “cartooning was a culture-creating, culture-maintaining, culture-identifying artifact” which “reaffirms cultural values” (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982, pp. 84–85). In sum, cartoons are not only about argumentation and persuasion, but at the same time, cartooning itself is a highly symbolic procedure in which the cartoons are able to use and reinterpret symbols, often national symbols.

One of the most cited symbols related to the nation is manifested in the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A PERSON, for instance, the US appears as Uncle Sam (Dennis & Dennis, 1974), Hungary is rendered as Hungária (Virág, 2020). The personification of the nation is discussed by metaphor scholars focusing on political discourse (Lakoff, 2003; Musolff, 2021) and they mostly conclude that the usage of this symbol allows to obscure the personal behind the symbolic (Steuter & Wills, 2011, p. 330); it is also a suitable tool to represent a nation faceless (Keen, 1991). These symbols, however, convey strong emotional content and they “call up all that is closest and dearest to us” (such as family, home, and safety of our nation), and in that way, any kind of happening or threatening around these symbols becomes not only political but personal (Steuter & Wills, 2011, p. 332). Metaphors that operate with national symbols, on the one hand, obscure the person in charge and, on the other hand, strike a voice that can affect the reader personally and sensitively.

The main point why we are interested in Soós’s (2014) research⁵⁰ now, is that it proved the presence of an ethnonationalist concept of the nation (based on the ideal assumption of ethnic and cultural homogeneity) in contemporary artworks. This view of the nation picks up certain historical events and interprets them from one point of view, instead of offering more complex approaches. This worldview thinks in extremes and divides the world into good and

⁴⁹ According to the psychoanalytic approach (Kris, 1952, p. 183 cited by DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982, p. 84), symbolism enables to substitute aggression, while sociological discipline (Streicher, 1965-66; Coupe, 1969; Alba, 1966-67 cited by DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982, p. 84) puts emphasis on the use of symbols aiming to show the relationship between people, events and power in specific sociopolitical contexts, while in the field of rhetoric, persuasive communicative functions came to the fore (Morrison, 1969; Turner, 1977; Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981 cited by DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982, p. 85).

⁵⁰ Soós (2014) studied how Hungarian fine artists insert and re-create national symbols in their artworks and how they react on various values, attitudes, ideologies, and stereotypes. Do they legitimate, deconstruct, or reinterpret the original meanings?

bad spheres according to dual categories. It does not consider culture a dynamic system with multiple interpretations, but it presupposes that culture should be defined, has regulations, and fixed values. In that way, the members of the nation cannot create the concept of nation, citizens only passively identify themselves with this attitude. This is a closed, safe, and protective viewpoint. Following Csepeli et al. (2011)⁵¹, Soós confirmed that ethnonationalism is closely related to authoritarianism. It means that referring to national perspectives, a group of the society considers itself superior to others.

Soós (2014) highlighted that the national symbols revealed in artworks such the Parliament, King Matthias, and autostereotypes (e.g., “the Hungarians are pessimists”), among others. As for the function of such national symbols adopted in artworks, it can be stated that artists use the symbols to criticize the actual construction of nation, the political and the cultural political situation. The critical, sometimes ironic, grotesque use of national symbols refers to the phenomenon of subjection to authority, conventionalism, and authoritarian aggression, but also to the overuse of stereotypes, and the superstitious search of ancestor and hero. By using national symbols, artists often call for critical thinking, question authoritarian expectations and values, and draw attention to the dangers of all this, criticize the homogeneous ethnicity, protectionist economy policy, excessive pride, and excessive delusion into the past (Soós, 2014, p. 33).

Summary

On the basis of the introduction to the theoretical framework applied in the dissertation, we saw in Chapter 2 that certain cognitive linguistic theories which are the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) (Kövecses, 2020) and Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) let us answer to the research questions and make the examination of the desired variables possible. As for the choice of ECMT, it allows us to systematically organize the conceptual metaphorical processes according to the schematicity hierarchy due to the multimodal 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

⁵¹ The research (Csepeli et al., 2011) focused on the relationship between the political attitude and the representativeness of the national symbols. It was found that radical nationalists groups preferred the flag with Árpád stripes, the map of the Greater Hungary, and the Blood Contract.

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. Examining this level is essential when we want to draw attention to the cooperation of variables and investigate what kind of interplay of processes can lead to one of the potential meanings (in the dissertation these potential but not exclusive meanings are provided by the author).

As a weak point of ECMT we must note that it can only handle two (metaphorical) concepts at the same time. In our case, however, not only metaphorical, and not always two concepts are detected. It means that we needed a theory which can handle these extreme situations with more concepts 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. In these cases, the elements are not necessarily structural counterparts (like in a conceptual metaphor). The elements of an input space can be chosen arbitrarily (but motivated) and can be projected into the blend, so certain elements that can be part of an input space that are not included in the blend. It can also happen that mutually exclusive elements are projected into the blend, and these can create tension and contrast in the blend, or other time, there are elements from diverse input mental spaces that are fused in the blend. The question may arise, if MST is so flexible, why do not use it exclusively in the research. 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 make 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 manage to connect these two.

After explaining the theoretical framework, we focused on the main concepts of the dissertation. During the past more than forty years, variables examined in the research have been defined and identified in different ways even within cognitive linguistics, therefore, in the dissertation, the variables were presented by highlighting their definition, identification in visual and multimodal discourse, and pragmatic function. We tried to highlight if the dissertation used a special definition (e.g., multimodal metaphor), a novel typology (e.g., irony), or a modified identification procedure (e.g., Pérez Sobrino, 2017). Another goal of these

systematic descriptions was to summarize the natural operation of these cognitive processes, namely that how all these can cooperate with each other (e.g., in an ironic metaphor).

In addition to cognitive processes, this chapter also presented cultural references such as idioms, allusions, and national symbols. All of these are rarely, if ever, discussed in cognitive linguistics (e.g., Benczes, 2002), therefore, we intended to find common points between these processes and cognitive linguistics. These points are mostly grasped through the metonymic and metaphoric motivations of the cultural references.

In the next chapter, we present the methodological framework of the research by focusing on the overarching aspect of it (the steps of various identification procedures linked to certain variables were detailed in the descriptions of the terms in Section 2.2 and will be illustrated in Section 3.3.3).

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework and the Corpus

Chapter 3 discusses Qualitative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006) (Section 3.1) and the combination of cognitive linguistic methodologies (Charteris-Black, 2004; Forceville, 2019) which are applied in the study of the figurative meaning of the Parliament (Section 3.2). It is followed by the description of the corpus (Section 3.3) with the presentation of its establishment and its characteristic features. The chapter ends with the description of the interrater reliability test (Section 3.3.4) done before the full analysis of the corpus.

The corpus is studied in three stages following the main idea of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004); as Table 3.1 shows, this includes identification, interpretation, and explanation. The first stage, identification attempts to answer to the question "what the editorial cartoon is about?" by focusing on the appearance of various topics at a concrete level. Among the topics, institutional criticism and personal criticism will be discussed; the identification itself is carried out by the application of Qualitative Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006). At the mental spaces level, the appearance of cognitive devices (metaphorical, metonymical expressions and ironic statements), and cultural references can be identified with the recognition of incongruities between the expected and the depicted worlds, and with the help of local cultural knowledge.

In the second stage, during interpretation the structure and the operation of these cognitive devices come to the forefront of the research; thus, the main question is "how the previously identified topics related to the parliament are expressed via cognitive devices at the figurative level". To analyze the operation of each cognitive device, diverse identification procedures need to be applied. All these methods are known in the field of cognitive linguistics. For instance, in the case of metaphors, the step-by-step method suggested by the Multimodal Metaphor and Metonymy Analysis (Forceville, 2019) is used to construe the conceptual metaphor at the mental spaces level. It is supplemented by the multimodal view of metaphors (Kövecses, 2020) to systematically organize the conceptual metaphors according to the schematicity of the concepts. As a last step, Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) allows us to use the newspaper articles alongside the editorial cartoons in metaphor interpretation and this contextual factor can support, refine, and confirm the outlined operational processes of metaphors. Identification procedures for metonymies, and ironies are detailed in the Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.3, where the key terms are discussed.

In the third stage, explanation wants to demonstrate the major tendencies of cognitive devices and their co-work in the corpus via the comparison of the three periods of democracy (Körösényi, 2015). This part of the research aims to answer to the question “how the figurative meaning of the parliament has changed over the years?” At this point, more complex co-work among the cognitive devices can be detected at the corpus level, and stereotypical figurative representation of the parliament can be supplemented by the preferences in certain eras. Characteristics of the concept of the parliament in terms of the used cognitive devices and their consequences on communication become observable by explanation.

1st stage: Identification	2nd stage: Interpretation	3rd stage: Explanation
Focus: manifestation/appearance	Focus: structure/operation	Focus: implications/tendencies
Q: What is the editorial cartoon about?	Qs: How the topics linked to the parliament are expressed? How do these cognitive devices operate?	Qs: What are the major tendencies of the cognitive devices? How have the figurative representations of the parliament changed over the years?
Topics (QCA): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • institutional criticism • personal criticism Metaphorical expressions (Forceville, 2019) Metonymical expressions (Pérez Sobrino, 2017) Ironic statements (Barnden, 2018) Cultural references (QCA)	Conceptual processes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptual metaphor (Forceville, 2019) • Conceptual metonymy (Pérez Sobrino, 2017) Co-work with Ironic processes (Barnden, 2018) Cultural references (idioms, allusions, and national symbols)	Comparison of the three periods of democracy (CMA) in terms of cognitive devices and their co-work with ironic statements and cultural references in the corpus

Table 3.1 Methodologies embedded in CMA discourse analytical approach (involving three stages) Q = question, QCA = Qualitative Content Analysis, CMA = Critical Metaphor Analysis

3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

The dissertation applies directed Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA), which enables to understand the phenomenon of institutional and personal criticism by validating and extending conceptually the theory or prior research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281). Additionally, the same method will be applied to study cultural references such as idioms, allusions, and national symbols. In the following paragraphs, we get from the qualitative methodology to its subtype, directed qualitative methodology.

By now content analysis has been conducted on visual and multimodal materials, for instance, magazine covers (Lutz & Collins, 1993), textbook illustrations (Kerkhoven et al.,

2016), election posters (Gilroy, 1987), editorial cartoons (Frantzich, 2013), and news photographs (Heuer et al., 2011), among others; therefore, content analysis can be used in various fields such as in political science, ethnography, history, sociology, but it is also applied in visual communication, media studies, etc.

In his book, Krippendorff (1980) set up two main criteria of content analysis which are replicability and validity. It offered various techniques to handle a large amount of data and allowed to discover patterns through frequencies due to the degree of consistency with which the research was carried out. Due to the reduction of the rich data to codes, it was possible to outline these patterns and tendencies, even stereotypes (Fahmy, 2004; Heuer et al., 2011) which would have otherwise remained hidden.⁵²

In fact, content analysis does not exclude qualitative interpretation and what is more, it is flexible enough to be done qualitatively (Bengtsson, 2016; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; White & Marsh, 2006), or supplemented by diverse qualitative research techniques (e.g., discourse analysis, interviews) (Rose, 2001). Qualitative Content Analysis “is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Depending on the research focus, Qualitative Content Analysis can also be theory- or problem driven, systemic, or strict textual analysis; overall, three main types of it are differentiated: conventional, directed, and summative (for detailed discussion, see Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

In our case (directed Qualitative Content Analysis), the researcher has preconception about the variables and their relationships, so the research question results in hypothesis before starting the analysis itself. Hence, the analysis starts as a structured, deductive category application (whilst operational definitions are attached to the categories), the corpus items outside these categories can be listed under novel categories (attention should be paid to choose categories which show coherency with the predetermined ones), it is also allowed to further develop subcategories. As a result of this approach, the analyst will see whether the research in question confirmed the previous ones on which it relied. Statistical calculations can support

⁵² Critical assumptions, however, touch upon the disadvantages of content analysis, namely that it cannot really tell anything about meaning-making procedures and cultural significance (Rose, 2001). Besides, in other literature, it is stated (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 27) that “conclusions can be drawn about the communicator, the message or text, the situation surrounding its creation – including the sociocultural background of the communication – and/or the effect of the message.”

frequency and significance of the findings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1282), the report can describe the findings with examples, and descriptively show similarities and differences (even with percentages) for each constant, or for the total sample depending on the researcher's goal. "A directed approach makes explicit the reality that researchers are unlikely to be working from the naïve perspective that is often viewed as the hallmark of naturalistic designs" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283).

The success of the research may depend to a large extent on the definitions of the categories (straight, clear definitions are appreciated while vague terminology should be avoided), it may also depend on how much the analyst is trying to prove the previous claim without considering the contextual details of the current data examined (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). In sum, the research design usually includes the following steps (Rose, 2001, pp. 56–66): (1) sampling procedure (this should be representative and significant), (2) setting up the categories for coding the images (should be descriptive and interpretative, therefore they have to be exhaustive, exclusive, and enlightening) (Rose, 2001, p. 60) which naturally needs to be revised and tried again to reach the final coding sheet, at the same time, categories need to be fully defined (for consistency and replicability, and also for being able to become a subject of criticism), (3) coding procedure (carried out by more people increases validity), finally, (4) analyzing the results and considering the potential reasons behind them.

3.1.1 Investigation of the topic at a concrete level

In the dissertation, topics of the editorial cartoons can be revealed through the study of institutional and personal criticism (Frantzich, 2016). These are two characteristics of editorial cartoons that can be examined in a large corpus as well, even though the corpus members are from an extensive period and show a variety of subjects. Due to these characteristic features, editorial cartoons become comparable, of course, from a restricted perspective.

Institutional criticism can be studied along the realization of the principles of liberal democracy in editorial cartoons (Frantzich, 2016). Based on a checklist of the major features of liberal democracy, the violated value(s) expressed by the cartoon can be said with relatively high certainty. At this point of the research, usage of the concept of liberal democracy is not the result of the analyst's personal taste, but it is based on past sociological surveys related to the functioning of the parliament and democracy (Bíró-Nagy & Laki, 2018; Erős & Murányi, 1996; ESS, 2013; Simon, 1996). These surveys repeatedly asked the Hungarian people about the extent to which certain principles of liberal democracy (e.g., freedom of press) are fulfilled in

Hungary. We entirely agree with the observations which state that other concepts of democracy exist and can also be examined (though not in a deductive way).⁵³ At this point, the dissertation relies on questions from previous surveys in order to set up a checklist for the fulfillment of liberal democracy.

In the field of political science, democracy usually refers to “majoritarian legitimation of domination, selection of leaders by votes of the majority” (Szelényi & Csillag, 2015, p. 6). As for a definition of democracy involving the very minimum features, Szelényi and Csillag (2015, pp. 5–6) use Huntington’s definition, according to which:

Elections, open, free and fair, are the essence of democracy, the inescapable *sine qua non*. Governments produced by elections may be inefficient, corrupt, shortsighted, irresponsible, dominated by special interests, and incapable of adopting policies demanded by the public good. These qualities make such governments undesirable but they do not make them undemocratic. (Huntington, 1991, p. 9)

This definition focuses on the purity of political elections but does not care about the political conditions and political acts preceding the elections (e.g., amendment of election rules, transformation of the electoral system (gerrymandering), control of political campaign subsidies) (cf. Körösenyi et al., 2020, p. 124).

Several Hungarian political scientists deal with the issue of democracy (i.a., Fricz, 2019; Körösenyi, 2015; Körösenyi et al., 2020; Szelényi & Csillag, 2015, just to name a few), but the diachronic examination of democracy is not typical in the literature. In Section 3.1.2, we will present the periodization of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015) applied in the dissertation, and we will justify the reasons for our choice.

3.1.2 Institutional criticism and the periodization of democracy

After the coding procedure, results linked to the occurrences of various topics, diverse cognitive devices in the corpus and their co-work will be demonstrated through the comparison of the

⁵³ For further reading on the concept of democracy, see Körösenyi et al., 2020: 109; Debreczeni, 2017, pp. 269–298; Zárug, 2015; Ungváry, 2014; Magyar, 2014; Kornai, 2016; Szilágyi, 2015, and Körösenyi et al., 2020, p. 15.

three periods of democracy⁵⁴. This comparison belongs to the third stage of the discourse analytical approach, namely the explanation (Table 3.1).

The periodization of democracy was set up by Körösenyi (2015) and it includes such periods as transition (between 1989 and 1998), consolidation (between 1999 and 2006), and crisis and regime change (from 2007).⁵⁵ It was chosen for the following reasons: it focuses on the changes of democracy especially in Hungary, covers a great part (from 1989 to 2014) of the entire period examined (from 1989 to 2019), focuses on institutional and personal changes and in that sense, it applies the concept of leader democracy⁵⁶ (this does not exclude the use of the previously mentioned concept of liberal democracy, but complements it). It is true that Körösenyi and his colleagues (2020) distance themselves from the theory of the double regime change (e.g., Fricz, 2019) that highlights 2010 as a turning point, namely another system change.

In the dissertation, the concept of liberal democracy was used in a deductive approach to demonstrate deviations from democratic principles in editorial cartoons depicting the Parliament (used for the identification of topic). While the concept of leader democracy is applied in an inductive manner, to construct the complexity of figurative meanings of the parliament in certain periods (used for the comparison of various time periods).

Here, the major characteristic features of the various periods are described. Regarding the periodization of democracy in Hungary, Körösenyi (2015, p. 401) features the period between 1990 and 2014 with the following characteristics:

free elections, competition of parties, civil and political liberties (political opponents do not need to be afraid of imprisonment, there is freedom of political organization), constitutionalism, public law balance against executive power, independence of judiciary, and alternative media.

⁵⁴ Neutral division of the corpus or division by ruling governments were not well-founded and would have raised further questions linked to political science, but the present dissertation cannot provide answers to these questions.

⁵⁵ Körösenyi (Körösenyi et al., 2020) was the co-author of a book on plebiscitary leader democracy, which especially focuses on the period after 2010 when Viktor Orbán became the prime minister of Hungary again and is currently serving his fourth consecutive term. Based on the book, it can be suspected that there was a break in the periodization of democracy in 2010, but since Körösenyi did not openly modify the previous periodization, it is therefore used in its original form in the dissertation.

⁵⁶ For a more detailed definition, see the dissertation, p. 90.

Beside these comprehensive features, Körösényi (2015, p. 402) highlights those political changes that differentiate and make unique certain periods during the last quarter century (Table 3.2).

According to his description, the period of transition (between 1989 and 1998) can be characterized by plural multi-party system and sharp political, ideological, and public debates. Additionally, Körösényi (2015, p. 404) argues that the political opponents entered into temporary agreements but there was no political consensus on such questions as the power of the Head of the State, justice, privatization, and liberalism. Political parties could not accept the legitimacy of other parties and it led to temporary compromises and competitive strategies instead of the consensus-oriented democracy. A politically highly divided republic was created in Hungary.

After two free elections new democracies can be called consolidated democracies (Huntington, 1991) (between 1998 and 2006) when both the political actors and the electorate think in democratic constitutional solutions (Linz & Stepan, 1996 cited by Körösényi). The former three-party party system (left, liberal, and national-conservative) was replaced by two-party system (or bipolar two-block system: left and central-right) in which the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) entered into coalition and at the same time, the Federation of Young Democrats (Fidesz) moved from the radical liberal side towards the right between 1996 and 1998. By 1998 the bipolar trend caused reduced volatility of the electorate and by 2000 long-standing political camps based on party loyalty have strengthened. The governing political parties (in 1998 and in 2006 as well) changed the structure and the operation of the government system which caused centralization within the government, strengthened the power of the Prime Minister, and increased the role of patronage (namely the politicization of public administration); thus, the Hungarian politics gradually presidentialized (Körösényi, 2015, p. 406). In this period, the division of the economic elite increased just as the institutional corruption.

After the speech of Ószöd⁵⁷ was made public, political crisis ensued. By the election of 2010, Hungarian politics (with party preferences) moved to the right side and the change of the government with its new implemented measures resulted in the change of the regime

⁵⁷ Speech of Ószöd was presented by the then prime minister Ferenc Gyurcsány at a closed MSZP meeting in Balatonőszöd in May 2006. The speech was made public in September and caused political crisis, distrust on the part of the people and resistance on the part of the opposition. In essence, the prime minister acknowledged that the government was not honest with the people and did not deal with the crisis properly.

(Körösényi, 2015, p. 407). In 2014, Viktor Orbán as a prime minister announced the “illiberal turn” and the governing party having two-third majority started the creation of a new political regime (the “Program of National Cooperation”).⁵⁸ Körösényi (2015, pp. 410–420) features the new regime by 1) conscious separation from the previous Constitution and political system, 2) extraordinary politics and authoritarian methods of governance in democracy, 3) pursuit of the central political force, 4) transcending left and right ideology, 5) anti-pluralism and populism, 6) etatism and paternalism, 7) charismatic legitimacy, and 8) difficulties in consolidation.

Transition (1989-1998)	Consolidation (1999-2006)	Crisis and regime change (since 2007)
plural multi-party system	two-party system (bipolar, two-block system)	two-third majority (central political force)
political, ideological, and public debates	centralization	“illiberal turn”
temporary agreements without political consensus (e.g., linked to the privatization, or justice)	PM’s increased role (presidentialization)	the leader’s personality is decisive (authoritarian way of exercising power, populist tools)
competitive strategies	increased role of patronage (increasing institutional corruption)	creation of the Program of National Cooperation
active political participation in the beginning of the period (e.g., advocacy organizations), volatility of the electorate	political polarization with long-standing political camps depending on party loyalty	ongoing political polarization

Table 3.2 Description of the three periods of democracy (based on Körösényi, 2015)

To describe the political establishment of the period after 2006, Körösényi (2015, p. 414; Körösényi & Pakulski, 2012; Körösényi, 2005) introduces the concept of “leader democracy” that is based on authorization (thus freely elected), has authoritarian features, operates with the reconciliation of the two concepts of democracy and autocracy. Leader democracy is understood as a political regime, in which politics is strongly personified and shows top-down characteristic features (ruled by the elite), political leaders influence their voters’ preferences, and the democracy is only realized in a minimalist sense (Körösényi et al., 2020, p. 21). Among other things, leader democracy is also featured by the dynamics of political actions (Körösényi et al., 2020, p. 30). Political actions are done to generate conflicts, and these are continuously

⁵⁸ Körösényi (2015, p. 409) argues that Hungary is still a democracy (according to Dahl’s markers) but due to the nature of the new regime (more than a governmental reform but less than the change of system) and due to its stability, it has strong relation to the leader’s personality.

maintained to see politics as a struggle or a fight, its relation to polity is revolutionary and radical (Körösenyi et al., 2020, p. 31).

We assume that the three eras show significant differences based on the aspects of the occurring cognitive devices linked to the Parliament in the editorial cartoons.

3.1.3 Personal criticism: politicians' criticized features

The second type of criticism studied in the dissertation is called personal criticism. It puts the focus on those personal traits of the politicians which are ridiculed by the editorial cartoons.

In the realm of multimodal genres, the “visual mode is more permissive when it comes to satirize politicians” (Pinar-Sanz, 2020, p. 17). Visuals are more memorable than the verbal mode when present at the same time (Somit & Peterson, 1998; Stahl, 1999, p. 211). Dominance and memorability are particularly true for images expressing negative emotions such as fear, anger, or disgust (Newhagen, 1998 cited by Bucy & Grabe, 2007, p. 655), and this is often the case for politicians in editorial cartoons.

The importance of visuality was confirmed by the study of political campaigns with regard to the most influencing visual characteristics, especially the politicians' attractiveness and their participation in arguments (through their facial expressions and gestures) which metonymically stand for their competence or its opposite (Bleiker, 2018, p. 24; Bucy & Grabe, 2007, p. 653) (e.g., POSITIVE APPEARANCE STANDS FOR POSITIVE PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCES, while NEGATIVE APPEARANCE STANDS FOR NEGATIVE PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCES). For instance, “Using feel-good imagery deflects attention away from the president's more controversial policies” (Bucy & Grabe, 2007, p. 656). We can hereby discover similarities between the cartoons and the TV political debates or magazine covers depicting the candidates. As for attractiveness, it is hard to imagine a good-looking politician in a cartoon since distortion is inherent in the cartoon genre. Attractiveness and behavior become crucial in cartoons and the emotional perception of politicians is at stake. However, images usually operate through emotions and this is exactly what is difficult to recognize (Bleiker, 2018, p. 9), for instance, a simple smile can be understood in many ways, “posed, controlled, enjoyment, amusement, and contempt” (Dumitrescu, 2016, p. 1659).

As Frantzich (2016) sees, the majority of people pay little attention to the operation of the parliament and its members, however, expectations arise in critical situations when the

public wants them to act preferably correctly. Media⁵⁹ heavily contributed to the stalactite effect of new information (by building it slowly over a longer period) through which condemnation of the profession of politicians has become stereotypically fixed repeating such features as partisan, inefficient, corrupt, morally failed, self-interested, or lazy (Frantzich, 2016, p. 3, p. 20). It is true that the “media may make a politician look good (consistent, farsighted, etc.) or bad (inconsistent, duplicitous, or foolish)” (Frantzich, 2016, p. 5). However, not all participants of the political universe are equally interesting, and those who stand out are participants of the three Cs (controversy, conflict, and confusion), do strategic maneuvering (e.g., in the back-room deals on lawmaking), behave negatively (e.g., fail morally), and above all they are known by the public (Frantzich, 2016, p. 15).

There are no exact criteria of what improper behavior means – it is decided on the media balance. Frantzich (2016, pp. 128–131) differentiates two main types, bombasters (who are extrovert, use rude, extreme, emotionally overloaded language and gestures not fitting the societal norms) and buffoons (who become unreliable because they always make the same mistakes, for instance, cannot resist bribery) occurring in the media. In editorial cartoons, it does not seem constant how a politician is depicted; thus, the same person can be shown as a bombaster in one situation and as a buffoon in another (Forceville & van de Laar, 2019).

Perhaps the most we can learn about the appearance of politicians in editorial cartoons is by monitoring the studies on specific identity representation (e.g., Forceville & van de Laar, 2019; Kwon & Roh, 2018) and on the depiction of political campaigns (e.g., Connors, 2005, 2010; Edwards, 1997, 2001; Edwards & McDonald, 2010; Templin, 1999). Of course, there are other events in which politicians occur (e.g., foreign policy events). Relevant metaphor research (Reehorst, 2014; Schilperoord & Maes, 2009) mostly focuses on metaphor scenarios framing certain political issues in which politicians play various roles, for instance, chess player, fighter, superhero, painter (who paints his adversaries ugly), sportsman (boxer, or team player), actor in a drama, lover, moving person (traveler), cook, etc. As Reehorst (2014) successfully pointed out, the metaphorical domains are stereotypical (e.g., MOVEMENT, ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP,

⁵⁹ It is not surprising that the media representation of MPs is biased, which derives from the media’s drive to satisfy readers (as editorials work for profit) and from the preferences of their readers (conflicts and scandals attract more attention). “Bias is and unrealistic representation of reality [...] Bias occurs when the good or bad behavior of one set of actors is ignored or highlighted in relation to similar good or bad behavior of other actors” (Frantzich, 2016, p. 15). Extreme bias can cause unrealistic negative feelings with the consequence of cynicism, the lack of legitimacy and credibility in parliament and its members (Frantzich, 2016, pp. 25–26).

FOOD, SPORT, WAR AND FIGHTS, COMMERCE), but the roles of the participants are highly contextual and specified depending on the message intended to be conveyed to the audience (this observation is consistent with Kövecses' (2017) multilevel view of metaphor, see in Section 2.1.1). To consider an example, in the scenario of COMMERCE, a politician can play the role of a salesman (Howe, 1988), a customer (Wei, 2003), but he can even be a product (Scheithauer, 2007), or in a scenario of MOVEMENT, a politician can be a traveler, the destination, vehicle, or even a fellow traveler of the voter (Reehorst, 2014, p. 52). Otherwise, if the politician is a superhero, he is not necessarily a positive actor either (Reehorst, 2014, p. 65).

The evaluation of politicians seems to be more tied to metonymies (through associations) at least in two ways: first, a politician receives such feature(s) or is involved in such actions according to which the competence can be valued (e.g., playing as a naughty kid which is an undesirable behavior in the political field). In sum, not the child's role is authoritative, but the behavior and characteristics of the child (BAD BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR A BAD CHILD, A HARMFUL ACT STANDS FOR A BAD CHILD, etc.). Second, politicians themselves can stand for political parties or the government, when in fact, these institutions are judged based on the aforementioned features and actions (e.g., not the politician but the political party is judged; thus, A POLITICIAN ACTING WRONG STANDS FOR A PARTY ACTING WRONG, etc.). The role of metonymies in evaluation is further detailed in Section 2.2.1.4.

Generally speaking, politicians can be represented and determined characteristically through their role, position, action, tools, physical appearance, emotion expressed through mimics and gestures, and through their statements (with all the attached stylistic, semantic and pragmatic features). What makes the description of politician-types in editorial cartoons difficult is that these properties can naturally appear at the same time reinforcing each other. Overall, more complex (highly stereotypical) characteristics can be deduced from these details such as "corrupt, bad policy supporter, inflexible, clueless, immoral, and duplicitous" (Frantzich, 2016, p. 148).

As a starting point, the current research used Frantzich's (2016) categories to describe politicians appearing in parliamentary scenery, however, these codes had to be refined and supplemented in order to better reflect the corpus examined (see the details in Section 3.3.3.2).

Two aspects of criticism entail that in the case of institutional criticism, we will mainly focus on activities in the Parliament and how these activities relate to democracy shown in editorial cartoons; at the same time, in the case of personal criticism, we pay attention to the politicians'

mostly criticized features in editorial cartoon and the reasons behind this criticism. The identification procedures are deductive, carried out by Qualitative Content Analysis.

3.2 The combination of cognitive linguistic approaches

In Section 3.2 only the major remarks linked to the exact methodological literature will be cited because previously, in Chapter 2, separate sections have already been dedicated to metonymy (Section 2.2.1), metaphor (Section 2.2.2), and irony (Section 2.2.3) where the identification processes of these cognitive devices have been presented.

In the dissertation, three cognitive linguistic approaches will be combined. These are the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT) (Forceville, 2019; Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020), the multilevel view of metaphor embedded in Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) (Kövecses, 2020), and the Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004).⁶⁰ We think that these approaches can complement each other (cf. Kövecses, 2020, p. 88): by providing step-by-step methods the first (CMMT) helps to identify conceptual processes in multimodal discourse, the second (ECMT) organizes conceptual processes (primarily conceptual metaphors) based on their abstraction, while the third (CMA) extends the investigation to discourse level and interested in social pragmatic dimension (in our case it happens via the comparison of three different time periods). It is significant, however, that each approach accepts the definition of metaphor as a conceptual process, in which the target domain is understood through certain properties of the source domain.

3.2.1 Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory

Considering Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory⁶¹ (CMMT) an interdisciplinary field, Forceville (2019, p. 368) warns that researchers must study at least two modalities. He

⁶⁰ Kövecses (2020, pp. 87–88) presents at least eight approaches to conceptual metaphors (e.g., intuitive, corpus linguistic, discourse analytic, etc.) and emphasizes that there is not a single approach which can study more levels of metaphors (Kövecses, 2020, p. 88), consequently they can be used in combination.

⁶¹ Interplay between metaphors and metonymies in various modalities have been thoroughly studied during the past years (Caballero, 2014; El Refaie, 2009; Koller, 2009; Phillips & McQuarrie, 2004). The first attempt mostly focused on the structure and operation of metaphor and metonymy, aimed to determine various typologies (Bolognesi & Despot, 2019; Bolognesi & Strik Lievers, 2020; Pérez Sobrino, 2017; Šorm & Steen, 2018; Urios-Aparisi & Forceville 2009), and it also contributed to the discipline of multimodality (Forceville, 2019, p. 367).

recommends to critically reread the classical authors on tropes, the analysis of manifestations in various modalities, genres, and subgenres that can pave the way toward Cognitive Trope Theory in the future (Forceville, 2019, p. 375).⁶² Overall, CMMT emphasizes the importance of multimodality, the operation of conceptual metonymy, and challenges researchers to analyze other figurative devices as well.

What is essential, Forceville (2019, p. 376) claims that the analysis must be theory-driven (in our case, this theoretical framework will be cognitive linguistics, more specifically Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory provided by Kövecses, 2020): it needs to be started from the pragmatic end (e.g., with the investigation of the genre the certain discourse belongs to), because it determines the strategy of the interpretation. Indeed, Forceville (2019) rejects the analytical methods which start with the description of visuals and textual elements of the discourse, goes toward the identification of incongruity, and ends with the identification of tropes (e.g., Negro et al., 2017 on VISMIP). In terms of analytical steps, CMMT can be combined with ECMT (Kövecses, 2020) and CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004), because all start with the identification of the overall topic of the discourse. Furthermore, CMMT helps us to interpret metaphor-metonymy relations in multimodal discourse, but it lacks the phase of explanation of mental representations, therefore, it is unable to show the connection between the society and the conceptual processes (Forceville usually analyzes decontextualized examples by focusing on the structures and the operations of conceptual processes).

Nowadays, the contextual culturally specific nature of conceptual processes came to the fore, namely, how multimodality occurs in different genres (Machin, 2013), how multimodal genres operate in discourse (Forceville, 2020), how metaphors migrate from one genre to another (Romano & Porto, 2018), how metaphorical creativity and recontextualization appears in real situations (Cameron & Deignan, 2006; Semino, 2008), and how metaphor analysis can be critical (Charteris-Black, 2004; Hart, 2010), among others. Researchers who consider metaphor (and other conceptual processes) a creative socio-cultural strategy, ideological framing devices usually follow a sociocognitive approach to metaphor (Romano & Porto, 2018, p. 660).

3.2.2 Intuitive Approach and Critical Metaphor Analysis in discourse

⁶² For literature on intertextuality and idioms in political cartoons, see Zhang and Forceville (2020).

Kövecses (2020, p. 88) explains that various cognitive linguistic methodologies are interested in different levels of conceptual metaphors. According to him (Kövecses, 2020, p. 88), the intuitive approach, for instance, the step-by-step method provided by CMMT (Forceville, 2019) can be applied to investigate domains and frames (still generic metaphors); thus, it focuses on the offline processes at various levels of schematicity of the concepts. To examine socio-pragmatic effects of metaphors, experts in CMT usually use discourse analysis (e.g., CMA), among others. All in all, it means that neither CMT nor ECMT do not provide a single methodology, instead, ECMT is such a refined theoretical framework of CMT in which various types of methodologies can be applied according to the interest of the research.

In the dissertation, Critical Metaphor Analysis in discourse was followed in the analysis of metaphors. This approach was worked out by Charteris-Black (2004) who defined its aims as follows: it “enables us to identify *which* metaphors are chosen and to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen by illustrating *how* they create political myths.” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 28).

In the wake of Fairclough (1995), Charteris-Black’s analytical procedure involves three stages: identification, interpretation, and explanation of metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 35; 2005, p. 26). In one of his case studies, Charteris-Black (2004, p. 65) analyzed and compared party political manifestos of the British Labour and Conservative parties from the periods between 1945 and 1970 and between 1974 and 1997. The study aimed to describe and explain metaphors used by the two major British political parties. In the first analytical step linked to metaphorical expressions, the main findings showed that some major metaphorical source domains, CONFLICT, JOURNEY, PLANT, RELIGION and BUILDING were used by both parties with similar frequency and similar functions in their manifestos.⁶³ Conflict metaphors were dominant in each period. In the second step of the analysis, based on the metaphorical source domain of CONFLICT, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT was identified. For instance, it was manifested in such metaphoric expressions as: “We will *defend the fundamental right of parents to spend their money on their children’s education* should they wish to do so. (Conservative)” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 69) What is more important as a result, in the Labour corpus *fight against something* emerged, in contrast, in the Conservative corpus *fight* stood with the collocation *for*. Thus, in the second step, two different aspects of conflict metaphors became observable which also related to ideological differences between parties explained in the third

⁶³ Charteris-Black (2004) suggested that most probably these source domains could be considered as integral part of political discourse in general.

step: Labour Party mostly operated with negatively evaluated social threats and attacked those. By contrast, the Conservative Party presented itself as a goal-oriented party which had positively evaluated social objectives to defend (such as family). The communicative purpose of the same metaphor differed in the case of political parties. As for the comparison of the two periods, findings showed that the general use of conflict metaphors increased in the second period when *defend* was changed for *protect*, but at the same time the occurrences of such expressions as *attack*, *threat*, and *destroy* increased as well (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 81). The main goal of Charteris-Black's analysis was to show how the same conceptual metaphor could construct significantly different arguments.

In Critical Metaphor Analysis, Charteris-Black (2004, p. 248) emphasizes the role of context. Within individual resources, cognitive and affective (thoughts, feelings, and bodily experiences), pragmatic (understanding of a particular context), and linguistic (knowledge of the language system) resources are listed as contextual factors. Among social resources, ideology (i.a., political or religious), culture, and history are important. In addition, the persuasive effect of metaphor is also mentioned, and it is linked to both social and individual resource. Overall, behind metaphor choice, physical and social experiences and the rhetorical aim of persuasion play important role (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 247), "metaphor choices may be governed by cognitive and semantic and pragmatic considerations and by ideological, cultural and historical ones." (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 248)

What makes cognitive devices, especially metaphor a relevant research topic for CMA in discourse? Metaphor displays ideological and persuasive purposes in various discourses (Hart, 2017, p. 135), therefore, it creates, reflects ideologies, and has impact on readers' judgements (Muelas-Gil, 2018). Ideology can appear as a cause (for instance, when the enemy is demonized via WAR metaphor) and also as a consequence of social practices (for instance, when demonization triggers protests or legitimates military-like official acts) (Hart, 2017; Semino, 2008).⁶⁴ Nevertheless, ideology hides alternatives and constrains what is visible and what we can do (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 25). In sum, Critical Metaphor Analysis in discourse wants to set up assumptions about what is communicated (mostly through metaphors) but are not directly present in the discourse. It wants to capture the interrelationship between language, power, and ideology.

⁶⁴ For further literature on metaphor research in discourse, see Lakoff (1996), Hart (2017), Muelas-Gil (2018), and Silaški (2012).

3.3 Features of the corpus

Section 3.3 presents the corpus involving approximately 600 editorial cartoons. In short, it describes the decision-making mechanisms, revealing the reasons that led to the formation of the final corpus. It details what sources were chosen and why, which cartoons were selected on what criteria, and which editorial cartoons were excluded. Based on the codebook (see in Appendix 1), it outlines the aspects on which the analyzes were based. It provides examples as illustrations for the annotation of the corpus members. Finally, the section introduces the interrater reliability test (linked to certain codes) that was carried out among three people (trained in political communication).

3.3.1 Setting up the corpus

Since the research aims to reveal the figurative meaning of the Hungarian Parliament in editorial cartoons across a greater timespan⁶⁵ from 1989 to 2019, therefore, political dailies had to be found which

- 1) covered (almost) the entire period
- 2) existed in a significant number of copies (from 30 000 to 100 000 copies)
- 3) were available nationally for all the citizens
- 4) provided the same genre, namely editorial cartoons
- 5) published in the same manner, in print format.

Finally, the following national dailies were chosen: *Népszabadság*, *Magyar Nemzet*, *Népszava*, and *Magyar Hírlap* (the list follows the number of the readers measured by the statistics based on ESI, 2010).⁶⁶ The selected national dailies are digitalized (available at arcanum.hu),

⁶⁵ The government coalitions during the examined period were the followings: between 1990 and 1994: Magyar Demokrata Fórum (MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum) - Független Kisgazda Párt (FKGP, Independent Smallholders' Party) – Keresztény Demokrata Néppárt (KDNP, Christian Democratic People's Party) (József Antall, 1990-1993, Péter Boross, 1993-1994); between 1994 and 1998: Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP, Hungarian Socialist Party) – Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats) (Gyula Horn, 1994-1998); between 1998 and 2002: Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége (Fidesz, Alliance of Young Democrats) – FKGP – MDF (Viktor Orbán, 1998-2002); between 2002 and 2010: MSZP – SZDSZ (Péter Medgyessy, 2002-2004, Ferenc Gyurcsány, 2004-2008, Gordon Bajnai, 2009-2010); after 2010: Fidesz – KDNP (Viktor Orbán).

⁶⁶ Satirical magazines were excluded because they do not publish editorial cartoons; thus, articles do not support the understanding of cartoons. Online platforms were also excluded because they do not cover the entire period examined.

however, the editorial cartoons published in them must be searched for manually. The process of the cleaning and finalizing the corpus included four main steps.

In the first round, altogether 1007 editorial cartoons were selected, this was a great immersion including all the scenes in which the Parliament as a venue was suspected (e.g., politicians are depicted as boxers competing with each other in a boxing ring). As a second step, due to the uncertain identification of the Parliament, 238 editorial cartoons were excluded from the corpus. These were the ones, in which the Parliament was not depicted overtly and was not mentioned verbally. In the third step, the duplicates (15 editorial cartoons) which appeared in the same period of democracy were excluded. Consequently, if an editorial cartoon appeared in different periods, it remained in the final corpus. In the fourth step, the representations of offices (e.g., the Prime Minister's Office), altogether 91 editorial cartoons, were excluded because we cannot know for sure whether they are in the Parliament or in another government building. As a final step, further 78 editorial cartoons were excluded, because these depicted less significant parts of the Parliament with a small number of cases per each type (e.g., cloakroom, buffet). In doing so, the final corpus resulted in 585 editorial cartoons.

All in all, the final corpus is representative because it includes all the printed editorial cartoons from national dailies that cover the period from 1989 and 2019.

3.3.2 Description of the corpus

Examination of the basic data of the editorial cartoons allows us to describe the biased features of the corpus regarding the distribution of cartoonists, the cartoons by media, and the highlighted architectural elements of the Parliament. I do not take this information into account in my analyzes, but I do not rule out that it may play an important role in terms of results.

3.3.2.1 Distribution of the cartoonists

The dissertation will compare three various periods of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015), and we must consider that certain periods were characterized by the work of different cartoonists (Table 3.3). Generations alternated during the thirty years. It could also be observed that the first period was determined by the varied work of a large number of cartoonists, and in the following periods the number of the cartoonists decreased; thus, certain cartoonists became particularly significant.

In the first period, during transition (1989-1998), 190 cartoons (32% of the total corpus) were drawn by 24 cartoonists of whom Gábor Pápai (MH, 49 cartoons, 26%) was the most

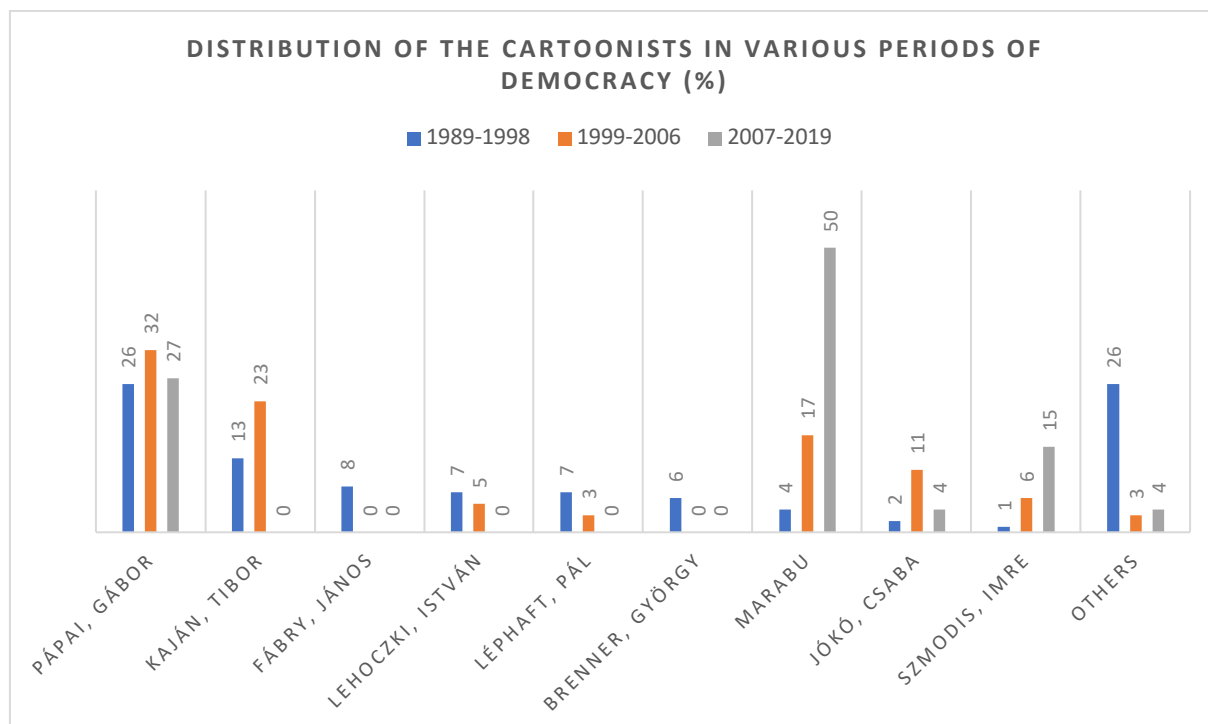
dominant. He was followed by Tibor Kaján (N, MH, MN, NS, 24 cartoons, 13%), János Fábry (MN, 16 cartoons, 8%), István Lehoczki (N, 13 cartoons, 7%), Pál Léphaft (MN, 13 cartoons, 7%), and György Brenner (N, 12 cartoons, 6%). This time period can be featured by pluralism, however, Pápai's dominance is unquestionable.

In the second period, during consolidated democracy (1999-2006), 167 cartoons (29% of the total) were drawn by 11 cartoonists (consider that the number of cartoonists halved), out of them again Gábor Pápai (NS, 54 cartoons, 32%) was a leading artist. He was followed by Tibor Kaján (N, MH, MN, NS, 38 cartoons, 23%), Marabu (N, 29 cartoons, 17%), and Csaba Jókó (MH, 19 cartoons, 11%). These changes, decrease in the number of cartoonists and personal changes can be traced back to several reasons, such as changing generations, technological developments, changes in press conditions, among others.

The third period, namely the crisis and regime change (after 2006) could be featured by 228 cartoons (39% of the total) made by eight cartoonists. The leading one became Marabu (N, 113 cartoons, 50%), but other two cartoonists remained active on this topic; these were Gábor Pápai (NS, 62 cartoons, 27%), and Imre Szmodis (MN, N, 34 cartoons, 15%).

In Table 3.3 below, we can also see how the significance of a cartoonist has changed over time regarding the editorial cartoons depicting the Parliament. The most striking is the strong presence of Gábor Pápai (in all periods), besides, Marabu's role has increased significantly, and in the third period, he preceded Pápai. The older generation, somewhat naturally, lost its former position, which unfortunately weakened the diversity of cartoons, a new, young generation did not appear among the cartoonists.

As a cartoonist is usually hired by one particular daily that obviously represents a certain ideological trend, we suspected that the unequal appearance of cartoonists entailed the unequal appearance of the media; thus, the corpus was biased in terms of the publishing media.



Tables 3.3 Distribution of the cartoonists in various periods of democracy
(100% = 190, 167, and 228 cartoons)

3.3.2.2 Distribution of the editorial cartoons across the various media

When we study the distribution of the editorial cartoons across the various media in the total corpus, at first, it seems there is not significant difference among the various dailies regarding the entire timespan from 1989 to 2019 (Table 3.4). In summary, it can be stated that *Népszava* published 165 cartoons⁶⁷ (28% of the total), *Népszabadság* promoted 163 cartoons (28%), *Magyar Hírlap* arranged 133 cartoons (23%), and *Magyar Nemzet* issued 124 cartoons (21%).

⁶⁷ In Section 3.3.2.2, cartoons are understood as editorial cartoons recalling the Hungarian Parliament.

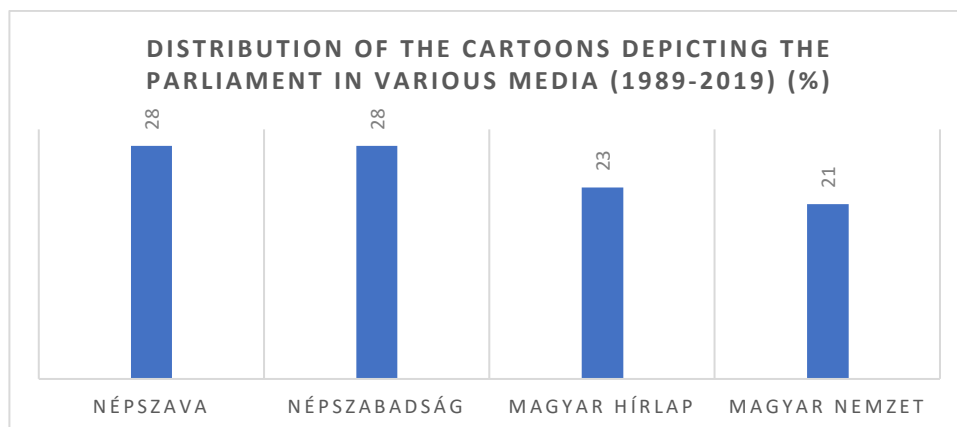


Table 3.4 Distribution of the cartoons depicting the Parliament in various media between 1989 and 2019 (100% = 585 cartoons)

However, if we have a closer look at the total corpus, according to the periods of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015), we can see immediately that divergent media with distinct ideological orientations ruled certain periods (Table 3.5). During transition (1989-1998), both MH and MN published 60 cartoons (32%), while NS arranged 43 cartoons (22%) and N issued 27 cartoons (14%). In the period of the consolidated democracy (1999-2006), NS and MH published 54 and 53 cartoons (32%), N issued 46 cartoons (28%), and MN printed 14 cartoons (8%). In the period of crisis and the regime change (since 2007), N published 90 cartoons (39%), NS issued 68 cartoons (30%), while MN issued 50 cartoons (22%) and MH printed 20 cartoons (9%). It would be difficult to say anything about ideologies behind the appearance of these editorial cartoons as ideologies of the editorial board (e.g., in the case of MH and MN) changed in an extreme way. Overall, it can be seen that liberal, socialist and social democratic approaches dominated in all periods. However, the investigation of the corpus along the ideologies represented by the dailies goes far beyond the subject of the present research.

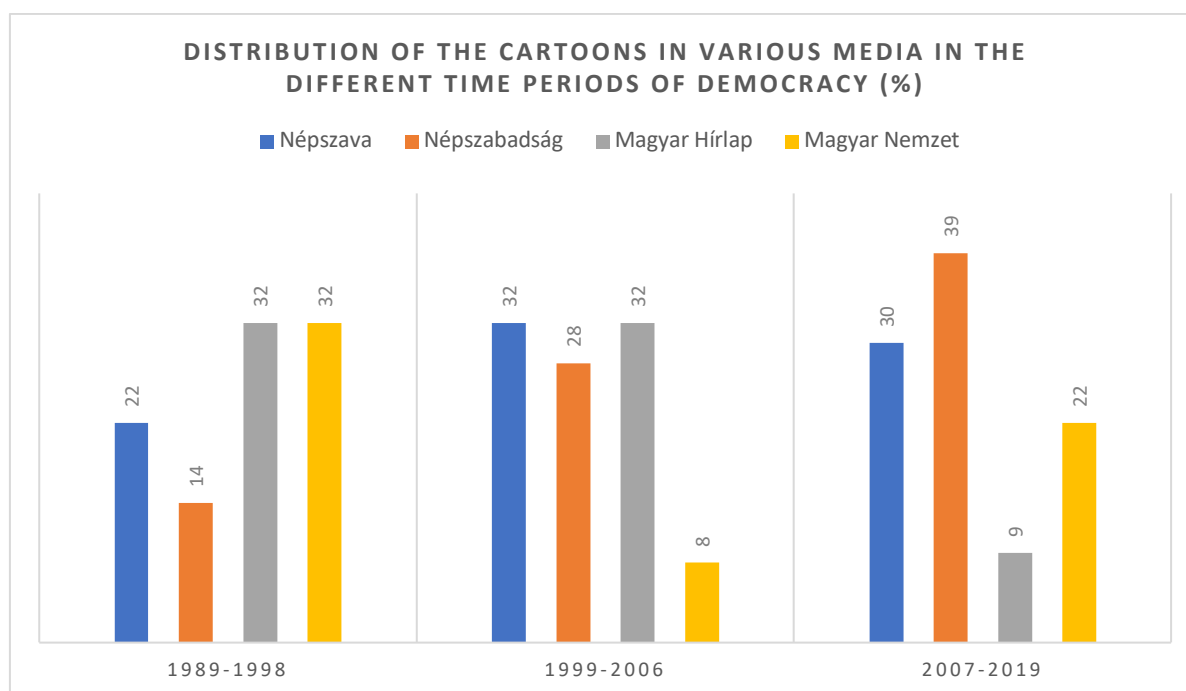


Table 3.5 Distribution of the cartoons in various media in the different time periods of democracy
(100% = 190, 167, and 228, no. of the editorial cartoons per period)

3.3.2.3 Distribution of the different visual elements of the Parliament

When selecting the members of the corpus, the ones depicting an element of the Parliament and those that verbally name the Parliament were chosen.⁶⁸ These elements, however, were not evenly distributed in the corpus (Table 3.6). This aspect is important, because some elements (due to their unique formal and semantic characteristics) may imply different associations and thus they may trigger different conceptual metonymies (see Section 5.1) and conceptual metaphors (see Section 5.2). Presumably, the fact that we see the Parliament from inside or outside is significant, as events inside can rather be linked to politicians, while events outside can also be related to the public. Subsequent analyzes my shed light on whether there are correlations between the chosen visual element, the content, and the conceptual processes.

The following elements of the Parliament were depicted in the editorial cartoons in the order of their frequency:

- 1) Assembly Hall with a horseshoe shape, with a pulpit, the arches that surround the hall, the rows of seats, semicircle (216 cartoons, 37%)

⁶⁸ The building of the Parliament is quite complicated to draw, and knowing the genre of the editorial cartoons, it is natural that cartoonists try to capture the most important, most characteristic details of the building.

- 2) the building of the Parliament with its façade (125 cartoons, 21%)
- 3) the corridor with a red carpet, sometimes spherical lamps and columns appeared (113 cartoons, 19%)
- 4) the entrance with the lions (51 cartoons, 9%)
- 5) verbally recalled such as Honorable House (44 cartoons, 8%)
- 6) the dome (36 cartoons, 6%)

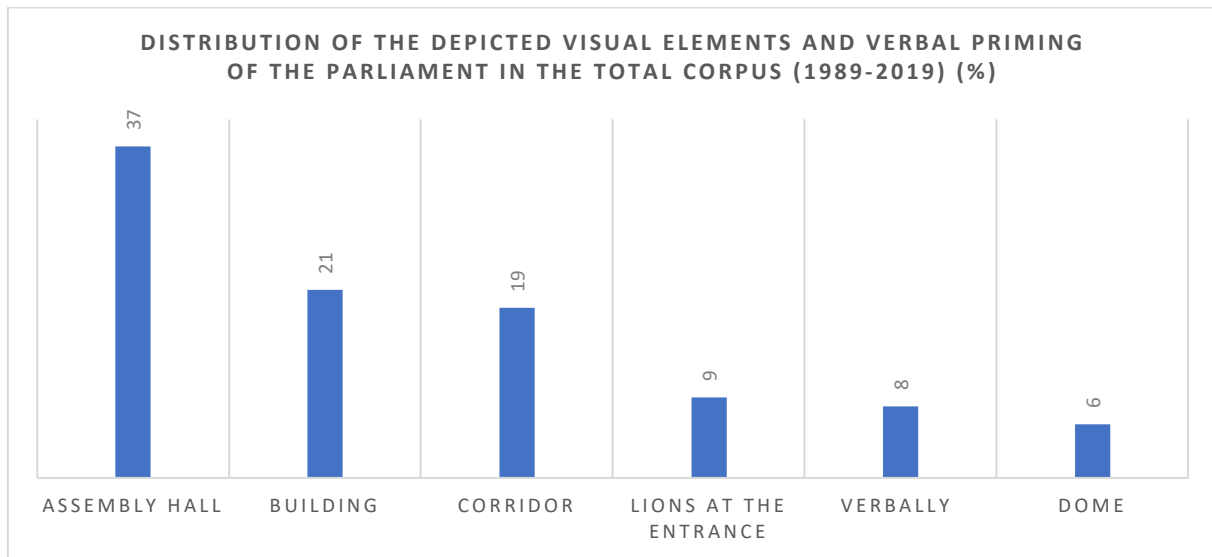


Table 3.6 Distribution of the depicted visual elements and verbal priming of the Parliament in the total corpus between 1989 and 2019 (100% = 585)

As for the distribution of the depicted visual elements and verbal priming of the Parliament in the different time periods of democracy, we can see that the various elements were of different importance (Table 3.7). The representation of the Assembly Hall dominated in all eras. It is also striking that the appearance of the corridor increased significantly over the years (7%, 13%, and 34%). However, the occurrences of the building (25%, 23%, and 17%) and the dome (14%, 6%, and 1%) show a declining trend. The analyzes point to the importance of all this in Sections 5.1 and 5.2.

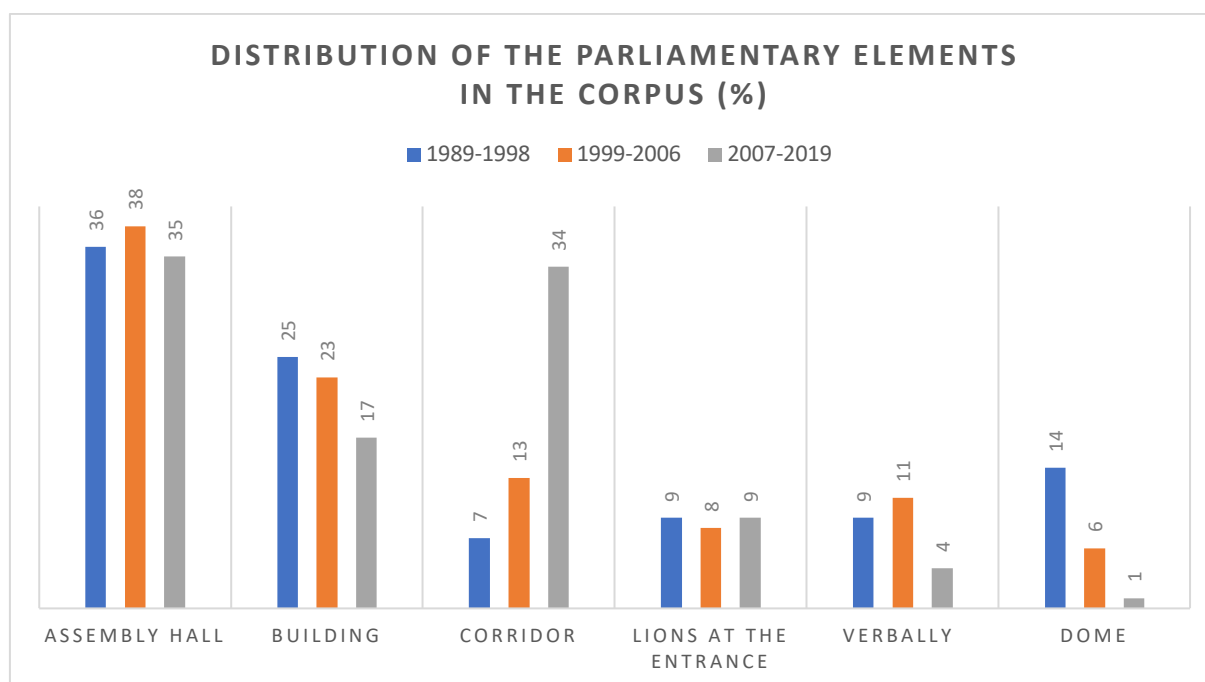


Table 3.7 Distribution of the depicted visual elements and verbal priming of the Parliament in the different time periods of democracy (100% = 190, 167, and 228, no. of the editorial cartoons per period)

3.3.3 Methodology: Annotation of the corpus

Annotation of the corpus meant the study of different variables and their interrelatedness in the corpus. The variables presented below were chosen because we believe that they are able to explore aspects of the figurative representation of the parliament. To maintain the consistency of the process, a codebook was set up and followed during the analyzes.

Based on the codebook (see Appendix 1), the annotation of the corpus was carried out in four main steps: (1) description of the basic data and the identification of the actual political topic; (2) identification of various types of critical processes (general, institutional, and personal); (3) identification and interpretation of the cognitive devices such as conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and irony; and (4) analysis of the cultural references such as idioms, allusions, and national symbols. In the following, we will look at these steps in detail through the analysis of an example.

3.3.3.1 Basic data and description of the cartoons

Basic data served to register each cartoon in an Excel table so that we can perform various screenings and measurements on the material later. During the process the members of the corpus got unique numbers, and then were recorded with basic data among which the type of

the medium, the date of publication, the name of the author, and the representation of the Parliament with its specification were mentioned (Table 3.8).

As for the identification of the political topic, a short description (where the protagonists and the main event were identified) was done, in parallel, the articles alongside the editorial cartoon under scrutiny were monitored (primarily the ones that were published on the same page, however, sometimes significant information was found in articles published a few days earlier (with a max. of three days). In sum, the topic usually proved to be decipherable based on the examination of the given page.

To exemplify the first step of the annotation, consider the example shown in Figure 3.1 supplemented by Table 3.8. The editorial cartoon presents a king (wearing royal jewelry) who is just marching on the red carpet while those who see him bow before him. The only exception is a smiling man wearing a white T-shirt with the subscription “Long live the republic.” Another figure looks frightened warns him, but it seems that the smiling figure is already able to interpret the kingdom as a republic: “Come on, you don’t understand politics. This is our republic.”



Figure 3.1 1st step: The description of the basic data and the identification of the actual political topic

Speech bubble: “Come on, you don’t understand politics. This is our republic.”

Label: “Long live the republic!”⁶⁹

⁶⁹ 23.4.2012, *Népszabadság*, Marabu

Table 3.8 shows that the editorial cartoon depicted in Figure 3.1 was registered by number 076, it was drawn by Marabu and published on April 23, 2012 in *Népszabadság*. Due to the representation of the red carpet and the arches, it is adjustable that it depicts the corridor of the Parliament. The article alongside the editorial cartoon was written by the linguist László Kálmán who called the attention of the readers to the dangers of the authoritarian decision-making procedures, and instead, suggested more democratic, collective decision-making procedures. He overtly rejected the ideal type of leader possessing all qualities.

	Unique number	Medium	Year	Date	Author	Representation	Context
Code	076	1	2012	23.4	1	9	According to the linguist, László Kálmán, we should not look for all qualities in one person, no leader should be chosen. Decision-making mechanisms should be changed, new collective decision-making processes should be developed. Sub-superiority relationships are beginning to dissolve in other areas of work as well.
Decoding	076	<i>Népszabadság</i>	2012	23.4	Marabu	corridor	

Table 3.8 1st step: The description of the basic data and the identification of the actual political topic shown in Figure 3.1

3.3.3.2 Identification of the various targets of criticism

The second step of the annotation procedure belonged to the examination of the content of the editorial cartoon. Hence, Qualitative Content Analysis was applied to determine (1) the focus of criticism, (2) the heuristic violated democratic value, and (3) the most criticized feature of the politician.

The first, focus of criticism highlights the critical target of the editorial cartoon. It was decided deductively whether it targeted certain politicians (visually recognizable or labelled by name), one or more political parties (using the party's symbol or labelled), politicians in general (depicting a stereotypical politician figure, e.g., in suits), the political system (mocking the

operation of the system), or other. As it is shown in Table 3.9, in the case of Figure 3.1, the political system was identified as the focus of criticism.

The second, so the heuristic violated democratic value was again deductively chosen from a list of democratic values compiled based on various polls (Bíró-Nagy & Laki, 2018; Erős & Murányi, 1996; ESS, 2013; Simon, 1996) which applied the definition of liberal democracy. The categories with their subcategories were the following:

1. freedom
 - 1.1. freedom of speech
 - 1.2. freedom of press and information
 - 1.3. freedom of moving
 - 1.4. respect of minority
2. social and economic dimension
 - 2.1. general welfare, improving living standards with fair wages and social security
 - 2.2. low level of corruption
3. parties and elections
 - 3.1. multi-party system with free and fair elections
 - 3.2. replaceable politicians
 - 3.3. taking into account the opposition's opinion
4. legal institutions
 - 4.1. accountability
 - 4.2. transparent decision-making
 - 4.3. court treating everyone equally
 - 4.4. observance of the Rule of Law
5. participation: referendum and the people's will

Detailed description of the categories and subcategories with examples can be found in the codebook (Appendix 1). As Figure 3.1 represented the king while others bowed before him, it was identified as an example of the cartoons that showed the lack of “taking into account the opposition's opinions”. This particular subcategory was selected because the co-operation between the power /the pro-government MPs and the opposition MPs is depicted impossible; thus, the parties do not listen to each other. In more extreme situations, the power suppresses the other party. Thus, criticism mocks the lack of the consensual democracy.

The third issue, still studied in the second step was the most criticized feature of the politician. To investigate the criticized features, a list of these features was refined on the basis

of Frantzich’s (2013) corpus research. All in all, eleven features were differentiated, such as immoral activity, corrupt behavior, bad policy, cluelessness, inflexibility, incompetency, undesirable behavior, inefficiency, partisanship, lobby influence, and other. Their detailed definition with examples can be found in the codebook (Appendix 1). However, it must be noted that immoral activity is such an umbrella term that can include several of the features listed. Hence, if the specificity of the immoral act could be detected, the narrower category was chosen.

To illustrate it with an example, see Figure 3.1 and the supplemented Table 3.9. Considering the features of the king and other politicians in the editorial cartoon cited before, “partisan” was chosen as the most heuristic feature of the politicians because the subordination in relationship was overtly expressed, servility, oppressive power, and abuse of power all appeared explicitly in the editorial cartoon (visually or verbally).

	Focus of criticism	Violated democratic value	Politicians’ criticized feature
Code	4	13	9
Decoding	political system	taking into account the opposition’s views	partisan

Table 3.9 2nd step: Critical procedures in the editorial cartoon

3.3.3.3 Identification of the conceptual metaphors and the conceptual metonymies

The third step of the annotation procedure consisted of the identification of various cognitive devices such as conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor, and irony (see in Section 2.2). In multimodal discourse, conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy identification procedures are usually applied together because they often interplay with each other. Practically, this is much more based on a reciprocal thinking mechanism, but for the sake of traceability, the identification of the conceptual metaphor, and then the conceptual metonymy will be presented.

As for conceptual metaphor, the coders (for more discussion on the coders, see Section 3.3.4) need to answer five questions:

(1) Is there any domain-level metaphoric source here meaning that the political situation is understood in terms of another situation (e.g., PHYSICAL CONFLICT, ENTERTAINMENT)? Choose from the list of the possible metaphoric source domains.

- (2) Is the PARLIAMENT (metaphoric target domain) represented as another entity? Yes or no.
- (3) If (2) is yes, name the entity.
- (4) If the PARLIAMENT is metaphorically represented, what type of metaphor does it represent?
- (5) What is the modality of the metaphoric source domain?
- (6) What is the modality of the metaphoric target domain?
- (7) What other metaphoric mappings can be construed linked to the previously identified conceptual metaphor?

Looking back at the example already quoted (Figure 3.1), we can analyze it in the following way (Table 3.10): the political system appears as a kingdom so the domain-level conceptual metaphor THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A KINGDOM can be construed where the following mappings occur: royal palace < Parliament, king < PM, servants < other politicians. Both the Parliament (metaphoric target domain) and the royal palace (metaphoric source domain) appear visually; thus, if we put the focus on the representation of the Parliament, the conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENT IS A ROYAL PALACE is categorized as a visual metaphor. It is also true, however, that the figure of the king is inserted into the representation of the Parliament (which is not damaged or distorted), in doing so, the context helps to figure out the concept of KINGDOM; that is why we call it a contextual type of metaphor.

	Domain-level MetSD	Met	Frame-level MetSD	MetType	MetSDMod	MetTDMod	OMets
Code	2	1	ROYAL PALACE	2	1	1	PM IS A KING, OTHER POLITICIANS ARE SERVANTS
Decoding	KINGDOM	yes		contextual	visual	visual	

Table 3.10 3rd step: Conceptual metaphoric process and its characteristic features

Now we put the focus on the identification of the conceptual metonymic processes, so the coders need to answer the following questions:

- (1) What are those metonymical sources of the PARLIAMENT which led to the selection of the cartoon for the corpus?
- (2) Does the PARLIAMENT metonymically stand for a metonymic target domain (conceptually linked to the Parliament)? Choose from the specified metonymic target domains.

- (3) What is the modality of the metonymic source domain?
- (4) What is the modality of the metonymic target domain?
- (5) What other metonymies can be construed linked to the previously identified conceptual metonymy or conceptual metaphor?

Consider again Figure 3.1, in which the red carpet and the arches can immediately be recognized; these metonymic source domains led us to the determination of the corridor of the Parliament. In sum, this is why the editorial cartoon was chosen. As it was already mentioned in the analysis of the conceptual metaphorical process, THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A KINGDOM can be construed, because the domain of kingdom is metonymically recalled by the figure of the king (wearing royal jewelry such as crown, royal cloak, holding the scepter and the orb, and also by the gestures of the servant). However, the inscription on the white T-shirt applies the conceptual metonymy according to which THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE REPUBLIC. It was determined as a multimodal metonymy due to fact that the Parliament appears visually, while the republic occurs verbally (the analysis is formalized in Table 3.11).

	MetyBasic	MetyTD	MetySDMod	MetyTDMod	OMety
Code	RED CARPET AND ARCHED WINDOWS STAND FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY CORRIDOR	8	1	2	ROYAL JEWELRY (CROWN, SCEPTER, ORB, ROYAL CLOAK) STANDS FOR THE KING FOR THE KINGDOM, GESTURES OF THE SERVANTS STAND FOR SERVILITY
Decoding	THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT	Other: THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE REPUBLIC	visual (PARLIAMENT)	verbal (REPUBLIC)	

Table 3.11 3rd step: Conceptual metonymic process and its characteristic features

3.3.3.4 Identification of the irony types

In Section 2.2.3, two types of ironies were differentiated based on the motivation in the contrast occurring. These were oxymoron-based and causal ironies. The first question is whether there is any irony including the Parliament in the case of an editorial cartoon examined (answer could be yes or no). If the answer is yes, then the procedure is followed by the construction of the

contrast (the feature of all ironies), and the identification of the type of the irony based on the contrasting entities.

In the case of Figure 3.1, it can be found ironic that the visually depicted kingdom or monarchy is celebrated verbally as a republic by one of the servile people, which can be revealed by the inscription on his T-shirt (“Long live the republic!”) and his statement (“Come on, you don’t understand politics. This is our republic.”). Thus, there is contrast between the two forms of state: kingdom vs. republic. These are significantly different since kingdom is ruled by the authority of the king, in contrast, the republic is governed by the MPs elected by the people. Consequently, these two forms of state are mutually exclusive. The irony is created by the contrast emerging between the positively (republic) and negatively (kingdom) judged concepts that is why the type is determined as oxymoron-based irony. In addition, the situation becomes more humorous by the fact, that the man in the T-shirt does not seem to recognize the difference and he is able to interpret the kingdom as a republic (the analysis is summarized in Table 3.12).

	Ironic	IronyDesc	IronyType
Code	1	The republic works with a king. > The Kingdom is ruled by the king. vs. The republic is a form of government in which the MPs are elected by the people.	3
Decoding	yes	Kingdom is the opposite of the republic.	oxymoron-type

Table 3.12 3rd step: Ironic process and its characteristic feature

3.3.3.5 Identification of the cultural references

The fourth step of the annotation procedure focused on the cultural references, namely the idioms, the allusions, and the national symbols. Each category could be further divided into subcategories. Within the category of idioms, we studied sayings, polylexemic idiomatic expressions, compounds, and polysemous words. Allusions consisted of European allusions (European and Christian) and local Hungarian allusions (e.g., political slogans and political quotations). The national symbols were categorized according to their evaluation (neutral or negative/pejorative) and their historical relatedness (permanent, national symbols characteristic

of the period before the 19th c., 19th c., or 20th c.). It must be noted that the identification of the cultural references was based on prior knowledge; it is multifaceted but shared by most of the members of the culture, so this type of knowledge is heavily linked to culture (e.g., Hungarian language, history, literature, music). In addition, cultural references can appear in both modes used by the editorial cartoon (verbal and visual). Moreover, multiple cultural references can occur at the same time in a single editorial cartoon.

Thus, as a fourth step, we named the cultural references revealed⁷⁰ and specified their subcategory. Turning back to Figure 3.1, we suppose that the viewer could recognize some characteristic objects of the Hungarian coronation jewelry such as the orb with a cross on top, and the scepter, and these are complemented by a schematic drawing of the crown and the royal cloak in the cartoon. All these equipment recall the idea of the Kingdom of Hungary (1000-1946, except for 1918-1920) which concretizes the whole scene and applies it to the Hungarian political situation. Furthermore, heraldry (national symbols) can metonymically refer to the past political arrangement, the glorious past in general, or the state led by an autocratic monarch. Regarding our knowledge linked to the article alongside the editorial cartoon, the last seems the most relevant, and in that case, the Hungarian coronation jewelry gets negative/pejorative evaluation. The series of possible associations linked to the Hungarian coronation jewelry does not end here, but it is so likely that the Hungarian reader may feel addressed, national symbols are considered as the devices to create a more intimate bond between the cartoonist and the reader, consequently the reader can identify herself/himself with the surprised, wide-eyed figure. Presumably, the reader considers the man in the T-shirt a daft person who does not realize that the Hungarian republic is not really working (the analysis is formulated in Table 3.13).

For the sake of traceability, the different processes were discussed in sequential order, but we can actually see how closely conceptual metonymies work with conceptual metaphors, ironies, and cultural references. The interplay of these processes helps, explains, and moves each other forward.

	Cultural reference	CultRef	CultRefType	Evaluation
Code	1	Hungarian coronation jewelry	2	1

⁷⁰ In the case of the idioms, the original idiom with its figurative meaning, and the modified version of the idiom were remarked.

Decoding	yes	Hungarian coronation jewelry metonymically refers to the Kingdom of Hungary (1000-1946, except for 1918-1920)	heraldry belonging to national symbols before the 19 th c.	negative/pejorative
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Table 3.13 4th step: Identification of the potential cultural references

3.3.4 Interrater reliability test

To measure the reliability of the coding system and its application to the editorial cartoons two exterior coders⁷¹ (both are experts in political communication, one of them is trained in cognitive linguistics, specifically in CMT, the other one is trained in historical text analysis) were asked to contribute to the procedure with their individual analysis.

The entire coding procedure involved three main stages in which the first stage was the preparation of a codebook based on a sample analysis of 100 cartoons and re-coding the sample for refinements. This stage was carried out by the master coder (the author) independently of the co-coders. It mainly focused on the creation of a stable coding system; thus, it wanted to set up the most determining categories and develop such codes under the categories which are fairly different but at the same time coherent enough. Within this process, the overlapping categories and categories that are not significantly dominant in the corpus were excluded. Otherwise, some of the categories – usually too close in their meanings – were merged and their definition was extended.

The next stage meant a two-hour online training in coding for two exterior coders trained in political communication. During the training, five categories – the depicted building part, domain-level metaphoric source of policy-related concepts, frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT, violated democratic values, and politicians' criticized features – were explained, defined, and examples were shown. The categories involved deductive codes, except for the source domain of the PARLIAMENT, when the coder had to name the possible concept herself if the Parliament appeared metaphorically. The interpretation was followed by a practical part in which five editorial cartoons were coded together in the form of a discussion. Then all the coders got a week to code 10% of the total sample (60 editorial cartoons) selected randomly, coding happened individually. After finishing the first round of coding, the results were compared, discussed, and novel agreements were made during a second round. The co-

⁷¹ My thanks go to Lilla Petronella Szabó and Zsófia Szlama for their selfless assistance in the field of analysis.

coding procedure ended up here, when the Fleiss' kappa was counted to indicate the reliability among the coders.

The last stage was the completion of the coding procedure in the entire corpus. It was carried out by the master coder and its results are provided in the next chapters (from Chapter 4 to Chapter 6).

Fleiss' kappa is a statistical measure, applied for cases where there are more than two coders, and it can also be used when categories do not necessarily include yes-no codes. The results of the present co-coding show that determination of the building part of the PARLIAMENT seen in the editorial cartoon presented almost perfect agreement with $k = 0.952$. Identification of the domain-level metaphoric sources (e.g., SPORT) differing from the policy-related concepts shows again almost perfect agreement with $k = 0.843$. Rater reliability in the cases of the other categories, however, can be called substantial agreement that means still strong and acceptable categories, but there is no doubt that in these cases there was several partial agreement or disagreement. Regarding the violated democratic values $k = 0.768$, while the source domains of the PARLIAMENT reached $k = 0.723$. Deciding the mocked qualities of the politicians proved to be the most difficult when $k = 0.701$.

Overall, based on the results of the interrater reliability test, the categories with their codes are convincing and stable to be applied to the entire corpus.

Summary

Chapter 3 presented the methodological framework of the dissertation in which 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. The stage of identification looks at the concrete level of the investigated material, for instance personal and institutional criticism and asks what the editorial cartoon is about; thus, what or who is criticized for what reason. This is also the stage where the appearance of cognitive devices and cultural references can be detected. This entails the use of the combination of different methods. We concluded that diverse topics and cultural references can 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 are provided, and

this is the stage where their first step takes place (e.g., the identification of incongruencies in the case of conceptual metaphors).

The second stage, the interpretation is intended to describe the operation and co-operation of the various cognitive devices and cultural references. Within the stage of interpretation, we try to answer to the question how the parliament is represented figuratively and how the cartoonist criticizes it. This is where the conceptual structures are 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) are used for description. As for conceptual metonymies, a step-by-step method carried out by Pérez Sobrino (2017) is applied. In the case ironies, the methods developed by Barnden (2018) and by Lozano-Palacio (2020) are combined.

The third stage, the explanation wants to look at the figurative meaning of the parliament from a wider perspective and asks how this figurative meaning has been 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 Körösenyi (2015). In sum, the trends of cognitive devices and cultural references linked to the concept of the parliament are compared from three different periods (which are transition, consolidation and crisis and regime change). The goal of stage is to indicate similarities and differences in distribution and preference of the variables for each era.

After the presentation of the methodological complexity behind the research, the corpus was presented with the description of its establishment, features, and the annotation procedure was illustrated through the analysis of an editorial cartoon. The elaboration and confirmation of the annotation procedure was supported by an interrater reliability test (with two co-coders). All in all, 585 editorial cartoons were selected to set up the corpus from the following national dailies *Népszabadság*, *Népszava*, *Magyar Hírlap*, és *Magyar Nemzet*. The only criterion for the selection was a direct reference to the Parliament. 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 next chapter discusses the topics of the editorial cartoons of the corpus by highlighting institutional and personal criticism. It means that it is asked what kind of democratic principle is depicted violated in the editorial cartoons and what characteristic features of the politician portrayed in a negative light.

Chapter 4: Institutional and Personal Criticism

This chapter investigates the corpus through three aspects: in Section 4.1, it highlights the major criticized political topics of the editorial cartoons (e.g., individual politicians) and provides an overview of the differences in their frequencies with implications as for the three different time periods based on the periodization set up by Körösenyi (2015). These are the period of transition (1989-1998), the period of consolidation (1999-2006), and the period of the crisis and regime change (after 2007). In Section 4.2, the investigation puts focus on the democratic values criticized by the editorial cartoons (e.g., general welfare, fair wages, and social security), after the identification of these values, the various periods will be described. In Section 4.3, politicians' criticized features were detected (e.g., immoral attitude), and it helped to characterize the three periods alongside personal criticism. The identification of political topics, violated democratic values, and politicians' criticized features was carried out by Qualitative Content Analysis. For detailed lists of politicians and political parties cited in the corpus, see Appendix 2 and 3.

4.1 Political topics

Political topics are large categories that point to main subjects of criticism. These can be distinguished with relative certainty and point out how personal and institutional criticism develop in the entire corpus.

Political topics were differentiated on the basis of criticized targets which are the following: individual politician (recognizable by visual characteristic features or name), politicians in general (without any identification of the person), political parties (indicated by the logo, the color of the party or its name), political system (there is reference to the government or the parliament), and others (if the subject of criticism cannot be precisely defined, or missing). If a given editorial cartoon belonged to more than one category, it was classified according to its most characteristic category.⁷²

Overall, Table 4.1 shows the distribution of criticized topics in the entire corpus between 1989 and 2019. What we can see from this table is that personal features of the politicians (individual or generalized ones) were criticized much more times than any systemic

⁷² Of course, it is possible, for instance, to criticize an individual and a party at the same time. In these cases, the code with a higher heuristic value was remarked for more secure data management.

constellation of the Hungarian policy (political parties or the government). It means that 40% of the editorial cartoons attacked one or more individual politician(s) through labelling or describing recognizable external features.⁷³ Some of the politicians became popular in the circle of the caricaturists, among them we can mention Viktor Orbán (27%), Ferenc Gyurcsány (17%), they were followed by József Torgyán (10%), László Kövér (9%), and Gyula Horn (6%). All in all, almost eighty politicians appeared in the editorial cartoons.

The second most frequent type of criticism was the mocking of politicians in general (31%) (in that case the profession itself and related, mostly stereotypical attributions were commented on), for instance, politicians were negatively judged because of their immoral attitude, undesirable behavior, or partisanship among others.

Apart from the criticism of personal features, institutional criticism against the political system (22%) appeared most of the time, and criticism of political parties was much less common (4%) (more details on the political parties cited in the corpus can be found in Appendix 2). In sum, critically depicted political parties in decreasing order were the following: MSZP (49%), Fidesz (24%), SZDSZ (11%), Momentum (6%); other parties were represented with one or two examples per each such as FKGP (3%), MDF (3%), KDNP (2%), and LMP (2%). In a few cases, the target of criticism remained unidentifiable – this was marked under the category of “Other” (3%). In these latter cases, for instance, the summer vacation of the parliament was announced, a cake was depicted referring to the parliament’s new food supplier, etc.

All in all, the two highest columns of Table 4.1 (individual politicians and politicians in general) refer to personal criticism which means 71% of the editorial cartoons, in contrast, the third and the fourth columns (political system and political party) referring to institutional criticism make 26% of the corpus. We can say that politicians are usually personally responsible for their actions in the corpus, and they are rarely hidden behind any institution.

⁷³ All in all, 77 politicians were depicted in a recognizable manner. The entire list of the mentioned politicians can be found in the Appendix 3.

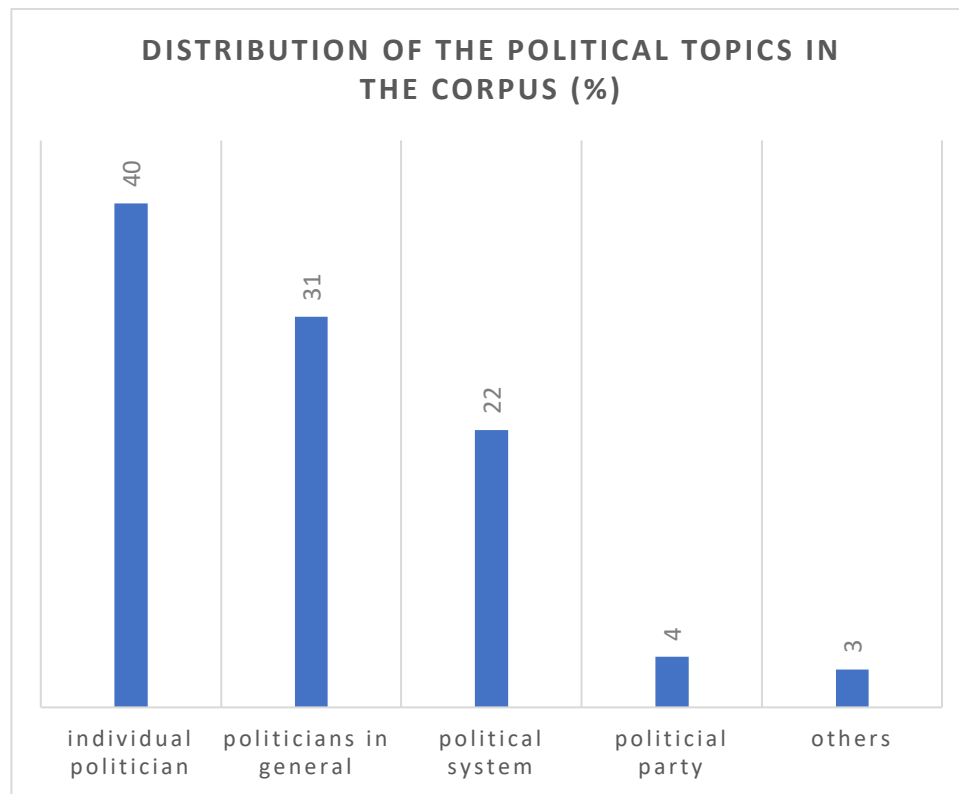


Table 4.1 Depiction of the political topics in the total corpus (%)
(100% = 585, no. of the editorial cartoons of the entire corpus)

As a conclusion linked to the analysis of political topics, we can state that personal criticism was more dominant than institutional criticism in the editorial cartoons during the timespan of 1989 and 2019. However, it must be noticed that while personal criticism more strongly affected several Fidesz-party politicians (they were recognizable more times), institutional criticism was rather related to the MSZP. In fact, MSZP politicians were individualized less times, however, MSZP as a party was attacked twice as many times as Fidesz as a party. Hence, the MSZP appeared as a community while Fidesz was mostly represented by Viktor Orbán (party president) and László Kövér (the Speaker of the House, a member of the Fidesz).

To exemplify the difference in representations of the MSZP and the Fidesz, consider Figure 4.1. The editorial cartoon illustrates when the MSZP appears through its red cockscomb-like logo on the left side with a black crescent shape face, while Balázs Hidvéghy, a member of the Fidesz is depicted on the right side. Both figures are rendered as gladiators in antique costumes who are fighting against each other with swords. According to the article alongside the editorial cartoon, Balázs Hidvéghy, the director of Communications at Fidesz started to promote the participation in the national consultation against the Soros-plan and the program

series entitled “Let’s protect Hungary”⁷⁴ (against the migration policy which is supposed to be supported by the Soros-plan and the opposition parties). What we see in the image is the way how Hidvéghy who is considered as a Soros-plan supporter is fighting against the MSZP as a gladiator. What is important for us now is that Fidesz is individualized, while MSZP appears as a representation of the party.



4.1 Figure Personal vs. institutional criticism

Title: Complex

Speech bubble: Do you have to play drama now?

Why don't you just disappear from public life?⁷⁵

4.1.1 Political topics in different periods of democracy

The analysis revealed that general political topics of the editorial cartoons show significant differences in various time periods (Table 4.2). If we look at general topics according to the periodization of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015), we can confirm that in all periods strongest attacks went against individual politicians. In the first period (between 1989 and 1998), most of the time József Torgyán was criticized (who talks a lot, too ambitious and thinks himself a king), and he was followed far behind by others such as Gyula Horn (who cannot compromise with his coalition and wants to decide alone), József Antall (who cannot compromise with his

⁷⁴ <https://szegedma.hu/2017/10/nemzeti-konzultacio-orszagjarasba-kezd-a-fidesz>

⁷⁵ 12.10.2017, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

coalition, manipulates and controls the media), and finally, by Viktor Orbán (who is childish, dangerous, not straight, and considers his political opponents as traitors). Besides, party criticism appeared only a few times, but then it exclusively attacked the MSZP. This was also the period when institutional criticism against the political system was higher (27%) than in other periods (19% and 21%).

In the second period (between 1999 and 2006), the two opponent party leaders Viktor Orbán (who does not discuss anything with his political opposition, considers himself a king, lists his enemies, co-operates with criminals, and provides nationalist views) and Ferenc Gyurcsány (who hides the truth, lies, and behaves irresponsibly) emerged as criticized politicians with a similar number of appearances. As for party criticism, similarly to the previous period, it was again quite rare, and attacked only the MSZP.

Finally, in the third period (between 2007 and 2019), Viktor Orbán's figure (who does not discuss anything, decides alone, is responsible for the high level of corruption, and too ambitious) appeared most often in the editorial cartoon, and he was followed far behind by Ferenc Gyurcsány (who is everywhere, and does not recognize that became undesirable in political circles) and László Kövér (who searches for the enemy, assists retrospective legislation, does not let the press into the parliament, is biased, and often makes sexist statements). Occurrences of party criticism increased sixfold compared to the previous periods, but still, it attacked mostly the MSZP, and the Fidesz less often.

In the next two sections (4.2 and 4.3), criticism on the parliamentary democracy and politicians' criticized features will be discussed which extends the characteristics of the political topics due to their refined subcategories. The first is taken as a type of institutional critique, while the second is a sort of personal critique.

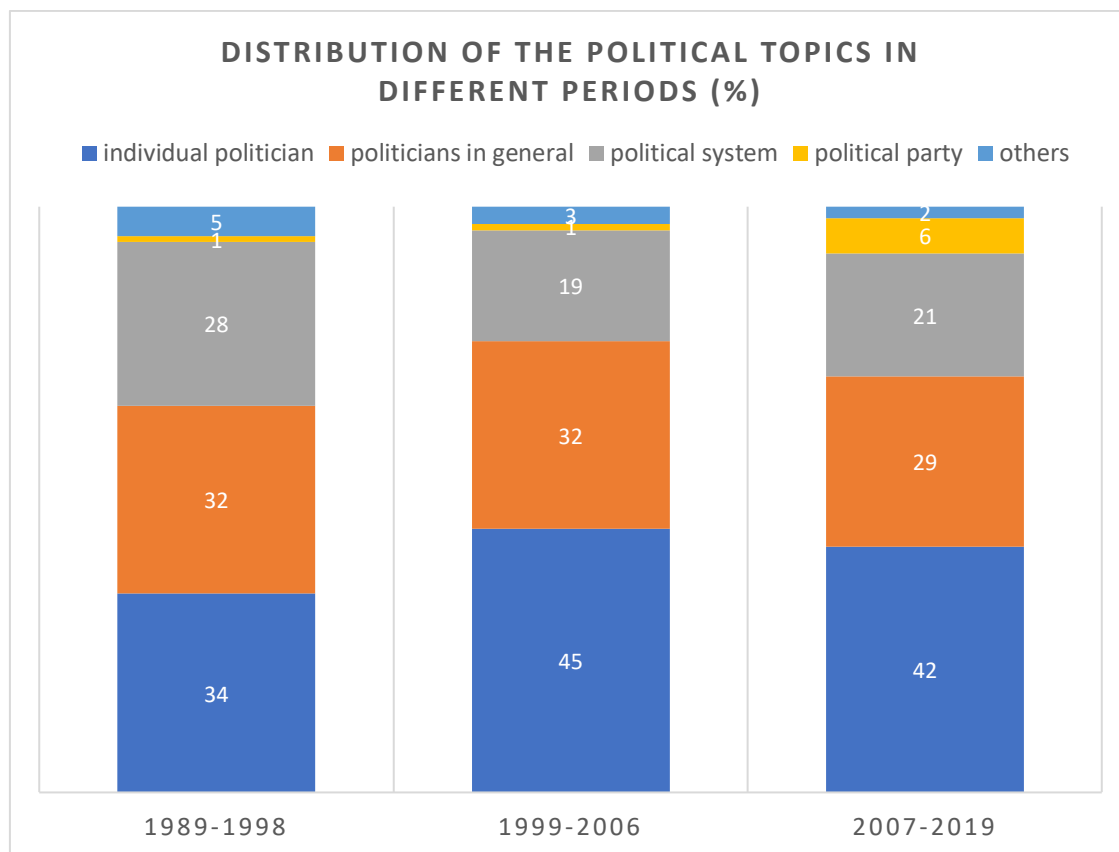


Table 4.2 Depiction of the political topics in different periods (%)
(100% = 190, 167, and 228 no. of the editorial cartoons in different periods)

4.2 Critical stances on the parliamentary democracy

As for democracy, various polls (Bíró-Nagy & Laki, 2018; Erős & Murányi, 1996; ESS, 2013; Simon, 1996) show what the Hungarian respondents think about democracy and what the major values are linked to this concept. Table 4.3 presents the list of the studied democratic values (for a more detailed discussion, see Section 3.1.2). Both the descriptions and the examples of the categories and subcategories can be found in the codebook (Appendix 1).

Categories of the democratic values	Subcategories of the democratic values
No democratic value mentioned	—
Freedom	Freedom of travelling
	Freedom of speech
	Freedom of press and information
	Respect of minority groups, equal opportunities

Social and economic values	General welfare, fair wages, and social security
	Low level of corruption
Parties and elections	Multi-party system and free and fair elections
	Replaceable politicians
	The government takes into account the opposition's views
Juridical institutional	Accountability
	Transparent decision-making
	The court treats everyone equally, rule of law
Participation	Referendum and people's will

Table 4.3 Categories and subcategories of the democratic values

All in all, the analysis of the total corpus (see in Chapter 3) revealed that over the half of the editorial cartoons of the corpus (58%) dealt with at least one of the democratic values. In most of the cases, social and economic values (20%) were violated by politicians or the political institution, namely the editorial cartoon stated that stable or improving living standards were not provided to people (Table 4.4).

Among the representations of violated social and economic values, we can find depictions of the taxi blockade, raising salaries of politicians while people are suffering, unequal distribution of the budget, high inflation, and the introduction of an unfavorable tax system, among others. Look at Figure 4.2 which illustrates how newly introduced taxes weigh on the poorest. The editorial cartoon shows a fat smiling person wearing the Parliament on the top of his head while he is clutching money bags on his lap. "Tax" is written on the bags; thus, it seems that he is the tax collector who is getting fatter (metaphorically richer), while the small people under his buttocks (maintaining him) metonymically stand for the poor in their mottled garments. Due to the hat- or crown-like Parliament, the fat man is somewhat connected to the parliament, presumably, he can be a member of it, or supported by that. Lastly, the editorial cartoon was indicated as the one which depicts the violation of social and economic values.

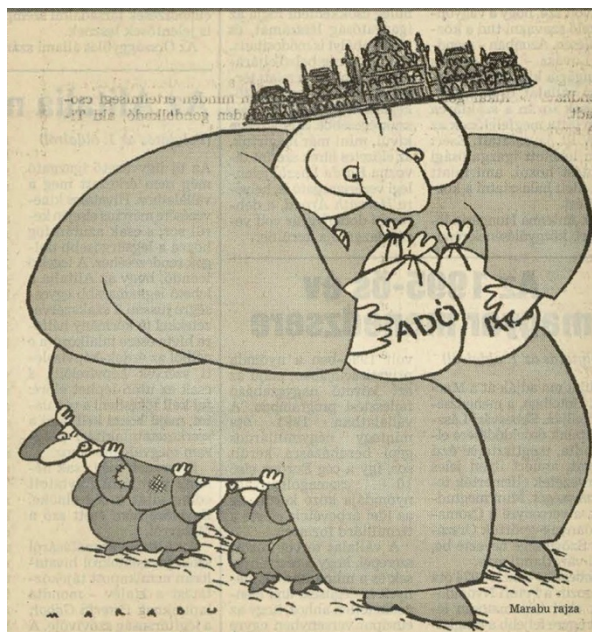


Figure 4.2 Violated democratic value: social and economic values

Caption (on the bag): Tax⁷⁶

There may be several reasons behind the social and economic criticism during the past 30 years in editorial cartoons. Although it is not the topic of the dissertation, but among the reasons we can suppose the country's economic situation (e.g., the high inflation meaning 20-50% rise in consumer prices after 1993⁷⁷), otherwise this is an issue that affected people's daily lives most directly, and the editorial cartoons were made for them, furthermore, there was a constant desire to catch up and lag behind the surrounding countries and countries generally referred to the Western regions.

The second most frequently violated democratic value was the presentation of parties and elections (14%) with undemocratic operations (e.g., irreplaceable politicians). It was followed by the critique of the legal decision-making (12%) and the violation of freedom (10%). The editorial cartoons were the least critical of the political activity of the electorate and the referendum (2%). The latter meant that the editorial cartoons with the representation of the parliament made relatively little reference to the society directly, and if they did so, then it was believed that people had rights to politicize but did not live with it.

⁷⁶ 27.2.1996, *Népszava*, drawn by Marabu

⁷⁷ For further details, see Ékes (1998).

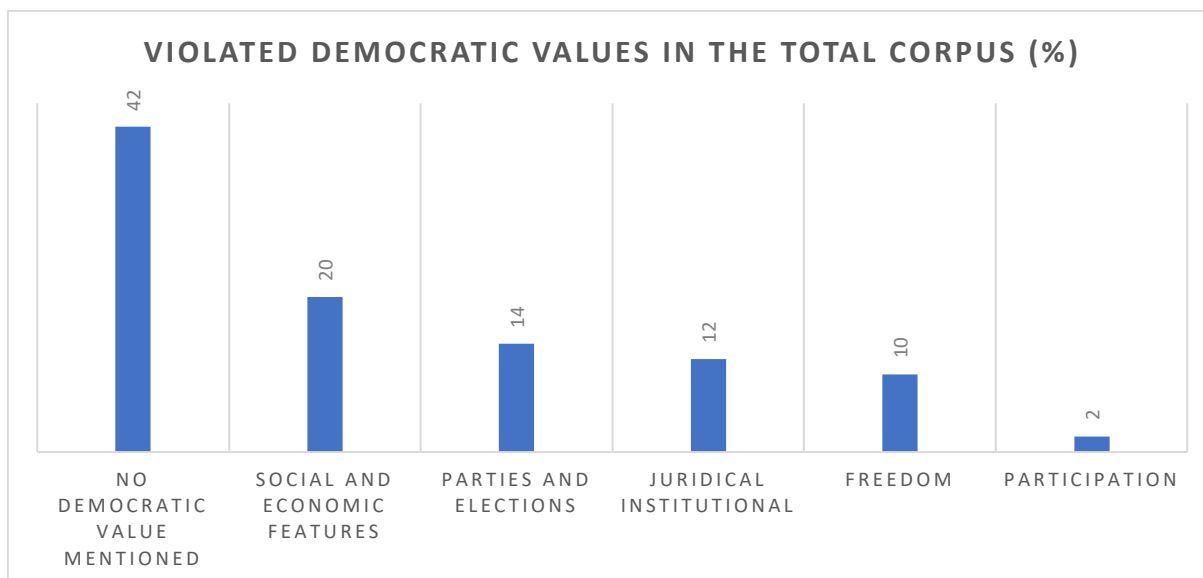


Table 4.4 Violated democratic values in the total corpus (%)
(100% = 337, no. of cartoons showing violated democratic values)

To have a global picture on occurrences of violations of democratic values in editorial cartoons, see Table 4.5. It presents how the number of these violations increased over time; thus, in the first period, almost half of the entire corpus (47%) showed violations, then this number slightly increased (50%), and lastly, this ratio increased up to 72% in the third period. Hence, the cumulative average of the violated democratic values in the different periods suggests an increasing tendency of criticism of democracy in the corpus which specifically increased in the most recent period. As a great part of the corpus was retrieved from left-wing dailies, this result suggests that the editorial boards behind these dailies (and most probably the potential readers as well) are less satisfied with democracy today than they were after the change of the political system. This does not contradict the measurements provided by Susánszky and his colleagues (2021).

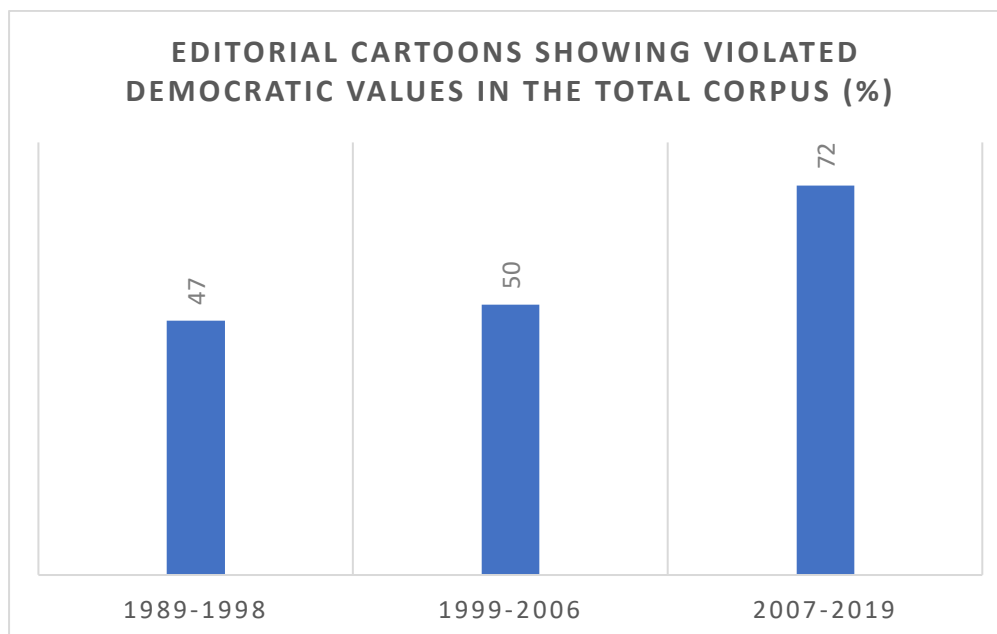


Table 4.5 Distribution of editorial cartoons showing violated democratic values (%)
(100% = 88, 83, and 166, no. of cartoon showing violated democratic values in the various periods of democracy)

4.2.1 Violated democratic values in different periods of democracy

We can realize that the distribution of violated democratic features differed in various periods. As for the entire timespan, it must be remarked again that there is a seemingly increasing tendency of criticism of democratic values over the years. Before the detailed discussion of the comparison of the three time periods of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015), let us focus on two emerging tendencies in the corpus (Table 4.6).

Table 4.7 shows the distribution of the identified violated democratic values according to subcategories, and it can be seen that all the periods were dominated by the criticism of “general welfare, fair wages and social security”. It meant that the editorial cartoons mostly depicted how politicians acted against the people’s desire of a better world in the sense of financial welfare, for instance, they reflected on unemployment, or the disproportionate increase in politicians’ salaries. It was also true, however, that this value was less and less criticized over the years (34% compared to 23% and 18%).⁷⁸ From this, it is suspected that the frustration because the democracy did not bring the prosperity expected was greater during the

⁷⁸ The number of the editorial cartoons showing the violation of any of the democratic values (337 editorial cartoons) will be considered as 100% (in the rest of the section not the entire corpus will be taken as 100%).

period of transition. In later periods, adherence to other democratic principles proved more problematic.

A striking example of that is the frequency of the representation of the “level of corruption” which presented an increasing tendency and became dominant in the last period after 2007 (in the first period it was 3%, in the second it was 6% and in the third it was 17%). In the second period, the representation of corruption was mostly linked to the Gyurcsány-government, while in the last period, this applied to the Orbán-government.

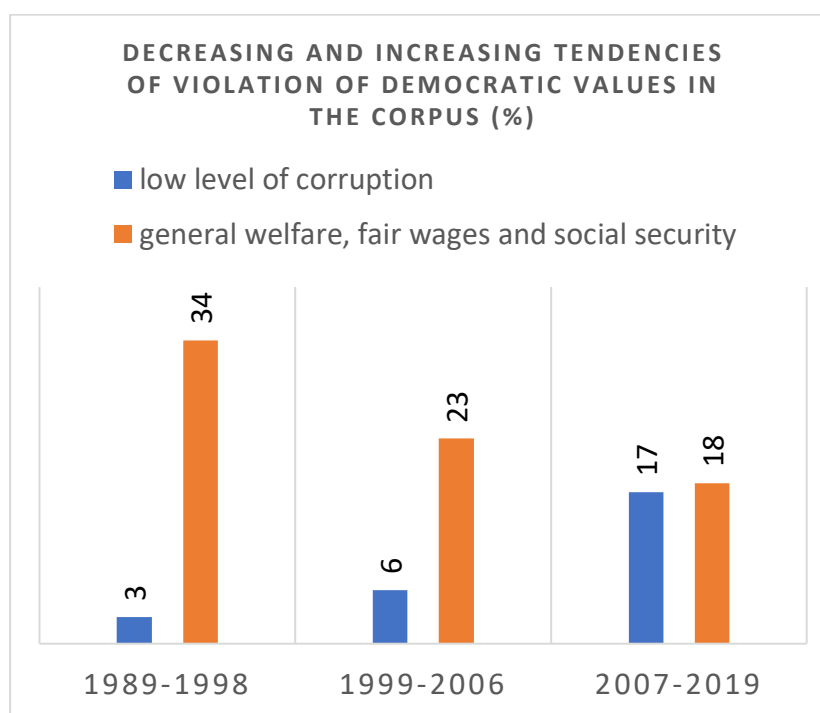


Table 4.6 Decreasing and increasing tendencies of violations of democratic values in the corpus (%)

(100% = 337 editorial cartoons, no. of the cartoons with violated democratic values)

In the following paragraphs, the three diverse time periods based on the realization of the democratization procedures will be discussed.

During transition (between 1989 and 1998) the most determining infringement was linked to the economic crisis; thus, general welfare, fair wages and social security were missed according to the editorial cartoons (34%). Opaque decision-making procedures (15%) and the operation of the court (10%) were also heavily mocked. Although the issue of freedom was never a prominent question in any of the periods, yet it can be said that freedom of press and information (5%), freedom of speech (5%), and freedom of travelling (2%) were mostly

discussed in editorial cartoons of transition. The editorial cartoon shown in Figure 4.3 depicts the parliamentary corridor where a group of politicians is addressed by a reporter from the press (it is indicated via the image of the mic), while he is asking: “I am the member of the Independent Hungarian Journalists’ Association. Minister, may I ask you to tell me about the opposition’s dirty slanders?” The humorous situation stems from the fact that the reporter is declaring himself independent, but indeed, his question is biased, and clearly articulates a pro-government position that supports the Antall-government.



Figure 4.3 Violated democratic value: freedom of press and information

Caption: I am the member of the Independent Hungarian Journalists’ Association. Minister, may I ask you to tell me about the opposition’s dirty slanders?⁷⁹

If we look at the second period (between 1999 and 2006), we can observe (Table 4.7) that editorial cartoons mostly express dissatisfaction linked to the economic situation (“general welfare, fair wages and social security” appears with 23%), what is more surprising, however, is that the disregard for the oppression of the other party has increased tremendously and proved to be a characteristic feature of this period (“taking into account the opposition’s opinion”, 17%). This feature was mostly linked to the first Orbán-government, and it is best illustrated

⁷⁹ 23.1.1992, *Népszava*, drawn by István Lehoczki

by the political quote (often cited in corpus) that the newly elected prime minister Viktor Orbán said in the first year of his presidency: “The parliament operates without opposition as well.”⁸⁰ As the abovementioned example will be cited more times in the dissertation, now another humorous example shown in Figure 4.4 was chosen as an illustration (it motivated the choice of the title for the dissertation). The editorial cartoon presents a dog and cat fight in the Assembly Hall, where the dog, of course, can force the cat to press a certain voting button with a growl. According to the article alongside the cartoon, the opposition parties MSZP and SZDSZ accused Fidesz of endangering democracy. In that way, the political negotiations are metaphorically understood as dog-cat fight where the following mappings occur: animals < politicians (more specifically, dog < Fidesz, cat < MSZP and SZDSZ), and growl < political intimidation. It seems that Fidesz (represented by the dog) does not seek to manage a consensual democracy, what is more, governing the country is manifested in the form of authoritarian legislation.

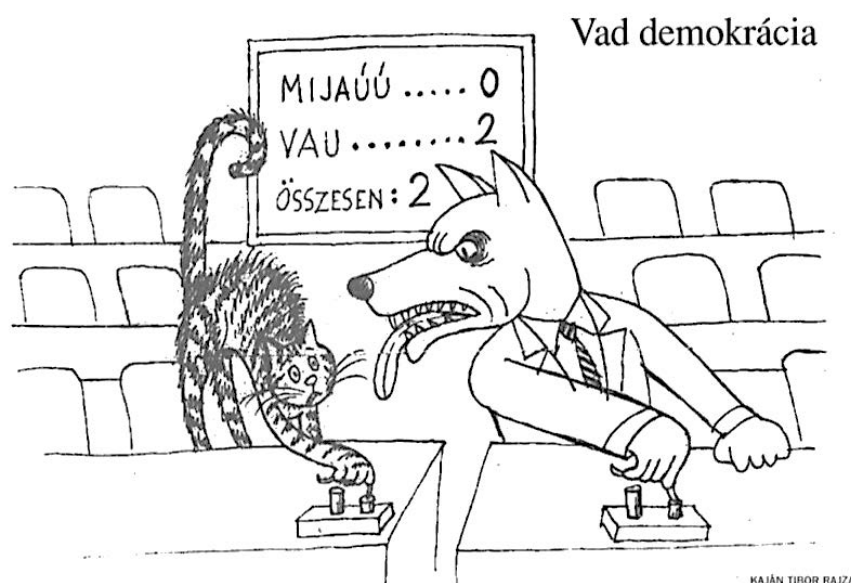


Figure 4.4 Violated democratic value: taking into account the opposition’s opinion

Title: Wild Democracy

Caption (on the board): Meow...0, Woof...2, Total: 2⁸¹

⁸⁰ It was said by Orbán in December 1998 when socialist and democratic MPs left the parliament because the new government (the coalition of Fidesz, FKGP and MDF) did not vote for the proposal on the officials of the two committees. This meant that neither the government’s appointment practice nor the commission investigating the operation of the APEH (Tax and Financial Control Office) could be formed.

⁸¹ 24.11.2001, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Tibor Kaján

Compared to other periods, consolidated democracy was also determined by such violations as non-democratic operation of the multi-party system (11%), this was the period when the accountability of a politician was most questioned (11%), and the replaceability of politicians seemed impossible (7%). All these features came to the fore as a critique of the Gyurcsány-government. The attempt to overthrow the government was illustrated in the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 4.5. The related article added that in parliamentary democracy, the government could only be overthrown by democratic means that is why the President (László Sólyom) wanted the Fidesz to participate in the vote of no confidence against the prime minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány (no-confidence vote became necessary after his Speech of Ószöd, 2006)⁸². To illustrate the irreplaceability of politicians (here, Ferenc Gyurcsány)⁸³, the editorial cartoon renders Viktor Orbán (the leader of the opposition, Fidesz at that time) who behaves like the statue behind which represents Lajos Kossuth⁸⁴ (metonymically indicated by his beard and gesture) while Orbán's speech bubble ("If I say it again, they all have to go!") recalls the Kossuth-song sung during the 1848/49 revolution: "If he (Kossuth) says it again, we all have to go!" In the 19th century, its original purpose was to encourage the people to fight for freedom and sovereignty of the country (against the Austrians). In the cartoon, Orbán took Kossuth's role and plays the liberator of the country who is able to drive out the government with the help of the people (at mental-space level the following metaphorical mappings can be construed: VIKTOR ORBÁN IS LAJOS KOSSUTH, THE MSZP-GOVERNMENT IS THE AUSTRIANS (who are no longer a legitimate power), and perhaps THE PREPARATION FOR THE OCTOBER 23RD REVOLUTION DAY IS THE PREPARATION FOR THE 1848/48 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE).

⁸² Speech of Balatonószöd was performed by the prime minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány (MSZP) in a closed party meeting, however, it revealed the lies of the party, the falsification of data and the postponement of economic solutions. When it came to light, it caused great outrage among the opposition and the party's voters and significantly increased distrust of politicians. Masses of people began to protest against the government.

⁸³ The editorial cartoon (Figure 4.5) mocks Orbán's behavior and presents him as an arrogant or determined person (the interpretation probably depends on the reader's party sympathy), however, from the point of view of violation of democratic values, the analysis classified the caricature in the category of irreplaceable politicians.

⁸⁴ Lajos Kossuth was a 19th-century politician (Minister of Finance of the Batthyány-government) who supported the revolutionary ideas of 1848/49 which is based on the secession of Hungary from Vienna.



Figure 4.5 Violated democratic value: replaceable politicians

Speech bubble: If I say it again, they all have to go!⁸⁵

In the third period, during the crisis and regime change, since 2007, according to the analyzed editorial cartoons, the three major infringements were against the “general welfare, fair wages and social security” (18%), the “low level of corruption” (17%), and “the government taking the other party into account” (15%). The represented corruption scandals are illustrated by Figure 4.6, the editorial cartoon itself does not specify the protagonists, we can only see two politicians, one with closed eyes, very confident, by contrast, the other one is surprised, which is expressed through his widened eyes. The confident one denies the allegation of corruption and does not want to disappear from political life and wants the other to believe that someone used his name for a bad purpose. The one on the right side, however, points out that there is evidence of physical receipt of the money. For this, the confident man expresses his outrage in an absurd way: “Here we go... Someone even abused my body!” The absurd idea of imitating or exploiting the other’s body exposes the corrupt party and sets up causal irony which is based on logical contradiction. Linked to this specific case, we know from the article alongside the cartoon that the Transparency International won a lawsuit and sought public access to residency bonds and offshore companies. In the meantime, Viktor Orbán (prime minister at that time, Fidesz) was asked about Lőrinc Mészáros’ (Orbán’s childhood friend, presently an influential businessman) sudden enrichment. In any case, the cartoon does not reveal the identity of the parties suspected of corruption, instead, it discredits the person of the politician in general.

⁸⁵ 7.10.2006, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai



Figure 4.6 Violated democratic value: low level of corruption

Speech bubble 1: Why should I resign? I have nothing to do with those corruption issues.

Someone must have misused my name.

Speech bubble 2: Listen here. But you took the money.

Speech bubble 3: Here we go... Someone even abused my body!⁸⁶

Beside the abovementioned violations as perceived by the cartoonist, it can also be observed in Table 4.7 that this period is characterized by the representations of violated democratic rules as the “respect of minority” (11%), the “freedom of press and information” (6%), and the “freedom of speech” (4%).

To exemplify the violation of the rule of respect of minority, see Figure 4.7. The editorial cartoon shows the parliamentary corridor with the red carpet, where a politician gets extremely angry (his head is red, he frowns, snarls, and clenches both hands like a boxer, so physical signs metonymically stand for his anger). He is convinced that migrants are enemies, and they are everywhere, even in the corridor. The humor stems from the fact that he is not able to recognize himself and his hate (explicitly mentioned in the speech bubble) in the mirror; the reader presumably laughs at the fact that the politician sees himself as scary as a migrant. The article next to the cartoon reminded the reader of the responsibility of those government policy decisions (e.g., national consultation questionnaire on migration, construction of a fence at the border, rejection of the EU quota proposal) which led to xenophobic attitude in society.

⁸⁶ 8.5.2017, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Marabu



Figure 4.7 Violated democratic value: respect of minority

Speech bubble 1: Alarm! The migrants have already gotten here.

Speech bubble 2: Hate is just flowing out of him! Watch out, he's about to attack!

Speech bubble 3: Come on, Dodi. That's only a mirror.⁸⁷

All in all, if we compare the three periods of democracy (Körösi, 2015), we can state that the violations of democratic values depicted in editorial cartoons of the corpus showed an unequal distribution and characterized each period in different ways. Although it is true that most types of violations were shown in the editorial cartoons in every era, but their proportions differed significantly.

⁸⁷ 20.9.2016, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

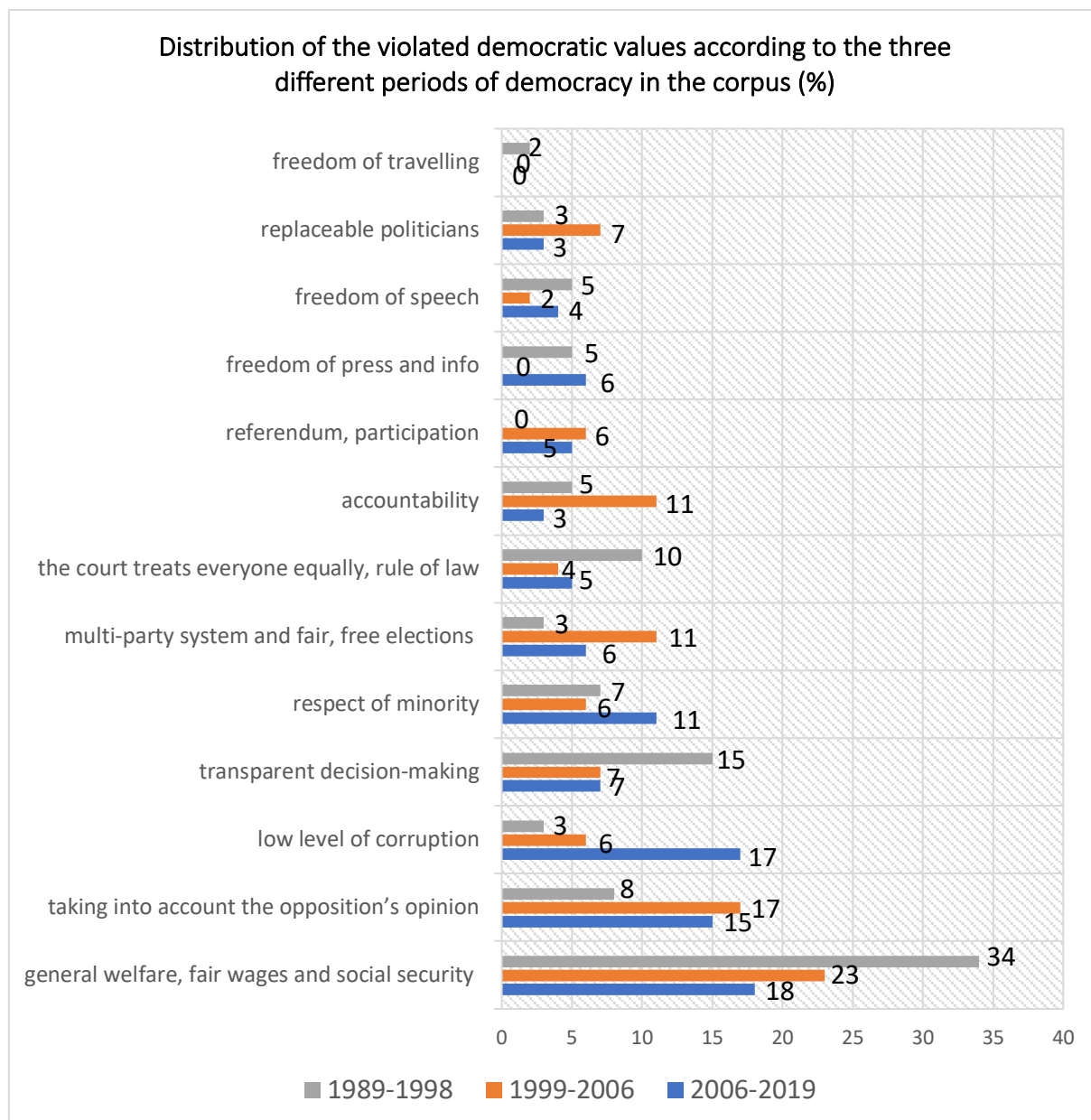


Table 4.7 Distribution of the violated democratic values according to the three different periods of democracy in the corpus (%) (100% = 88, 83, and 166, no. of cartoon showing violated democratic values in the various periods of democracy)

4.3 Critical opinions on the politicians' personal features

Apart from political topics and violated democratic values, more personal criticism against politicians was also investigated. The analysis of the corpus revealed (Table 4.8) that during

the entire timespan, politicians are primarily considered immoral⁸⁸ (24%)⁸⁹, people who behave in an undesirable way (18%), but they are also depicted as partisans (14%), incompetent (11%), people doing bad policy (10%), corrupt (6%), clueless (6%), inefficient (4%), who have lobby influence (4%), or seem inflexible (3%). It is more interesting to look at the distributions of these features according to various periods of democracy (Table 4.9 and Table 4.10).

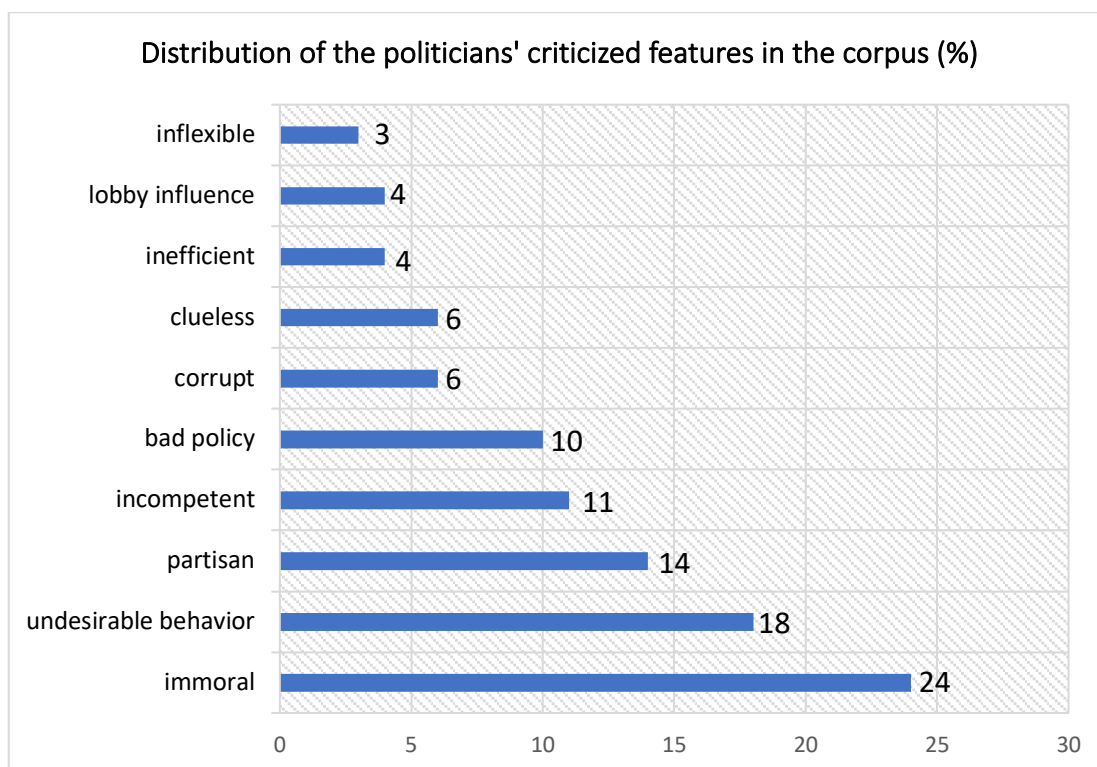


Table 4.8 Distribution of the politicians' criticized features in the corpus (%)
(100% = 537, no. of cartoon showing politicians' criticized features)

Before the comparison of the three periods, take a look at some decreasing tendencies in the corpus between 1989 and 2019. As it is shown in Table 4.9, we can state that undesirable behavior (23%, 21%, and 13%), doing bad policy (15%, 9%, and 8%), and inefficiency (10%,

⁸⁸ Morality is an umbrella term that can be subdivided into further categories such as corrupt or partisan; thus, subcategories were marked when more concrete references of the narrowed subcategories could be found in the editorial cartoon.

⁸⁹ Some editorial cartoons (48 cartoons, 8% of the total corpus) do not depict politicians, in that way, these do not refer to any of the features discussed in this section. Hence, in Section 4.1.3, the corpus means the cartoons depicting politicians and criticizing them in any manner, consequently 100% will be referred to as a corpus that includes 537 editorial cartoons.

4%, and 0%) are among those features of the politicians which got the highest score in the first period during transition, and by time these were less and less criticized in editorial cartoons of the corpus.

We can also observe two features that, in turn, have received increasing criticism over the years; these are shown in Table 4.10. These were corruption (1%, 3%, and 12%) and partisanship (7%, 10%, and 22%); both characteristics became dominant in the latter period, after 2006. In the following paragraphs, these will be discussed in detail and demonstrated through examples.

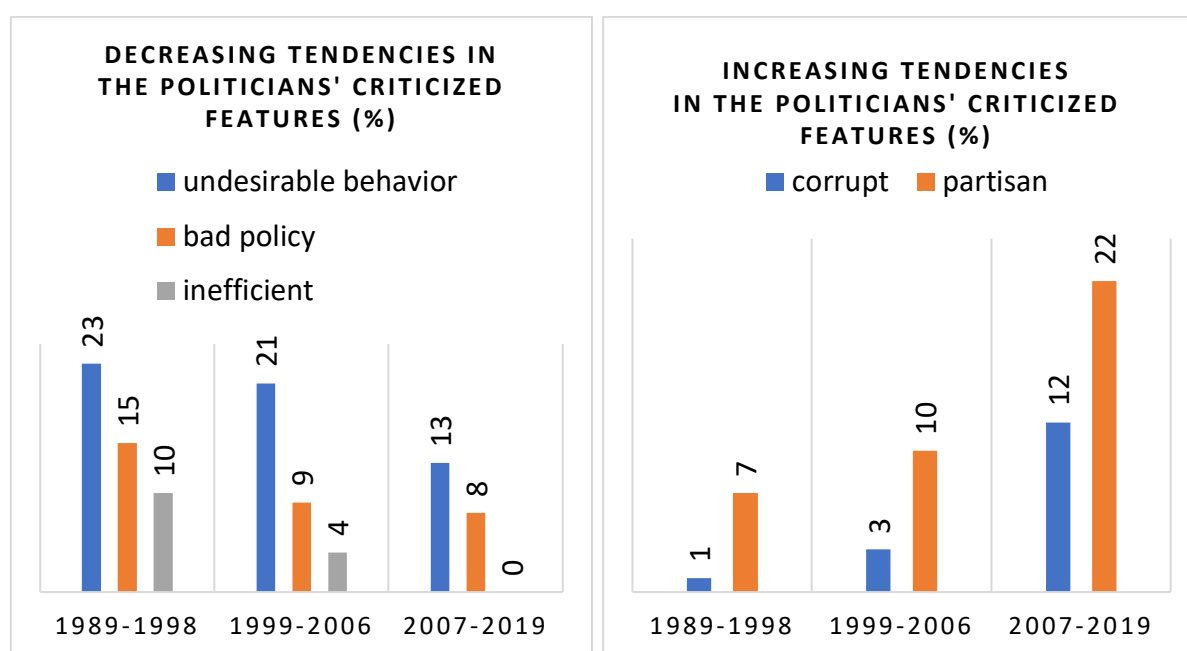


Table 4.9 Decreasing tendencies in the politicians' criticized features (%)

Table 4.10 Increasing tendencies in the politicians' criticized features (%)

(100% = 164, 150, and 223, no. of cartoon showing politicians' criticized features in various periods of democracy)

Despite stereotypes, editorial cartoons judge politicians differently from time to time. As for the first period, it could be seen that politicians were often depicted childish who did not really know how to practice their profession. During transition, being a politician meant something different compared to the politician's role in socialism.⁹⁰ Ordinarily, politicians were mocked for their undesirable behavior (23%). It was followed by such negative characteristics as

⁹⁰ Editorial cartoons published around the change of the system often portray politicians as acting on a central directive. For instance, the daily instructions can be found at the entrance of the Parliament or at the cloakroom.

immorality (18%) and bad policymaking (15%). Although some of the features were not among the most frequent one, we can still state that these got the highest scores in the first period. These features are incompetency (13%) and inefficiency (10%). In that way, we can get a matrix of politicians' most stereotypical features which mostly ridiculed the novelty of political existence, ignorance, and operational difficulties.

To exemplify the representation of the undesirable behavior, consider Figure 4.8. It depicts prominent members of the Fidesz-KDNP coalition (the speaker is the leader of the Fidesz, Viktor Orbán) in the Assembly Hall. The article alongside the editorial cartoon explained that Viktor Orbán announced a policy of being out of law. It meant that the coalition did not agree with the President, Göncz's decision on the referendum on the NATO accession and the right to purchase land. In the cartoon, the politicians are rendered with slingshots which metonymically recalls childhood. In that way, the reader can construe the conceptual metaphor according to which THE POLITICIANS ARE NAUGHTY BOYS, who do not care about regulations.



Figure 4.8 Politicians' criticized feature: undesirable behavior

Title: Out of Law

Speech bubble: That's right, Buddies, the lamp first.⁹¹

In the second period, during consolidated democracy immorality (31%) became politicians' determining feature but this feature was still followed by undesirable behavior (21%). As for

⁹¹ 11.10.1997, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Papai

immorality, most of the time politicians were rendered as liars, sometimes they were not afraid of using of immunity to conceal their own guilt, usually agreed on the disproportionate increase of their salaries at the expense of taxpayers, and often made false promises.

The last is illustrated in Figure 4.9 where most probably the Prime Minister's Office is represented; the picture of the Parliament hangs on the wall. The caption of the editorial cartoon refers to the upcoming elections and absurd, unreal promises of a party: "We are the ones who win the retirees, boss! The others only promise to increase pensions and reduce prices, but we will also include in our promises an increase in low blood pressure and a reduction in high blood pressure." As the article alongside the cartoon comments the ongoing election campaign, in an aging society, elections can be highly dependent on the votes of retirees, so parties do everything they can do to win their favor.



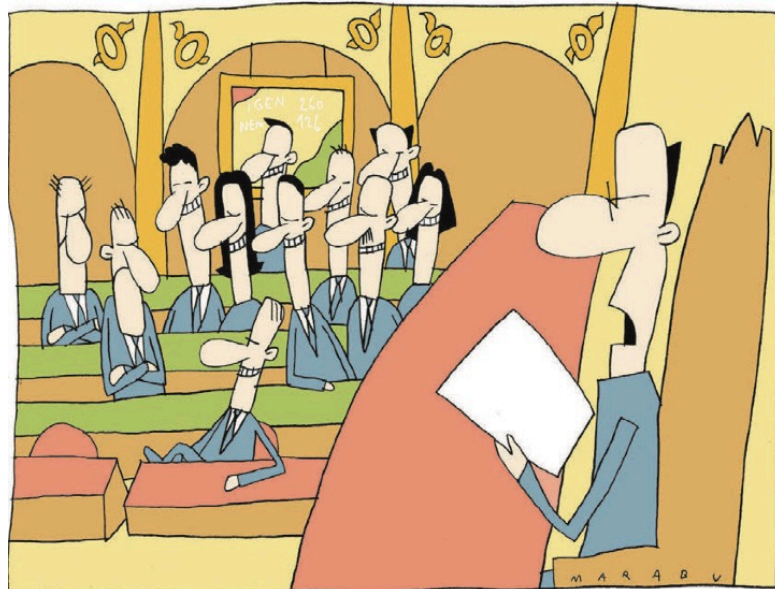
Figure 4.9 Politicians' criticized feature: immorality

Caption: We are the ones who win the retirees, boss! The others only promise to increase pensions and reduce prices, but we will also include in our promises an increase in low blood pressure and a reduction in high blood pressure.⁹²

⁹² 2006.1.25, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

In the third period, during the crisis and regime change, immorality (24%) and partisanship (22%) were politicians' characteristics judged the most. In addition, as we already mentioned when we pointed out the main trends over the years, politicians were mocked for their corrupt behavior (12%) the most during this period.

Now we provide an example for the illustration of partisanship which appeared in the highest number during this period. Partisanship was detected when oppression was shown, and clear dominance occurred in the positions of power which has been realized in favor of one of the parties. These were usually connected to political negotiations depicted as aggressive physical fights, law-making procedures which were related to forcing a politician to vote or linked to the two-thirds dominant position of Fidesz. The last is shown in Figure 4.10 where the two-thirds majority enjoys unlimited power over even the smallest matters (here, it metonymically appears via the metonymic source of the use of restrooms in the Parliament where the order of arrival is usually authoritative); the absurdity of the situation is indicated by the fact that the novel regulation is supported by law as well: "The Honorable House voted 260 in favor and 128 against that from now on, all 128 opposition MPs are required to let any of the 260 pro-government MPs in front of them in the bathroom." The article alongside the cartoon demonstrates the party coalition operating with a two-thirds majority that can extend its power to all aspects of legislation.



- A T. Ház 260 igennel 128 nem ellenében megszavazta, hogy mostantól mind a 128 ellenzéki képviselő köteles a mosdóban maga elé engedni bármelyik kormánypárti képviselőt a 260-ból
Marabu rajza

Figure 4.10 Politicians' criticized feature: partisanship

Caption: The Honorable House voted 260 in favor and 128 against that from now on, all 128 opposition MPs are required to let any of the 260 pro-government MPs in front of them in the bathroom.⁹³

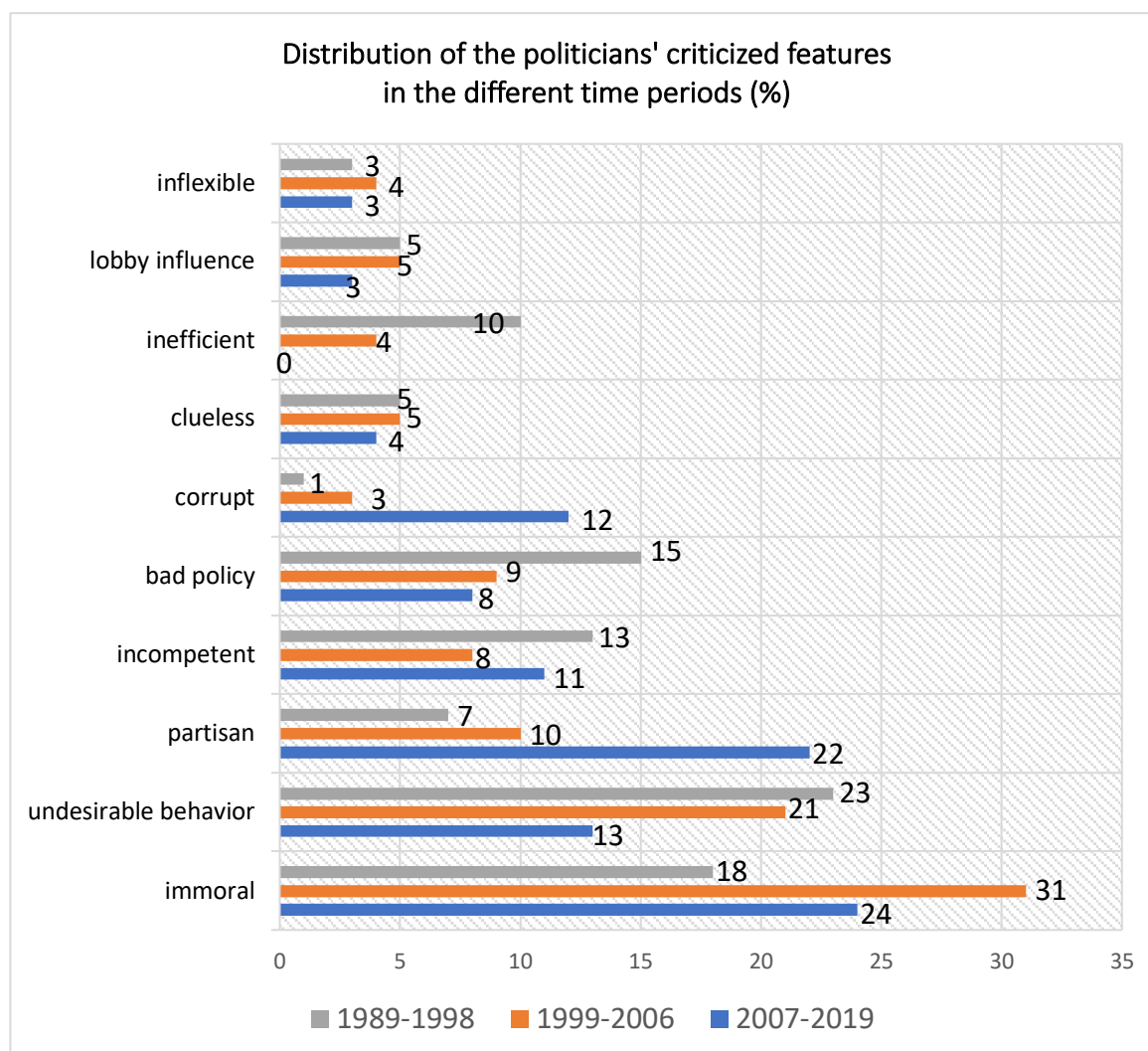


Table 4.11 Distribution of politicians' criticized features in the different time periods in the corpus (%)
(100% = 164, 150, and 223, no. of cartoon showing politicians' criticized features in various periods of democracy)

Summary

To conclude, 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

⁹³ 6.3.2010, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

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 the important statement that stereotypes seem constant, but their prototypes are variable.

This statement is also important in the sense of democracy which proved to be a very complex and abstract concept, consisted of numerous principles. We could observe the major principles, however, by which people envisioned democratic functioning of the parliament. 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.

Overall, we must remark that we do not have measurement of the extent to which the changes depicted in the editorial cartoons correspond to the changes described by political science or media science. Even if we focused on the representation of violated democratic values linked to the Parliament in editorial cartoons, however, it can be argued that these representations show similar trends as some sociological measurement. As for satisfaction with democracy in Hungary, sociological polls (Susánszky et al., 2021) pointed out that from 2008 on, people have been more and more satisfied with democracy, but there is an increase in the polarization in people's opinion. It means that pro-government voters are more satisfied; in parallel, anti-government voters are more critical and they do not see a functioning democracy in Hungary. These 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). Similarly, as we could observe in the case of our corpus analysis, the economic aspect of democracy was always important (e.g., unfair wages, or high inflation were criticized in editorial cartoons), but the display of criticism of the economic aspect has steadily declined over the years. Just like in the case of the poll (Susánszky et al., 2021), lack of freedom (linked to information, or press) appeared in higher number than the prosperous economic aspect of democracy.

Based on the analyses, we can only state that the concepts of “politician” and “democracy” presented in editorial cartoons have changed over time.⁹⁴ As for the concept of politician, it could be seen that after the change of the system it was considered such a profession which has to be learned, there were no established rules, politicians depicted did not know how to behave in the parliament and tried their limits. In the second period, politicians presented started to enjoy their power, in parallel, political negotiations were imitated between opponents (who acted like actors in a show). Then as we could see in editorial cartoons of the third period, politicians got to know how to abuse of their power, and they did it in public, for they seemed stronger. The change in the meaning of the political profession can be described through the analyses of politicians’ criticized features in editorial cartoons. The investigation of how it is related to the concept of the politician outside the cartoon world goes far beyond the scope of the dissertation.

Through the content analysis of the violated democratic features, it became visible that the democratic operation did not mean the same over the years. The economic catching-up and general well-being seem to be key factors in characteristics of democracy, especially in the first period. In the second period, the consensual democracy was imaged as more ideal. While in the third period, curbing of corruption and the freedom of personal human rights, minority, the freedom of press, speech, and information became more desirable. Both the concept of “politician” and “democracy” have changed over the years and diverse prototypical features came to the fore in the corpus.

⁹⁴ In parallel, we must notice that global changes show similarities, for instance, the increased occurrences of the depiction of corruption and partisanship linked to politicians in editorial cartoons (Frantzich, 2013).

The next chapter discusses the cognitive devices and their co-operation in the corpus, highlights tendencies based on the frequency of conceptual metonymies, conceptual metaphors, and ironies in diverse periods of democracy. Types and tendencies are illustrated with the analyses of editorial cartoons.

Chapter 5: Metonymy, Metaphor, and Irony

Among the cognitive devices, the distribution and features of conceptual metonymy, conceptual metaphor and irony will be discussed. As for conceptual metonymies, it will be seen how the visually represented parliamentary elements can determine potential metonymic target domains due to formal and semantic reasons. In the case of conceptual metaphors, the multilevel view will be applied (Kövecses, 2020), and in that, domain-level metaphoric sources used to express the political content (usually in the form of POLITICS IS X), at the same time, frame-level metaphoric sources linked to the target frame of THE PARLIAMENT will also be outlined, and these can describe more specific mappings with regard to the Parliament (THE PARLIAMENT IS Y). Then in some cases, we detail mental-space level metaphors in order to point out the possible operation of online processes on a more specific level, even more specific than frame-level metaphors, and these will be illustrated with examples. Then the most characteristic features, that is, unique perspectivization of the domain-level metaphoric sources will be demonstrated according to the various periods of democracy (Körösenyi, 2015). The chapter concludes with the presentation of the two types of irony in diverse periods of democracy which leads to the detection of changes in communication strategies.

5.1 Conceptual metonymy

As for the editorial cartoons of the corpus, the criterion of the selection is based on the explicit visible (e.g., dome) or verbal (e.g., Honorable House) reference of the Parliament. Due to this criterion, the identification of conceptual metonymies in which the PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR X is necessarily based on the primary part-for-the-whole metonymy where an ARCHITECTURAL PART OF THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT (BUILDING) or ANY OF THE VERBAL NAMES (e.g., HOUSE) STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT (BUILDING). Metonymic representation of the Parliament is thus true of all editorial cartoons of the corpus in this sense which follows the conceptual metonymic chain:



Table 5.1 Metonymic chain shown in a flowchart

Regarding conceptual metonymies, the subject of the investigation is whether the building goes beyond this literary meaning. In other words, the question is whether the building of the Parliament does stand for some more abstract concept (THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR X). Based on previously established conceptual metonymies related to buildings in general, the following metonymic target domains are expected to occur in this specific corpus: POLITICAL EVENT/ACTION, POLITICAL TOPIC, GOVERNMENT, POLITICIAN(S), POWER, PARLIAMENT (INSTITUTION), PEOPLE (HUNGARIANS), COUNTRY (HUNGARY), CITY (BUDAPEST), and OTHERS.

After the analyses, we claim that certain elements of the Parliament trigger specific metonymic targets (e.g., the parliamentary lions are likely to stand for the politicians). The investigation is not able to show the reasons behind this phenomenon, but semantic and visual formats of the elements can be suspected as possible causes.⁹⁵ Overall, it is supposed that links between metonymical target domains and parliamentary elements (considered as metonymical source domains) are motivated by the visual format of the parliamentary element as much as the semantic content of that. The relationships are shown in Table 5.2.

The following subsections (5.1.1 – 5.1.5) will explain the data seen in Table 5.2 from the most common parliamentary element (Assembly Hall) to the least common (verbal reference of the Parliament). At first glance, it can be said that political events and actions are usually associated with the Assembly Hall (THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS) and the verbal expression of the Parliament (THE VERBAL REFERENCE OF THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS), political topic in general mostly appears through the depiction of the corridor (THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC) or the building (THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC). The government, politicians, and people mainly appear through the representation of the parliamentary lions (THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS STAND FOR THE GOVERNMENT/POLITICIANS/PEOPLE), while the power and the institution of the parliament are expressed via the image of the dome (THE DOME STANDS FOR THE POWER/THE INSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT). The metonymic target of the country and the city are rarely depicted and then through the image of the dome or the building (THE

⁹⁵ The same potential causes, namely visual format and semantic features seem to motivate metaphorical relationships as well. For instance, certain metaphor types tend to be linked with certain visual parliamentary elements (e.g., visual hybrid is usually linked to the dome) based on its simple visual format, easy to transform into something else. In parallel, domain-level metaphors (referring to the political content) tend to be linked with certain parliamentary elements (e.g., the source domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT is likely to relate to the ASSEMBLY HALL). Most probably, it is because of the semantic content of the Assembly Hall, namely that it is a place for political negotiations which is easy to relate to physical conflict.

DOME can STAND FOR THE COUNTRY/THE CITY, THE BUILDING can STAND FOR THE COUNTRY/THE CITY).

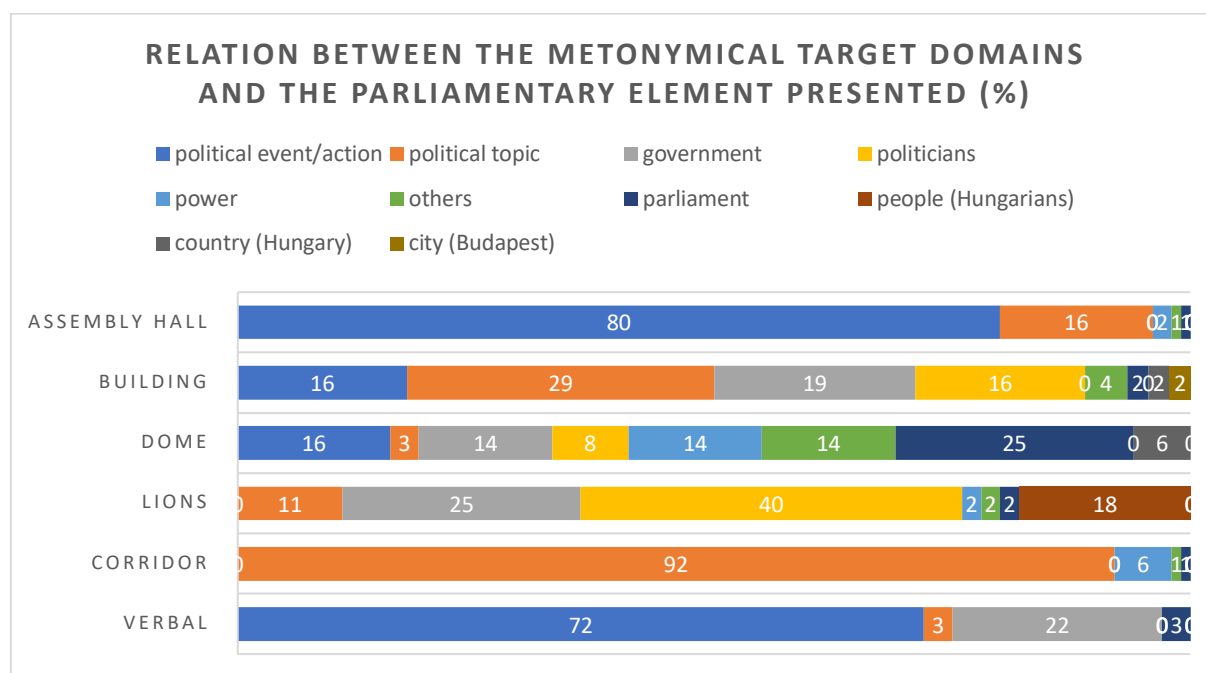


Table 5.2 The relationship between the metonymical target domains and the parliamentary elements (considered as metonymical source domains) presented in the corpus (%)

5.1.1 The ASSEMBLY HALL as a metonymic source

In most cases, THE ASSEMBLY HALL (80%)⁹⁶ STANDS FOR VARIOUS POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS. Depiction of specific parts of the Assembly Hall can recall specific political events and actions such as the representation of a podium usually refers to a parliamentary speech (Figure 5.1), while the voting buttons can stand for law-making procedures (Figure 5.2). By focusing on the rows and placing politicians in the Assembly Hall, the Assembly Hall can stand for the presentation of different parties, opponents, faction formations and the procedure of transition to another party (Figure 5.3).

As for the podium, it can belong to the Speaker of the House (Figure 5.1), when it is more related to the act of warning, disciple, or power over others. In Figure 5.1, the Speaker of

⁹⁶ 80% of the representations of the Assembly Hall metonymically stand for more specific political event or action, another 16% of the depictions of the Assembly Hall can stand for the political topic (namely the representation of the hall itself helps to decipher whether the topic is related to politics and the functioning of the parliament).

the House is sitting up on a “throne” with eyes closed (perhaps he looks down expressing his own power and the belittling of the other). Indeed, a politician from the opposition with widened and confused eyes (perhaps he expresses his surprise and indecision) cannot finish his speech because the Speaker interrupts him by saying “Honorable Opposition Party MP, your two minutes for treason is over”. The act of warning happens via the abuse of power expressed visually as well by the division of the space that shows 2/3 (for the powerful) and 1/3 ratio (for the less powerful), and also by positioning the figures up and down. Beside warning, the Speaker uses an offensive verbally aggressive expression in which he metaphorically calls the speech of the opposition a treason, consequently according to the Speaker of the House, the opposition party politician can metaphorically be understood as a traitor.



Figure 5.1 Conceptual metonymy: THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR A POLITICAL ACTION (WARNING)

Speech bubble: Honorable Opposition Party MP, your two minutes for treason is over.⁹⁷

In editorial cartoons, one of the most popular political actions in relation to the Assembly Hall is the procedure of law-making, which mostly focuses on such questions as politicians' responsibility, indifference, or their dependent situation from parties and party factions. In Figure 5.2, an MP seems hesitating over two buttons, both tagged by “yes”. We do not know whether he is surprised because of the presence of the two “yes” buttons, or he simply cannot decide which one to press. One of his colleagues (he is portrayed as whispering to the clueless one) is surely a silly guy, who seems confident and happy that democracy works such an easy

⁹⁷ 11.5.2012, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

way and says: “Do you remember how difficult the democracy was in the beginning? We thought we could never learn that...” In fact, it seems that he does not recognize that there is no choice here and it is not a democratic legislative process at all.



Figure 5.2 Conceptual metonymy: THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR A POLITICAL ACTION
(LAW-MAKING PROCEDURE)

Caption: Do you remember how difficult democracy was in the beginning? We thought we could never learn that...⁹⁸

Lastly, the Assembly Hall often depicted with a horseshoe shape or with the rows of seats, where the politicians are grouped in different ways (they often fight against each other or move to another place of another party faction). The location of politicians corresponds to the ideological position they represent, so it also means party affiliation (THE PARTY AFFILIATION OF A POLITICIAN IS A PHYSICAL POSITION IN THE ROWS OF THE PARLIAMENT). It is illustrated well in Figure 5.3 in which by the end of the parliamentary term, the politicians rather want to become Independent which obscures their political ideological position (BEING WITHOUT PARTY AFFILIATION IS BEING PHYSICALLY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROW). Independency is chosen by the politicians in order to have more chance to retain their positions in the upcoming elections. In the editorial cartoon, only the party leaders remain in their original places.

⁹⁸ 30.1.2002, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

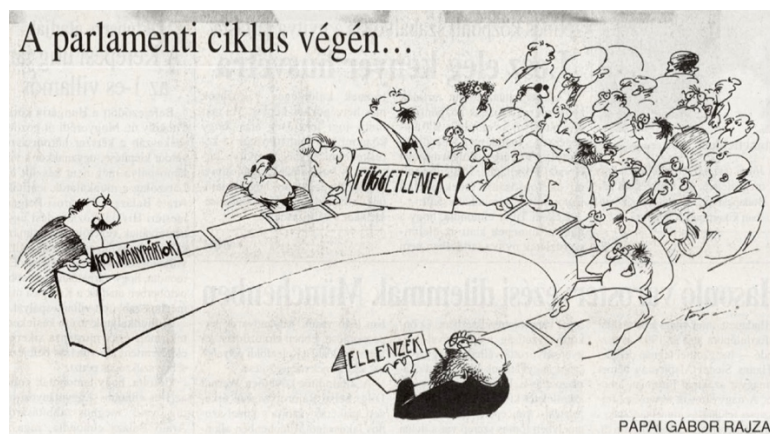


Figure 5.3 Conceptual metonymy: THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR A POLITICAL ACTION
(CHANGING POSITION that metaphorically further refers to CHANGING IDEOLOGY)

Title: At the end of the parliamentary term...

Captions: Pro-government Parties, Independents, Opposition⁹⁹

Altogether, as the examples showed before, THE ASSEMBLY HALL as a metonymic source domain can STAND FOR the metonymic target of such POLITICAL ACTIONS as giving a speech, warning, law-making procedure, and it can also stand for positioning the politicians (metaphorically referring to their party affiliation).

5.1.2 The BUILDING as a metonymic source

Ordinarily, the building of the Parliament (29%) (just like the corridor, 92%) metonymically refers to the political topic in general. It only suggests that here something will be told about the field of politics including political affairs, political participants, and sometimes the citizens as well.

To illustrate it, consider Figure 5.4¹⁰⁰ where three little thin people in patched clothes are going to fight (demonstrate) for equality. At the very same time, a large enthusiastic figure, a man in a black suit appears behind them with an outstretched hand in fist who pretends to sympathize the objective of the demonstration and expresses that he also supports equality in tax payment. We can construe two conceptual metonymies here which are based on stereotypes, namely PEOPLE IN PATCHED CLOTHES STAND FOR THE MASS OF POOR PEOPLE and ONE MAN IN

⁹⁹ 8.4.1993, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

¹⁰⁰ The article accompanying the editorial cartoon confirms that the lowest income earners should be helped, and cultural and welfare functions should be independent of centralizing measures by the state.

BLACK SUIT STAND FOR THE NARROW STRATUM OF RICH PEOPLE. In the up-right corner of the cartoon a small black building, the Parliament can be seen which was identified as a metonymical source domain standing for the political topic. The ironic approach of the editorial cartoon heavily depends on the polysemous meaning of equality involving the meaning of social equality and the meaning of equal tax burden. For the poor people, of course, the first becomes relevant, while for the rich, the second one is a much more reasonable goal (though morally questionable). The two meanings of equality are mutually exclusive concepts and in fact, equal tax burden can never provide equality in the society.



Figure 5.4 Conceptual metonymy: THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE TOPIC (SOCIAL INEQUALITY)

Speech bubble 1: I absolutely agree with the claim.

Speech bubble 2: I am also a proponent of equal tax burdens.

Caption: Equality!¹⁰¹

In more concrete cases (supported by actual political knowledge), THE BUILDING can metonymically STAND FOR THE GOVERNMENT (19%). Sometimes different associations are indicated by the position, the size, and the color of the building (e.g., DARK/BLACK COLOR OF THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE BAD/IMMORAL ENTITY).

In Figure 5.5¹⁰², a couple walking in the foreground is discussing government corruption. Humor stems from the fact that the woman seems to judge the situation negatively,

¹⁰¹ 18.3.2013, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

¹⁰² The editorial cartoon itself reflects on an international report focusing on the Central and Eastern European situation where Hungary got worse score than in previous years. Regarding transparency, Hungary preserved its position, however, it does not mean any positive result either.

while the man favors corruption, which he interprets as a positive political act that helps society. So corruption is framed differently by the two parties. The couple represents the Hungarian citizens in general, more specifically, THE WOMAN STANDS FOR ANTI-GOVERNMENT CITIZENS, while THE MAN STANDS FOR PRO-GOVERNMENT CITIZENS. Additionally, the man expresses that the woman does not actually understand politics (“Keep silence, Margit, you never understood politics!”), which is a form of verbal aggression (in the form of sexism) against the woman. In this case, we can construe the conceptual metonymy THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT. The identification of the metonymic target of the GOVERNMENT is supported by the verbal text according to which “in these difficult days, it is specifically important to stand in favor of the policy of the government.”

In sum, through the examples, we could see that the BUILDING of the Parliament can metonymically STAND FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC in general, however, in some more concrete cases, THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT (BUILDING STANDS FOR THE INSTITUTION). The former has the function of locating, directing readers’ attention to the political subject. The latter, however, is more strongly critical of the leading institution, and sometimes even names some of its members.



Figure 5.5 Conceptual metonymy: THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT

Speech bubble 1: Keep silence, Margit, you never understood politics!

Speech bubble 2: Believe me, it is specifically important to stand in favor of the policy of the government in these difficult days.

Caption (on the board): They steal for us, not against us!¹⁰³

¹⁰³ 22.4.2017, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Marabu

5.1.3 The DOME as a metonymic source

We should consider that the parliamentary dome has a small number of occurrences in the total corpus (36 out of 585), however, this is the only parliamentary element that can express the widest range of metonymic targets such as the PARLIAMENT (25%), POLITICAL EVENT/ACTION (16%), GOVERNMENT (14%), POWER (14%), POLITICIANS (8%), THE COUNTRY (6%), THE POLITICAL TOPIC (3%), and OTHERS (14%).

When the dome metonymically represents the parliament, it often refers to various election campaigns in which a politician or a party intends to enter the parliament. In Figure 5.6, the editorial cartoon shows the dome in the center of the image surrounded by six floating men who resemble angels with their outstretched arms. These “angels” around the dome recall the visual images of the domes of churches which usually show the heaven in a very similar way. By knowing the article that accompanied the editorial cartoon, it can be concluded that these MEN metonymically STAND FOR VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES (Fidesz, FKGP, MDF, MSZP, SZDSZ, and KDNP) who got into the parliament (represented metonymically by the dome) during the elections of 1998. Thus, the conceptual metonymy THE DOME STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT is construed. What makes it more humorous is that at the frame level the parliament can metaphorically be understood as the heaven/celestial Jerusalem (at frame level the conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT IS THE HEAVEN/CELESTIAL JERUSALEM occurs) within the depicted domain-level metaphoric source of CHRISTIANITY (at domain level the conceptual metaphor THE BUILDING IS A CHRISTIAN PLACE occurs).



Figure 5.6 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ 2.1.1999, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Pál Léphaft

The next editorial cartoon (Figure 5.7) presents a visual hybrid made up of the parliamentary dome and an alarm clock. This is a metonymical hybrid where the abovementioned two metonymical source domains together stand for the beginning of the parliamentary session (indicated by the title of the cartoon). The dome can be associated with the parliamentary session (considered as a political event) but it can also be understood as a place for the parliamentary session, while the alarm clock is more linked to the beginning (of the day). It can be formulated as follows: THE DOME STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION/PLACE FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, in parallel, another conceptual metonymy occurs, namely THE ALARM CLOCK STANDS FOR THE BEGINNING OF AN EVENT. The visual fusion of the two metonymic source domains (THE DOME and THE ALARM CLOCK) results in the combination of the metonymic target domains (THE BEGINNING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION), expressed verbally in the title of the editorial cartoon. Humor stems from the representation of the five-pointed star at the top of the dome that corresponds to the indicator of an alarm clock. THE FIVE-POINTED STAR can be understood as a metonymy that STANDS FOR THE PAST SOCIALIST POLITICAL REGIME and depicting it in motion can also express the displacement of the past system (THE MOTION OF THE FIVE-POINTED STAR STANDS FOR THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME). This understanding raises the stakes, as the parliamentary session no longer signals the old system but the advent of a new one.

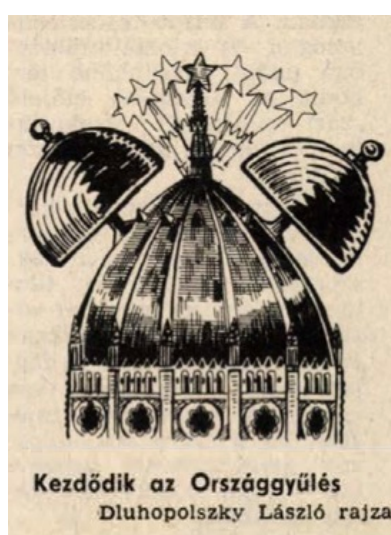


Figure 5.7 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL EVENT (THE BEGINNING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION)

The next editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.8¹⁰⁶ presents a metaphorical hybrid where the conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS A HOISTING CRANE can be construed. The metaphoric target of THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME, however, metonymically STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT (more precisely the Ministry of Finance; thus, at mental-space level the conceptual metaphor THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE IS A HOISTING CRANE occurs) while the driver of the hoisting crane can represent the Minister of Finance. The lifted objects metonymically stand for different services and products (e.g., CONTAINERS STAND FOR OIL, GAS, PETROL, AND TOBACCO) while their rise represents the rise in prices. It is confirmed by the sign of % which stands for high inflation (caused by the Ministry of Finance supported by the government). It is all subordinate to the conceptual metaphor according to which MAINTAINING THE PRICES ARTIFICIALLY IS UPLIFTING THE OBJECTS PHYSICALLY.



Figure 5.8 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT (THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE)

¹⁰⁵ 27.6.1989, *Népszava*, drawn by László Dluhopolszky

¹⁰⁶ According to the accompanying article, consumer standards of 2000 were still 10% lower than in 1988. After 1999, inflation decreased and slowed down, but 10% of inflation is still high because it reduces investor incentive, and it also affects the public sector and pensioners.

In another editorial cartoon (Figure 5.9), a person is stretched between the parliamentary dome and an armchair (which is placed on bundle of money). He is clinging to the objects with both his hands and feet; this physical act metaphorically represents the excessive effort to retain positions of power. The editorial cartoon shows adherence to different powerful positions: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR POWER (provided by the political sphere) while THE ARMCHAIR STANDS FOR ANOTHER TYPE OF POWER (provided by leadership position in a public institution).¹⁰⁸ In 1997, a bill was submitted to eliminate the conflict of interest, but finally, its discussion was postponed due to the upcoming elections. In 1999, a novel version of the bill was filed which openly discussed the conflicting positions, for instance, the head of a public institute could not be the head of a municipally owned company at the same time.

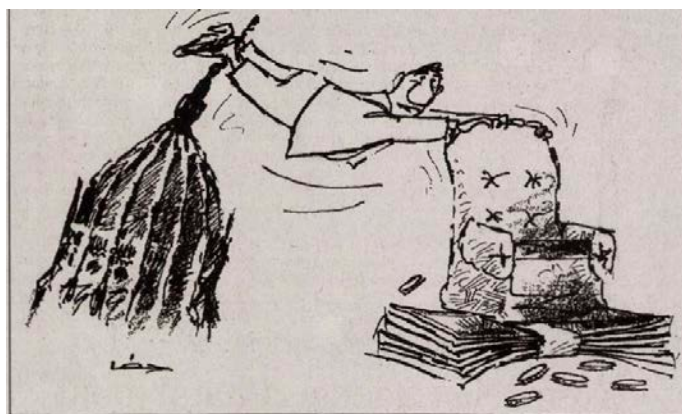


Figure 5.9 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE POWER/POWERFUL POSITION¹⁰⁹

Due to its shape, the parliamentary dome is likely to appear as a hat, however, as a hat it can express several metonymic target domains. For instance, the politician can appear as a clown with a hat (where THE DOME STANDS FOR THE PROFESSION, THE HAT STANDS FOR THE CLOWN), but it can also be a nightcap for the Minister of Finance (Mihály Kupa) with the reference of

¹⁰⁷ 15.1.2001, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Tibor Kaján

¹⁰⁸ Due to the physical context and the shape of the dome, the dome itself can be metaphorically understood as a chandelier (in that case, THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS A CHANDELIER). The features of the chandelier such as being up in an instable position, a place from which it is easy to fall can be mapped onto the target domain of the parliament (the power) represented by the parliamentary dome.

¹⁰⁹ 3.9.1999, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Pál Léphaft

night-long parliamentary negotiations on the state budget (where THE DOME STANDS FOR THE PLACE OF THE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS, THE NIGHTCAP STANDS FOR THE TIME OF THE EVENT). Consider figure 5.10¹¹⁰ where Uncle State (a pejorative male personification of the Hungarian state) is wearing the dome as a hat, while he is leaving a brothel. Thus, THE DOME itself STANDS FOR POWER/POWERFUL POSITION which makes it easier to understand the Hungarian state as a person. In the domain-level metaphoric source of THE BROTHEL VISIT, cultural sectors (metonymically represented by the muses) are depicted as prostitutes and leaving the prostitutes without payment points out that the state spent less and less state budget on culture after 1989.



Figure 5.10 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR POWER/POWERFUL POSITION

Title: Uncle State is leaving culture¹¹¹

In sum, through the examples we could observe that THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME could metonymically STAND FOR THE PARLIAMENT, POLITICAL EVENT/ACTION, GOVERNMENT, and POWER, among others. Interestingly, the parliamentary dome was such a parliamentary element that mostly appeared in the period of transition (in the form of visual hybrids, for further details, see Virág, 2022b).

¹¹⁰ No specific political topic was found.

¹¹¹ 30.6.1989, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Tibor Kaján

5.1.4 The PARLIAMENTARY LIONS as a metonymic source

Like the parliamentary dome, the representation of the parliamentary lions at the entrance is not that frequent in the total corpus (51 out of 585, its distribution is almost the same in different periods), however, it has its special characteristic features namely that THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS can metonymically STAND FOR THE POLITICIANS¹¹² (40%), THE GOVERNMENT (25%), and even FOR THE HUNGARIAN CITIZENS (18%). The great advantage of lions is that they can be easily personified as living beings, they have emotions that are conveyed through their gestures, facial expressions, and speech.¹¹³ Presumably, due to their special position at the entrance, they can create in-group and out-group approaches, namely they are close enough to the politicians to become one of them, but at the same time, they are out of the Parliament, therefore, they can comment the political affairs from the perspective of the citizens.

Consider an illustration of the parliamentary lions standing for the politicians. In Figure 5.11, one of the male lions has been replaced with a lioness (illustrated by the lack of a mane and large lashes). They are both sitting firmly, their eyes closed. Three people are staring at the lions, looking clueless and confused while the image is captioned by a question: “The lioness is done, but how do we put another ten percent leopard here?” The editorial cartoon shows “an artificial solution to ensuring women’s equality, namely a fifty-fifty split which takes into account two biological sexes. The question regarding the leopard is a rhetorical one aimed at critiquing excessive political correctness. Additional emphasis is placed on the perceived impossibility of hypercorrection by expressing the number of leopards as a percentage.” (Virág, 2022a in press) The article published alongside the cartoon discusses the necessity of a gender-based quota among parliamentary representatives. Hence, THE LIONS metonymically STAND FOR

¹¹² It can be assumed that the viewer construes the conceptual metaphor POLITICIAN IS A LION, but in the dissertation, we suggest a conceptual metonymic connection between the parliamentary lions and the politicians; thus, we support the construction of the conceptual metonymy THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS STAND FOR POLITICIANS. Due to the specific position of the lions (as they are part of the Parliament), both parliamentary lions and politicians belong to the domain of POLITICS. The situation would be different in the case of another type of animal (e.g., cat, dog, dragon), which is distant from politics.

¹¹³ In a pilot study (Virág, 2022a in press), it was investigated how and what types of emotions are conveyed by the parliamentary lions. The results show that opposition/tension, self-confidence, puzzlement, disappointment with jealousy, fear with surprise, and ignorance are expressed metonymically when THE LIONS STAND FOR THE POLITICIANS. If THE LIONS STAND FOR THE GOVERNMENT, then puzzlement, meanness, anger, self-confidence, discipline with fear, pride, and unhealthy condition with dizziness appear. When THE LIONS STAND FOR THE PEOPLE, they only express disappointment (they do not even want to see the political events).

THE FEMALE AND MALE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES. The placement of the lions only provides two possibilities, one on the right and another one on the left side of the staircase mimicking the bipolar view on sexes, which excludes the option of adding a percentage.



Figure 5.11 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS STAND FOR THE POLITICIANS

Caption: The girl lion is done, but how do we put another ten percent leopard here?¹¹⁴

The following example shown in Figure 5.12, presents how THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS CAN STAND FOR VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS. At the bottom of the picture, THE DEAD LION (in lying pose with closed eyes, its teeth are knocked out, its claws are torn off so deprived of its power) STANDS FOR THE OLD PARTY STATE that is motivated by the caption (“The remnant of the party state”) on a sheet of paper in front of the animal. In the upper left corner, a visibly strong lion is roaring into the air with its head held high while a board captioned by “100 days of mercy” is placed in front of it. This caption recalls the political moment when József Antall, the first freely elected Hungarian prime minister asked the press (and the people) to be patient with the new government for at least 100 days. Due to this verbal motivation, we can conclude that THE STRONG LION STANDS FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT formed in 1990.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ 30.7.2007, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

¹¹⁵ The two lions are included in the metaphoric source domain of Christianity at domain level, where the little man wearing a black suit in the center (understood as the “Press” according to the card on the table) plays the role



Figure 5.12 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS STAND FOR THE GOVERNMENT

Caption 1: 100 days of mercy

Caption 2: Press

Caption 3: The remnant of the party state¹¹⁶

Lastly, in Figure 5.13, it is shown how THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS can STAND FOR THE PEOPLE. The lion is raising its paw, and turning its head towards the ex-prime minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány. The animal is opening its mouth which could be understood as a visual synonym of the verbal expressions “painful” or “tiring”. On the basis of these visual gestures, the conceptual metonymy THE PARLIAMENTARY LION STANDS FOR THE PEOPLE was identified.¹¹⁷ It

of God in the Last Judgement (left side usually represents the heaven, while the right side depicts the hell just like here): the man points with one index finger upwards and the other downwards like God does in the images of the Last Judgement. Overall, the editorial cartoon highlights and criticizes the role of the media in propagating the new government and overthrowing the old one, that is, it says the media is not impartial at all.

¹¹⁶ 5.5.1990, *Népszabadság*, drawn by András Mészáros

¹¹⁷ The title of the cartoon, “Outside the Parliament” refers to Gyurcsány’s speech during a demonstration in September 2018. When the Sargentini Report was accepted by two-third of the European Parliament, the opposition parties (Democratic Coalition, Hungarian Socialist Party, and Dialogue Party) called the opposition voters for a demonstration, Gyurcsány (DC) said that dictatorships could only be overthrown in the streets (not within the building of the Parliament) and confirmed that the examples of Belgrade, Bratislava, or Cairo must be followed (17.9.2018, *Népszava*). In sum, the demonstrations were asked to stay in the streets until the fall of the

seems that the parliamentary lion (standing for the people) agrees with the prediction and expresses boredom, his doubts and disappointment about the Hungarian politics and Gyurcsány's personality.



Figure 5.13 Conceptual metonymy: THE PARLIAMENTARY LIONS STAND FOR THE PEOPLE

Title: Outside the Parliament

Speech bubble 1: We stay in the street until the fall of the government.

Speech bubble 2: Tomorrow stuffed cabbage will be on our menu.¹¹⁸

The highlighted examples linked to the parliamentary lions demonstrated how THE LIONS at the parliamentary entrance could metonymically STAND FOR THE GOVERNMENT, THE POLITICIANS and THE PEOPLE. Each case was illustrated by an example.

government. The cartoon introduces an ironic speech bubble coming out of the Parliament and warning us that “tomorrow stuffed cabbage would be on our menu.” As stuffed cabbage is a popular menu in Hungary, it sounds a positive announcement at first. However, this offer clashes against the character of Gyurcsány who seems to enter the Parliament. The irony is built upon the Hungarian saying according to which “only stuffed cabbage is good if reheated.” The saying usually evaluates a restarted process negatively, and suspects that everything will end in the same way as before. Therefore, the offer is considered as a warning according to which if Gyurcsány re-enters the Office of Prime Minister, it would lead to a political crisis again. Hence, the offer is not real, it is rather a warning which states that Ferenc Gyurcsány is not a proper stuffed cabbage, it should not be reheated.

¹¹⁸ 18.9.2018, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

5.1.5 The CORRIDOR as a metonymic source

The representation of the corridor significantly increased in the third period (7% of the total corpus in the first, 13% in the second, and 34% in the third period). In fact, after the parliamentary elements of the Assembly Hall and the building, this is the third most frequent parliamentary element in the total corpus. However, most of the time, we hardly have preconceptions and associations in connection with the corridor, therefore, it provides place for a wide range of political topics (among the recurring ones we can find networking, discussing faction and coalition formation strategies, politicians talking to each other, the awards are presented here (Figure 5.14), it can be a meeting place for the press and politicians (Figure 5.15), doors open from the corridor to the Prime Minister's Office (Figure 5.16), but the corridor is also a place for corrupt political affairs). Therefore, we know that when the corridor is depicted then a political topic will be performed in the editorial cartoon that is why the conceptual metonymy THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC is construed.

To illustrate typical representations of the corridor, consider the first example shown in Figure 5.14, where THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC that can be specified as an official ceremony. It is happening in the Parliament right now, where the laureates turn their backs on the prime minister (Viktor Orbán) and in a humorous way, they receive the ornate medals not over their hearts but on their buttocks. The article alongside the editorial cartoon asks whether there will be a time when the government starts using local brains and supporting research and development. Otherwise, as the author says, researchers will not stay at universities for that much salary. In that way, we can presume that THE AWARDED PEOPLE STAND FOR THE LOCAL RESEARCHERS. While fixing the medal over the heart would stand for the positive feedback toward the scientists (the heart as a body part stands for positive feelings), however, the act of fixing the medal on the researchers' buttocks can stand for the scientists leaving their career (the buttocks as body parts stand for negative feelings, while turning back can express leaving career or showing undesirable thing toward the political leadership). Humor is based on the contrast between solemnity and ridicule and the last seems invisible in the eyes of the political leadership.



Figure 5.14 Conceptual metonymy: THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC (OFFICIAL CEREMONY)¹¹⁹

The following editorial cartoon in Figure 5.15 describes another frequently occurring scene in the corridor, namely the meeting of the press (woman with a microphone) and a politician (in black suit) on the red carpet. The politician pretends to reply the questions posed by the press, but indeed, he refuses to answer questions without batting an eyelid as he says: “I do not comment on it. No comment.”. He even adds: “What was the third question? Ah, yeah. I do not comment on it at all.” In this case, the corridor stands for that particular place where, in principle, the press can address questions to politicians. These types of editorial cartoons usually separate the two parties, so the politician always gives an evasive answer or punishes the press in an extreme way (e.g., simply cuts off their hands).



Figure 5.15 Conceptual metonymy: THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC
(MEETING OF THE POLITICIANS AND THE PRESS)

Speech bubble 1: I do not comment on it. No comment.

¹¹⁹ 10.8.2015, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

And... What was the third question?

Speech bubble 2: Ah, yeah. I do not comment on it at all.¹²⁰

The last example linked to the corridor, Figure 5.16, introduces the representation of nepotism. It shows four people in different uniforms (a firefighter and three other people linked to the medical field) sitting on a bench in front of the Prime Minister's Office. Thus, the conceptual metonymy A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECTOR STANDS FOR THE ENTIRE SECTOR seems to work here. At this moment, a football player is being called by the secretary as the most urgent matter to be dealt with. Consequently, THE FOOTBALL PLAYER STANDS FOR THE FOOTBALL SECTOR THAT STANDS FOR THE MOST URGENT CASE IN THE COUNTRY, while THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MEDICAL FIELD STAND FOR THE MEDICAL SECTOR THAT STANDS FOR LESS URGENT CASE IN THE COUNTRY. According to the article alongside the editorial cartoon, a special type of tax (called "tao") has been flowing to sports organizations instead of the state treasury since 2011, while it is also mentioned in the article that 500 hospice beds would be needed in health care. In the conclusion, the author regrets that the prime minister wanted to be a football player and not a doctor as a child suggesting that there are individual interests and emotions behind the state promotion of sport. Here, the corridor is connected to a door into the Prime Minister's Office which usually provides better opportunities (through nepotism) for those who enter it.



Figure 5.16 Conceptual metonymy: THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC
(BETTER OPPORTUNITIES, NEPOTISM)

Caption: Office of the Prime Minister Emergency Department

¹²⁰ 1.9.2017, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Marabu

Speech bubble: Patience, patience! The really urgent matters need to be addressed first.¹²¹

The examples showed THE PARLIAMENTARY CORRIDOR as a metonymic source STANDING FOR certain POLITICAL TOPICS such as an official ceremony, meeting of the politicians and the press, and better opportunities (nepotism).

Summary

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.

We noticed that in diverse periods, different visual parts of the Parliament were preferred to be depicted in editorial cartoons which resulted in diverse conceptual metonymical target domains from era to era. 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. This is the period that shows the Parliament through the most type of architectural parts, and therefore through the most types of metonymic target domains. The Parliament metonymically can mean many different things in this period.

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. The emergence of the latter metonymic source domain (THE CORRIDOR) began to show the Parliament from a new aspect.

¹²¹ 3.11.2017, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Marabu

In the third period, during the crisis and regime change, the position of THE CORRIDOR became even stronger (appeared in higher number than before). It means that the depiction of THE ASSEMBLY HALL was followed by the representation of THE CORRIDOR, and they were followed far behind by the depiction of THE BUILDING. This also means that we increasingly see the Parliament through only two locations (namely the Assembly Hall and the corridor); thus, as the number of metonymic target domains decreases, the meaning of the Parliament narrows.

In the next section, we will focus on the metaphorical representation of the Parliament in editorial cartoon at the level of domain, frame, and mental spaces.

5.2 Conceptual metaphor

According to the previous cognitive linguistic literature (cf. Abdel-Raheem, 2019; El Refaie, 2003), conceptual metaphor turned out to be a significant cognitive device in the genre of political cartoon (and also in its subgenre, editorial cartoons). The present investigation aimed to identify conceptual metaphors according to the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020), namely it took into account the schematicity of metaphors. In doing so, Section 5.2.1 discusses the highly abstract domain-level metaphoric sources of the political field (considered as a target domain), and Section 5.2.2 elaborates the more concrete frame-level metaphoric sources of the PARLIAMENT (considered as target domain). Both sections draw conclusions for the whole corpus, interpret and explain the tendencies behind the use of metaphors in the framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2011). The last section linked to conceptual metaphors, Section 5.2.3 outlines the various periods of democracy (Körösényi, 2015) by highlighting the combinations of the most characteristic domain-level metaphoric sources in the corpus and emphasizing their unique features in each period.

As for the total corpus of the editorial cartoons (including 585 items), at frame-level, 302 editorial cartoons (52%) are considered metaphorical; thus, it involves the metaphorical representation of the Parliament in which the PARLIAMENT is understood as a metaphorical target domain, and it is expressed through various source domains. The rest of the corpus (283 items, 48% of the total) does not represent the target of the PARLIAMENT metaphorically. We can conclude that metaphorical representation matters in the case of the Parliament and the cartoonists expect readers to be able to identify the metaphor and even enjoy it.

In the previous subsection (5.1), we could see how various parliamentary elements could metonymically represent such metonymical target domains as the PARLIAMENT (as an

institution), GOVERNMENT, POLITICIANS, or in general a sort of POLITICAL TOPIC among others. These metonymies are often elaborated and used as active elements of metaphorical target domains, and in these cases, we can speak of metonymy-based metaphors. It can be formulated as follows, THE ARCHITECTURAL PART/VERBAL EXPRESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT THAT STANDS FOR X which builds up the conceptual metaphor X IS Y where X is a Parliament-related concept and Y, the source domain of the conceptual metaphor is a categorically diverse concept. To illustrate this procedure, consider the conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENT (BUILDING) IS AN ARENA. If the PARLIAMENT (BUILDING) STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT (INSTITUTION), then the relevant features of the source domain of the conceptual metaphor (ARENA with such attributes as bloody fight, cruelty, or ruthlessness) will be mapped onto the target domain of the PARLIAMENT (INSTITUTION). In that way, the metaphorical source (e.g., ARENA) is linked to the metonymical target (e.g., PARLIAMENT as an institution). It is important to note that just as in the case of parliamentary elements (linked to the metaphoric target domain), we can speak of a large amount of metonymic representation in the case of metaphoric source domains as well (it is usual that both domains of the conceptual metaphor are indicated metonymically).

Consider an example of a metaphoric representation of the Parliament in order to illustrate how conceptual metaphors at various levels can work. In case the reader has specific knowledge of the political event then mental-space (MS) level conceptual metaphors can be set up. If it is not the case, then the reader can still create the frame-level (FR) conceptual metaphor, for instance THE PARLIAMENT IS A THEATRE where the following mappings can occur: theatre play < politics, dialogues of a theatre play < parliamentary negotiations, and actors < politicians. The reader's comprehension process can be influenced by domain-level conceptual metaphors which are preserved in long-term memory (do not forget that other contextual factors also affect the metaphor interpretation process but that primarily happens at the mental spaces level). Here, the motivating domain-level (DM) conceptual metaphor can be POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT where we can set up the mapping where a place for entertainment < the Parliament. The image-schematic (IS) level which is the most abstract level according to Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory shows that POLITICS can be understood as a process (MOTION) but also as an entity/a product (OBJECT). Thus, we can summarize it as follows:

IS level:

COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEM (POLITICS) IS A SELF-PROPELLED MOTION

COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEM (POLITICS) IS A COMPLEX PHYSICAL OBJECT

DM level:

POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT

THE PARLIAMENT IS A PLACE FOR ENTERTAINMENT

FR level:

POLITICS IS A THEATRE PLAY

THE PARLIAMENT (metonymically represented by the Assembly Hall) IS A THEATRE

PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ARE DIALOGUES OF A THEATRE PLAY

POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS

MS level:

POLITICS IS A CABARET

THE PARLIAMENT IS A STAGE FOR A CABARET

PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ARE DIALOGUES OF THE CABARET “HACSEK AND SAJÓ”

FERENC GYURCSÁNY AND VIKTOR ORBÁN ARE HACSEK AND SAJÓ

In more complex cases, the metaphoric target domain of the PARLIAMENT can appear as the combination of more metaphoric source domains which can recall several metaphoric sources at the same time. Cognitive linguistic literature (cf. Gibbs, 2016) calls the conceptual metaphors with more sources mixed metaphors. For instance, at the frame level, the PARLIAMENT IS shown as a fusion of AN ARENA and A MODERN CIRCUS, which can be influenced by the domain-level conceptual metaphors according to which POLITICS IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT and POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT. Humorous understanding of the editorial cartoon can stem from the contradictory purposes and characteristics of the source domain, while in the arena the clash has a real consequence (death), on the stage it is all just part of the performance. We can formulate this process as follows:

DM level 1:

POLITICS IS A PHYSICAL CONFLICT

THE PARLIAMENT IS A PLACE FOR PHYSICAL CONFLICT

DM level 2:

POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT

THE PARLIAMENT IS A PLACE FOR ENTERTAINMENT

FR level 1:

POLITICS IS A GLADIATOR GAME

THE PARLIAMENT IS AN ARENA/COLOSSEUM

POLITICIANS ARE WILD ANIMALS

PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ARE FIGHTS

FR level 2:

POLITICS IS A CIRCUS PERFORMANCE

THE PARLIAMENT IS A CIRCUS

POLITICIANS ARE CIRCUS PERFORMERS

PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ARE PERFORMANCES

At the mental spaces level, the process of conceptual integration can be described with the help of Mental Space Theory model. The blended space, namely the editorial cartoon itself can be traced back to at least three different input spaces, two of them (GLADIATOR GAME and CIRCUS PERFORMANCE) are the source domains of the mixed metaphor (which is a conceptual blend) and the third input space (POLITICS) can be matched with the target domain of the mixed metaphor. As it can be seen in Figure 5.17 the various input spaces are made up of different elements. Dashed lines in the figure indicate possible structural correspondences between the different elements belonging to diverse input spaces. The straight lines show the elements that will be projected to the blend. The GLADIATOR GAME as an input space is not a very active one (if we look at the visual display), but it appears because of the depicted fight itself and the caption of the editorial cartoon referring to the quote “Panem et circenses”. Incongruencies of the blend are reflected in the differences in goals and consequences of the input spaces. From this point of view, the gladiator game usually ends with someone’s death and the distribution of bread (it satisfies the audience), in the case of a circus scene, the performance mostly ends with the applause of the audience (fight is only imitated and not ending with death of a performer) and the audience mostly experiences a feeling of liberation. In the field of politics, however, political negotiations have a different stake, they typically lead to the creation of new laws, prepare the introduction of new reforms that affect people’s life (no death, no applause, no audience). To reach these different goals the weapons are also different, in a gladiator game there are real weapons, in the circus false weapons can be used, while in the Assembly Hall negotiations are carried out by discussions (using pre-written speeches and impromptu talks). What is illustrated here, is the fact that editorial cartoons of the corpus can be traced back to more input spaces.

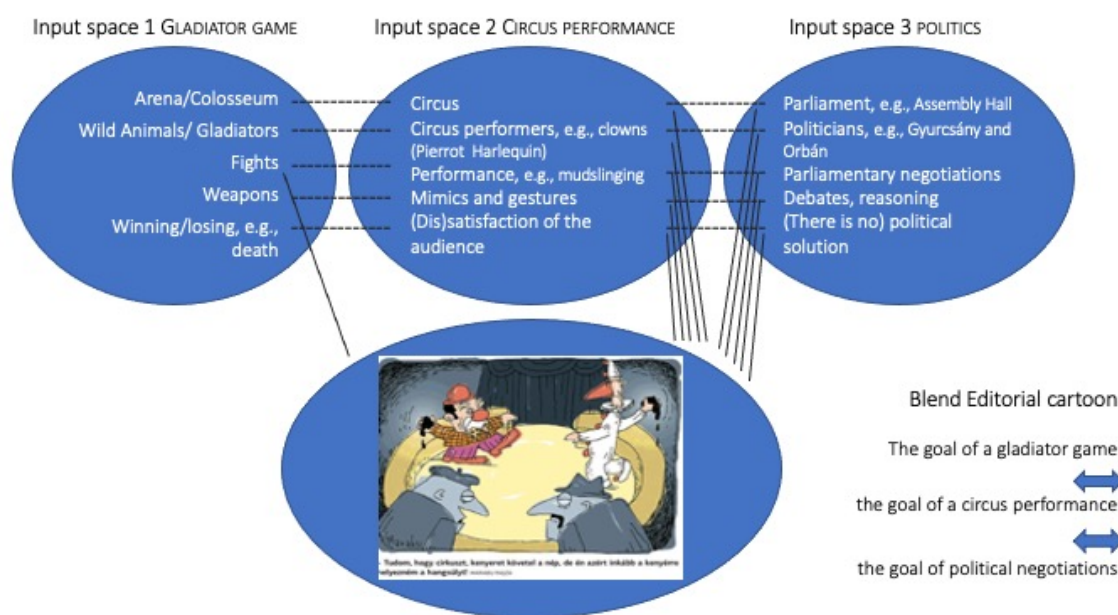


Figure 5.17 Mental space model of a mixed metaphor:

THE PARLIAMENT IS AN ARENA + A CIRCUS

Caption: I know that people want circus and bread, but I'd rather put emphasis on bread.¹²²

5.2.1 Domain-level metaphoric sources of POLITICS

In the following, the most common domain-level metaphoric sources of POLITICS will be presented in order of their frequency (Table 5.3). In this subsection (5.2.1), the editorial cartoons with detectable domain-level metaphoric sources are considered as the total corpus (332 items will be taken as 100%).

In the corpus, the most frequently occurring domain-level metaphoric source is PHYSICAL CONFLICT (22%). Large-scale representation of this source in political discourse is not surprising in the sense that it is often cited in the cognitive linguistic literature (cf. Brugman et al., 2019; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003) through such more concrete frame-level realization of it as WAR that is manifested in the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, or POLITICAL NEGOTIATION IS FIGHT.

The second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source in the corpus is ENTERTAINMENT (13%), and it includes more specific frame-level sources as THEATRE, CIRCUS, and MUSIC HALL among others.

¹²² 10.5.2011, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

Other domain-level metaphoric sources – familiar from political discourse and editorial cartoon literature – are also presented in the corpus: MOVING (10%), SPORT (9%), EDUCATION (6%), MEDICAL SCENE (4%), OBJECT (4%), GAME (3%), CULINARY DELIGHTS (3%), and COMMERCE (2%). However, we could identify some novel or rarely mentioned domain-level metaphoric sources which are the following: SPECIAL PLACE (9%), CLEANING (5%), CHRISTIAN SCENE (4%), ROYAL SCENE (2%), and HUMAN BEING (1%). They seem more unique in the present corpus.

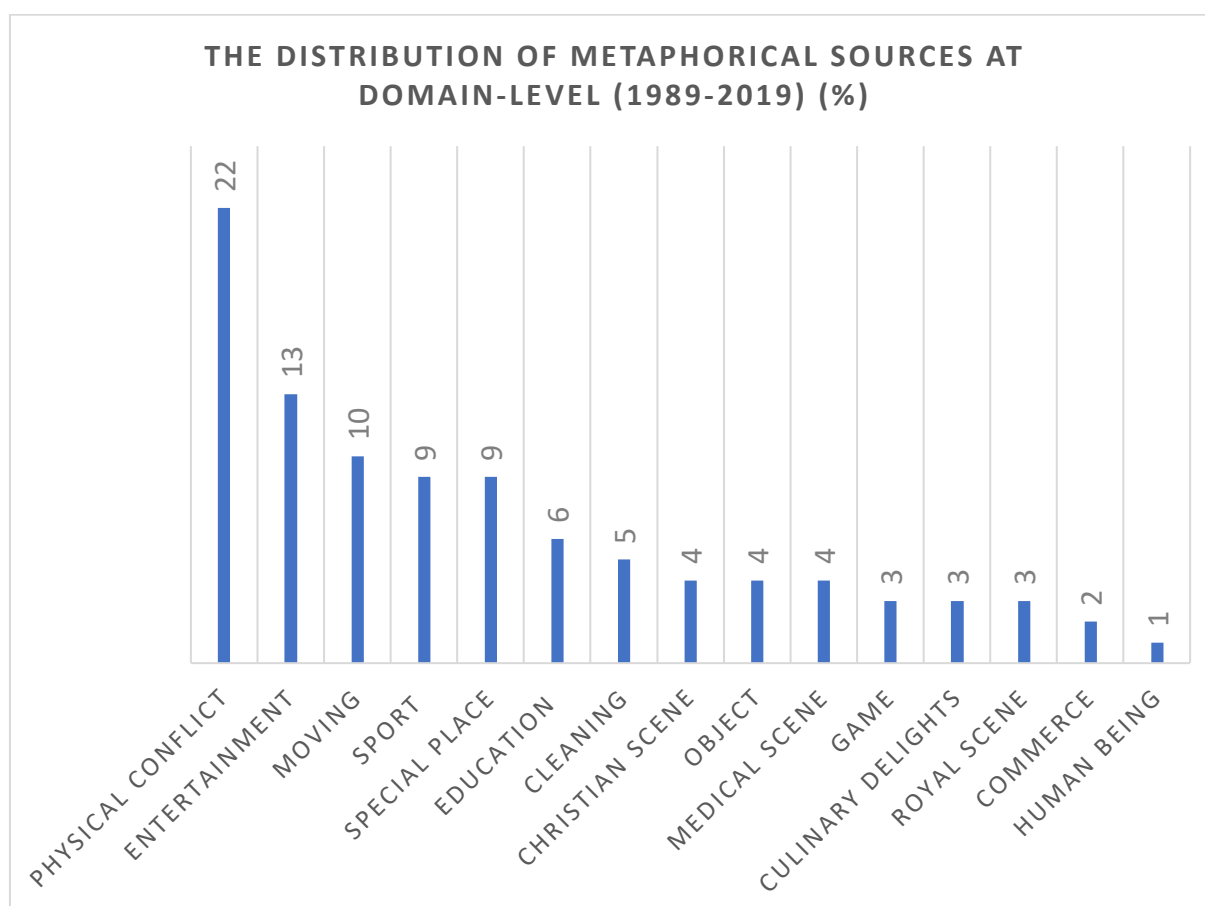


Table 5.3 Distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources of the PARLIAMENT in the total corpus between 1989 and 2019
(100% = 336, no. of the cartoons with metaphoric scenarios)

Table 5.4 shows the domain-level metaphoric sources of POLITICS with more specific frame-level metaphoric sources. For instance, regarding the most frequent one, we see the domain-level metaphoric source of PHYSICAL CONFLICT which usually appears in more concrete forms; thus, THE PARLIAMENT can be depicted as A PLACE FOR FIGHT, A PLACE FOR CONFRONTING

ANIMALS, A BATTLEFIELD, A FICTIVE PLACE, it can be identified with the COLOSSEUM, with A CASTLE or A FORTRESS, but also with A MILITARY OFFICE. Domain-level metaphoric sources, however, are schematic enough and provide only abstract structures for POLITICS. But according to the analysis, correlation can be detected between certain parts of the building and certain domain-level metaphoric sources. For instance, the Assembly Hall is likely to be used to express the metaphoric source domains of PHYSICAL CONFLICT and ENTERTAINMENT, while the parliamentary dome is mostly linked to the metaphoric source domains of OBJECT and MOVING (for further details, see Section 5.1).

As the frame-level metaphoric sources can be described with their parts, process, and function, we will describe the total corpus through the most frequent frame-level metaphoric sources which are THE PLACE FOR FIGHT (8%), CIRCUS (4.5%), THEATRE (3.3%), DIRTY PLACE (4.5%), DESTINATION (3.6%), FOOTBALL PITCH (3.6%), and SCHOOL (3.6%).

Metaphoric sources (n = 336 = 100%)									
PHYSICAL CONFLICT (75) (22%)		ENTERTAINMENT (45) (13%)		MOVING (34) (10%)		SPORT (31) (9%)		SPECIAL PLACE (31) (9%)	
no	8 (2.4%)	no	1 (0.3%)	no	5 (1.5%)	no	3 (0.9%)	no	6 (1.8%)
place for fight	27 (8%)	circus	15 (4.5%)	destination	12 (3.6%)	football pitch	12 (3.6%)	criminal place	9 (2.7%)
place for confronting animals	9 (2.7%)	theatre	11 (3.3%)	moving object (e.g., air balloon, carriage, ship)	7 (2.1%)	boxing ring	5 (1.5%)	fictive place	5 (1.5%)
battlefield	8 (2.4%)	music hall/opera	7 (2.1%)	territory (e.g., cityscape, petrol station)	7 (2.1%)	sport hall (for handball, tennis, weight-lifting, fencing)	4 (1.2%)	pub	3 (0.9%)
fictive place	7 (2.1%)	object	5 (1.5%)	a being (that is moving)	2 (0.6%)	athletic track	3 (0.9%)	home	3 (0.9%)
Colosseum	7 (2.1%)	puppet theatre	2 (0.6%)	start	1 (0.3%)	object (gate, rope)	2 (0.6%)	house of fools	1 (0.3%)
castle/fortress	7 (2.1%)	reality show	2 (0.6%)			parachuting base	1 (0.3%)	holiday resort	1 (0.3%)
military office	2 (0.6%)	cabaret	2 (0.6%)					butchershop	1 (0.3%)
								oil well	1 (0.3%)

								workplace	1 (0.3%)
EDUCATION (19) (6%)		CLEANING (18) (5%)		CHRISTIAN SCENE (15) (4%)		OBJECT (13) (4%)		MEDICAL SCENE (12) (4%)	
school	12 (3.6%)	no	1 (0.3%)	no	1 (0.3%)	object	8 (2.4%)	no	4 (1.2%)
kindergarten school	6 (1.8%)	dirty place	15 (4.5%)	church	4 (1.2%)	scenery	2 (0.6%)	hospital	4 (1.2%)
university	1 (0.3%)	carpet	2 (0.6%)	heaven	4 (1.2%)	hurdy-gurdy	1 (0.3%)	doctor's office	1 (0.3%)
				paradise	3 (0.9%)	toilet container	1 (0.3%)	drugstore	1 (0.3%)
				Salamon's court	1 (0.3%)	lottery globe	1 (0.3%)	stomach	1 (0.3%)
				cross	1 (0.3%)			terrarium	1 (0.3%)
GAME (11) (3%)		CULINARY DELIGHTS (11) (3%)		ROYAL SCENE (9) (3%)		COMMERCE (8) (2%)		HUMAN BEING (4) (1%)	
no	2 (0.6%)	no	2 (0.6%)	court	4 (1.2%)	no	2 (0.6%)	human being	4 (1.2%)
place for game	5 (1.5%)	human being	2 (0.6%)	kingdom	4 (1.2%)	market	3 (0.9%)		
chess	2 (0.6%)	kitchen	2 (0.6%)	royal palace	1 (0.3%)	store	3 (0.9%)		
dodgem track	1 (0.3%)	object (meal, pot)	2 (0.6%)						
playground	1 (0.3%)	party place/place for a cooking show	2 (0.6%)						
		restaurant	1 (0.3%)						

Table 5.4 The domain-level metaphorical sources with their frame-level sources (no. and %)
(100% = 332, no. of the cartoons with metaphoric scenarios)

5.2.2 Frame-level metaphoric sources of the PARLIAMENT

When POLITICAL CONFLICT IS understood in terms of PHYSICAL CONFLICT (domain-level) most of the time (8%) the Parliament is recalled as A PLACE FOR FIGHT (frame-level) visually or multimodally in general where the place itself cannot be further specified.¹²³

In these cases, the viewer can usually experience an extreme manifestation of overly heated debates in which the politician refers to her/his role as a fighter or behave as an aggressive person who cannot control his physical body, for instance, rolls up his sleeves, physically, seriously threatens someone, knocks someone to the ground (Figure 5.18)¹²⁴, or fights against a fellow politician even a bloody fight. It can also happen that politicians are depersonified and metaphorically represented as animals (e.g., dog and cat), where the stronger forces the weaker (e.g., the dog forces the cat) to make decisions expected by the more powerful.

In the schematic structure of the frame-level metaphoric source of PLACE FOR FIGHT the following mappings can be construed: fighters < politicians, another politician or a political affair (e.g., public debt) < the enemy, physical conflict (fight) < political debate, while the intensity and the stage of the debate are expressed via verbal and/or visual metonymical cues (such as gestures, mimics, or special expressions like “fighters”, “mayhem”, “wild democracy”). As for the concrete location of the fight, it is mostly linked to the Assembly Hall which is the proper place for political debates, or the parliamentary entrance where the lions can behave and quarrel like politicians.

¹²³ In addition, the Parliament also appears as a place where animals (depersonalification of the politicians) (9 occ.) are arguing against each other. Then the Parliament can be a battlefield (8 occ.), a fictive place (7 occ.), the Colosseum (7 occ.), a castle or a fortress (7 occ.), or simply a military office (2 occ.) where strategies are planned ahead. Among the sources, the Colosseum is the more specific one in the sense that cruelty of gladiatorial games and the judgmental hand gesture of the Roman emperor are typically reflected in the events and characters.

¹²⁴ Szilárd Németh (Fidesz), the bald man sitting on one of his colleagues, László Varju (DK), proposed the waiver of immunity of László Varju (DK), because Varju was accused of committing mayhem in the building of the MTVA (Media Services and Support Trust Fund) on Dec 16, 2019. According to the video recordings, it was not Varju who fought, but was knocked to the ground by three security guards. At the mental spaces level the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FIGHT occurs, where the following mappings can be construed: place for ground fighting (wrestling) < Assembly Hall, ground fighting < political debates on the right to freedom of the press, mayhem < political answer, enemies < MPs, winner < Szilárd Németh (pro-government MP), and loser/victim < László Varju.



Figure 5.18 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: PLACE FOR FIGHT

Title: Mayhem

Speech bubble: I give the floor to the representative Szilárd Németh to answer.¹²⁵

In the corpus, the second most often recurring frame-level metaphoric source is CIRCUS (4.5%) (it appears within the domain-level metaphoric source of ENTERTAINMENT). The metaphoric source of CIRCUS provides diverse roles for the politicians; thus, they can appear as clown, lion or lion tamer, magician, or acrobat. Sometimes they are tricky and can make fun of others, while other times they are clumsy and become ridiculous themselves.

Most of the time, the structure of the frame-level metaphoric source of CIRCUS is based on the actions of the politicians, so the show is going on. Hence, it is a potentially proper source to feature the politicians in a variety of ways such as dangerous, determined and authoritarian, weak and ineffective, or unreliable who hides the reality (just like a magician). At the same time, it is maybe not even realized, but the viewer can play the role of the spectator, consequently, politics can be interpreted as a (circus) show that is usually happening in the Assembly Hall understood as a circus stage, as depicted in Figure 5.19. The editorial cartoon criticizes that the Constitutional Court allowed the far-right party, Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary) to function and according to the author of the article alongside the cartoon, the pure existence of Jobbik threatened democracy. In the cartoon, at the mental spaces level the conceptual metaphor FAR-RIGHT POLITICS IS A DANGEROUS CIRCUS SHOW can be construed which implies the following mappings: a circus < the Assembly Hall, a lion (metonymically

¹²⁵ 29.10.2019, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

represented by the open mouth) < the party, Jobbik (metonymically represented by a member of the Jobbik), and the lion tamer < the Constitutional Court.



Figure 5.19 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: CIRCUS

Caption: Democracy Circus¹²⁶

Within the domain-level metaphoric sources of ENTERTAINMENT, the frame-level metaphoric domain of THEATRE (3.3%) is another popular source in the corpus. It must be remarked that THEATRE scenes are mostly linked to the visual element of the Assembly Hall. These scenes show similarities to CIRCUS; thus, here again politicians are playing roles and they are mostly understood as actors who can even play special characters (such as Hacsek and Sajó)¹²⁷. In addition to role-playing, there is another similarity to CIRCUS, namely that the show must go on in the THEATRE as well. The readers are usually considered as the audience of the play who also have the right to criticize the performance or the performing actors. Interestingly, sometimes politicians take up the role of the audience as well.

To illustrate the latter, consider Figure 5.20, where politicians are divided in the space (figures in light, depicted from the front vs. figures depicted in shadow from behind), most probably, one of the groups metonymically stands for the governing party, the other group stands for the opposition. The architectural close-up depicts the Assembly Hall in a theatre-like way, while the politicians seem to see each other as actors and consider themselves as the audience. It is confirmed by the verbal text told by one of them: “I used to think it was good in

¹²⁶ 10.12.2012, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

¹²⁷ Hacsek and Sajó are two protagonists of an old radio cabaret, and they represent two significantly different ideologies, so they can never have a normal dialogue with each other, they never agree with each other.

the opposition because you could talk irresponsibly without any consequences. Now I know that you do not have to be in opposition to do that.” The editorial cartoon criticizes the irresponsibility of the politicians who speak carelessly regardless of whether they are governing or in opposition. Since we cannot assign a specific political event to the political cartoon, therefore it cannot be interpreted at the level of mental spaces.



Figure 5.20 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: THEATRE

Caption: I used to think it was good in the opposition because you could talk irresponsibly without any consequences. Now I know that you do not have to be in opposition to do that.¹²⁸

Within the domain-level metaphoric sources of CLEANING, DIRTY PLACE (4.5%) as a frame-level metaphoric source is quite frequent. Most of the time the metaphoric source of CLEANING is linked to the corridor of the Parliament.

In the scenes of CLEANING, the PARLIAMENT usually metonymically STANDS FOR POLITICS, in parallel, a cleaning lady or dirt appear which serve as metonymical sources for a DIRTY PLACE. Due to the co-presence of these metonymies, POLITICS itself can be understood metaphorically as A DIRTY PLACE. According to the frame-level schematic structure of DIRTY

¹²⁸ 21.9.1996, *Népszava*, drawn by Marabu

PLACE, politicians are dirty people, messy and careless figures who leave dirt behind. Dirt is usually metaphorically depicted as nasty words, swearing, and curses, but dirt can also be unresolved serious social and economic problems just like in Figure 5.21. The editorial cartoon shows Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister at that time, MSZP) who resigned in 2008 but at the same time, stayed the leader of the governing party.¹²⁹ The moment is captured when Gyurcsány is leaving the Parliament through the rear gate, where a new job offer is tagged by a man according to which the parliament is searching for a new cleaning lady. The job is presumably to clean up the rubbish (e.g., unsolved affairs) left by Gyurcsány. At the level of mental spaces, the conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT IS A DIRTY PLACE can be formulated according to the following mappings: dirt < unresolved political problems (metonymically represented by the sheets of paper on the floor), dirty man/unproper cleaner < Ferenc Gyurcsány, leaving prime minister (MSZP), and choosing a new cleaner < voting for a new prime minister.



Figure 5.21 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: DIRTY PLACE

Caption 1 (on the board): We hire... a cleaning lady.

Caption 2 (on the papers): Plans, immediately, urgent, affairs need to be solved, affairs need to be arranged, reform plans, ideas¹³⁰

¹²⁹ According to the article next to the cartoon, the successor must win the trust of the international financial community and does not embark on radical austerity measures.

¹³⁰ 23.3.2009, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

In the schematic structure of the domain-level metaphoric source of SPORT, politics is considered a sport activity, at the frame level, the chosen type of the sport (e.g., box or football) determines the style of the political debate. Politicians are sportsmen (although not exclusively) who can be wild, violent, cheater, but even cunning players. Sport activities are mostly played in the Assembly Hall, where seats are usually reserved for the readers.

Within the domain-level metaphoric source of SPORT (e.g., boxing, athletics, handball, or tennis), FOOTBALL is the most popular frame-level metaphoric source; thus, the Parliament, more specifically the Assembly Hall appears as the frame-level metaphoric source of a FOOTBALL PITCH (3.6%). Within the schematic structure of this source, we can see that politicians can take up the role of a football referee, a soccer player, or even a football fan. When politicians are playing football, then each team represents a political party, and various problems arise, for instance, team members are unable to co-operate, one of the teams gets extra benefit to beat the other party, or they violate regulations (Figure 5.22). In extreme cases, the two politicians or parties are not playing the same sport, one party is playing football and the other one is going to play tennis. In this way, neither of the matches can be played and neither of the team can beat the other one.

To illustrate the frame-level metaphoric source of FOOTBALL PITCH, consider the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.22. The cartoon metonymically depicts two parties, ORANGE FOOTBALL JERSEY STANDS FOR THE FIDESZ, while RED STANDS FOR THE MSZP. Fidesz is likely to win the match, as one of its members is ready to kick 11 which can give the team a big advantage (PLACEMENT OF THE SOCCER PLAYERS STANDS FOR THE POSITION BEFORE KICKING 11). Metonymies influence the comprehension of the editorial cartoon at the mental spaces level. The ball itself is represented in the form of the paragraph symbol suggesting that this match is played by the procedures of law-making (at the mental spaces level LAW-MAKING IS A GOAL KICK, where THE LAW IS THE BALL). In 2009, the article alongside the editorial cartoon is lamenting on the possible election victory of Viktor Orbán (Fidesz), discusses the ways of governing the country, and asks what kind of country management strategy he will choose. Whether will he follow the Polish or the French methods of exercising power?



Marabu rajza

Figure 5.22 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: FOOTBALL PITCH¹³¹

The domain-level metaphoric source of MOVING is most of the time connected to the building of the Parliament. The direction, mode and pace of the movement are decisive in the process of interpretation. Mostly there is move toward the Parliament, but the Parliament itself can also become a moving object, for instance, when the dome is raising up in the form of an air balloon (see later in Figure 5.26) representing that Hungary wants to catch up with the European Union (at the level of mental spaces THE DOME IS AN AIR BALLOON where THE DOME metonymically STANDS FOR HUNGARY, while JÓZSEF ANTALL (PRIME MINISTER) IS THE DRIVER OF THE AIR BALLOON, THE FORMS OF THE CLOUDS BEHIND metonymically STAND FOR THE FORM OF A EUROPEAN MAP, consequently, the conceptual metaphor CATCHING UP WITH THE EU IS RAISING UP OF THE AIR BALLOON can be construed).

Within the domain-level metaphoric source of MOVING, the most frequent frame-level metaphoric source domain is DESTINATION (3.6%); thus, the conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT IS A DESTINATION can be construed, namely entering the Parliament is understood as the final objective of a politician's or a party's career. Other times, the politicians carry various laws toward the Parliament and the process seems quite slow. In these cases, politicians are regularly represented as travelers, or even drivers of various vehicles such as an air balloon, a car, or a ship (Figure 5.23). When MOVING is specified as a JOURNEY, it can also be related to ordinary citizens who are trying to get closer to the Parliament and want to be heard by the MPs, but it seems impossible to reach it because of the spatial distance between the citizen and the parliament (the Parliament is depicted up high and the citizen is standing at the foot of the

¹³¹ 11.12.2009, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

stairs having too high steps compared to the small size of the citizen). In that way, MPs cannot represent the citizens anymore in the parliament; thus, the citizens' voice is not heard.

To see an example for VOYAGE at the mental spaces level, consider Figure 5.23¹³², where a sailboat named after Fidesz is shown, and politicians from the party (Viktor Orbán depicted as the ship captain and the others, László Kövér, Zoltán Pokorni, and András Strumpf shown as the crew) are travelling together on the board toward the Parliament (THE PARLIAMENT IS A DESTINATION), while the MDF politician, Ibolya Dávid is depicted as a decorative statue on the prow. The politicians, István Csurka (MIÉP) and Silvio Berlusconi belonging to the right-wing political parties help them in the form of winds. The opponent of the travelling company is Kuncze the Diver (properly Gábor Kuncze, SZDSZ) who wants to sink the sailboat and prevent politicians from entering the parliament or win the elections. (Kuncze the Diver is a created name that comes from a verbal pun on the name of a historical hero, Búvár Kund.) The roles illustrate the hierarchy of political power, additionally, the sailboat runs from left to right, which presupposes a way forward in European culture.



Figure 5.23 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: DESTINATION

Title: Tailwind

Captions: Fidesz (name of a political party), Csurka, Berlusconi, Kuncze the Diver, Strumpf, Pokorni, Kövér, Ibolya, Orbán (name of politicians)¹³³

¹³² From 1998 Fidesz-FKGP-MDF coalition governs the country, the article alongside the editorial cartoon ponders the chances of the coalition winning the next elections of 2002. The author criticizes the government and states that this coalition caused polarization in the society, mass poverty and economic exclusion.

¹³³ 2.3.2002, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Tibor Kaján

Lastly, within the domain-level metaphoric source of EDUCATION, the Parliament mostly appears (at the frame level) as a SCHOOL (3.6%). In the SCHOOL, politicians usually behave as schoolboys who are cheating during an exam, playing with paper planes during class, sometimes the Speaker of the House plays the role of the teacher who disciplines students, that is, warns politicians of silence and order. The metaphoric source domain of EDUCATION is mostly linked to the visual element of the Assembly Hall.

To illustrate the conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT IS A SCHOOL at the mental spaces level, think about Figure 5.24. The cartoon shows Péter Medgyessy (the newly elected prime minister in 2002, Independent, he belonged to MSZP before 1989) on the left side of the cartoon, standing at the door. He is wearing a suit, official wear of a teacher during that time, and urges students (Viktor Orbán and József Szájer, Fidesz) to leave the school quoting a song often sung at graduation: “Forward... forward...” The cartoon comments the change of the political leadership in 2002, when MSZP-SZDSZ coalition won the national election. In sum, the conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT IS A SCHOOL at the mental spaces level can be understood on the basis of the following mappings: change of the government < leaving the school, teacher < Péter Medgyessy (prime minister), and leaving/graduating students < Viktor Orbán and József Szájer (Fidesz).

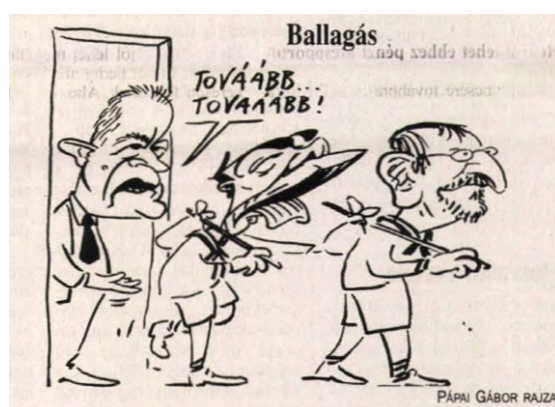


Figure 5.24 Frame-level metaphoric source of the PARLIAMENT: SCHOOL

Title: Graduation

Speech bubble: Forward... forward...¹³⁴

Overall, in this section, we could observe the most frequent frame-level metaphoric source domains of the target domain of the PARLIAMENT with their schematic structure. In that way,

¹³⁴ 11.5.2002, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

Section 5.2.2 discussed such frame-level metaphoric sources as THE PLACE FOR FIGHT (8%), CIRCUS (4.5%), THEATRE (3.3.%), DIRTY PLACE (4.5%), DESTINATION (3.6%), FOOTBALL PITCH (3.6%), and SCHOOL (3.6%) which turned out to be the most frequent ones in the corpus. The main objective of this section was to highlight the complexity of these abstract sources and to point out that in all these, roles, actions, relationships, etc., vary greatly, depending on the context. In fact, we can state that there are a limited number of frame-level metaphoric sources of the PARLIAMENT, but we cannot talk about uniform, general, schematic structure of these frame-level metaphoric sources. Instead, we could observe several variations of structures in each frame-level metaphorical source domain which we emphasized even more through the analysis of the examples at the level of mental spaces (when exact political event and its participants are known).

The highlighted examples illustrated only one possible variation of the discussed frame-level metaphoric source, and of course, an example could not cover all versions of a frame-level metaphoric source.

5.2.3 Domain-level metaphoric sources in various periods of democracy

In the previous sections, we could see the most characteristic domain-level and frame-level metaphoric sources in the corpus linked to the target domain of the PARLIAMENT and POLITICS which is associated with it. Now we will see which domain-level metaphoric sources are determinants in the different periods of democratization (Körösenyi, 2015).

All in all, we can observe in Table 5.5 that all the domain-level metaphoric sources appear in each period, except for COMMERCE (missing in the third period) and CLEANING (missing in the second period). This suggests that cartoonists rely largely on the same domains that highlight stereotypical characteristics of situations related to the PARLIAMENT. Additionally, we could also reveal in Section 5.2.2 that frame-level metaphoric domains differ significantly in their structure depending on the context.

The present section aims to demonstrate that the distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources differs from period to period, and these metaphoric sources are able to describe the very complex profiles of certain periods. In sum, dominance of certain domain-level metaphoric sources can characterize critically the political processes of an era.

In advance, it can be stated (Table 5.5) that the first period (transition between 1989 and 1998) is featured by the domain-level metaphoric sources of PHYSICAL CONFLICT (19%), MOVING (13%), and ENTERTAINMENT (12%). The second period (consolidation between 1999

and 2006) is determined by the domain-level metaphoric sources of ENTERTAINMENT (22%), MOVING (15%), and PHYSICAL CONFLICT (15%). The third period (crisis and regime change between 2007 and 2019) is characterized by the domain-level metaphoric sources of PHYSICAL CONFLICT (31%), SPORT (13%), and CLEANING (10%). All in all, it is quite clear that PHYSICAL CONFLICT is the one which is the most frequent domain-level metaphoric source in the total corpus, however, it is supplemented by various other domain-level metaphoric sources in diverse periods, and furthermore, it is not always the most frequent source in a period.

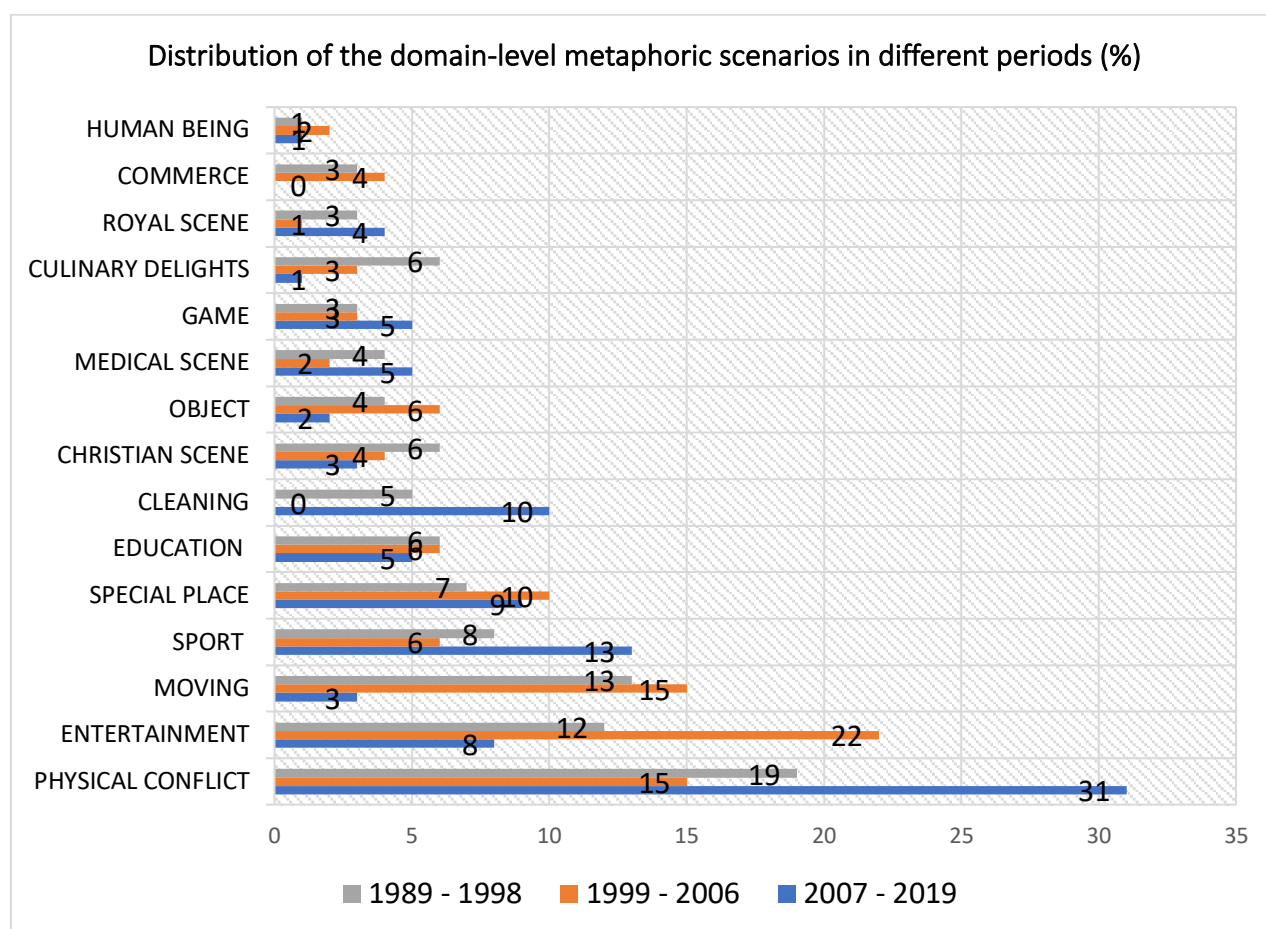


Table 5.5 Distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources in various periods of democracy (%)
 (100% = 119, 95, and 118, no. of the cartoons with domain-level metaphoric sources in various periods)

In the following subsections (from 5.2.3.1 to 5.2.3.3), the most characteristic features of the most prominent domain-level metaphoric sources will be discussed in order to describe the various periods of democracy. The goal is to show similarities and differences through examples.

5.2.3.1 Domain-level metaphoric sources linked to the target domain of the PARLIAMENT in the period of transition (1989-1998)¹³⁵

In the first period, during transition (between 1989 and 1998), PHYSICAL CONFLICT (19%), MOVING (13%) and ENTERTAINMENT (12%) were the most dominant domain-level metaphoric sources (Table 5.6).

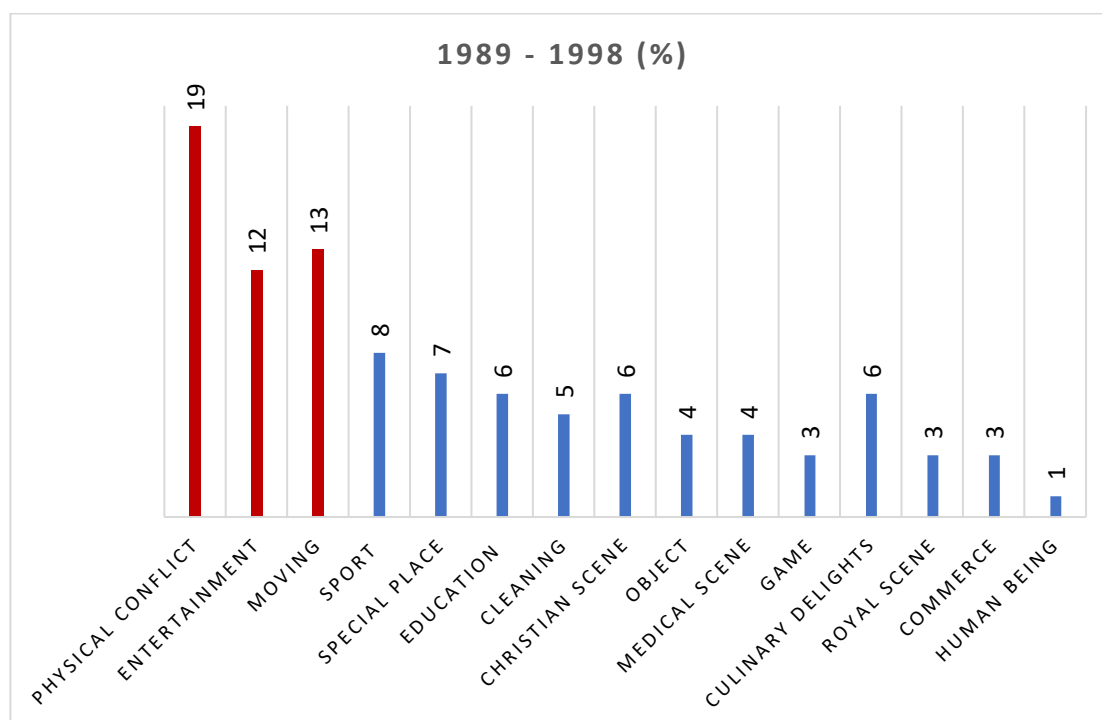


Table 5.6 Distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources in the first period of democracy (%)
(100% = 119, no. of cartoons with domain-level metaphoric sources)
The most frequent metaphoric sources are highlighted in red.

During the first period, it is stated that within the metaphorical source domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT, we can never see real physical clash or brawl among the politicians, but instead,

¹³⁵ In Virág (2021a, 2022b), the metaphoric representation of the Parliament was studied in political cartoons (retrieved from the satirical magazine *Ludas Matyi*) from the period of 1989 and 1990. It was shown that in 1989, such domain-level metaphors were dominant as ENTERTAINMENT and FAMILY, while in 1990, which was the year of election FIGHT, came to the fore. Virág (2022c) pointed out that the politicians were metaphorically depicted as children (who are fighting against each other, and even take revenge on the other), when politicians were rendered as military fighters they rather prepared for the clash (thus the war itself was shown) by carrying irrationally huge weapons (e.g., series shooter).

physical conflict appears in the first phase of the continuum of conflict (Lund, 1996), namely in the preparatory stage of it. It can be manifested in various ways, for instance, in the form of threat (e.g., József Torgyán with a small crown on his head invites his fellow members to a duel). Another way of representing the tension itself when two people or beings are turning away from the other (e.g., two parliamentary lions metonymically representing the politicians are turn their backs on each other). A more physical image of the CONFLICT is when a physical obstacle is prepared to create a physical separation, isolation from the other (e.g., cats exclude mice meaning that Orbán and Torgyán excludes the tiny door in front of the opposition party politicians). Lastly, the preparation for the clash can metonymically be recalled by showing a sword or a knife (weapons are usually linked to mythical stories and tales with duels, knightly tournaments, or body-to-body combat in an arena). It is important to notice that politicians by no means use modern military equipment.

The preparation for the clash is illustrated in Figure 5.25, which shows Orbán holding a knife in his mouth while he is climbing out of a cage to clash with his political opponents. The editorial cartoon reflects on the first parliamentary session after the summer holiday in 1998 when the opposition parties prepared with a series of attacks against the governing party. According to the article alongside the cartoon, Orbán (prime minister at that time, Fidesz) thought that he was empowered by the people to put everything in order. Thus, at the mental spaces level, THE ASSEMBLY HALL IS AN ARENA/THE COLOSSEUM, and the mappings are the following: gladiator game (metonymically standing for bloody fights) < political debates, gladiator < Viktor Orbán, the knife < political speeches, and killing the enemy < the goal of the political speech.



Figure 5.25 The most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the first period: PHYSICAL CONFLICT

Title: Arena

Speech bubble: If they wanted a session, they could get it.¹³⁶

The second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source during the first period is MOVING. In this case, the Parliament can be transformed into an object, for instance, it appears as a sinking object which is motivated by the unresolved political issue of Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dams. Beside the downward movement, upward movements become significant as well, for instance, in one case (Figure 5.26), the Parliament is transformed into an air balloon (representing Hungary) that wants to catch up with other European countries (in the background the clouds are reminiscent of a map of Europe). The impossibility of this endeavor is reflected in the absurd scene in which a tiny figure (presumably József Antall, the prime minister at that time)¹³⁷ is trying to maintain the air balloon by blowing warm air into it. The essence of the cartoon is showing the upward movement of the country that almost reaches Europe.

Another impossible attempt to catch up is when the Parliament turns into a chariot hauled by oxen and starts to move backwards in the hope of catching up (conquering new territories). Beside the backward movement, endless movement appears as well. A few editorial cartoons represent the Parliament in the distance which is difficult to approach: slow movement of the seemingly endless swaying of a boat (labelled as compensation ticket) on the surface of the water, or a snail carrying the environmental bill reflect the endless problems of the era linked to privatization and environmental protection. In sum, the directions (downward, upward, backward, stagnation) significantly determine the understanding of the domain-level metaphoric source of MOVING.

¹³⁶ 8. 9.1998, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

¹³⁷ In 1990, József Antall had a meeting in Brussels where he expressed that the major strategic objective of our country was to join the European Community and added that Hungary wants to be the member of the European Community since January 1992. His intense speech was received with a great applause.

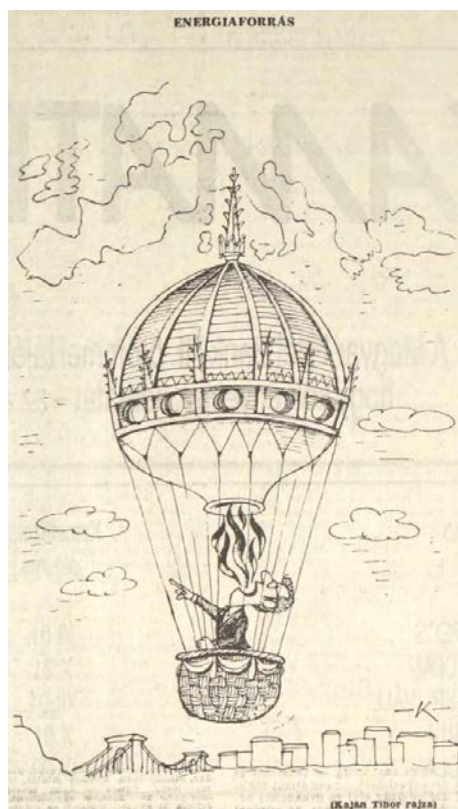


Figure 5.26 The second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the first period: MOVING

Title: Source of Energy¹³⁸

The third most frequent domain-level metaphoric source is ENTERTAINMENT in which two frame-level metaphoric sources are dominant, namely THEATRE and CIRCUS. After the change of the political system, most of the cartoons focused on novel political topics and activities of the era, for instance, the first parliamentary session (was depicted as a premier of a theatre performance), or endless debates about the issue of privatization. As depicted in Figure 5.27, the politicians agree with each other behind the scenery but they imitate a serious debate in front of that. Politicians are seen as performers (both in a theatre or in a circus), show themselves and talk, but they do not actually act. They enjoy their own and others' performances and at the same time entertain the audience (the Hungarian citizens) as well. The editorial cartoon clearly demonstrates the politicians' dual identity which makes them unreliable. At the same time, it represents the citizens as people who have no choice of interfering in what is happening.

¹³⁸ 19.7.1990, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Tibor Kaján



Figure 5.27 The third most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the first period: ENTERTAINMENT

Title: Long Live Privatization!¹³⁹

Overall, in the period of transition, distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources were more even than in other periods. It means that beside the dominant sources – what we have already discussed – there were other sources which ranged from 3 to 8% during this period. Compared to the other two periods, CULINARY DELIGHTS and CHRISTIAN SCENES got higher scores in this early period. The use of numerous domain-level metaphoric sources suggests that the Parliament was associated with a much wider range of ideas after the change of the political system then in later periods.

5.2.3.2 Domain-level metaphoric sources linked to the target domain of the PARLIAMENT in the period of consolidation (1999-2006)

In the second period (between 1999 and 2006), similar to the previous era, the same domain-level metaphoric sources are dominant, however, the order of frequency is different. The most prominent one is ENTERTAINMENT (22%), which is followed by PHYSICAL CONFLICT (15%) and MOVING (14%) in the same ratio.

¹³⁹ 3.1.1991, *Népszabadság*, drawn by András Mészáros

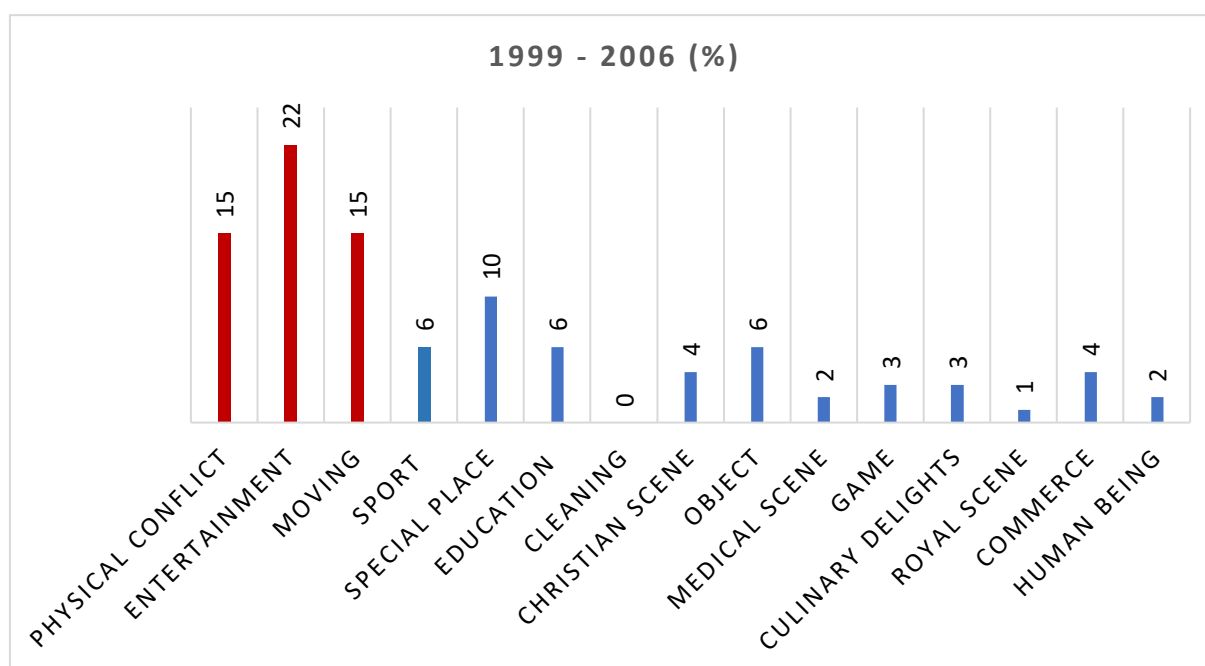


Table 5.7 Distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources in the second period of democracy (%)

(100% = 95, no. of cartoons with domain-level metaphoric sources)

The most frequent metaphoric sources are highlighted in red.

During the second period, the domain-level metaphoric sources of ENTERTAINMENT mostly show Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister from 2002 to 2009) who can take up the role of a cabaret actor in the scenes of “Hacsek and Sajó”. These situations are based on the dialogue between Orbán and Gyurcsány, and can illustrate their relationship, in which both leaders represent different ideologies.

Within the domain-level metaphoric source of ENTERTAINMENT, it can also happen at the mental spaces level that Gyurcsány appears as a magician who is doing tricks and instead of showing the reality, he hides that in a magic hat. In Figure 5.28, he is depicted as Rodolfo, a famous Hungarian magician. Rodolfo usually used a sentence that became his slogan as well, namely that “Just watch my hands because I am cheating.” In the editorial cartoon, Gyurcsány says a nearly similar sentence “Just watch my mouth” which humorously (metonymically) refers to the fact of cheating, additionally, in the case of mouth, cheating can be specialized as

lie motivated metonymically by mentioning the mouth.¹⁴⁰ In sum, most of the sources belonging to ENTERTAINMENT criticizes Gyurcsány and/or his relationship with Orbán.

Csak a számat figyeljék!



PÁPAI GÁBOR RAJZA

Figure 5.28 The most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the second period: ENTERTAINMENT

Title: Just watch my mouth!

Speech bubble: For how many years should I promise a gas price increase?¹⁴¹

In the second period, the second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source is PHYSICAL CONFLICT that usually shows ongoing fights (e.g., a bullfight between Viktor Orbán and József Torgyán), or even the results of fights (e.g., a hand with a laptop closed onto that, teeth knocked out). These physical conflicts can occur between various politicians, and even between the tax authority supported by the parliament and the citizens who avoid paying taxes.

It is represented in Figure 5.29 which shows a western scene in which the APEH (Tax and Financial Auditing Office) is depicted as a cowboy (sitting on the parliamentary lion), and he is chasing the cows (tax evaders running away with bundles of money) with a lasso. The parliamentary lion can be interpreted as a metonymy for the parliament (which accepted the new tax law represented by the book held in the paws of the lion). Hence, the ongoing fight is happening between the tax authority supported by the parliament and the tax evaders. We must

¹⁴⁰ In Figure 5.28, Gyurcsány says: “For how many years should I promise a gas price increase?” The question is illogical, identified as a causal irony. The prime minister makes a political promise to people that has a negative effect on them and it contradicts the expected political promises (which is usually positive).

¹⁴¹ 30. 12. 2005, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

notice here that after the change of the political system hidden economy intensively worked, by 2001 there were businesses which generated 70-80% of their income from the hidden economy (Krekó & Kiss, 2007; Semjén, 2001).

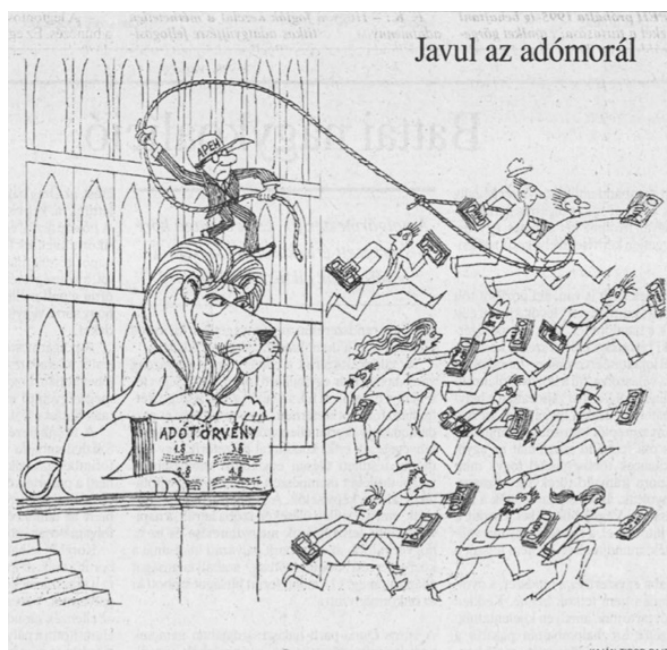


Figure 5.29 The second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the second period:

PHYSICAL CONFLICT

Title: Tax Morale is Improving

Caption 1 (on the cap): APEH (Tax and Financial Auditing Office)

Caption 2 (on the book): tax law¹⁴²

The third most frequent domain-level metaphoric source is MOVING, however, compared to the previous period, its perspectivization changed. In the previous period (during transition), the focus was put on the progress of the country and legislation. However, in the period of consolidation, MOVING is specified in the form of a JOURNEY what is understood as the fulfillment of a political career; the JOURNEY seems more subjective, more individual. For instance, József Torgyán (FKGP) is standing in front of a map to discover the proper way to the parliament. Other times JOURNEY is about the career of certain political parties, just as we saw it earlier in Figure 5.23 when a sailboat labelled as Fidesz and certain members of the party were travelling on the board toward the Parliament.

¹⁴² 3.2.2001, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Tibor Kaján

In addition, we need to notice that ENTERTAINMENT and MOVING were such domain-level metaphoric sources which featured the first and the second periods of democracy. (These sources will not be determinant in the third period). It can also be observed that in the first period, ENTERTAINMENT focused on the emerging policy issues, while in the second period, it revolved around the personality and political activity of Ferenc Gyurcsány. As for MOVING, in the first period, the progress of the country and legislation was criticized by the editorial cartoons (showing downward movement, impossible upward movement, stagnation, or even backward movement). However, in the second period, progress became more personal in the sense that the JOURNEY itself referred to personal political careers or the success of certain political parties (direction of these roads, however, were not that straight as before, and sometimes the search for the road itself, or the difficulties, for instance, a heavy rain during the journey appeared). In the third period, the importance of the domain-level metaphoric sources of ENTERTAINMENT and MOVING have faded and their number of occurrences significantly decreased.

Furthermore, the domain-level metaphoric source of PHYSICAL CONFLICT was a determining source in each period, and as we will see, it becomes dominant in the third period but again the emphasis shows differences: in the first period, the editorial cartoons often showed tension and preparation for the fight without any physical contact, while in the second period, the fight was shown in which the physical contact became more salient.

5.2.3.3 Domain-level metaphoric sources linked to the target domain of the PARLIAMENT in the period of the crisis and regime change (2007-2019)

During the third period (between 2007 and 2019) PHYSICAL CONFLICT (31%) became much more dominant than other domain-level metaphoric sources and it was supported by the metaphoric sources of SPORT (13%) and CLEANING (10%). These metaphoric sources will be discussed below and illustrated with examples.

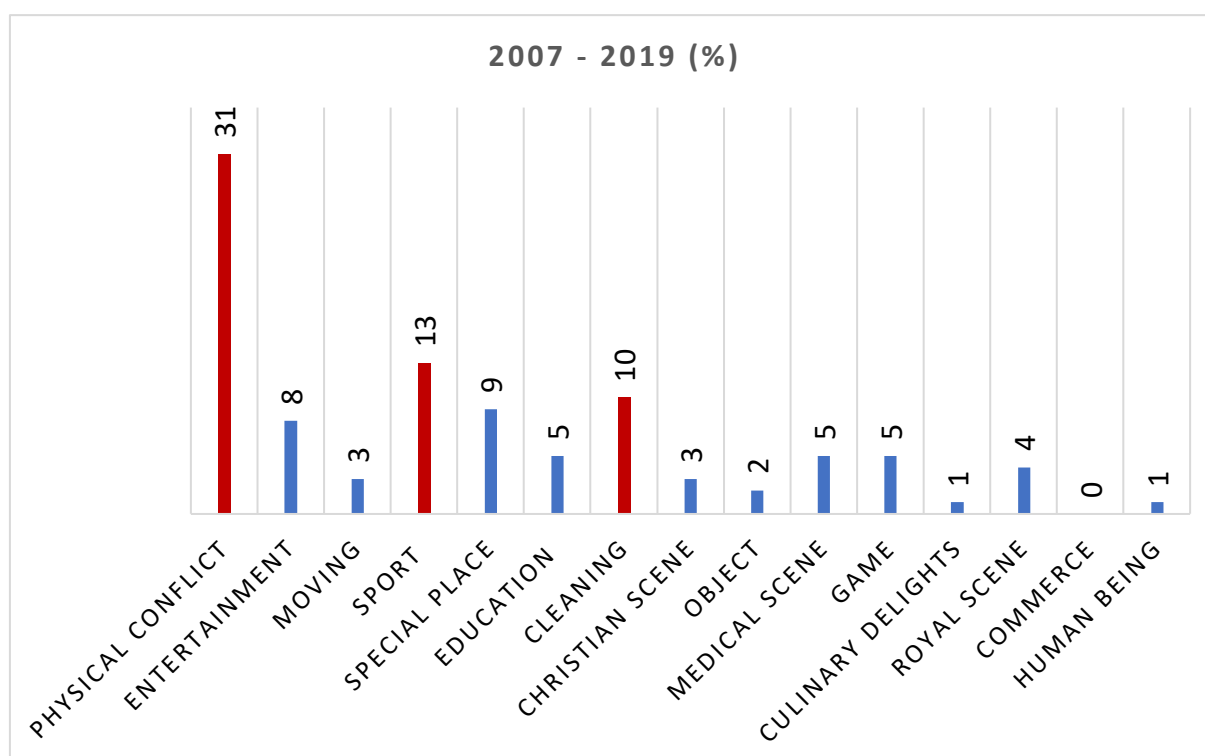


Table 5.8 Distribution of the domain-level metaphoric sources in the third period of democracy (%)
 (100% = 118, no. of cartoons with domain-level metaphoric sources)
 The most frequent metaphoric sources are highlighted in red.

In the third period (during the crisis and regime change), the domain-level metaphoric source of PHYSICAL CONFLICT seems quite different from the previous eras in terms of several aspects such as the stage of the conflict depicted, the difference in power between the combatants, the weapons deployed, and the intensity of the fight. As for the stage of the conflict, in more editorial cartoons, death appears as part of the PHYSICAL CONFLICT which is realized in scenes where mortal judgement is shown. In these cases, the Assembly Hall is metaphorically rendered as an arena, specifically the Colosseum, while the person of the emperor shows the sign of the mortal judgement (a thumb pointing downward). The specification of the ruler differs in cartoons, in an early representation, he is a general figure (without unique characterization)¹⁴³; a year later, in 2010, the personification of Fidesz covered with an orange mantle condemns his

¹⁴³ According to the article alongside the cartoon, hegemony returns without parliamentarism; thus, the parliament remains only a decoration, a symbol. Indeed, a populist leader has absolute power, but its degrees are different. The author adds that in Hungary, the illiberal etatist turn took a similar direction. The editorial cartoon presumably represents the populist or absolute leader when he is pronouncing the verdict by showing his thumb pointing down.

opponent to death¹⁴⁴; while in 2018, the prime minister, Viktor Orbán appears as an emperor (shown in Figure 5.30).

The editorial cartoon below shows Viktor Orbán (the prime minister, Fidesz) as an emperor who alone bears the responsibility for the work schedule (and life) of slaves (employee). His sole purpose seems to exploit slaves to the extreme. The article alongside the cartoon discusses the demonstrations against the “slave-law” because the new law allows employers to work 400 hours of overtime per year and it would mean that workers would not have any free Saturday. The author ironically calls the prime minister Your Majesty (which resonates with the figure in the cartoon) whose sun is shining but the rays of salvation do not reach the ordinary people.

Beside the representation of the mortal judgement, even more violent scenes (albeit in small number) appear, for example mutilation in the editorial cartoons of the third period.



Figure 5.30 The most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the third period: PHYSICAL CONFLICT

Title: Slaves

Speech bubble: The lucky one still has hundreds of overtime hours¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ The editorial cartoon illustrates the article which discusses that two-third majority of the Fidesz in the parliament puts non-democratic means in the hands of the party: they can decide on media law, constitutional amendments, appoint constitutional judges, the ombudsman, the supreme court, and the president of the state audit office.

¹⁴⁵ 8.12.2018, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

As for the difference in power between the combatants, the opponents depicted often differ significantly in their physique, so the fight is not fair, practically decided in advance. Physical violence and coercion appear literally as if cartoons were action scenes and the politicians do not get any humorous (e.g., cat, dog, wolf) or heroic metaphorical forms (e.g., Theseus or a knight) as before. Winners are bodybuilder type men with strong physiques, while their opponents are visibly weak, small, unprepared people, sometimes women.

As for the weapons deployed, we can find the riot police, tank and Browning machine gun, grenade launcher, military net, muzzle, armor, and there is a scene which even recalls carpet bombing. Similar modern weapons were not included in cartoons of earlier periods. The example of carpet bombing is represented in Figure 5.31 which shows Viktor Orbán on the top of a tower (most probably in the Parliament where the Basic Law and its subsequent amendments were adopted). He is wearing a WW2 helmet while throwing an origami paper plane toward the citizens. The action itself recalls the event of carpet bombings during WW2 which severely and extensively affected the entire population. Due to the presence of such sources as WAR (metonymically recalled by the action and the helmet) and CHILDHOOD (metonymically recalled by the paper plane), POLITICS IS metaphorically understood both as WAR and GAME, and in that sense, VIKTOR ORBÁN IS A WW2 SOLDIER and A CHILD at the same time. The cartoon thus provides a bitter but humorous tone. The article accompanying the cartoon discusses the main points of the violation of the constitutionality and the author proposes to return to the framework of the constitutionality. The mental space model of the editorial cartoon (in Figure 5.32) shows that the cartoon is based on at least three input spaces which are CHILDHOOD GAME, WW2, and POLITICS. With the help of the model, it becomes more visible what kind of contradictions the elements of input spaces create in terms of the goal and consequences of the actions (entertainment vs. killing other people vs. establishment of a new constitutional environment).

Due to these features, physical violence seems to be more intense during this period.



Figure 5.31 The most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the third period: PHYSICAL CONFLICT

Caption: Basic Law¹⁴⁶

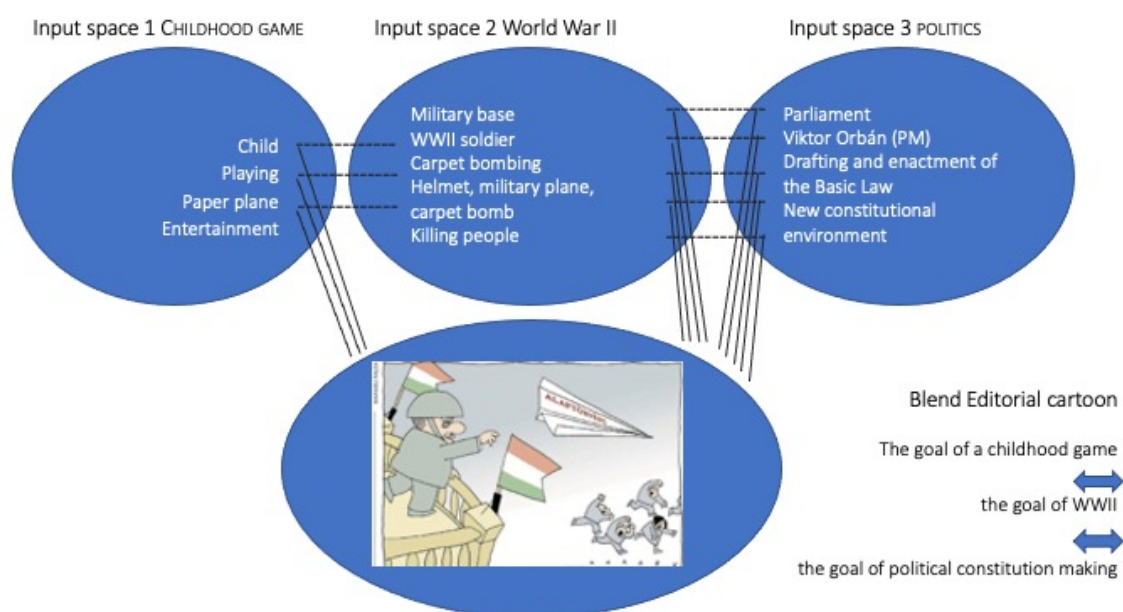


Figure 5.32 Mental space model of a mixed metaphor:

POLITICS IS A CHILDHOOD GAME + WORLD WAR II

In the period of crisis and regime change, the second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source is SPORT. In most of the cases, the Assembly Hall is only suggested by a semicircle where boxing match (one party knocks his opponent out, and thus completely destroys the other

¹⁴⁶17.11.2012, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

party) or a football match (one of the teams is playing with big advantages) take place between different political parties. The domain of SPORT from the third period usually can be linked to aggression with violation shown, not fair games, and complete destruction (which is the last stage of the match).

The editorial cartoon represented in Figure 5.33¹⁴⁷ shows the combination of two metaphoric sources, namely a SPORT (more specifically a handball match) and a PHYSICAL CONFLICT (more specifically throwing stones and firecrackers) scene, however, the opponents are the riot police and the demonstrators. The Parliament appears as a black silhouette (color black, dark mostly belongs to the negative side) which can be understood as a fortress (with the flag on the top) or as a handball gate (with the grey rectangular representing the gate behind the riot police standing alone behind the semicircle of the other riot police). In the editorial cartoon, an aggressive handball match is going on while the audience seems excited. They are holding Árpád-striped flags and these can metonymically stand for the extreme right wing; thus, the riot police has a match with extreme right players. The mental space model of the editorial cartoon (in Figure 5.34) shows the three input spaces, HANDBALL MATCH, PHYSICAL FIGHT and POLITICS with their elements projected to the blend. It can also be seen that the input spaces differ primarily in terms of the tools (ball vs. stones and firecrackers vs. boards for a protest) used in various activities. Aggressive tools from street fights and the act of throwing a ball are taken and projected to the blend which are usually not part of demonstrations.

Despite the third period, the domain of SPORT from previous periods are different, they are mainly about clumsiness and inefficient teamwork (preparation for the match or the ongoing match are presented in those).

¹⁴⁷ The editorial cartoon reflected on a reader's letter (from September 2007) which called into question the rule of law in Hungary because the Hungarian police had assisted to the foundation of the "fascist garda" (political association), however, it had not protected the participants of the ceremony commemorating the victims of fascism. The writer of the letter believes that the police are in fact supporting fascism. Furthermore, the handball championship was also relocated to another place because the police was not able to take the responsibility to protect the participants.



Figure 5.33 The second most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the third period: SPORT

Title: Handball Match¹⁴⁸

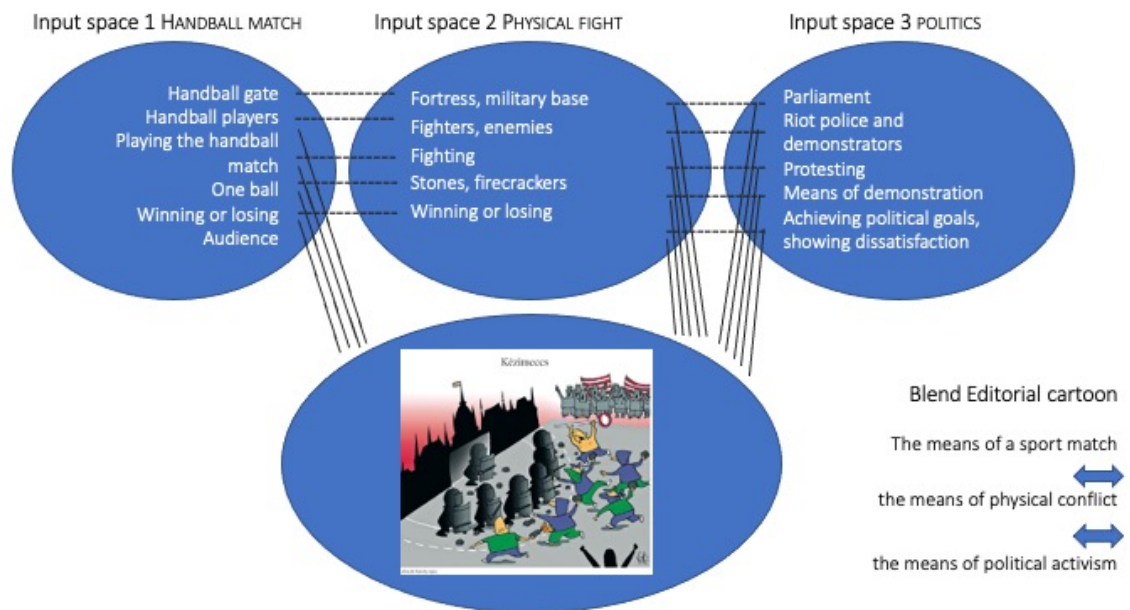


Figure 5.34 Mental space model of a mixed metaphor:

POLITICS IS A HANDBALL MATCH + PHYSICAL FIGHT

¹⁴⁸ 15.9.2007, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Károly Lehoczki

In the third period, the third most frequent domain-level metaphoric source is CLEANING. In these cases, the editorial cartoons depict scenes where cleaning ladies use stronger disinfectant, they do dangerous work because they can get involved in dirty political matters themselves due to their presence. In this particular period, CLEANING is often intertwined with the topic of corruption. This is illustrated in Figure 5.35 which shows the parliamentary corridor with security guards, politicians, and a cleaning lady (in the corner), while the door of the Assembly Hall is closed in the background. It reflects on a meeting that is happening in secret (the board “Closed Assembly” is hung on the door). The caption under the image states humorously that if the politicians are closed then “the indicators of corruption of Hungary are improving”, namely the politicians are the real causes of corruption. The presence of the cleaning lady in the corner can be understood as a metonymy of cleanliness, a sort of corruption-free zone.



Figure 5.35 The third most frequent domain-level metaphoric source from the third period: CLEANING

Caption 1: Closed Assembly

Caption 2: Great! They have only closed the door behind them an hour ago, and Hungary’s corruption indicators are already improving.¹⁴⁹

Summary

As for conceptual metaphors, we tried to systematically organize the various levels of conceptual metaphors following the multimodal view of metaphor (Kövecses, 2020). It means

¹⁴⁹ 26.8.2015, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

that first, 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.

At frame level (the PARLIAMENT IS X), we could detect more specific metaphoric sources, for instance, in the case of the metaphoric source domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT, at frame level, THE PARLIAMENT appeared as A PLACE FOR FIGHT, A PLACE FOR CONFRONTING ANIMALS, or as A BATTLEFIELD among others. While under the metaphorical source domain of ENTERTAINMENT, THE PARLIAMENT was primarily understood as A CIRCUS or A THEATRE at frame level. The metaphorical source domain of MOVING could be specified at frame level as follows, THE PARLIAMENT IS A DESTINATION/ A MOVING OBJECT, or A TERRITORY. Here, the most frequent metaphorical frame-level conceptual metaphors were illustrated (where even the mental-space level interpretation was given through concrete editorial cartoons with concrete political events and protagonists).

After the general presentation of various levels of conceptual metaphors, the metaphoric source domains from different periods of democracy were described and illustrated. This section (5.2.3) showed differences in perspectivization of certain conceptual metaphors (e.g., PHYSICAL CONFLICT), and in preferences of certain periods (e.g., ENTERTAINMENT was dominant metaphorical source domain in the second period). Let us summarize the major observations in short. 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.

Among the metaphoric sources, ENTERTAINMENT and MOVING became dominant in the first and the second periods. As for ENTERTAINMENT, in the first period, cartoons depicted politicians in diverse roles who were not able to resolve the most important political problems of the era such as privatization, for instance. In the second period, the source of ENTERTAINMENT mostly focused on the character of the ex-prime minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány, the editorial cartoons portrayed him as an unreliable, lying man. The metaphoric source of MOVING presented different perspectives from era to era. At first, editorial cartoons emphasized the directions of movements which mainly referred to the development of the country. Later in the

second period, cartoons usually specified MOVING in the form of a specific JOURNEY and applied the domain to show the developments of political parties and more subjective career paths. In the case of the metaphorical source domains of ENTERTAINMENT and MOVING, we can observe that the target of criticism shifts from institutional criticism to the criticism of individuals.

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).

As a conclusion, 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.

5.3 Irony

This section concentrates on the presentation of the ironies in various periods of the democracy that is why it discusses their types and operation.

In the total corpus, two types of ironies were differentiated, namely oxymoron-based and casual type. In the first case, there is an identifiable opposition in evaluation (positive versus negative), while in the second case, there is a logical contradiction which is not an antonym. The typology reveals the motivation of the contradictory metonymic domains in ironies.

After the analysis it can be concluded that irony was one of the most frequent cognitive devices in editorial cartoons of the corpus; thus, ironies were detected in 32% of the total corpus out of which 14% oxymoron-based and 19% causal ironies were emerging. Oxymoron-based ironies express two overtly contradictory statements, for instance, by stating a positively evaluated statement in the title while showing its opposing meaning in the editorial cartoon. Based on analytical experience, it can be said that this type of irony was easier to identify than the other type. Causal type of ironies (based on cause-for-effect, effect-for-cause metonymies) were based on logical contradictions. This often took the form of a rhetoric question, to which the person asking the question did not actually expect a real answer.

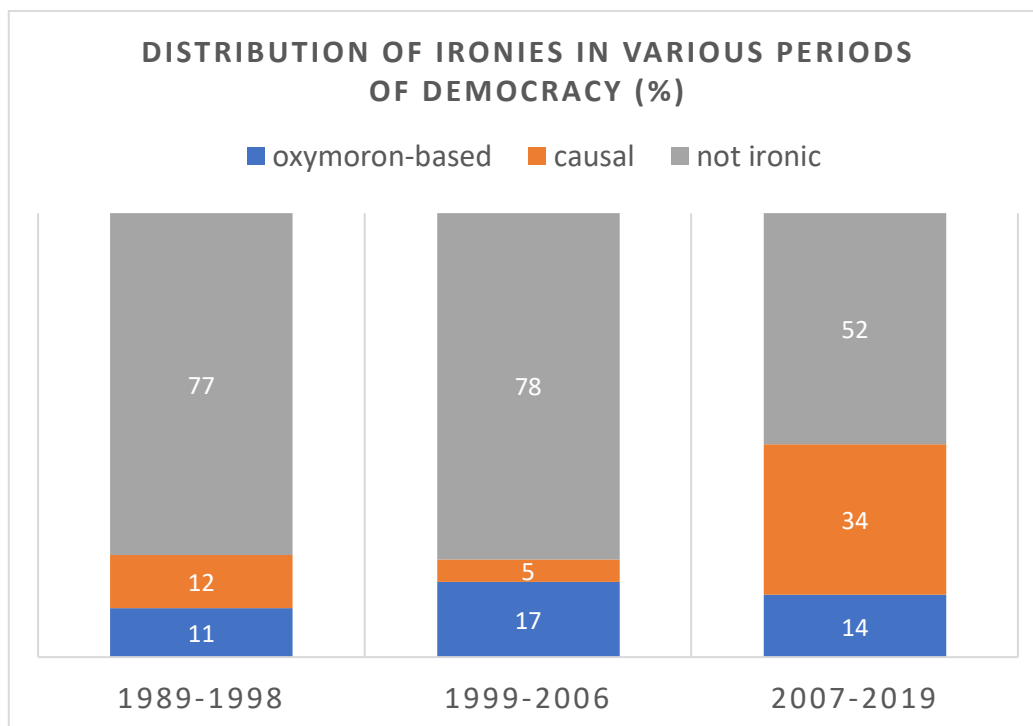


Table 5.9 Distribution of the ironies in various periods of democracy (%)
(100% = 190, 167, and 228 no. of the editorial cartoons of different periods)

Overall, the number of the ironies (shown in Table 5.9) were quite similar in the first two periods (23% and 22%), however, it increased in the third period (48%). Irony as a cognitive device became especially dominant in the third period.

If we focus on the various periods of democracy, it can be observed that the distribution of detected ironies showed similar ratios in the first period (11% of oxymoron-based and 12% of causal type), later in the second period, the number of the oxymoron-based ironies increased (17%), and in parallel, the number of the causal type of ironies decreased (5%). In the third period, the number of the oxymoron-based ironies slightly decreased (14%), but the number of the causal type ironies significantly increased (34%).

What do these changes in numbers mean for us? In sum, if we take into consideration the main features of oxymoron-based and causal type ironies, namely that the first is more direct while the latter is more implicit, then we can conclude that the first period was balanced in that sense, while the second period was determined by directness, and the last period could be featured by more implicit, fine-tuned ironies.

5.3.1 Ironies in the period of transition (1989 – 1998)

During the first period of democracy, 23% of the cartoons were identified as ironic, and almost half of the ironies were oxymoron-based (48%), while the other half (52%) belonged to the causal type of ironies with logically contradictory elements.

During the period of transition, oxymoron-based ironies often repeated such contradictory elements as faction member vs. enemy, responsibility is taken vs. responsibility is not taken, professionals in the parliament vs. non-professionals, and there is transparency vs. there is no transparency (corruption). A great part of the editorial cartoons focused on the operation of the parliamentary institution, and these set up the following oppositions (based on +/-): developing democracy vs. non-functioning democracy, there are no social problems vs. there are social problems, generosity of the government vs. meanness of the government, and independent press vs. pro-government, so biased press.

To illustrate the oxymoron-based irony from the period of transition, consider the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.36. Its title is “The Development of Democracy” which suggests that the operation of democracy works well in the Hungarian parliament. In contrary, the caption says: “We would save a significant amount on the salaries of completely unnecessary opposition MPs; so far, we have still voted them down.” It reveals that that pro-government parties want to introduce a new austerity to save money according to which they could exclude the opposition party members. This idea contradicts the multiparty system and ironically refers to a non-functioning democracy. The title (positive evaluation) and the caption (negative evaluation) contradict each other, and it can be understood as an oxymoron-based irony which is based on the expression of conflicting value judgements. The irony itself is manifested verbally, and the visual content only illustrates it (the same image is even used with other verbal content in a different context). Thus, the cartoon states that democratic functioning is not fulfilled at all. Ironies can be described with the help of mental space models, the abovementioned example is illustrated in Figure 5.37, where we can see that the two contradicting concepts DEMOCRACY (input space 1) and NON-FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY (input space 2) can create input mental spaces with more specific elements. In the blended space (the editorial cartoon), however, contradictory elements (developing democracy vs. non-functioning democracy) are projected from the diverse input spaces which causes ironic contrast based on evaluation in the blend.

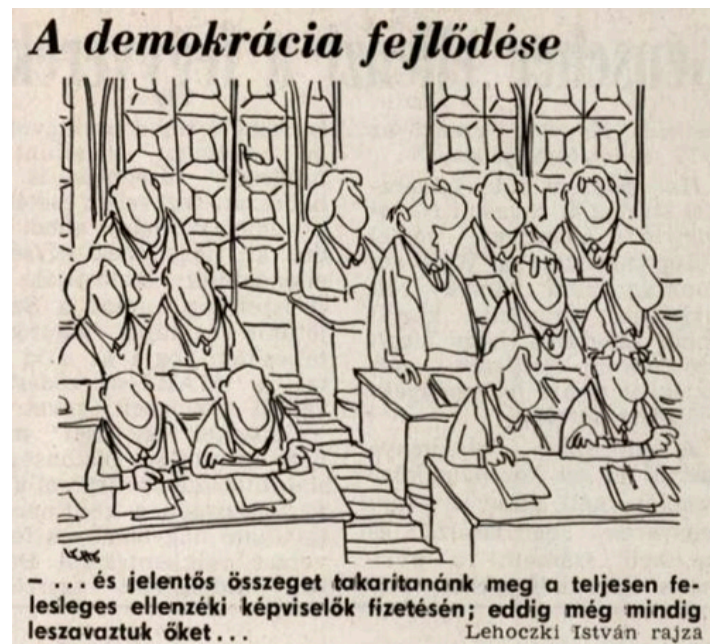


Figure 5.36 Oxymoron-based irony: the development of democracy vs. non-democratic operation

Title: The Development of Democracy

Caption: We would save a significant amount on the salaries of completely unnecessary opposition MPs; so far, we have still voted them down.¹⁵⁰

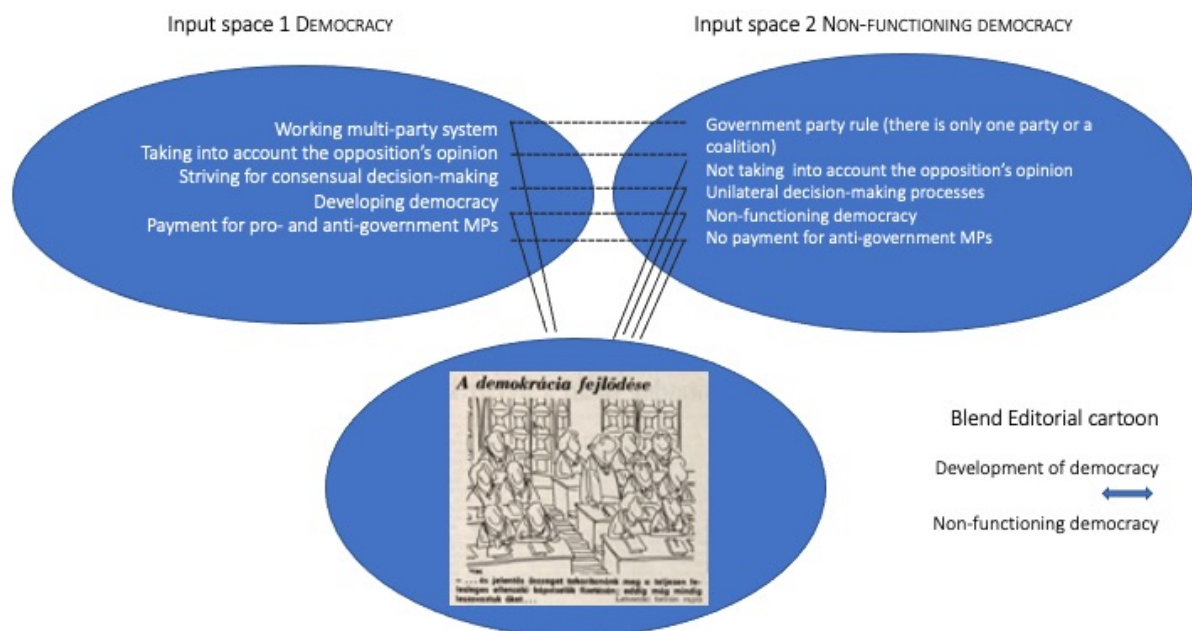


Figure 5.37 Mental space model of an oxymoron-based irony:

¹⁵⁰ 6.1.1992, *Népszava*, drawn by István Lehoczki

Causal ironies were more hidden as they were based on diverse meaning which highlighted such logical contradictions as party or faction discipline vs. not thinking or not voting alone, party selection based on interests vs. party selection based on ideology, and privatization is good for everybody vs. it is only good for the elite. Most of the causal ironies again criticized the functioning of the parliamentary institution which could not solve social problems and could not work properly according to the democratic rules, and cartoons even emphasized the responsibility of the media in malfunction.

An example of causal irony is shown in Figure 7.38 presenting the political target through a domain-level metaphoric source of SPORT. More precisely, an athletics competition (frame-level metaphoric source) is depicted in which the Assembly Hall is transformed into an athletic track, while the target frame of democracy is depicted metaphorically as a high jump bar. Due to the subscription on the T-shirt, we can easily reveal that the man in shorts metonymically stands for the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) and he seems surprised a bit as he complains "So far, it has been enough for me to state that I do not hit the bar, now do I have to prove it, too!?" For him, democracy was only an expression that had to be told, but after 1989, it should be reflected in actions as well. Moreover, democracy seems to be a difficult task that is shown by the high level of the jump bar. The question raised by the sportsman is not a real question, instead it reveals that democracy is still not working properly due to fact that even the protagonists of it do not know how to play according to its rules. The mental space model of the editorial cartoon (in Figure 5.39) summarizes which elements of the three input spaces (SPORT, BEFORE 1989 and AFTER 1989) are projected to the blend. Causal irony is identified through the model, because as we can see, the policy-making strategies of the socialist government (before 1989) appear in the blend (e.g., "talking about policy-making" is among those), while expected policy-making strategies of the novel government are missing (only the element, "talking about policy-making" appears from the input space AFTER 1989 which can be an element of the democratic operation but it is not a sufficient condition for it). In sum, due to the projected elements of the past political system, democracy does not work yet according to the editorial cartoon.



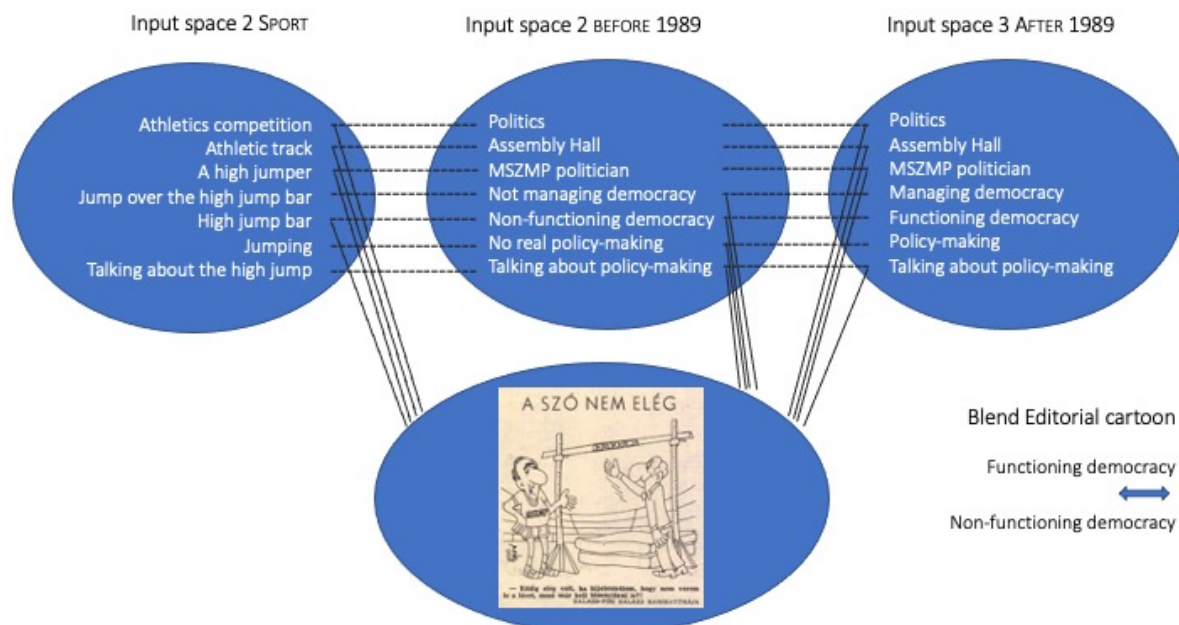
Figure 5.38 Casual type irony: speaking about democracy is enough vs. actions for doing democracy are needed

Title: The Word Is Not Enough

Caption 1 (on the T-shirt): MSZMP (abbrev. for Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party)

Caption 2 (on the high jump bar): Democracy

Caption 3: So far it has been enough for me to state that I do not hit the bar, now I have to prove it too!¹⁵¹



¹⁵¹ 23.8.1989, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Balázs Balázs-Piri

Figure 5.39 Mental space model of a causal type of irony:
speaking about democracy is not the same as acting according to democratic principles

5.3.2 Ironies in the period of consolidation between 1999 and 2006

In the second period of democracy, similarly to the previous one, 22% of the cartoons were identified as ironic. Most of them belonged to the oxymoron-based ironies (78%), the smaller part of them were casual (22%).

A great part of the ironies set up contradictory elements that criticized the politicians themselves. However, we can differentiate criticism directed at the first Orbán-government and criticism against the Gyurcsány-government. Regarding the first Orbán-government, the often-cited oppositions were fair vs. not fair politician, agitation or persuasion vs. bribery, democracy is working vs. non-functioning democracy, and there is entire agreement vs. there is no agreement between the politicians and the citizens. In a partially different way, the Gyurcsány-government was featured by the oppositions as follows: politicians are modest vs. aspiring, they are telling the truth vs. lying, and they are not corrupt vs. they are corrupt, the government provides real suggestions vs. does not offer a real solution, the government is generous vs. mean, and there is gender equality in the parliament vs. there is no gender equality in the parliament.

What we could observe through the investigation of ironies is that in the second period there is differentiation in the content of the critical oppositions according to the ruling government. Each government was criticized for specific reasons with specific ironies, and it means that the Orbán-government was presented in the editorial cartoons by ironies as a non-democratic (more authoritarian) and corrupt institution which does not care about people's opinion, while the Gyurcsány-government was described as a lying and corrupt government which cannot provide real solutions for the problems.

To show an oxymoron-based irony from the period of consolidation, see Figure 5.40, it introduces a two-panel story which contradicts each other. The first panel expresses support for equality between men and women (positive statement): "The problem is legitimate. Male chauvinist approach to politics must end. I myself support getting more women into leadership." While the second panel ironically contradicts the previous statement by expressing a strongly sexist statement: "But prime women. With tits like these." In that way, it cancels the statement of the first panel. It only allows beautiful women to enter the parliament (TITS STAND FOR BEAUTY, GESTURE OF SHOWING TITS BY THE MAN WHILE LAUGHING STANDS FOR SEXUAL

INSULTS) and does not care about women's political knowledge and ambitions. Here, if we imagine the mental space model of the editorial cartoon (A5.1), we can detect two input spaces: one with GENDER EQUALITY, and another one with GENDER INEQUALITY. Increased proportion of female representatives and the idea of equality in admission process and conditions are projected from the first input space, at the same time the idea of inequality, namely that the admission process and conditions are different for each gender is projected from the second input space to the blend. The contradictory elements create an oxymoron-based irony in the blend.



Figure 5.40 Oxymoron-based irony: gender equality vs. gender inequality

Speech bubble 1: The problem is legitimate. Male chauvinist approach to politics must end.

I myself support getting more women into leadership.

Speech bubble 2: But prime women. With tits like these.¹⁵²

Another cartoon, Figure 5.41 shows causal irony. It is entitled “Good Question”. The cartoon renders three clueless people in the corridor of the Parliament that does not help too much in deciphering irony. By the caption “That’s right. We lied in the morning, at night and in the

¹⁵² 10.11.2003, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

evening. What a hack did we do at noon?!”, the editorial cartoon recalls, and at the same time, rewrites a scandalous quote from Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister at that time, MSZP). The prime minister gave an informal speech in a closed meeting of his party in Balatonőszöd which appeared in the press September 17, 2006. The speech was received by the people with frustration and great dissatisfaction, which led to demonstrations. In this speech, the prime minister said exactly the same sentence “We lied in the morning, at night and in the evening.” The question “What a hack did we do at noon?!” is not a real one and it is added to the citation in order to express the causal irony, namely that the government lied even in between, at noon as well and they did not do anything else (from the morning till the evening). If we think about the mental space model of the editorial cartoon (A5.2), two input spaces, EXPECTED DAILY ROUTINE and EXCEPTIONAL DAILY ROUTINE can be assumed. From the first input space (EXPECTED DAILY ROUTINE), different times of the day (morning, noon, evening, and night), and various activities of the day are projected to the blend (which excludes immoral or sinful activities). From the second input space (EXCEPTIONAL DAILY ROUTINE), missing noon and lying all day (as an accepted part of the daily routine) are projected to the blend. Thus, we can perceive contrasts between the elements of an expected and an exceptional daily routine (full day vs. a day without noon, ordinary activities of a day vs. lying as an accepted daily routine).



Figure 5.41 Casual type irony: real question vs. constant deception and lying

Title: Good question

Caption: That's right. We lied in the morning, at night and in the evening.

What a hack did we do at noon?!¹⁵³

¹⁵³ 12.10.2006, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Imre Szmodis

5.3.3 Ironies in the period of crisis and regime change between 2007 and 2019

During the third period, the number of the ironic editorial cartoons of the corpus doubled (48%) compared to the previous periods (where this ratio was 23% and 22%). It is caused by a large increase in causal irony (34% of the editorial cartoons of the period) and it means a significant change in quality and mode of communication, in which the greater number of hidden ironies requires more energy for understanding from the readers, while mockery and pejorative tone intensify in them. The image is often not enough to understand the irony and these causal ironies are increasingly based on language games. They are no longer just foolish jokes, but often criticize the way the government works through verbal and physical aggression wrapped in irony. Additionally, a great part of these ironies shown in editorial cartoon from this period expresses repression, abuse of power and emphasis on authoritarian elements in relation to the functioning of government (illustrated with the examples from 5.42 to 5.44).

The editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.42 presents a good example of the authoritarian approach which claims the existence of a single exclusive truth. The cartoon depicts László Kövér (Speaker of the House, Fidesz) and Viktor Orbán (prime minister, Fidesz) in the Assembly Hall having conversation on the necessity of the parliamentary negotiations: “People must learn not only that we are right, but also that nobody else can be right!” The statement is based on a logical contradiction since the truth of a party does not necessarily preclude the truth of another one. If we imagine the mental space model of the editorial cartoon (A5.3), we can assume two input spaces, ONLY TRUTH and RELATIVE TRUTH. Mostly the elements of the input space ONLY TRUTH are projected to the blend (such as “there is only one truth”, “we are right”, “nobody else can be right”). From the input space RELATIVE TRUTH such elements as “there are parliamentary debates” and “(maybe) we are right” are projected to the blend. The blend points out the pointlessness of arguments, when in fact there is only one truth. Indeed, the reader sees the cause, namely that there is only one truth, but its effect, namely the redundancy of parliamentary debates remains hidden.

Similar shifts can be observed in the usage of such terms as traitor (linked to the opposition MP), however, we must recognize that the political adversary is not necessarily a traitor at the same time. Some more examples to make these shifts clearer, winning over the opposition is destroying it (in fact, winning does not necessarily mean the complete destruction of the enemy), equal tax burden understood as social equality, or European value understood as

financial value. The point of irony is to make both meanings active while one of them is acceptable and the other is not in a parliamentary democracy.



Figure 5.42 Causal-type of irony: one is right vs. nobody else can be right

Caption: No... There is still a need for parliamentary negotiations. People must learn not only that we are right, but also that nobody else can be right!¹⁵⁴

Another part of the causal ironies is playing with rewriting the rules, for instance, toilet cannot be used according to the order of arrival but according to party membership which, of course, means that the ruling party has priority. In another case, in the Colosseum, the winner himself can decide about life-and-death, however, it is usually decided by the impartial ruler. Or in the case of a boxing match, the winner had been wreathed, although the match has not yet started. Further absurd transcripts are linked to the regulations of voting where even the mood of pressing the button is prescribed, rewriting the past of a country becomes possible or taking an oath on money is accepted; thus, instead of common values, private values came to the fore. These rewritten rules are mostly examples of abuse of power where the regulations are written to maintain and stabilize power.

Beside the first strategy (merging different but somewhat similar terms, e.g., equality in tax burden vs. social equality) and the second strategy (rewriting regulations, e.g., new rules for

¹⁵⁴ 18.12.2013, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

toilet use), a third strategy appears, namely that rhetoric questions can be posed ironically. These are mostly focus on law-making where the politicians are hesitating over the buttons and miss such options as “discuss it more accurately”, or “for consideration”. Another part of the rhetoric questions touches the relation between the government and the people and points out that the elections have already been decided, demonstrations make no sense, and national consultations seem not real discussions. Sometimes these rhetoric questions question the legitimacy of the government.

The editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.43 presents an example of the casual-type irony formulated in the rhetoric question “But why should something be eliminated immediately just because it doesn’t benefit you?” – angrily asked by one of the opposition MPs. The article alongside the editorial cartoon discusses the topic of savings in the Hungarian society and criticizes two government decisions which eliminated the private pension funds (2011) then significantly transformed the housing savings system (2018). According to the author, these were two changes that have shaken people’s confidence in savings as such. The question is not real here either, we are not waiting for an answer to it, in fact, it expresses outrage, dissatisfaction and disagreement with the government’s solution. It asks for the causes literally but criticizes the effects of the new government measures. In the case of the mental space model of the cartoon (A5.4), we can perceive two input spaces, one is BEFORE 2018 and another AFTER 2018. From the first input space (BEFORE 2018) the element of “the functioning house savings system with its profit for the state and the citizens” is projected to the blend, at the same time from the second input space (AFTER 2018), “the elimination of these savings” and its cause, namely that “it is not profitable for the ruling party (Fidesz-KDNP)” are projected. In the blend, the interests of the party and the citizens come into conflict.



Figure 5.43 Casual type irony: real question vs. not profitable for the party

Title: Goodbye, House Savings.

Speech bubble 1: But why should something be eliminated immediately just because it doesn't benefit you?

Speech bubble 2: Why do you ask if answer it?¹⁵⁵

During the period of crisis and regime change, overt ironies based on the contradiction of evaluation (oxymoron-based ironies which are easier to recognize) are pushed into the background. To consider some examples, we can mention the parliament that works as a choir which sounds positive at first, but it also means that the prime minister acts as a conductor and he directs all parliamentary processes which is turned out to be negative in a parliamentary democracy. Other oxymoron-based ironies showed corruption, xenophobia, segregation, unreal social compassion, and kingdom as acceptable forms, sometimes even as desired forms, and thereby critically pointed out the perceived weaknesses of the government.

To illustrate the oxymoron-based ironies from this period, see the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.44. It renders a man from behind who is presenting the new constitution in red binding as a gift to the other man (whose face is covered). The man is even smiling and says: "No need to be grateful. I am happy to give." Based on his gestures, the man on the right, however, does not seem happy, instead, he pulls back as if surprised, holding his hands down, as if he does not want to voluntarily take over this gift. The building of the Parliament appears as a white silhouette behind them; thus, presumably the one holding the new constitution is a

¹⁵⁵ 17.10.2018, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

politician (in a suit), might represent the government as well who belongs to the parliament metonymically. The act of giving is usually a positive activity, but in the editorial cartoon it is shown as an act of violence which is also confirmed by the outstretched arm of the figure on the left (pushing the new constitution into the other's face). Oxymoron-based irony emerges from this contradiction along value judgements. If we imagine the mental space model of this editorial cartoon (A5.5), we can presume two input spaces, GIVING A GIFT (at the same time it is also considered a metaphorical source domain) and ENACTMENT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION (at the same time it is considered as a metaphorical target domain). In the blend, however, the element of “gratitude” from the input space GIVING A GIFT is missing, instead of that, the “mandatory adaption of the New Constitution” appears from the second input space. Thus, in the blend two contradictory elements, “giving” and “enactment” create a contrast.

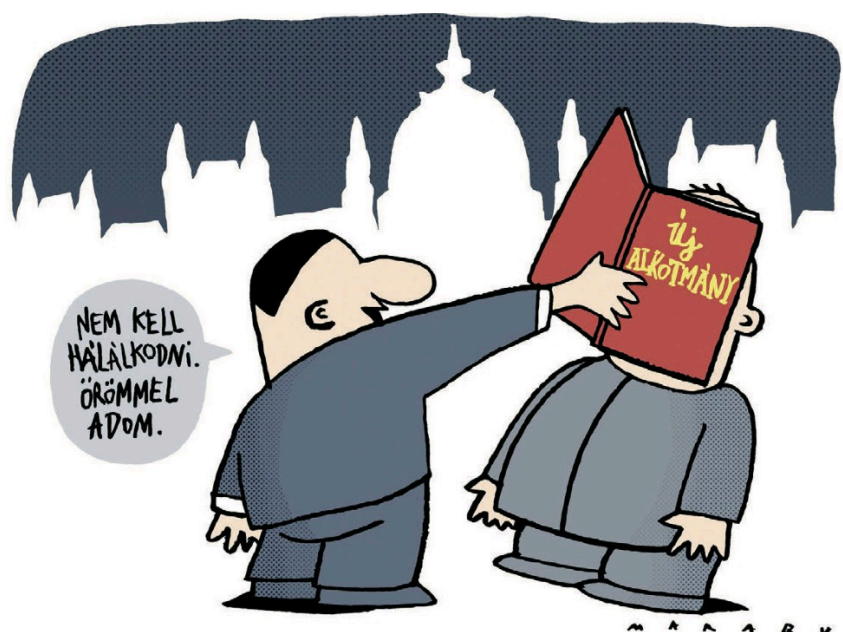


Figure 5.44 Oxymoron-based irony: giving a present vs. forcing something on somebody else

Speech bubble: No need to be grateful. I am happy to give.

Caption: New Constitution¹⁵⁶

Summary

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

¹⁵⁶ 18.4.2011, *Népszabadág*, drawn by Marabu

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. Hence, mostly the same type of irony was applied to express more overt critic. 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. It could also be seen that the basic tone of ironies expressed that the government ruled the country with the application of authoritarian techniques and used abuse of power. In causal type of ironies, cartoonists used diverse communication strategies, for instance they shifted the meaning and activated a close but diverse one, rewrote regulations, and posed rhetoric questions. 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.

In the next chapter, the various cultural references, idioms, allusions, and national symbols will be discussed.

Chapter 6: Cultural references

In general, the representation of the culturally specific idioms, allusions, and national symbols in editorial cartoons can provide a more intimate bond between the cartoonist (or the represented editorial will) and the readers based on the experience of belonging to the same cultural community (Benczes, 2006; Conners, 2007; Steuter & Wills, 2011). The pragmatic functions of abovementioned cultural references are diverse and specific, heavily depend on the context, the readers' background knowledge, but in sum, it is stated that cultural references are often associated with moral judgements (e.g., sayings) and sometimes with ideological political views (e.g., national symbols) as well. As we will see, they are likely to be motivated by conceptual metonymies or/and metaphors, sometimes they themselves behave like metonymies or metaphors, and they can also co-operate with such conceptual devices.

This chapter will discuss the presence of these cultural references with their specificities regarding their appearance (types and modalities) and their significance in particular periods of democracy. For the identification of these phenomena, Qualitative Content Analysis was applied. The chapter primarily focuses on the description of various types of cultural references, tries to present their operation and co-operation with other cognitive devices such as conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, and ironies. Furthermore, it introduces tendencies based on the frequency of cultural references in different periods of democracy and provides potential reasons behind these tendencies.

6.1 Idioms

The present section focuses on the idioms, their types, values, and modality, and above all, their appearance during the three periods of democracy in the corpus. Idioms are defined as expressions with more or less permanent figurative meaning known through cultural knowledge, in which the figurative meaning is transparent due to its motivation via conceptual metonymies and/or conceptual metaphors, and conventional knowledge (see Section 2.3). Among their types, we will analyze polyseme expressions, compound words, polylexemic idiomatic expressions, and sayings by Qualitative Content Analysis (with the help of phraseology databases). It must be added that idioms can appear in verbal, visual modes, but can also occur multimodally. Moreover, sometimes even two or more idioms can be presented in the case of a single cartoon.

To see the illustration of the presence of more idioms in a single editorial cartoon, consider Figure 6.1, where a man is giving his speech on a podium, while various animals appear in his speech bubble. At the same time, two men are watching him suspiciously and whisper behind him. The animals metonymically point to three different idioms with diverse figurative meanings: *Kígyót, békát kiált rá.* (lit. He is shouting a snake and a frog., fig. slander sy, tell all kinds of evil on sy), *Tücsköt, bogarat összehord.* (lit. He is speaking cricket and beetle., fig. speak all sorts of things indiscriminately, just not to the point), and *Fogj rákot!* (lit. Catch a crab., it is a bad wish meaning fig. do not be lucky). In the first case, both snake and frog metonymically recall associations of ugly, undesirable animals which further build the conceptual metaphor THE SLANDERS ARE SNAKES AND FROG (at frame level) which can be traced back to the conceptual metaphor WORDS ARE ANIMALS at a higher domain level. In the second case, the two selected insects can metonymically refer to the fact that cricket and beetle are too small and easy to confuse; thus, again the conceptual metaphor IRRELEVANT WORDS ARE CRICKETS AND BEETLES (at frame level) is construed upon the conceptual metaphor WORDS ARE ANIMALS. In the third case, the crab itself metonymically stands for such features as stagnation, regression, and bad luck; its catch is not a good one when fishing. What is visible quite clearly is that all the idioms here are metonymically and/or metaphorically motivated.

As for the overall message of the editorial cartoon, it is more likely that the talking man is scolding someone else angrily¹⁵⁷ and his speech is not accepted by the party or faction members that is why they abstain from the speaker: “For now, let’s consider it an individual opinion!...” The two men express exactly the opposite of the title “Freedom of speech”. This contrast can be identified as an oxymoron-based irony, according to which there is no freedom of speech at all in the political field at least, because the man’s talk is only accepted as a personal opinion and not as a political statement. Both the metaphoric motivation of the idioms and the ironic contrast can be seen through the mental space model of the editorial cartoon (in Figure 8.2). At the mental spaces level, we presume three input spaces, THE WORLD OF THE ANIMALS, NON-FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY and POLITICS (WITH FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY). Blend includes the animals from the first input space, at the same time non-existence of freedom of speech and personal insults (slanders, irrelevant words, and wishing for a bad thing) are projected from the second input space. The element, freedom of speech is projected to the blend from the third input space. (Assembly Hall and politician can be projected both from NON-

¹⁵⁷ The way of speaking (revealed by the idioms) also characterizes the speaker and describes him as a person who is not himself competent in the field of politics.

FUNCTIONING and FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY). In that way, in the blend we can find the elaborations of the conceptual metaphor THE ANIMALS ARE WORDS, and the ironic contrast regarding the existence and questioning of freedom of speech.



Figure 6.1 More idioms (occurring in visual mode) in a single cartoon:
 “He is shouting a snake and a frog.” “He is speaking cricket and beetle.” “Catch a crab.”

Title: Freedom of Speech

Caption: For now, let’s consider it an individual opinion!...¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ 1.7.1989, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Balázs Balázs-Piri

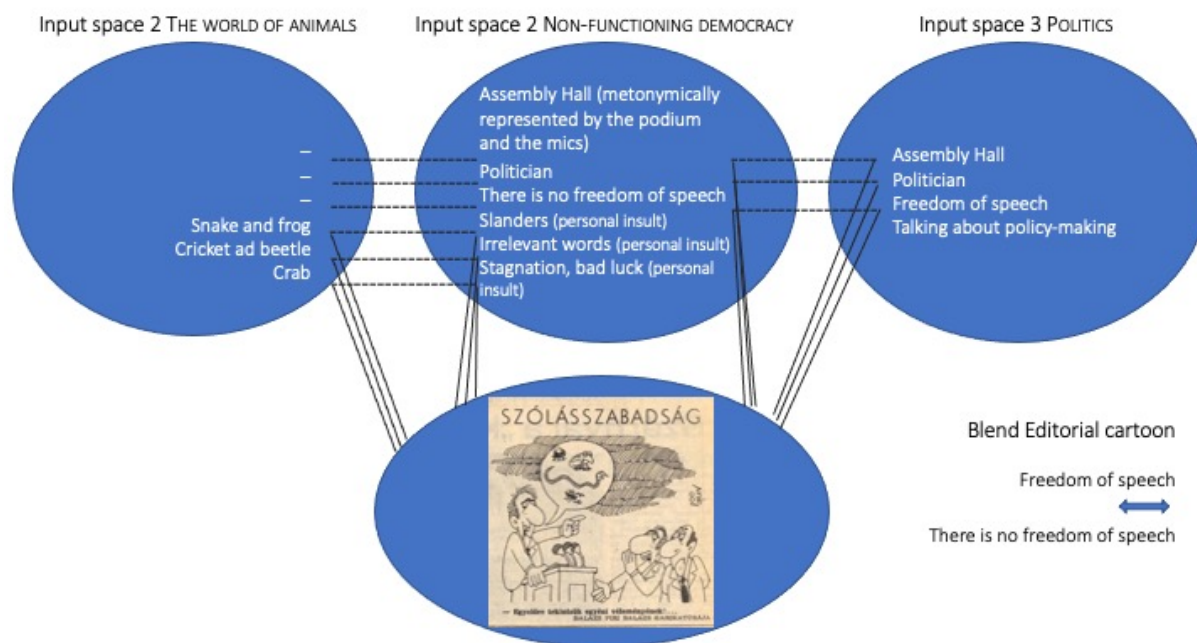


Figure 6.2 Mental space model of a single cartoon with metaphoric idioms and an oxymoron irony

It is important to deal with the idioms for some reasons, at first, because idioms – which are heavily cultural specific and rarely found in another culture in the same way – usually carry a value judgement and contribute to the procedure of criticism and evaluation of the judged politician or other political issues. Second, because they cooperate with conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors, even with ironies which can provide a basis and motivation for an idiom. Third, because idioms can appear in various modalities, for instance, in visual and in multiple modes and in an editorial cartoon, their visual or multimodal appearance differ from their verbal appearance which is usually highlighted in the literature.

In general, 15% of the total corpus (88 editorial cartoons) were determined as idiomatic in which altogether 100 idioms were detected. The dominant idiom type was sayings (48% of the idioms) which was followed by polylexemic idiomatic expressions (27%), while compound words occurred in 14% and polyseme words appeared in 11% of the corpus. All these idioms, however, have their specificities. Sayings usually express basic truth and wisdom, they are mostly related to morality, while polylexemic idiomatic expressions and compound words use modified meanings, and finally, polyseme words can express dubious content and uncertainty. The dominance of sayings means that most of the idioms are biased about morality (which is not specifically characteristic of other idioms).

If we had a closer look at various periods of democracy (Table 6.1), we could observe that idioms were much more dominant in the first period (25% of the editorial cartoons were idiomatic) while in the second and third period the number of idioms halved, it is more specifically true for the occurrences of sayings (which appeared in three times more cases in the first period than in the second and third periods). With the decline of idioms, we can also speak of a decline in cultural-specific linguistic and visual games, so the editorial cartoons rely less on this kind of knowledge of the audience.

We hypothesize that this can be explained by an increase in the number of ironies that can interact with idioms but is reluctant to do so. Idioms turned out be mostly metonymically and metaphorically motivated (51%), a great part of them was motivated by metonymy, metaphor, and irony at the same time (22%), a similar ratio (19%) was motivated only metonymically, a much smaller part (3%) was motivated by metonymy and irony at the same time, and we found only 1% of the idioms exclusively motivated by ironies. It must be added that we could not find idioms motivated exclusively by metaphors in the corpus. If we summarize these results then we can see that metonymic motivation is dominant (95%), which is followed by the metaphoric motivation (73%), and irony played a role only in 26% of the idioms. We suppose that during the past thirty years there is a change in the communicative strategy in the editorial cartoons of the corpus where the ironies came to the fore (and they could but are not likely to cooperate with idioms).

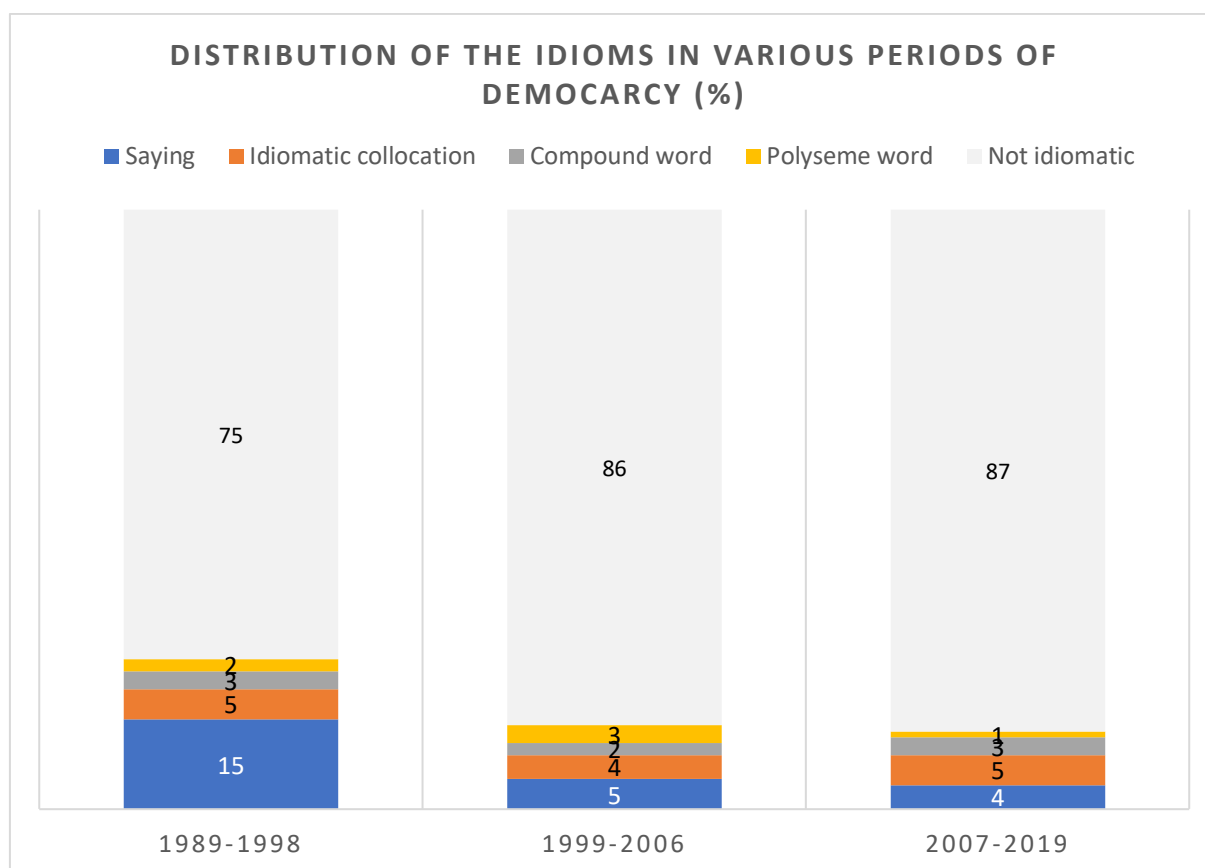


Table 6.1 The distribution of the idioms in various periods of democracy (%)
(100% = 190, 167, and 228 no. of the editorial cartoons of different periods)

Idioms were categorized according to their values (positive, negative, and neutral) and the results show that most of the idioms, 75% were negative (e.g., *Kígyót, békát kiált rá.*, lit. He is shouting a snake and a frog!, fig. slander sy, tell all kinds of evil on sy), 18% were neutral (e.g., *Haladni kell a korral.*, lit. We must move with time., fig. take and follow new ideas, habits, and fashion¹⁵⁹), and a much smaller ratio of them, 11% was positive in their tone (e.g., *elsöprő győzelem*, lit. sweeping victory, fig. overwhelming victory). Consequently, idioms significantly contribute to the evaluation procedure in editorial cartoons and emphasize the negative tone of criticism.

As for the modality of the idioms, Table 6.2 shows that multimodal representation was dominant for all types (depending on the type it was between 50% and 71%), then it was followed by the verbal representation of the idioms (depending on the type it was between 21%

¹⁵⁹ Source: https://baranyilaszlowsolt.com/pciskola/TAMOP-4_2_5-09_Magyar_szolasok_kozmondasok_adatbazisa.pdf

and 32%), however, the purely visual display also proved to be significant (depending on the type it was between 8% and 25%). The reason why Table 6.2 is shown is because the dominance of multimodality and the presence of exclusively visual representations of idioms are surprising results in the sense that in previous research, idioms were generally referred to as verbal phenomena. In the following analyzes, we will focus on the illustration of examples where the visual mode plays an important role.

Modality	Polysemous word (%)	Sayings and proverbs (%)	Polylexemic idiomatic expressions (%)	Compound words (%)
Multimodal	50	55	54	71
Verbal	25	24	32	21
Visual	25	21	14	8

Table 6.2 The modality of idioms according to the types of idioms (%)

6.1.1 Sayings and proverbs in the corpus

Sayings and proverbs are considered as sentence-like expressions. Sayings are more flexible in the sense that they can be adapted to a situation in terms of person, number, and tense. Proverbs are permanent, fixed sentences which can be traced back to ancient times and mostly vary from culture to culture; they express folk wisdom and thus serve moral improvement. In the entire corpus, the number of sayings and proverbs (48%) was the highest which were mostly depicted multimodally (55%), but they also had verbal (24%) and visual (21%) occurrences.

In the case of sayings, the following patterns were revealed: transcription of an idiom (e.g., original: *Ki a legény a gáton?*¹⁶⁰, lit. Who is the lad on the dam?, fig. the difficult and important thing can only be entrusted to a wise man and its transcribed version “then, come ye to the dam!”). According to another pattern, the opposite of the literal meaning of the saying was depicted visually (e.g., *Túl magasra tette a lécet.*¹⁶¹, lit. He raises the bar., fig. set too high expectations, in the cartoon, the bar itself was depicted too down). In the third pattern, the saying (proverb) only appeared visually, without any verbal references of the idiom (e.g., *Nem lehet egy seggel két lovat megülni.*¹⁶², lit. It is not possible to sit two horses with one butt. In English, If you chase two rabbits you end up losing them both, fig. trying to achieve two things

¹⁶⁰ Remarkd as saying in the *Database of Hungarian Sayings and Proverbs* (Bárdosi, 2012, p. 555).

¹⁶¹ Remarkd as saying in the *Database of Hungarian Sayings and Proverbs* (Bárdosi, 2012, p. 579).

¹⁶² Remarkd as proverb in the *Database of Hungarian Sayings and Proverbs* (Bárdosi, 2012, p. 269).

at once will be unfruitful¹⁶³). The fourth pattern presented idioms with an exclusive verbal appearance (e.g., *Kígyót melenget a keblén.*¹⁶⁴, lit. Warm a snake on his chest, in English Cherish a snake in one's bosom., fig. a person whom one has treated well and turned out to be ungrateful).

To exemplify the transcription of a saying, consider Figure 6.3. The editorial cartoon presents Viktor Orbán (Fidesz) and Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister at that time, MSZP) in an emergency situation, when three rivers, the Danube, the Tisza and the Bodrog swelled enormously. In the meantime, Orbán was giving a speech at the Kossuth Square, while Gyurcsány was busy with organizing a general assembly. In the case of Orbán, his speech bubble quotes the Transylvanian anthem saying “Our heads are flooded, flooded a hundred times...” In this case, the citation can be understood literally as well, however, it usually has a metaphorical meaning in which the attacks against the Szeklers are understood as a stormy sea, where each of the attacks can be considered as enormous waves. The citation was analyzed as a national symbol as it is often sung in official ceremonies, especially those about the unity of the citizens of Hungary and Hungarian minorities living abroad. However, this anthem is also used by nationalist groups, that is why it can metonymically trigger such associations as patriotism and in that case, Orbán can be considered as an ideal patriot. Humorously, he is standing on a piece of carpet and singing, so he can seem a person who only speaks but does not act. This is counterpointed by the figure of Gyurcsány who is wearing rubber boots and visibly swearing while carrying a sandbag on his shoulder. He says: “... then, come ye to the dam!” which is an invitation to act. In his speech bubble, the original saying “Who is the lad on the dam?” is transcribed. The original version refers to a person who is skillful, clever, and brave, right in every situation. It also seems to be an exaggeration, the other extreme. Contrast occurs between the two figures which can be identified as an oxymoron-based irony in which Orbán appears as an ideal patriot, while Gyurcsány seems a real one (but it is also questionable due to its extremity).

¹⁶³ Source: [https://baranyilaszlolsolt.com/pciskola/TAMOP-4_2_5-](https://baranyilaszlolsolt.com/pciskola/TAMOP-4_2_5-09_Magyar_szolasok_kozmondasok_adatbazisa.pdf)

09_Magyar_szolasok_kozmondasok_adatbazisa.pdf

¹⁶⁴ Remarkd as saying in the *Database of Hungarian Sayings and Proverbs* (Bárdosi, 2012, p. 504).



Figure 6.3 Transcribed saying (Speech bubble 2): ... then, come ye to the dam! (Original version: “Who is the lad on the dam?”)

Speech bubble 1: Our heads are flooded, flooded a hundred times.¹⁶⁵

The following example, Figure 6.4 shows the case when the opposite of the literal meaning of the saying appears visually. The editorial cartoon renders figures in jerseys of different colors which metonymically represent various parties (e.g., RED STANDS FOR MSZP, GREEN STANDS FOR LMP, PURPLE STANDS FOR MOMENTUM); thus, the personifications of the political parties are just warming up (preparing for the election). The environment and the participants help to construe the conceptual metaphor THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS A HIGH JUMP COMPETITION. It is already humorous and ironic because the opposition parties worked together in the election (like a coalition), however, high jump is not a team sport at all. The choice of the sport itself mocks the incompatibility of the parties for cooperation. The man in blue says with a worried face: “This will be a hard competition, *Fidesz raised the bar too high!*” (emphasis added) (figuratively meaning to set high standards and high expectations). However, in a funny way, in the background the opposite can be seen, the bar is too down. Therefore, the literal meaning of the idiom (too high) and the low position of the bar create such a contrast which can be called an oxymoron-based irony. By using this strategy, the editorial cartoon expresses that the opposition parties cannot even meet low expectations.

¹⁶⁵ 3.4.2006, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

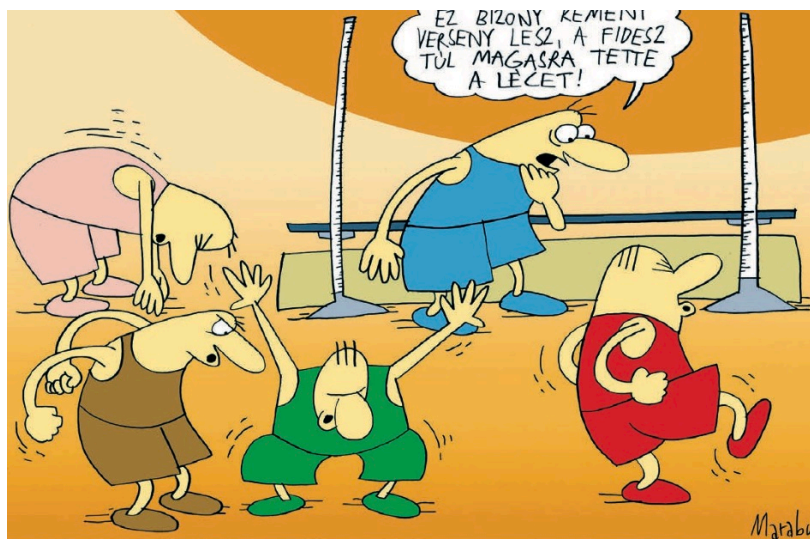


Figure 6.4 The opposite of the literal meaning of the idiom appears visually: “raise the bar”
(visually the bar is down)

Speech bubble: This will be a hard competition, Fidesz raised the bar too high!¹⁶⁶

The last example of sayings and proverbs, Figure 6.5 presents a visually represented saying which is not referred in any manner verbally. The editorial cartoon renders a man sitting on two chairs from his back side. The back of one of the chairs shows the parliamentary dome metonymically referring to a position in the parliament, while on the right side, a board with the inscription “Mayor” is hanging on the back of the chair what can metonymically refer to a municipal position. Based on these metonymies, we can construe the conceptual metaphor HAVING TWO POSITIONS IS SITTING ON TWO CHAIRS. The position of the man, namely that he is sitting on two chairs at once metonymically recalls the saying according to which “It is not possible to sit two horses with one butt.” Thus, two positions cannot be held by the same person.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ 2.5.2015, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

¹⁶⁷ The editorial cartoon (Figure 6.5) represents the standpoint of the *Magyar Nemzet* (a conservative newspaper) in which the article alongside the cartoon discussed that MDF and KDNP are such political parties which agreed that two such positions resulted in incompatibilities. At the same time, according to the prime minister, Gyula Horn (MSZP) and the chairman of the SZDSZ, Gábor Kuncze, this was not a conflict of interest. There were conflicting opinions between pro-government and anti-government parties on the issue.

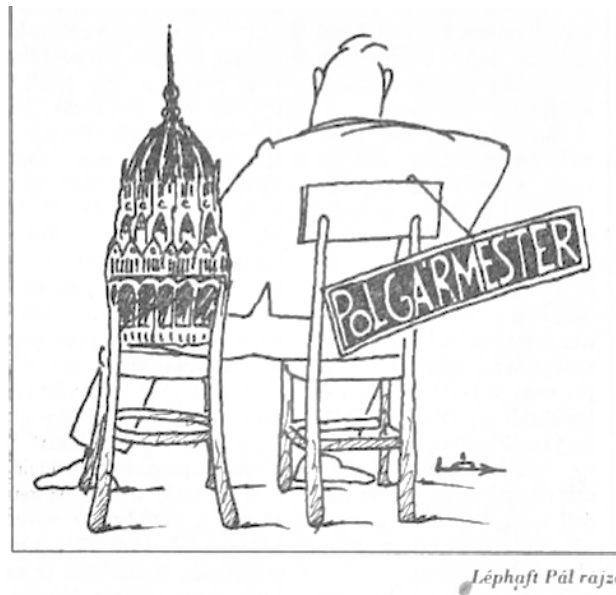


Figure 6.5 Visually expressed saying: “It is not possible to sit two horses with one butt.”

Caption: Mayor¹⁶⁸

6.1.2 Polylexemic idiomatic expressions in the corpus

Polylexemic idiomatic expressions mean permanent connections between certain terms, although they may be sentence-like, usually inserted in a sentence. For instance, *hátszelet kap* (lit. get a tailwind, fig. get support, promotion for better achievements), *elviszi a balhét* (lit. takes the trouble, fig. takes responsibility for others), or *zsebében van* (lit. it is in his pocket, fig. overwhelm, defeat, and influence a person).

The last is illustrated in Figure 6.6 which presents the idiom visually. The image shows Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister at that time) in profile, he is wearing a suit and instead of a handkerchief, he has got the Parliament in his pocket. The cartoon is entitled “The new boy” which refers to the newly elected prime minister in 2004 in a derogatory and pejorative way by using the expression “boy”. The article alongside the editorial cartoon discusses that Ferenc Gyurcsány created government and selected ministers on the basis of their contacts and acquaintances and these ministers (e.g., Jenő Rácz, István Kolber, and János Kóka) became the followers of Gyurcsány who had a great influence on them. The depiction of the Parliament can metonymically refer to the government, however, due to its position the conceptual metaphor THE GOVERNMENT IS A HANDKERCHIEF can be construed. It recalls the polylexemic idiomatic

¹⁶⁸ 5.7.1994, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Pál Lépháft

expression “being in somebody’s pocket” which means having influence on something. In that way, the editorial cartoon shows Gyurcsány with the government in his pocket, so it criticizes how much influence he has got over the government.



Figure 6.6 Polylexemic idiomatic expression in visual mode: “being in somebody’s pocket”

Title: The new boy¹⁶⁹

The next example, Figure 6.7 introduces a polylexemic idiomatic expression in cooperation with a saying (and an irony). The editorial cartoon presents two politicians, the prime minister Viktor Orbán (Fidesz) and Róbert Répássy (Fidesz); both politicians are wearing orange ties that stand for their political affiliation, and they are discussing the chances of winning the political elections of 2010. They are standing on the red carpet and Orbán holds a broom while he is asking: “But what will we do if there won’t be a sweeping victory?” “Sweeping victory” refers to an easy, confident victory with great superiority, but dirt around the politicians can metonymically be associated with unfair tactics and mistakes. Róbert Répássy answers to Orbán’s question by a transcribed saying “Well, we will sweep around our own house”. The original form of the saying is a warning against a person who deals with others’ issues too much. In the transcribed form, the saying reflects on the investigation of the Fidesz’ affairs. This means sweeping away their own dirt, that is they will scrutinize their own mistakes. Due to the idioms with similar sound (“sweeping”) but different meanings, causal irony can be

¹⁶⁹ 1.10.2004, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Tibor Kaján

construed. In the first case, the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ENEMY IS DIRT and swept away comes to the fore (in that situation the members of the Fidesz belong to the cleaners), while in the second idiom, the conceptual metaphor FIDESZ' POLITICAL AFFAIRS ARE DIRT appears (here, the members of the Fidesz are dirty politicians).



Figure 6.7 Polylexemic idiomatic expression “victory what sweeps over everything” and saying “sweeps around his own house”

Speech bubble 1: But what will we do if there will not be an overwhelming victory?

Speech bubble 2: Well, we will sweep around our own house.¹⁷⁰

6.1.3 Compounds in the corpus

Among the compounds, we know about idiomatic ones (different from English, in Hungarian compounds are written as single words or with a hyphen if they are over seven syllables), they are usually made up of two terms (e.g., *újságíró*, lit. newspaper+writer, fig. journalist), but in rare cases, may consist of up to three or four terms (e.g., *újságíró-igazolvány*, lit. newspaper+writer+card, fig. journalist's card).

¹⁷⁰ 4.3.2008, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

In cognitive linguistics, the metaphoric and metonymic motivation of compounds was investigated by Benczes (2006) who claimed that these motivated compounds are more creative than other compounds. For instance, consider *snail mail* (fig. physical delivery of mail). In that case, snail metonymically stands for slowness (based on the DEFINING PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY metonymy), while the mail itself is a metaphoric target domain which is understood via the metaphoric source domain of the snail (THE MAIL IS A SNAIL) (Benczes, 2013b). Due to the metonymic and metaphoric motivation certain compounds can be accepted as compositionally understood or partly compositionally understood expression. The process of creative compounding is heavily based on humorous word-play, phonological analogy, alliteration, and rhyme which make compounds memorable, long-standing; creative compounds seek attention, can create a more informal social bond (Benczes, 2006).

Cartoonists applied several patterns to display compounds, first, we could find literal representations of the original compounds (e.g., *kakukktójas*, lit. egg of cuckoo, fig. odd one out. Second, a compound could be transcribed and changed for another compound similar in appearance but different in its meaning (e.g., *házmester*, lit. house+master, fig. caretaker appears instead of the *házelnök*, lit. house+president, fig. Speaker of the House). Another strategy when a two already existing compounds (*helyjegy*, lit. seat ticket and *jegykezelés*, lit. ticket management) were combined (e.g., *helyjegykezelés*, lit. seat+ticket+management, fig. reserved seat ticket control).

To exemplify the first strategy, an exclusively visual representation of a compound, see Figure 6.8. It presents the action of “mudslinging” (fig. slander and insult the other party), so the image shows two clowns (Viktor Orbán as Harlequin and Ferenc Gyurcsány as Pierrot) who are actually throwing mud at each other. The expression of mudslinging is based on the conceptual metaphor SLANDERING THE OTHER IS THROWING MUD AT THE OTHER PARTY (where SLANDER IS MUD, in which THE MUD metonymically STANDS FOR THE FLUID MATERIAL THAT IS DIFFICULT TO REMOVE, UGLY, AND UNPLEASANT). It is conceivable that a reader who is not familiar with the abstract meaning of “mudslinging”, can understand it a playful activity among childish adults. However, the situation is even more complex as the compound “mudslinging” is combined with a saying “Bread and circuses” occurring multimodally.

The saying itself refers to a situation “in which a government tries to take attention away from real problems or issues, by providing people with things which seem to make their lives more enjoyable.”¹⁷¹ It makes understandable why the Assembly Hall is metaphorically

¹⁷¹ Source: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/bread-and-circuses>

represented as a circus where the politicians act like clowns. The two grey figures in the foreground can be considered as the citizens (appearing as the audience of the show), and one of them comments the event as follows: “I know that people want circus and bread, but I’d rather put emphasis on bread.” In that sentence, THE CIRCUS can metonymically STAND FOR UNNECESSARY AND COSTLY ENTERTAINMENT, while BREAD STANDS FOR BASIC NEEDS AND LIVELIHOOD. Therefore, the editorial cartoon states (via one of the grey figures) that politicians should deal with issues that affect the people and not with each other (mudslinging and circus are not the right ways of doing politics). Finally, the contrast between the verbal statement (providing bread) and the visual image (providing circus) can be identified as an oxymoron-based irony.

Earlier when discussing mixed metaphors, we set up a potential mental space model of this editorial cartoon (Figure 5.17). It primarily focused on the contrasts included in the blend between the goals and results of the activities of the different input spaces (GLADIATOR GAME, CIRCUS PERFORMANCE, and POLITICS). The first ends with death, the second is performed to satisfy the audience (entertainment), the third, namely policymaking is done to resolve social, economic, and political issues. These contrasts emerge due to the difference of the elements found in the input spaces causing an ambiguous mixed metaphor. But these contrasts do not mean an irony.

To describe the operation of the irony here, we need to add a fourth input space ANTIQUE POLITICS to the model, which consists of at least two elements, solutions for social problems as necessary measures and deceiving people with entertainment as unnecessary measures. At the same time, we also need to add the element, deceiving people with entertainment as unnecessary measures to input space 3 POLITICS. The oxymoron-based ironic contrast emerges in the blend due to the projection of both elements from the input space 4 ANTIQUE politics, which results in a positive, complex policy measure. While only the unnecessary measures could be projected to the blend from the input space 3 POLITICS, which results in a negative, unbalanced policy measure. In the blend, irony occurs due to the two ways of doing policy measures, which have different values.



- Tudom, hogy cirkuszt, kenyeret követel a nép, de én azért inkább a kenyérre helyezném a hangsúlyt! MARABU RAJZA

Figure 6.8 Visual representation of a compound: “mudslinging”

Caption: I know that people want circus and bread, but I’d rather put emphasis on bread.¹⁷²

The following editorial cartoon, Figure 6.9 illustrates the third strategy linked to compounds, namely the creation of a novel compound. It appears in the title of the cartoon: “Seat-ticket-management”. It is a combination of two already existing compounds “seat+ticket” and “ticket+management” (fig. ticket control), both are used for travel or cultural events. According to the article alongside the editorial cartoon, in October 2006, a calm picnic with some cultural events were organized on the Kossuth Square in front of the Parliament (a singer, Ákos’ songs, could be listened to on a tape recorder, the singer is overtly dedicated to the right), but when the campaign silence was over, “the concert-goers” turned into protesters and began to chant “Get covered, Gyurcsány!” What we see in the cartoon there is the outline of the Parliament in the background, while in the foreground, some people are just arriving with flags and a figure is constantly making holes on these flags. The editorial cartoon captures the moment when the cultural event becomes a demonstration. In that way, THE PREPARATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION can metaphorically be understood as A CULTURAL EVENT (with right-wing sympathizers understood as concert-goers, and their flags are their tickets), while the ticket controller does not really control the tickets, but is making holes on their flags (so transforms the concert-goers into demonstrators). THE NATIONAL FLAG WITH A HOLE is a national symbol

¹⁷² 10.5.2011, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

which metonymically STANDS FOR NATIONAL FEELINGS AND POLITICAL RESISTANCE (in this case against the Gyurcsány-government). It was originally used by the revolutionaries during the 1956 revolution, who cut out the Rákosi coat of arms from the middle of the flag and left it like that with a hole or replaced it with the Kossuth coat of arms. Thus, the novel compound captures two aspects of the conceptual metaphor, namely the cultural event (belonging to the metaphoric source domain) and also its transformation into a demonstration (belonging to the metaphoric target domain).

If we look at the mental space model of the editorial cartoon (in Figure 6.10), we see that three input spaces (VALIDATING CONCERT TICKETS, PROTESTER'S CUTTING OUT THE MIDDLE OF THE FLAG, and REVOLUTION OF 1956) are presupposed. In the blend, however, it turns out that controller is projected from the first input space, who is rather like a protester, instead of a member of the police (police as an element is not projected from the second input space). It can be perceived as an illogical, causal irony where the protesters themselves think that their demonstration is only an entertainment. This alternative approach (mental space modelling) allows us to reveal the ongoing casual irony.



Figure 6.9 Novel compound: “seat-ticket-management”¹⁷³

¹⁷³ 17.10.2006, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Csaba Joó

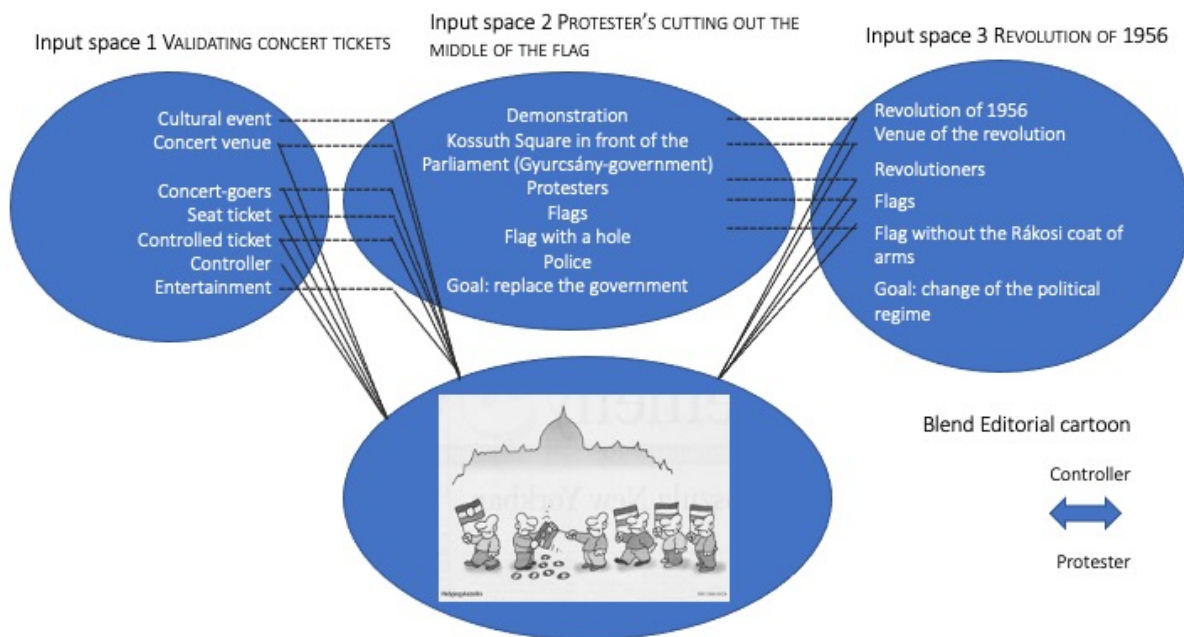


Figure 6.10 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 6.9

6.1.4 Polysemous words in the corpus

Polysemous words have multiple related meanings which can provide a word-game and ambiguous speech for the cartoonist. In practice, they often visually appear with their literal meanings, or with their meanings out of context in the editorial cartoon (e.g., *befűt*, lit. heat up, fig. willfully cause trouble and inconvenience). In a second pattern, polysemous word can occur multimodally, when beside the verbal appearance of the expression, the literal meaning is depicted visually (e.g., *lebegtet*, lit. flutter, float, fig. mention). In a third case, the polysemous word is expressed exclusively in verbal mode (e.g., *hiteles*, lit. a person with mortgage, fig. authentic, reliable). Interestingly, in the corpus, the use of polysemous words was not typical after 2007.

To exemplify how a polysemous word can appear visually, see Figure 6.11 which introduces the expression *befűt*. In advance, we must know that the article alongside the editorial cartoon discussed that the government planned to negotiate 116 bills during the last three months of the year and even if it was too much, the bunch of bills still did not include such important bills which applied to the Constitutional Court and the media law. Looking at the picture, it can be seen that the editorial cartoon presents the building of the Parliament as a frontal part of a steam locomotive where the coal is replaced by the signs of the law. In that

way, the Parliament metonymically stands for the institution of the parliament, while the figure itself can be understood as the government who is responsible for naming the topics and proposing bills for consideration.¹⁷⁴ In that way, the conceptual metaphor GOVERNING THE COUNTRY IS A TRAIN JOURNEY can be construed, where the following mappings occur: transformation of the coal into steam < law-making, heater < government, coal < bills, and train < the parliament. The problem can be suspected because some pieces of coal are just falling out of the train, and the train (parliament) itself is moving to the left (metonymically meaning moving backwards, does not seem to be a positive direction for development). In fact, the editorial cartoon criticizes the operation of the entire parliament for irresponsible legislation for which the government is primarily responsible (the government is causing trouble to the parliament). The knowledge of the abstract meaning of the polysemous word *befűt* (fig. willfully cause trouble and inconvenience) makes the interpretation of the editorial cartoon much easier.

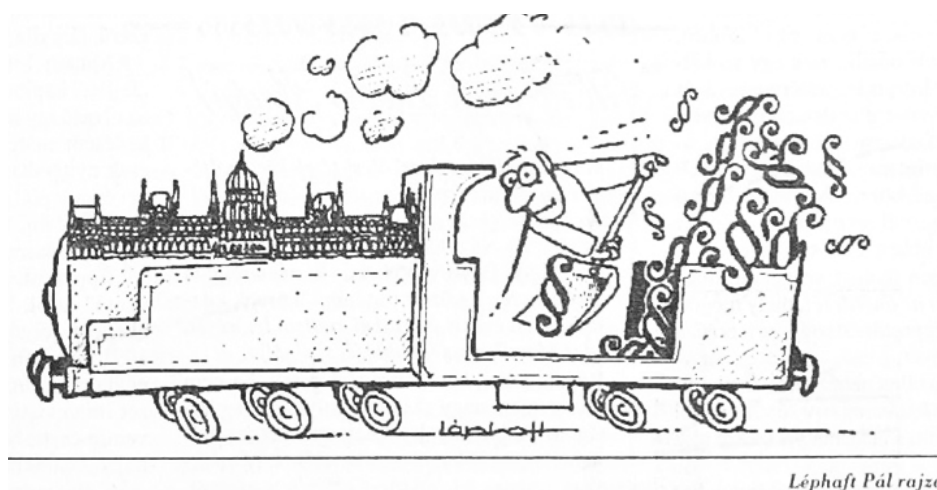


Figure 6.11 Visual representation of a polysemous word: *befűt*, lit. heat up, fig. willfully cause trouble and inconvenience¹⁷⁵

Summary

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. If we look at the appearance of idioms

¹⁷⁴ Source: <https://www.parlament.hu/torvenyalkotas-bevezetes#folyamata>

¹⁷⁵ 13.9.1993, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Pál Lépháft

in various periods of democracy, 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 reasons behind these changes could not be revealed precisely, but we can say that the visual representation of the literal meanings lost its validity for the second period. It was maybe a too direct type of humor, and it could be replaced by causal irony (featured by implicitness).

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. While the number of metonymies, which often allows for implicit meaning associations, shows very similar proportions in the three periods.

It should also be noticed that the caricaturist Gábor Pápai prefers using idioms and 34% of the idioms was created by him. But at the same time, it does not provide answer to the changes because the ratio of his cartoons in various periods was very similar (26%, 32%, and 27%), and it would not have meant any significant change.

Otherwise, idioms could generally be described as verbal, visual, and multimodal phenomena. Their multimodal appearance 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. This is not surprising because we already knew that metonymies are particularly common in visual materials (i.a., Pérez Sobrino, 2017).

In the following section allusions will be demonstrated.

6.2 Allusions

This section discusses allusions in editorial cartoons of the corpus and seeks the answer to three questions: what kind of allusions are linked to the caricaturistic representations of the parliament? What sources do they come from? Is there a trend-like change in the use of allusions in the different periods of democracy?

Allusion is such a literary/cultural reference that recalls a fictive or historical character, a story from such cultural forms that are known by a community (e.g., legend, literature, mass media, etc.) (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981, p. 201) (for detailed discussion see Section 2.3.3). In addition, we will discuss such political slogans and quotations among allusions which can be

traced back to still active politicians, well-known from the mass media. In the dissertation, allusions are differentiated from symbols, and we claim that allusions are likely to recall complex narratives. By contrast, symbols are understood as established, almost universal metonymies, which are usually associated with closely linked concepts (but not with a story). In editorial cartoons, allusions are not used per se, but in order to provide suitable source (often metaphoric or metonymic) to interpret more complex ongoing political issues. Due to our interest in specific local intertextual elements, we differentiated allusions based on their sources (making the Hungarian allusions separable)¹⁷⁶; thus, within European allusions several subcategories were investigated (Christian, antique historical/mythological references, and others such as film). In the category of Hungarian allusions, citations from various genres such as political slogans, fixed phrases and quotations, music, cabaret, film, literature, fine art, and reality show were differentiated.

The identification of the allusions was carried out by Qualitative Content Analysis and in the process, the exact sources were always marked, for instance, *A Ház is a miénk, mert mi viseljük el* (lit. The House is Ours as We Bear It) is a detail from the pop song entitled *Miénk itt a tér* (lit. The Square is Ours Here) performed by LGT since 1973. Hence, the presence of allusion in the editorial cartoon is not subjective, but its recognition is tied to cultural knowledge shared by the cartoonist and the analyst (in our case) (Zsilka, 1981, p. 632).

Overall, 11% of the total corpus (67 allusions) was identified as cartoons involving allusion; the distribution of the allusions showed a slight increase by the second period (more precisely, occurrences of the allusions slightly increased in the second (13%) and the third periods (12%) compared to the first period (9%)). The different periods will be presented in the subsections 6.2.1-6.2.3.

One of the popular allusions was the Colosseum; it belongs to the antique European culture, and it was applied as a metaphoric source domain of the Assembly Hall where politicians of different era could operate as gladiators or as an emperor (see Figure 5.30). The second most frequent allusions were Christian allusions such as angels, snake, and cross. These mostly showed that politicians are not perceived as angels (which would metonymically stand for moral good), but in the eyes of the cartoonist, their character is closer to snakes (that metonymically stands for sinful, immoral existence, or the hell), and the cross could appear as

¹⁷⁶ This type of categorization was supported by Werner's (2004) idea who stated that in European artworks, allusions can be traced back to European origin, Christian, Jewish origin. In that way, however, consciously or not, but they create in-group and out-group categories of the audiences.

a symbol of the conservative government, but also as a symbol of troubles and burdens carried by the politician. Apart from European and Christian allusions, Hungarian allusions also appeared in high number. The most frequent ones were political slogans based on “Soros”¹⁷⁷ which appeared in several forms such as *Soros-terv* (lit. Soros-plan), *Soros-bérenc* (lit. Soros hireling) and *sorosista* (lit. Soros supporter). After the analysis, it is known that a great part of allusions was creatively used in the sense that they were related to a specific topic and were rarely repeated. Their context-dependency is unquestionable which is confirmed by the analysis of the Figures 6.12-6.17.

The following sections will present the characteristic features of allusions in various periods of democracy.

6.2.1 Allusions in the period of transition between 1989 and 1998

During the first period, most of the allusions belonged to the Christian and antique culture. Consequently, they were related to well-known stories, and most probably, they could be related to a wider public.

To exemplify the Christian topic, see Figure 6.12 which presents György Szabad (the Speaker of the House at that time, MDF) in the form of Saint George who is fighting against a multi-headed dragon in the Assembly Hall. We must know that according to the article alongside the editorial cartoon, in this period, discussions on privatization seemed endless, and György Szabad suggested to discuss the privatization bill. Looking at the picture, we see the difference in strength between Saint George and the dragon (manifested in their size and position) which can metonymically express the difficulty and intensity of the debate, and also the impossibility of victory. This is also shown by the fact that Saint George himself retreats on his horse. Saint George’s story metonymically can refer to the triumph of the moral good over the bad. However, in the editorial cartoon it is made uncertain; the depicted situation differs from the expected one (as the victory is not shown at all). With a more detailed knowledge, it can be said about the mental space level that Saint George’s story occurs as a metaphoric source domain in which the following mappings can be revealed: Saint George < György Szabad, fighting with a sword < political debate, multi-headed dragon < opponents of the privatization

¹⁷⁷ György Soros is an influential and rich businessman (with Hungarian origin), and he is often named (especially by the conservatives) as responsible person for various political and economic changes such as the migration itself (resettlements of migrants in Hungary). His face and name were referred even in government videos and commercials.

bill, retreat with the horse < abandoning the political debate, and the dragon's cave < Assembly Hall.

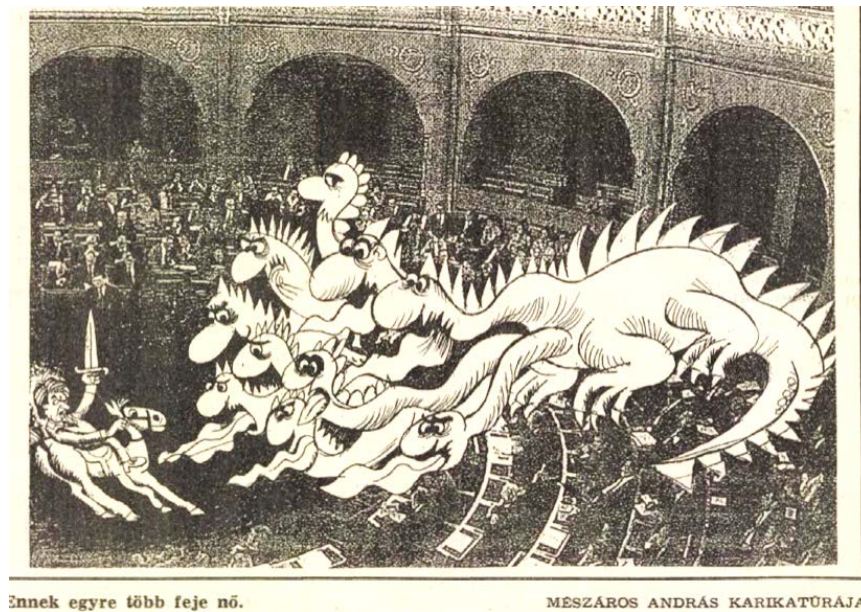


Figure 6.12 Allusion linked to the Christian culture

Title: More and more heads are growing¹⁷⁸

To have an example of allusion linked to the European antiquity, consider Figure 6.13 which depicts the Trojan wooden horse. This antique historical allusion metonymically recalls deceiving the enemy by applying a deceptive trick, it can also be evaluated as an effective weapon in a war situation. If the reader is more familiar with the story of the Trojan horse, then the reader is able to metaphorically reveal the following mappings: wooden horse < Viktor Orbán (newly elected prime minister at that time, Fidesz), soldiers in the wooden horse < István Ákos Balsai and Balázs Horváth (MDF), the Trojan fortress < Parliament, and the entry of the horse into the Trojan fortress < formation of the government. According to the narrative, the Trojan horse succeeded and captured the Greek city, in parallel, the cartoon represents the newly elected prime minister Viktor Orbán who is waiting for permission from the president to form a government. Due to the citation of the antique story, politicians (István Ákos Balsai and Balázs Horváth) who make up his government (soldiers in the horse) seems to pose a threat to the parliament as well as to the legislature (represented by the Parliament).

¹⁷⁸ 28.8.1990, *Népszabadság*, drawn by András Mészáros

Overall, allusions cited in the first period are widely known, and although specific individuals are cited, they are mostly about the formation and change of political power.



Figure 6.13 Allusion linked to the European antiquity

Speech bubble: Keep Balázs from falling out of the civilian wooden horse¹⁷⁹

6.2.2 Allusions in the period of consolidation between 1999 and 2006

During the second period of democracy, allusions related to the Hungarian cultural products came to the fore. In that sense, sources showed a great variability, and among those we can find music, cabaret, literature, political slogans, fine art, and even reality shows (following the order of frequency). At the same time, one-third of the allusions belonged to the European culture.

As for the specificity of allusions from this era, it is claimed that allusions demonstrated how the multi-party system became bipolar during consolidation, and mostly characterized the two major politicians of the era, namely Viktor Orbán (prime minister between 1998 and 2002, Fidesz) and Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister between 2002 and 2009, MSZP). The opposition of the two political blocks appeared in such citations as the cabaret *Hacsek and Sajó* (where the protagonists represented two opposing ideologies), or the rewritten forms of the political quotations such as The parliament operates without traitors. (originally “A parlament ellenzék nélkül is működik”, lit. The parliament operates without opposition – told by Viktor Orbán in

¹⁷⁹ 2.6.1998, drawn by Gábor Pápai

December 1998). All these allusions revealed the irreconcilable differences between the two sides and the complete lack of joint work. At the same time, the distance between the citizens and the political leadership was expressed through the allusions cited from the pop song *Miénk itt a tér* (lit. The Square is Ours) and the political quotation “Hazudtunk reggel, este és éjjel.” (lit. We lied in the morning, in the evening, and at night – told by Ferenc Gyurcsány September 17, 2006) which led to party supporters losing confidence in politicians forming the government.

To exemplify the depiction of the first Orbán-government through an allusion, see Figure 6.14. It presents Viktor Orbán in the foreground, however, in his speech bubble, we can find the transcription of the original political slogan and the novel version sounds as follows: “The parliament operates without traitors as well.” Based on his announcement, in the eyes of the opposition, it could seem that Orbán did not consider the implementation of democracy to be important but believed that a single political force was enough for a parliament to function. Therefore, the original statement (“The parliament operates without opposition.”) (for details, see footnote 81) metonymically can recall two opponents unable to compromise and refers to the abuse of power from the speaker’s side; thus, the opposition does not represent political power, mainly not in political decision-making processes. Furthermore, the allusion (The parliament operates without traitors as well.) metaphorically divides the political environment into good and bad, where the opposition MPs (members of MSZP, SZDSZ, MIÉP) are considered traitors (THE OPPOSITION MPs ARE TRAITORS), while pro-government politicians most probably represent the patriotic, national side (THE PRO-GOVERNMENT MPs ARE PATRIOTS).



Figure 6.14 Allusion linked to political slogan (direct citation)

Speech bubble: The parliament operates without traitors as well.¹⁸⁰

To illustrate the representation of the Gyurcsány-government, consider Figure 6.15. The editorial cartoon is entitled through an allusion that comes from a pop song *Miénk itt a tér, 1973* (lit. The Square is Ours). It presents Ferenc Gyurcsány (prime minister at that time, MSZP) behind a podium saying another allusion linked to the first: "...a Ház is a miénk, mert mi viseljük el." (lit. "... the House is ours as we bear it"). This is a citation from the same pop song and uses the word-play House which at first in the song rather referred to the political system or the country, while in this case, it refers to the parliament led by the speaker himself. In addition, Gyurcsány's activity shown in the cartoon, namely the giving of a speech metonymically stands for his scandalous Speech of Őszöd in which he acknowledged that the government misled the people and had not told them the truth. Even the space is diagonally divided into two parts by a cordon, and a man with a moustache wearing ancient Hungarian costume (such as a pointed felt cap and a sabretache on his belt) is standing behind the cordon. his cap covers his eyes which can refer to the conceptual metaphor NOT KNOWING IS NOT SEEING (based on its opposite, namely KNOWING IS SEEING); thus, he does not look a well-informed and clever man.¹⁸¹ This stocky man can be identified as a demonstrator with right-wing ideologies who holds a board in his hands demanding the resignation of the prime minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány. Hence, allusions from the pop song metonymically refer to a narrow space of manouevering, an unpleasant, unbearable environment. With a more detailed knowledge it can recall the political atmosphere of the 1970s which is compared to the crisis of the current government of the era in 2006. Moreover, the allusion is intertwined with an oxymoron-based irony in which the title (The Square is Ours) expresses a positive statement with regard to the square as a common place where diverse ideologies can be expressed. However, the visual elements contradict the title, indicating that the two sides are divided and incapable of dialogue (so the visuals make a negative statement).

In sum, during the second period, allusions contributed to the expression of the two-block system and the increasing political polarization. Highlighting the figures of Orbán and Gyurcsány and the process of presidentialization (growing importance of personality in governance) became visible via the allusions as well.

¹⁸⁰ 27.2.2002, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

¹⁸¹ My thanks go to Veronika Jávör-Szelid for this exciting observation.



Figure 6.15 Allusion linked to pop music

Title The Square is Ours

Caption (on the board): Resign (misspelled)

Speech bubble: ... the House is ours as we bear it¹⁸²

6.2.3 Allusions in the period of crisis and regime change between 2007 and 2019

The third period of democracy was heavily determined by political slogans and the antique allusion of the Colosseum. By this time, allusions changed not only in form but also in content. Previously allusions were mostly about the political force, then about the divided political system, in contrast, allusions of the third period mostly criticized specific individuals and specific political programs, they were more likely to expect accurate political knowledge from the reader. In this way, cartoonists seemed to have an even closer relationship with the audience, and this audience was much narrower than before.

The political slogans showed six patterns: first, literal citations, or their transcribed formats linked to certain politicians (e.g., “Boldog karácsonyt!”, lit. Merry Christmas – shown in Figure 6.16) Second, political slogans (usually positive terms) associated with the governing party (e.g., *rezsicsökkentés*, lit. utility reduction) were taken and used in a hyperbolic way which, of course, made it ridiculous. Third, again similar slogans were used with their antonyms or diverse meanings (e.g. *nemzeti konzultáció*, lit. national consultation). As a fourth strategy, we can mention repetition, when the political slogans were repeated so many times by the

¹⁸² 17.10.2006, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

political opponents that finally, they became humorous and deprived of their original meaning (e.g., *Soros terv*, lit. Soros plan – shown in Figure 6.17). In a fifth case, an image of a scandalous political story could be captured (e.g., *a vak komondor*, lit. the blind Hungarian Sheepdog¹⁸³) and cited again and again; thus, the visual part could stand for the whole story. The sixth pattern could be called creative naming (usually with negative evaluation) which was often used to criticize certain political programs (e.g., *rabszolgatörvény*, lit. slave law in which the opposition MPs called the worker metaphorically a slave in order to gain the sympathy and support of the people and to express their solidarity). We will take a closer look at two examples, the first shows a literal citation, while the second presents the overuse of a slogan.

The first editorial cartoon, Figure 6.16, shows two cleaning ladies in the Assembly Hall who are just finding a crossword puzzle in which the answer to each question is “I wish you a Merry Christmas”. We must share the political story behind the cartoon, namely that in the parliament, exactly this sentence was told by Viktor Orbán (12.12.2017) when Márta Demeter (LMP) posed a question in which she referred to the relationship between Ghaith Pharaon (who was on the list of those suspected of terrorism) and Orbán and pointed out its risk to the national security. Orbán refused to answer but provided his best wishes for the Christmas holiday which was received with great reverence in the governing coalition. By now, it can be stated that the sentence was repeated so many times in the (liberal and social democratic) media that it perceived by them to metonymically stand for the non-functioning democratic dialogue, namely a means of expressing the insignificance, disregard of the other party, and abuse of power. The cartoon touches on the issue of responsibility that falls on the prime minister, as the quotes comes from him.

¹⁸³ The article alongside the editorial cartoon cited the story of József Balogh (Fidesz) who stated that his wife needed hospital treatment because she had fallen through the blind dog (namely a Hungarian Sheepdog) of the family. In practice, the story denied the fact of domestic violence. Because of the absurdity of the story, it became one of the favorite topics of the media for a while.



Figure 6.16 Allusion linked to political slogan: “I wish you a Merry Christmas”

Speech bubble: This crossword was surely left here by the prime minister. He managed to answer to all questions
 “I wish you a Merry Christmas.”¹⁸⁴

The second example, shown in Figure 6.17 cites one of the most frequently quoted political slogans of the third period, that is *Soros*. The context based on the article alongside the editorial cartoon claimed that governmental communication was fixed to *Soros plan* expressing the danger of the network of billionaires who were considered to have a major influence on political decisions such as migration policy.¹⁸⁵ The author added that according to János Lázár (Fidesz), the statements of the questionnaire of the national consultation made by the government did not affect, did not mislead the people at all (so they were objective). At the same time, Bernadett Szél (LMP) met two commissioners for Brussels who were considered as György Soros’ reliable allies.

Looking at the editorial cartoon, we can see that it depicts the opponents, Bernadett Szél (LMP) and János Lázár (Fidesz). Szél asks Lázár about the millions of questionnaires on the Soros plan, and even questions the existence of the returned questionnaires of the national consultation. However, Szél’s question is ironically understood by Lázár according to which

¹⁸⁴ 17.12.2017, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by Marabu

¹⁸⁵ Based on the article, accompanying the cartoon, it can be said that the government held national consultation on the ideas called Soros plan in September 2017. The campaign was advertised on billboards on which György Soros’s head was visible which was accompanied by the text “National consultation on the Soros plan. Don’t leave it without a word.” All statements of the questionnaire ended with the following question “Do you support this point of the Soros plan?”

by using the expression *Soros plan*, Szél overtly demonstrates that she believes in the existence of the Soros plan, despite the fact that the opposition MPs deny it and assume it as a conspiracy theory. The allusion of the political slogan, namely the Soros plan is used as part of a causal irony in which Lázár's question is not a real question, it is more about criticizing the other party and actually overthrowing his political opponent. The cartoon is humorous as it reveals an absurd situation in which both parties actually name the Soros plan in the same way but understand it differently, in terms of conspiracy theory vs. real threat to the nation.



Figure 6.17 Allusion linked to political slogan: Soros plan

Speech bubble 1: There are no millions of questionnaires returned on Soros plan here.

Speech bubble 2: Why, is there Soros-plan?

Caption (on the pack): No watching¹⁸⁶

As we could see, in the third period of democracy, the number of the political slogans increased, and their use was much more related to criticism of the prime minister and the governing party. Criticism, however, was also linked to the society by raising issues such as *utility reduction* and *national consultation* and the cartoons mocked the exclusion of people from the real discussion of political issues. The use of political slogans followed different communication strategies of the opposition parties in the editorial cartoons (literal quotation, hyperbolic use of a term created

¹⁸⁶ 25.11.2017, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

by the government, negative use of a positive term, overuse of a term, capture of an image, and renaming a political measure in a pejorative way).

Overall, the allusions in the editorial cartoons of the third period as well demonstrated procedures similar to the ones mentioned by Körösenyi (2015) such as disintegration of the two-block system, dominance resulting from a two-thirds majority, the idea of the parliamentary super-majority representing the will of the people with antipluralist and populist visions (for instance anti-elitism, antiestablishment, national consultations), and authoritarian elements in governance. Among the authoritarian features, Körösenyi (2015, p. 15) mentioned the strong concentration of power, abuse of power, ousting political opponents from the competition, mobilizing citizens through mass organizations and parties in order to fulfill the purposes of the regime, among others. Here, only those features were mentioned which are affected by allusions.

Summary

In Section 6.2, allusions were differentiated based on their origin (European, Hungarian). Their identification was carried out by Qualitative Content Analysis. In sum, we claim that the difference between the three periods of democracy was also reflected in types and contents of allusions. 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 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).

The following section (6.3) presents the national symbols detected in the editorial cartoons.

6.3 National symbols

In the wake of Forceville (2013), symbol is defined as an overused, privileged metonymy which can be understood in a given (sub)cultural community. National symbol is more specific in the sense that the symbol itself is unique for the nation and it can stand for such nation-related concepts as state, nation, patriotism, among others.

This section focuses on the examination of the national symbols appearing in the corpus and seeks answers to questions linked to their types and frequency. What meanings can be associated with the national symbols that occur? Is there any trend-like change in the use of national symbols in different periods of democracy?

Critical genres (such as the political cartoon) can introduce critical stances on current values, attitudes, ideologies, and stereotypes by using a national symbol with novel associated meanings. Soós' (2014) research proved that an ethnonationalist concept of the nation (ideal assumption of ethnic and cultural homogeneity) was criticized in contemporary fine art. According to Soós (2014), ethnonationalism is closely related to authoritarianism in which the national perspective is taken by a group of the society that considers itself superior to others.

What we expect is that criticism of ethnonationalism appears in the corpus of editorial cartoons as well via the depictions of national symbols.

In the corpus, national symbols were identified with Qualitative Content Analysis. According to the results, it can be stated that a wide variety of national symbols appeared in the editorial cartoons. Within the total corpus, national symbols were rarely repeated, only exceptions were the national flag, national colors, and the Hungarian crest which occurred especially frequently in the editorial cartoons.

Among the national symbols, we could differentiate four types based on their link to the Hungarian history. In the first group, we can find permanent national symbols such as the national flag (the most popular with forty occurrences), national colors (the second most frequent, appeared with twenty-five occurrences), the Hungarian crest (third most popular, appeared with nine occurrences), while others appear less than three times such as the Sacred Crown, Hungarian currency, Hungária (female personification of Hungary), and the state (via the figure of Uncle State). The second group includes those national symbols which are related to the ancient and early Hungarian history such as tribal costume, conquest of the Carpathian Basin (895-896), yurt (accommodation for the Hungarian tribal families), Hungarians shooting arrows backwards, Árpád-striped flag, the election of Matthias Corvinus as king of Hungary (1485), and hussar uniforms (light cavalry). The third group consists of the 19th-century national symbols, among those, there are the costume of the nobles (Bocskai suit originally referring to

the Revolution and War of Independence), kingdom as a form of the Hungarian state, and the operation of the mobile post offices (between 1868 and 2004).

The majority of the national symbols belong to the fourth group coming from 20th-century Hungarian history such as the symbols linked to the First and the Second World War (B-list, hand gesture and armband of the Arrow Cross Party), while other symbols belong to the communist and socialist era (April 4 the Liberation Day, five-pointed red star, agitation, Kádár-crest, revolution of 1956 against the Soviets, the communist politician Imre Nagy). Another part of the national symbols come from the period after the change of the political system such as the Order of the Merit of the Republic of Hungary (“Magyar Köztársaság Érdemrend lovagkeresztje”), the four-vote referendum (“négyigenes népszavazás”), recommendation coupon (“kopogtatócédula”), compensation ticket (“kárpótlási jegy”), flood of the Danube (2002), introduction of the Welfare System Change, the 100-day action program (2002), and finally, the speech of Balatonőszöd and subsequent demonstrations on the Kossuth Square (2006).

Furthermore, it must be added that national symbols can be typified according to their relationship to value. In the editorial cartoon national symbols were neutral or negative/pejorative. Once it can be value-neutral, when its primary purpose is to designate space and culture, and it does not contribute to the critical message of the editorial cartoon significantly. The other type when value judgement is attached to a national symbol and is able to define an ideology, an attitude, and modifies or significantly affects the message of the editorial cartoon. In a few cases, meanings associated to the national symbol can even become the main topic of the cartoon. For us, the second type will be decisive, which metonymically refers to more than a place- and culture-determining device.

6.3.1 National symbols in various periods of democracy

All in all, 16% of the total corpus (94 editorial cartoons) showed at least one national symbol, and it was not rare that an editorial cartoon included idiom or allusion at the same time which confirmed that editorial cartoon as a genre was rich in cultural references and cognitive devices which could make the meaning more complex.

Due to the analysis, it could be observed that presence of the national symbols, in general, intensified over the ages: in the period of transition, it meant 5% of corpus, by the second period, it rose to 13%, while in the third period, 27% of the cartoons presented national symbols. This means that the number of the national symbols increased significantly over the

past thirty years. The following sections will discuss what symbols were characteristic of the different periods and what kind of meaning shift was observed.

6.3.1.1 National symbols in the period of transition (1989 – 1998)

During the first period, national symbols mostly referred to the political arrangement of the recent past and its consequences with such symbols as the five-pointed star, the compensation ticket, or the Kádár-crest. It meant more national symbols with negative meaning (e.g., Uncle State, five-pointed star), and less neutral national symbols (e.g., Hungarian crest, five-pointed star). In addition to institutional criticism, in a few cases, national symbols were used to describe certain politicians negatively, for instance, in an editorial cartoon, István Csurka (president of the nationalist MIÉP) uses the hand gesture of the far-right Hungarist Arrow Cross Party (which was in power in 1944 and 1945) in the parliament to express that he wants to speak.

It could also be observed that in some cases, the same national symbol could be used with different values in diverse editorial cartoons depending on the context. Consider two editorial cartoons with the representation of the five-pointed star, out of which the first was considered neutral, while the second was determined as negative.

In Figure 6.18, a dome-shaped alarm clock is depicted while on its top part the five-pointed star is moving from left to right and vice-versa continuously as a reminiscent of an alarm clock that indicates ringing. In this case, the five-pointed star is categorized as a neutral national symbol, because in this very early editorial cartoon (published on June 27, 1989) the star was still on the top of the building of the Hungarian Parliament and its removal was not a major topic yet. It is somewhat natural that the star is depicted, but it is used in a humorous and creative way as it becomes (re)movable. The cartoon itself indicates the metonymic target of THE START OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENTARY SESSION which is expressed through the visual hybrid of two metonymic sources in which THE ALARM CLOCK STANDS FOR THE START OF AN EVENT and THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE ASSEMBLY HALL THAT STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

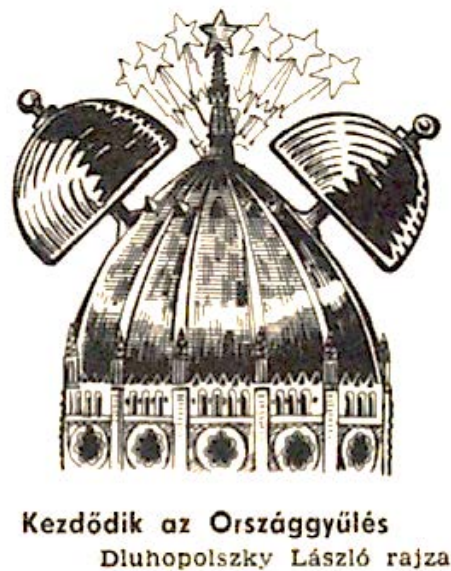


Figure 6.18 National symbol (neutral): FIVE-POINTED STAR STANDS FOR THE PAST REGIME

Title: Parliamentary Session Starts¹⁸⁷

On the contrary, the editorial cartoon in Figure 6.19 makes the red star its main topic in a conversation where both generations consider that the red star on the top of the Parliament should be removed, and the communist regime (metonymically represented by the red star) must be abolished. The young generation (metonymically represented by the young boy on the left) believes that a regime can be changed via tenders (the tender metonymically stands for a new age, democratic solutions), and he criticizes his parents' generation of the revolution of 1956 who did not try to remove it in that democratic way. The two older people (most probably the parents metonymically represent an older generation) do not speak a single word. In fact, the editorial cartoon can also be understood as a critique of the political comfort of the new generation and compares it to the deeds of the old generation ready for action.

¹⁸⁷ 27.6.1989, *Népszava*, drawn by László Dluhopolszky

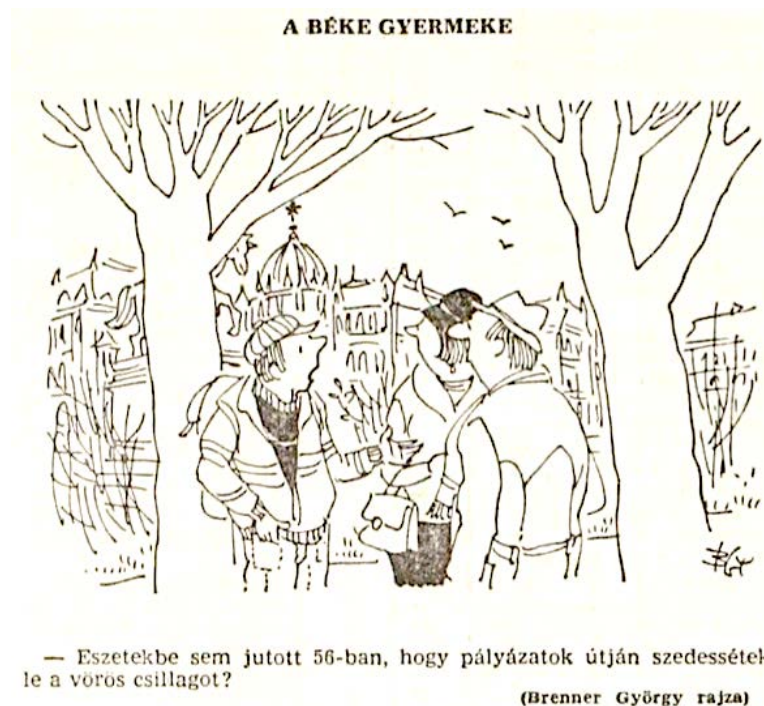


Figure 6.19 National symbol (negative): FIVE-POINTED STAR STANDS FOR THE PAST REGIME

positive: revolution of 1956

Title: The Child of Peace

Caption: Didn't you think of removing of the red star via a tender in 1956?¹⁸⁸

6.3.1.2 National symbols in the period of consolidation (1999 – 2006)

In the second period, the number of the national symbols increased by 8% (it is 13% of the total corpus). The ratio of neutral national symbols was slightly higher. However, this was the period when criticism of the excessive nationalist ideology appeared via such national symbols as yurt (linked to the prime minister, Viktor Orbán), Bocskai suit (linked to László Kövér, Fidesz), Árpád-striped flags, and holey national flag (linked to the nationalist movements and demonstrations in 2006).¹⁸⁹ In the following examples national symbol as a main topic (in Figure 6.20), national symbol as a characteristic feature of person (in Figure 6.21), and the national symbol as a means of a movement (here far-right movements, shown in Figure 6.22) will be demonstrated.

¹⁸⁸ 1.2.1990, *Magyar Nemzet*, drawn by György Brenner

¹⁸⁹ Disagreement and uncompromising attitude of the two major political forces was expressed in the form of agitation (referring to bribery and manipulation) and the B-list (referring to complete elimination of the opponent).

Figure 6.20 is an example of the situation when the national symbol itself becomes the major topic of the editorial cartoon. It depicts the process of “Coronation” when two angels (metaphorically representing two politicians Ibolya Dávid, MDF and József Torgyán, KFGP) are carrying the Sacred Crown and it seems they are approaching the Parliament. It has to be known that the article alongside the editorial cartoon reads that the MDF and FKGP wanted the Sacred Crown to be mentioned in the constitution, while the MSZP did not want to accept it as a symbol of the Hungarian state and republic, because according to them, it would have been absurd from the prime minister to take an oath on the crown and on the operation of the country without a king. The article also mentions that due to the opposition’s position, the government started to call the political opposition MPs traitors. Looking at the editorial cartoon, we can reveal that it criticizes the ambiguous use of a national symbol by displaying the politicians who support the constitutional incorporation of the holy crown as angels and takes a negative view of the confusion between the republic and the kingdom.



Figure 6.20 National symbol (negative): SACRED CROWN STANDS FOR CORONATION WHAT STANDS FOR THE KINGDOM AS A FORM OF STATE

Title: Coronation¹⁹⁰

The next example will show how a national symbol can refer to nationalist ideology linked to the government via its prominent figure, namely the prime minister Viktor Orbán during the first Orbán-government between 1998 and 2002. The editorial cartoon shown in Figure 6.21

¹⁹⁰ 15.9.1999, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Csaba Jókó

introduces the relocation of the Office of the Prime Minister. Based on the article accompanying the editorial cartoon, we know that the first ideas in connection with the relocation of the Office were born in 1993. After 1994, this was not an item on the agenda in the parliament. According to the novel government measure, the Office would move to the Ethnographic Museum till the end of 1999 (the museum stood opposite the Parliament and preserves ancient Hungarian heritage), then it will be moved to the Sándor Palace in Buda (once it was a privileged place by the king). Looking at the cartoon, we can read in the speech bubble: “In the Ethnographic Museum, a more Hungarian Office can be furnished in a yurt for the Prime Minister.” The Ethnographic Museum as a potential place for the Office works as a motivating factor for the concept of yurt which was a tent-like accommodation for the Hungarian tribes and due to this, it recalls the age of the Hungarian conquest. The editorial cartoon connects this ancient Hungarian motif to Orbán’s (or the government’s) ideology and rhetoric and mocks the large-scale plans by being overly national in form. Thus, in the eyes of the cartoonist, the yurt can exemplify excessive plans and excessive nationalism.



Pápai Gábor rajza

Figure 6.21 National symbol (negative): YURT STANDS FOR PATRIOTIC EMOTIONS/NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

Title: Orbanesque-Folk

Speech bubble: In the Ethnographic Museum, a more Hungarian Office can be furnished in a yurt for the Prime Minister.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ 9.1.1999, *Népszava*, drawn by Gábor Pápai

The last example from the second period shows how a national symbol can appear with extreme right-wing nationalist views linked to movements and demonstrations by the citizens in 2006. The editorial cartoon shown in Figure 6.22 presents the holey national flag. Originally, it became the symbol of the revolution of 1956: Rákosi-crest was placed in the center of the flag based on Soviet samples, and during the revolution it was cut out, and changed for Kossuth-crest. In short, it became a symbol of the national resistance, but it still appears at historical commemorations.

The editorial cartoons apply the frame-level metaphoric source of CIRCUS, in which the holey flag is understood as a “fiery hoop” held by a lion tamer (who turns out to be a demonstrator wearing far-right uniform such as boots, black sweater and military pants), while a member of the riot police is ready to jump just like a lion from a podium, and the outline of the Parliament appears in the background, recalling the structure of a circus. It had to be known that the cartoon was published after the speech of Ószöd came to light (performed by Ferenc Gyurcsány, prime minister at that time, MSZP) and the power of the government swayed. In fact, the article predicted that mass events on October 23 in 2006 were going to turn into demonstrations and in that way, national symbols were going to be used in an inappropriate way by demonstrators with extreme political views. Hence, the editorial cartoon can be understood as a negative critique of the inappropriate use of national symbols, and it points to the expropriation of the national symbol by certain extremist groups, but above all warns of a possible imminent danger. In retrospect, after the known riots, this does not seem humorous, maybe it was before the events.

If we look at the mental space model of the editorial cartoon (in Figure 6.23), we can see that three input spaces are presupposed, these are CULTURAL EVENT, DEMONSTRATION OF 2006, and REVOLUTION OF 1956. The first two are in metaphorical relationship with each other, in that way, the mappings (namely the elements of the input spaces) appear in the blend. The blend, however, also shows an element, the flag with a hole of the input space REVOLUTION OF 1956 which is considered a national symbol from the 20th century. It can metonymically provide access to the other elements of the input space, and it would result in comparing the demonstration of 2006 and the revolution of 1956. The holey flag had positive meaning linked to patriotism (selfless devotion to one’s country) in the original input space, and it only becomes negative and even excessively negative in the blend, because it is held by a far-right protester who is usually associated with negative value judgement (due to radical, nationalist views).

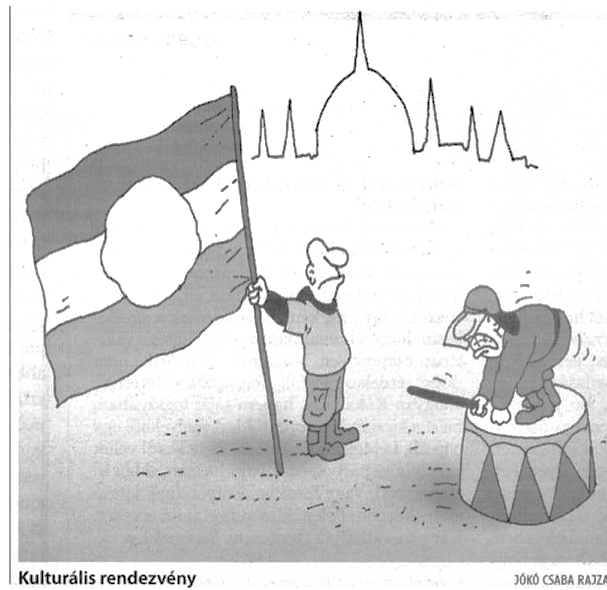


Figure 6.22 National symbol (negative): THE HOLEY NATIONAL FLAG STANDS FOR NATIONALISM
Title: Cultural Event¹⁹²

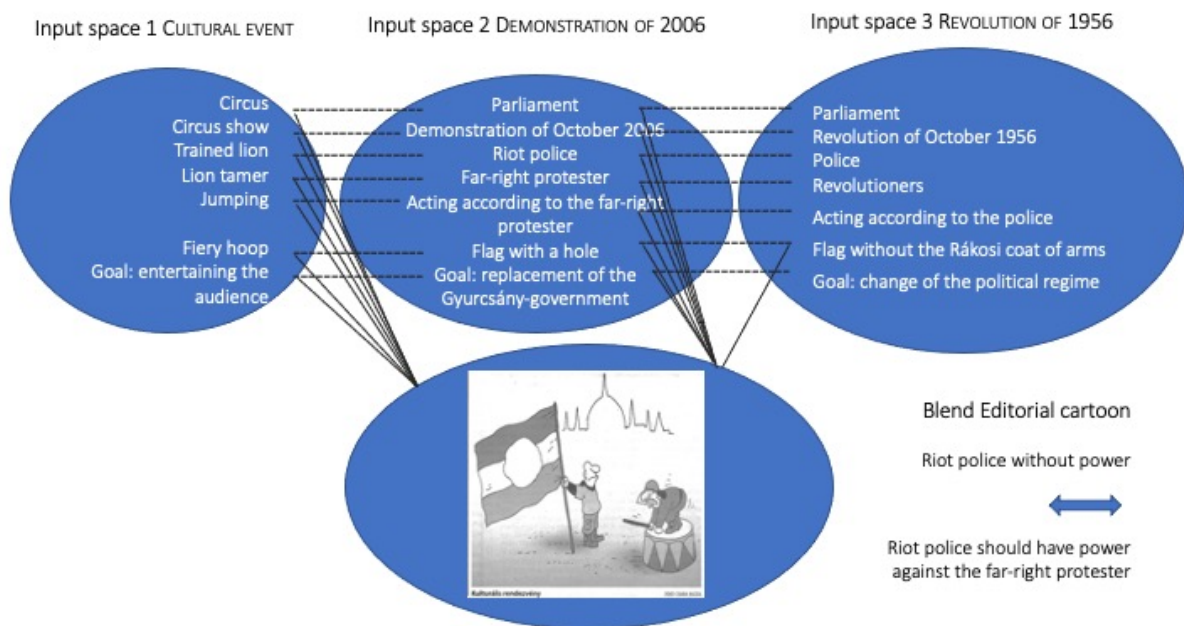


Figure 6.23 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 6.22

6.3.1.3 National symbols in the period of crisis and regime change (2007 – 2019)

¹⁹² 29.9.2006, *Magyar Hírlap*, drawn by Csaba Jókó

In the third period, the large increase in national symbols is due to the fact that the Assembly Hall appears more times than in the previous periods with rows of chairs in national colors. This, however, literally reflects reality just like the flags on the building of the Parliament or in the corners of the offices. They indicate that it is an official state venue, namely the Hungarian Parliament. Therefore, these national symbols were identified as neutral ones.

In other cases, the national symbol is used pejoratively or in an ambiguous way. In practice, it can be transformed (e.g., the Sacred Crown is redesigned as a pumpkin hat and appears on the head of the Speaker of the House, László Kövér) or a national symbol can be placed on an ambiguous place (e.g., national awards decorated with national ribbons appear on the buttocks of the awarded people). All of these variants desacralize the national symbol and change its meaning: in the first case, the pumpkin hat shows its owner as a fool, while in the second case, the awards on the buttocks refer to the refusal of the person/ideology giving the award and questions the value of the award.

As we already saw in the case of yurt, a national symbol can be linked to national conservative ideologies, which appears in the third period as well. For instance, when László Kövér the Speaker of the House is wearing Bocskai suit and uses the parliamentary security guards wearing 19th-century attire to maintain discipline in the parliament. In another case, security guards bring torn hands with microphones on a tray to Kövér who can be interpreted as a tribal chief, and the guard even says: “This is what we exploited in the periphery bordering the press.” The national symbols associated with violence and abuse are linked to the figure of Kövér and it aims to indicate that the parliament is led along the same ideology that is criticized in the editorial cartoons.

A much striking phenomenon of the era is that editorial cartoons show national symbols which are able to proclaim national emotions in a populist way, which in turn do not create a community but sharply separates groups from each other. It is illustrated by Figure 6.24¹⁹³, in which a homeless man is sitting under the “national flag of the country” that stands in front of the Parliament. A politician (most probably Antal Rogán, Fidesz) is shown on the right side who does not show empathy but scolds the beggar for his request from his country and asks what the beggar could do for the country. The security guard mediates between the politician and the beggar, so the politician and the beggar have no direct relationship. According to the message, poverty is only an ugly issue which should not come close to such beautiful things as

¹⁹³ The article alongside the editorial cartoon was about growing social inequalities around the world. It suggested that above all, sensitive individuals and a high degree of emotional intelligence were needed.

national emotions expressed by the national flag (NATIONAL FLAG STANDS FOR NATIONAL EMOTIONS): “Couldn’t you starve a little more discreetly a few hundred yards away?” The editorial cartoon shows up an exaggerated political view that connects people to the concept of nation on the basis of financial and social situation.



Figure 6.24 National symbol (negative): THE NATIONAL FLAG OF THE COUNTRY STANDS FOR (THE MOST BEAUTIFUL) NATIONAL EMOTIONS

Speech bubble 1: Say. Do you have to ruin the most beautiful national feelings? Couldn’t you starve a little more discreetly a few hundred yards away?

Speech bubble 2: Tell him, John: do not ask what the country can do for them, but what they can do for the country!¹⁹⁴

The next editorial cartoon, Figure 6.25¹⁹⁵ introduces social segregation (discrimination even if the goal and the message are common). It presents a demonstration on the Kossuth Square in front of the Parliament at a time when the demonstrations were continuous. The security guard informs the protester (who looks surprised with rounded eyes) that the demonstrators are separated based on their ideologies: the ones with the flag represent national revolutionary traditions, while the one asking for information stands for Jacobin-Bolshevik revolutionary traditions (representing the ideals of the French Revolution which went against absolutism).

¹⁹⁴ 28.3.2014, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

¹⁹⁵ The article accompanying the editorial cartoon discussed the reason for the failure of the demonstrations (of teachers and nurses) and cited division of the society as the main reason. According to the author, instead of monodramas, mass demonstration would have been necessary.

Co-operation cannot even take place along common issues; thus, the editorial cartoon comments the division of the society negatively.

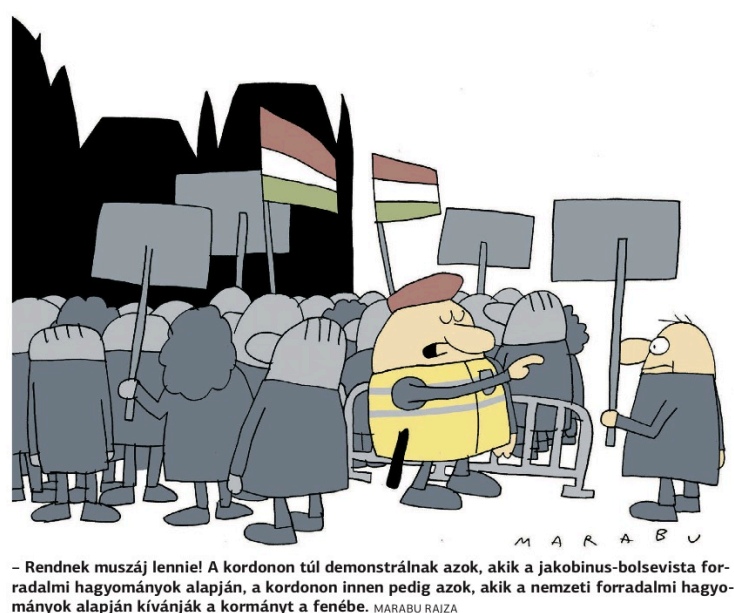


Figure 6.25 National symbol (negative): NATIONAL FLAGS STAND FOR NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS

Caption: It has to be order. Beyond the cordon, those who want the government to hell based on Jacobin-Bolshevik revolutionary traditions, on this side of the cordon, those who want the government to hell based on national revolutionary traditions.¹⁹⁶

The last editorial cartoon, Figure 6.26 shows the “national flag of the country” again, however, its pole is transformed into a maze (THE NATIONAL FLAG OF THE COUNTRY IS A MAZE). The editorial cartoon was published before the celebration of the national holiday of the foundation of the state, August 20 which should unite the members of the nation. The transformation of the national flag into a maze can express the complexity of national feelings, pride, and patriotism and the shape of the pole evidently causes the impossibility of raising the flag. The article alongside the cartoon referred to the founder of the state, Saint Stephen who had created legal certainty, a legal framework in Hungary, and included Hungary in the European economic and cultural circulation. Then the author compared two political camps, the ones who believed that the rule of law was shaken, there was an excessive concentration of power, and the constitutional crisis was close, while the others who represented the Christian national civic side. Furthermore, he believed that each group could only interpret its own position which precluded communication and even the celebration of a national holiday together.

¹⁹⁶ 9.4.2016, *Népszabadság*, drawn by Marabu

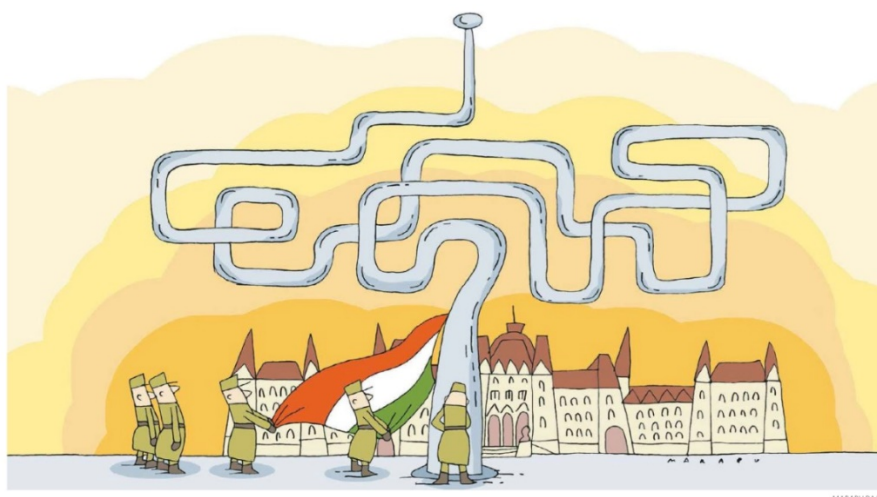


Figure 6.26 National symbol: THE NATIONAL FLAG OF THE COUNTRY IS A MAZE > THE NATIONAL FLAG OF THE COUNTRY STANDS FOR NATIONAL FEELINGS and THE MAZE STANDS FOR COMPLEXITY ¹⁹⁷

Summary

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. The analyses of editorial cartoons showed that national symbols, as special, overused nation-related metonymies, can cooperate with conceptual metaphors and ironies and contribute significantly to the creation of meaning.

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

¹⁹⁷ 17.8.2019, *Népszava*, drawn by Marabu

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.

The next chapter concludes the major results of the dissertation and presents its limitations and further research directions.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The dissertation sought answers to questions related to the figurative representation of the Hungarian Parliament in editorial cartoons published between 1989 and 2019. The investigation started with setting up the corpus of the editorial cartoons (including 585 items) retrieved from four Hungarian dailies which were *Magyar Hírlap*, *Magyar Nemzet*, *Népszabadság*, and *Népszava* (in alphabetic order). The research was comparative, and it constantly targeted the study of three different periods of democracy set up by Körösenyi (2015). These are the period of transition (1989 – 1998), the period of consolidation (1999 – 2006), and the period of crisis and regime change (after 2007). Körösenyi described the political changes in these periods from more aspects (alongside what connects and what distinguishes the various eras) and this research applied this political scientific periodization as a methodological framework for the corpus analysis.

The present examination began with the identification of the political topics, the violated democratic rules, and the criticized features of the politician(s). This identification procedure was carried out by Qualitative Content Analysis. The following step focused on the identification, analysis, and description of such cognitive procedures as conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and irony. For the identification, conceptual metaphor and metonymy identification procedures were applied (Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020; Pérez Sobrino, 2017). Ironies were identified based on the contradictory elements (based on evaluative and logical contradictions) in the editorial cartoon (Barnden, 2018). Then as a last step cultural references such as idioms, allusions and national symbols were identified with the help of Qualitative Content Analysis, and their operation and co-operation with the previously analyzed cognitive devices were presented with the help of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004).

7.1 Examination of the answers to the theses

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 research could also present that 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) which were strongly intertwined with cultural references what

put the representation of a political situation in a special perspective.¹⁹⁸ Regarding the contents and functions of these cognitive devices, it could be observed that the compared periods of democracy (Körösényi, 2015) showed significant differences based on the diverse preferences and distribution of the cognitive devices with specific cultural references in each era.

7.1.1 Summary of the description of the entire corpus

In the analysis of the editorial cartoons, it could be seen that cognitive devices were likely to cooperate with 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. Perhaps irony was the only tool that rarely cooperated with metaphor and was strongly verbal. In the case of idioms and allusions, we could observe more active metonymic and metaphoric motivation, and these cultural references often appeared multimodally. The thesis did not attempt to establish a typology of the relationships of the examined variables. Rather, the research focused on the characteristics and frequency of these variables, and these observations will be summarized under the following bullet points.

1. During the entire period (from 1989 to 2019), the editorial cartoons of the corpus depicting the Parliament mostly attacked the politicians through individual characteristic features or stereotypical representations, and only secondarily did they attack the system of political institutions, namely the parliament, the government, or any of the political parties. Hence, it can be stated that criticism was always more personal than institutional. Since the era of consolidation (from 1999), personal attacks have increased significantly and stagnated in equally high numbers in the second and third eras. Most of the criticism made fun of the two major parties Fidesz and MSZP,

¹⁹⁸ Hence, there was only a limited number of conceptual metonymies and metaphors linked to the representations of the parliament in editorial cartoons. Allusions and national symbols also had a limited stock (just like metonymies and metaphors) and were based on well-known associations often repeated in both media and political discourse throughout the years. What made the usage of conceptual metonymies, conceptual metaphors, allusions and national symbols more creative was their complexity and co-operation with more unique devices such as ironies and idioms which were barely repeated. In sum, the editorial cartoons usually applied devices with recurring (metonymy, metaphor, allusions, and national symbols) and novel tools (ironies and idioms) in combination.

out of which the Fidesz was mostly ridiculed through specific individuals, while the MSZP was mocked as a community (and in most of the cases it remained faceless).

2. Over half of the editorial cartoons criticized the violation of one or more liberal democratic values, what is more, the number of the representations of the violations grew gradually from 1989 to 2019, and especially outnumbered in the third period (between 2007 and 2019). In most cases, social and economic features of the country were criticized in the cartoons, namely that the improving quality of life for people was not guaranteed, even if it was one of the pillars of democracy and responsibility of each of the governments. It must be noticed, however that criticism against the perceived deteriorating social and economic conditions decreased between 1989 and 2019, while, in parallel, criticism of the perceived corruption has grown significantly and steadily.
3. In the editorial cartoons of the corpus, the politicians were ridiculed and expired primarily for their immorality, undesirable behavior, and partisanship (understood as a form of abuse of power). When we focus on the trend lines, it can be stated that over time, undesirable behavior, doing bad policy, and ineffective politicization became less and less criticized in the cartoons. In parallel, corrupt behavior and partisanship exhibited a generally increasing tendency.
4. The formal features and the associated semantic meanings linked to the depicted architectural parts of the Parliament determined both conceptual metonymies (THE ARCHITECTURAL PART STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT WHAT STANDS FOR X) and conceptual metaphors (the domain-level conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS X and the frame-level conceptual metaphor THE PARLIAMENT IS X). In the corpus, the dominant architectural part was the Assembly Hall which mainly triggered such conceptual metonymies as

THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS in which

THE PODIUM STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY SPEECH

THE VOTING BUTTONS STAND FOR THE LAW-MAKING PROCEDURES

THE ROWS OF THE HALL STAND FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE PARTIES/OPPONENTS/ FACTION FORMATIONS, AND THE PROCEDURE OF TRANSITION TO ANOTHER PARTY

At the same time, the Assembly Hall appeared as a metaphorical target domain in a limited number of conceptual metaphors (mainly in multimodal metaphors). The most frequent conceptual metaphors were

THE ASSEMBLY HALL IS A PLACE FOR FIGHT within the metaphorical domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT
 THE ASSEMBLY HALL IS A CIRCUS/A THEATRE within the metaphorical domain of ENTERTAINMENT
 THE ASSEMBLY HALL IS A DIRTY PLACE within the metaphorical domain of CLEANING
 THE ASSEMBLY HALL IS A SCHOOL within the metaphorical domain of EDUCATION
 THE ASSEMBLY HALL IS A FOOTBALL PITCH within the metaphorical domain of SPORT

5. In the corpus, the number of metonymic representations of the Parliament was high and stagnant over the years, it means that the Parliament (or its any depicted element) usually pointed toward other concepts related to the building. Thus, if we see the Parliament in editorial cartoons, we often think of such metonymic target domains as a POLITICAL TOPIC, A POLITICAL EVENT/ACTION, THE GOVERNMENT, POLITICIANS, THE POWER, THE PARLIAMENT, THE PEOPLE, THE COUNTRY, or THE CITY.
6. The metaphoricity of the Parliament exhibited a generally decreasing tendency. Regarding the modality of the metaphors (THE PARLIAMENT IS X), multimodal metaphors were always more than visual metaphors in the corpus, but trend-like change was not detected. As for the metaphorical representations of the Parliament, it can be stated that the metaphorical domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT was highly dominant which started without physical contact during the period of transition, continued in fights during the consolidation, and finally, ended up in the representations of physical aggression, mutilation, and death penalty. From all this, we can deduce the roughness of parliamentary situation, debates, and the behavior of politicians depicted in editorial cartoons.
7. Furthermore, the number of ironies, especially causal ironies (based on logical contradiction) doubled compared to the first and the second periods. It meant a radical communicative change that formulated criticism in a much more implicit and intellectual manner. These were not as obvious anymore as the oxymoron-based ironies that depended on the contrast between positive and negative value judgement. Causal ironies were heavily built up on language games and ambiguous speech.
8. Four types of idioms appeared in the corpus, among those sayings and proverbs, polylexemic expressions, compound words, and polysemous expressions were discussed. Sayings and proverbs were always dominant, but their number fell back to its third by the second and the third periods. This might be related to the process observed in the case of the conceptual metaphors and ironies, namely that the applied

communication of the editorial cartoons became less open and more ambiguous. (It is supported by the decrease in metaphoricity and the increase of the causal ironies.) In that way, it is conceivable that the visual representations of the proverbs in editorial cartoons, which was quite common, was considered a too direct form of evaluation, therefore, not appropriate for the era.

9. As for the allusions, the early period could be featured by antique and Christian citations which was then changed for the citations from national cultural products (music, literature, cabaret, etc.), and finally for political slogans and quotations. In the third period, the increase of the political slogans and quotations resulted in stronger criticism of the prime minister and the government. This change also indicated a change in the relationship with the audience which first targeted a wider audience (less dependent on party politics), which, however, has become increasingly narrow (strongly dependent on party politics) over time.
10. Among the national symbols appearing in the editorial cartoons we found permanent symbols, and further ones from the early, 19th-century, and 20th-century Hungarian history. The occurrences of national symbols in the editorial cartoons manifested a growth over the past thirty years. Contrary to the national symbols with a sort of metonymical reference of an official state venue, other part of the national symbols could metonymically recall past political systems, national ideology, or extreme nationalist ideologies. In sum, the growing presence of national symbols and their appearance as a major theme of the editorial cartoons could be read as a critique of ethnonationalism which is closely linked to authoritarianism.

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.

The editorial cartoons showed a high density of strongly cooperative processes which indicated changes in the communicative strategies of the editorial cartoons over the years. Two general trends could be observed on the basis of the investigation of the cognitive devices and cultural references: first, the increase of a more verbally dominant ironic language featured by double talk and fine mockery which was dominated by indirect elements (conceptual metonymies and causal ironies). Second, the increase of more aggressive scenes 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 appears 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.

7.2 Summary of the descriptions of different periods of democracy

Despite the stock of certain conceptual metonymies, conceptual metaphors and cultural references, each period of the democratization procedure has its unique characteristic features which significantly distinguishes one era from another. In line with my expectations, the cooperating variables outlined the profile of each era shown in Table 7.1. The Table itself will be detailed from subsections 7.2.1 to 7.2.3.

	1989-1998 TRANSITION	1999-2006 CONSOLIDATION	2007-2019 CRISIS AND REGIME CHANGE
Personal criticism against	József Torgyán	Viktor Orbán and Ferenc Gyurcsány	Viktor Orbán
Institutional criticism against	the MSZP	the MSZP	mostly the MSZP, less frequently the Fidesz
Violation of democratic values (institutional criticism) (no. of the violations of the democratic values increased)	1. social and economic welfare, fare wages, and social security are not fulfilled (high level of inflation) 2. juridical requirements are not fulfilled (non-transparent decision-making processes, problems of the rule of law) 3. lack of freedom (of press and info, speech, and travelling)	1. the operation of the parties and elections (non-replaceable politicians, there is no real multi-party system, consensus is not an objective) 2. social and economic welfare, fare wages, and social security are not fulfilled 3. juridical operation (not accountable politicians)	1. social and economic welfare, fare wages, and social security are not fulfilled (global crisis of 2008 and its consequences) 3. the operation of the parties and elections (abuse of power, not consensual negotiations) 3. high level of corruption 4. lack of freedom (of press and information, speech, and the respect of minority)
Politicians' criticized features (personal criticism)	1. undesirable behavior 2. immorality 3. doing bad policy	1. immorality 2. undesirable behavior 3. partisanship (nepotism and abuse of power)	1. immorality 2. partisanship (nepotism and abuse of power) 3. corrupt behavior

Conceptual metonymies (no. of the metonymies stagnated)	<p>1. THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS</p> <p>2. THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT</p> <p>3. THE DOME STANDS FOR THE PARLIAMENT/POLITICAL EVENT AND ACTION/GOVERNMENT/POWER/POLITICIANS/THE COUNTRY, and THE POLITICAL TOPIC</p>	<p>1. THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS</p> <p>2. THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT</p> <p>3. THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC (such as official ceremonies, meeting of the politicians and the press, corrupt affairs, networking, nepotism)</p>	<p>1. THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS</p> <p>2. THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC (such as official ceremonies, meeting of the politicians and the press, corrupt affairs, networking, nepotism)</p> <p>3. THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT</p>
Conceptual metaphors (no. of the metaphors decreased)	<p>1. POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT (without physical touch)</p> <p>2. POLITICS IS MOVING (e.g., referring to the accession to the EEC)</p> <p>3. POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT</p>	<p>1. POLITICS IS ENTERTAINMENT</p> <p>2. POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT (ongoing fights)</p> <p>3. POLITICS IS MOVING (referring to the career of a person or a party)</p>	<p>1. POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT (coercion, death, mortal judgement, mutilation)</p> <p>2. POLITICS IS SPORT</p> <p>3. POLITICS IS A DIRTY ACTIVITY</p>
Ironies (no. of the ironies increased)	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	increasing no. of oxymoron-based irony used for the critique of the two-block system and the increasing role of the party leaders (presidentialization)	increasing no. of causal type ironies used for expressing more sarcastic and pejorative tone in an implicate manner in order to criticize the prime minister and the measurements of the government from a starting point that usually expresses repression and abuse of power
Idioms (no. of the idioms decreased then stagnated)	dominance of proverbs with negative evaluation	no. of proverbs halved	stagnated (compared to the previous period)
Allusions (no. of the allusions slightly increased then stagnated)	international	Hungarian cultural products (music, literature)	political slogans and quotations
Audience	European antiquity and Christianity wider audience	political slogans and quotations for the party camp	European antiquity for the narrower layer of the party sympathizers
National symbols (no. of the national symbols increased)	criticism of the past political system and its consequences	<p>national ideology linked to Viktor Orbán and László Kövér</p> <p>nationalism linked to the extreme right-wing nationalist groups</p>	nationalism linked to the government

Table 7.1 Comparison of the three different periods of democracy alongside the variables examined in the dissertation

7.2.1 The period of transition between 1989 and 1998

In this section the profile of the period of transition with the results of the corpus research will be demonstrated:

1. Among the mostly criticized people, we need to mention József Torgyán, while party criticism was directed exclusively against the MSZP.
2. In the period of transition, most of the editorial cartoons criticized that the social and economic welfare and safety were not fulfilled. There was a strong criticism on the juridical procedures as well (it was considered that the court did not treat everyone equally and the government did not follow the rule of law), on the assumed lack of transparency in law-making, while freedom was also questioned (freedom of press and information, freedom of speech, and freedom of travelling).
3. Politicians were mainly criticized for their undesirable behavior in the parliament, for their immorality and for doing bad policy.
4. The period was determined by the presence of such motifs as the Assembly Hall, the building and the dome which are important in the sense of the conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors triggered by these motifs. Among the most significant conceptual metonymies there were the followings:

THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS

THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT

THE DOME COULD STAND FOR THE PARLIAMENT/POLITICAL EVENT AND ACTION/GOVERNMENT/POWER/
POLITICIANS/THE COUNTRY, and THE POLITICAL TOPIC

5. The dominance of the Assembly Hall implied a large number of metaphoric domains of PHYSICAL CONFLICT (by focusing on the threat, tension, physical separation and preparation for the clash).¹⁹⁹ In addition to the Assembly Hall, the building and the dome

¹⁹⁹ According to Körösenyi (2015, p. 3), due to the just created plural multi-party system there were sharp political and ideological, public law disputes, and the political parties were distrustful of each other. In practice, the party elites reached only a temporary agreement on regime change. Körösenyi (2015, p. 4) mentions three major

mostly attracted the metaphoric domain of MOVING (by focusing on the downward, upward, backward, endless movements and stagnation in policy). The concept of MOVING was linked to such target domains as CATCHING UP WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES and ENTERING THE PARLIAMENT.

6. The usage of ironies (both oxymoron-based and causal type of ironies) outlined that the parliamentary institution cannot provide proper solutions for the problems, criticized the non-functioning democracy, and the malfunctioning of the media.
7. In the period of transition, international, European, and Christian allusions were often used which were widely known by the audience through which the allusions could criticize the formation of political units, struggles for gaining positions, and they were speaking about the creation of the political forces.²⁰⁰
8. National symbols (such as the five-pointed star or the compensation ticket) mainly criticized the past political system and its consequences.

7.2.2 The period of consolidation between 1999 and 2006

In this section the profile of the second period will be presented:

1. Among the mostly criticized politicians there were the two prime ministers and party leaders, namely Viktor Orbán and Ferenc Gyurcsány. Party criticism exclusively went against the MSZP just like in the previous period. Perhaps the editorial cartoons reflected the political changes, namely that the previously three-pole system was changed for a two-block system in which the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition and the Fidesz (which shifted strongly to the right) were accompanied by the formation of stable party-loyal forces and party camps around the parties (Körösenyi, 2015, p. 6). After the elections of 1998 and 2006, the governments significantly modified the structure and the operation of the system of the government which resulted in centralization within the government and encouraged the power of the prime ministers; thus, the Hungarian

ideological poles, liberal, socialist, and Christian-national which were not cooperative at all, they always followed competitive strategies.

²⁰⁰ During this period, Körösenyi (2015, p. 4) speaks about an increased level of civic activism, sudden revival of participation, revival of association and civil social activity, the operation of economic and labor unions; thus, parties, in general, managed to mobilize a great part of the citizens who were interested and involved in policy. Citizens were open and read alternative media, because the party affiliation of the citizens was still volatile.

politics was constantly being presidentialized. The role of the political leaders became much more dominant even against their parties (Körösényi, 2015, p. 7).²⁰¹

2. In the period of consolidation, the mostly criticized democratic value was the operation of the parties and fairness of the elections (namely that the politicians were not replaceable, multi-party system did not work, and the governing party did not take into account the opposition's opinion), besides, social and economic situation and juridical operation (politician were not accountable) were also criticized.²⁰²
3. The politicians were mostly mocked for their immorality and undesirable behavior.
4. Among the architectural elements again the Assembly Hall was dominant, but the building and the corridor appeared in large numbers. Therefore, the following conceptual metonymies were triggered:

THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS

THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT

THE CORRIDOR STAND FOR THE POLITICAL TOPICS (such as official ceremonies, meeting of the politicians and the press, corrupt affairs, networking, nepotism)

5. The dominance of the Assembly Hall implied the metaphoric domain of ENTERTAINMENT where mostly Viktor Orbán and Ferenc Gyurcsány acted as protagonists of a cabaret, sometimes Gyurcsány became a magician. Besides, the Assembly Hall attracted the domain-level metaphoric source of PHYSICAL CONFLICT as well by focusing on the ongoing fights.²⁰³ Furthermore, the building was mainly linked to the domain-level metaphoric source of MOVING by referring to personal career and political achievements of certain parties. The corridor was closely linked to the domain-

²⁰¹ Körösényi (2015, p. 7) describes the process in which Viktor Orbán and his politics became a point of alignment as a process of gaining the leadership (becoming a chief, in Hungarian “vezéresedés”). It did not only mean the dominance of a person but referred to his personality through which he was able to mobilize political camps, dominated his party, had unique voice, and had vision, namely charismatic leaders appeared (Körösényi, 2015, p. 7).

²⁰² The strong criticism of the functioning of politics and the Constitutional Court indicated a shift related to a strong politicization of the administration (Körösényi, 2015, p. 6).

²⁰³ The period of consolidation was mostly featured by the fights between Orbán and Gyurcsány (considered as two charismatic leaders), and it is especially true for the period between 2004 and 2009 (Körösényi, 2015, p. 7).

level metaphoric source of CLEANING by referring to the dirty affairs of the Gyurcsány-government.²⁰⁴

6. During the consolidation, mainly oxymoron-based ironies were used which were able to highlight bipolarization by criticizing the first Orbán-government and the Gyurcsány-government in different ways. The Orbán-government was described as a non-democratic system in which there was no agreement neither between the political parties, nor between the politicians and the citizens.²⁰⁵ The Gyurcsány-government was depicted as a system which could not provide solutions for the social and economic problems, it was described as a lying and corrupt system.
7. The allusions only reinforced the idea of bipolarization (two-block system) and presidentialization with citations from various Hungarian cultural products (e.g., the pop music entitled “The Square is Ours”).
8. The national symbols used during the consolidation could often be associated with national ideology linked to the Orbán-government, specifically to the prime minister Viktor Orbán (e.g., the Transylvanian national anthem) and László Kövér (e.g., Bocskai suit). While in 2006 (during the crisis of the Gyurcsány-government), certain national symbols (e.g., Árpád-striped flags) were appropriated by extreme-right wing nationalist groups and the representation of those in editorial cartoons were used to criticize the increasingly popular nationalist movements which were blamed for the division and the polarization of the nation.

7.2.3 The period of crisis and regime change between 2007 and 2019

In this section, the third period of democracy, namely the crisis and regime change will be discussed:

1. In the editorial cartoons, the mostly criticized politician was Viktor Orbán, while party criticism was mostly directed against the MSZP, and the Fidesz as a party was much less criticized. The prime minister’s personality as the major target of criticism in

²⁰⁴ Due to the strong politicization of the various administrative levels, the role of networking, nepotism, institutional corruption, and the role of the economic elite significantly increased (Körösenyi, 2015, p. 7).

²⁰⁵ The phenomenon can be related to the strengthening of top-down movements while putting bottom-up NGOs in an increasingly difficult position (Körösenyi, 2015, pp. 6–7).

editorial cartoons can be explained through political changes. The political crisis of 2006 destroyed the legitimacy of the Gyurcsány-regime, shook the citizens' confidence in the parliament, pulled party preferences to the right, and created the rhetoric of an extraordinary situation in which an extraordinary person was necessary (that was Viktor Orbán) (Körösenyi, 2015, p. 8). Since then extraordinary situations are continuously recreated which reinforces the role of the charismatic leader. The features of the new regime were outlined after the elections of 2010 which confirmed the authoritarian right-wing, etatist thinking through Orbán's illiberal turn and the two-third majority of the Fidesz (Körösenyi, 2015, p. 8). After 2010, the changes (in the mode of exercising power, in the application of populist tools, etc.) were not coherent, could be seen only through the power interests of pro-government leaders (Körösenyi, 2015, p. 11); thus, its main objective was to maintain and stabilize the power.

2. In the period of crisis and regime change, the democratic value of social and economic affairs (the reason could be the global financial crisis of 2008), the high level of corruption, the operation of the parties and election (the two-third majority), and the lack of freedom (freedom of press and information, freedom of speech, respect of minority) were highly criticized in the editorial cartoons. The latter can be linked to the market-distorting activities of the public economic sector, namely the acquisition of media platforms by pro-government market players (Körösenyi, 2015, p. 20).
3. The politicians were mainly criticized for their immorality, partisanship (abuse of power), and corrupt behavior. It can be linked to Körösenyi's (2015, p. 8) idea according to which after the political crisis of 2006, the right and left-wing political elites did not accept each other as legitimate political forces, and beside the increasing polarization, the political leaders took risks, pursued a confrontational political style which was manifested in their polarized rhetoric and political decisions. Körösenyi (2015, p. 8) adds that "The stakes of the political struggles have been steadily raised."
4. Among the architectural element the Assembly Hall and the representation of the corridor were dominant, they were followed by the depiction of the building and they triggered such conceptual metonymies as

THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND ACTIONS

THE CORRIDOR STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPICS (such as official ceremonies, meeting of the politicians and the press, corrupt affairs, networking, nepotism)

THE BUILDING STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC or THE GOVERNMENT

5. The dominance of the Assembly Hall implied the metaphorical domain of PHYSICAL CONFLICT which mostly showed unequal fights with difference in power relations between the opponents, presented various weapons, and captured even the moment of death or mortal judgement; thus, physical violence and coercion appeared in this period. Besides, the Assembly Hall implied the domain-level metaphoric source of SPORT as well where cheating appears in the form of abuse of power which is depicted on the field. In addition, the corridor implied the domain-level metaphoric source of CLEANING where dirt is related to the improper behavior of the politicians and unfair, often corrupt political affairs.
6. During the crisis and regime change, a great part of the ironies were causal ironies which also means that the communication strategy changed. Causal ironies are more implicate than oxymoron-based ironies. The basis of these ironies was repression and abuse of power, so their tone became more pejorative and sarcastic. The cartoonists created causal irony by activating two terms with similar sound and meaning thereby contrasting two significantly different meanings. Among the other methods for the creation of causal irony rewriting of regulations and posing rhetoric questions were detected.
7. In this period, most of the allusions were political slogans, fixed phrases, and quotations, another great part of the allusions belonged to the Colosseum-motif. Allusions cited in this period were literal citations from politicians, political slogans associated with the governing party, the name of a political program used negatively, an overused fixed political phrase, capture of an image from a political story, or creative naming. These allusions criticized specific individuals (especially the prime minister, Viktor Orbán) and specific political programs of the government. In that way, the cartoonist built the cartoon on a closer relationship with the audience (readers of the given daily).
8. Contrary to the previous periods, the occurrences of the national symbols appeared in large numbers. The national symbols often got ambiguous meanings (e.g., the Saint Crown was transformed into a pumpkin hat on Kövér's head), their nationalist content was criticized (e.g., with the depiction of the Bocskai suit), however, in some cases, the national symbol itself became the main topic of the editorial cartoons in which the national symbol was used to criticize the usage and expression of national feelings in a populist way (e.g., a homeless person could not be a real patriot under the national flag of the country, simply because they were not nice together). The depiction of the national symbols was rather linked to violence and abuse of power.

7.3 Limitations and recommendations for further research

The dissertation faces some limitations, with reference to the specificity of the corpus, the investigated variables, the lack of empirical research²⁰⁶, and unique focus of the research on the figurative representation of the Parliament. The extension of the corpus, the examined variables, and shift in the major focus are all possible options for further research. Here, we provide some of those which could be fruitful research directions in the future.

7.3.1 The extension of the corpus

The dissertation focused on the period between 1989 and 2019, but of course, it can be narrowed down and investigated with additional materials. This extension can be contextual, but can also be linked to different platform, or genre.

- a. For instance, after the change of the political system, the satirical magazine *Ludas Matyi* and the *Új Ludas Matyi*, led by the previous Ludas-staff and editors were dominant in publishing political cartoons, and these can provide further examples, however, they started to publish the representations of the parliament from 1987 and in 1993 the magazines ceased to exist. Satirical magazines did not publish articles, so in these cases, the identification of the exact political topic was often not necessary (because the cartoons criticized the political field, the political parties or the politicians in general and used much more stereotypical representations than the editorial cartoons). But if the recognition of the current events seems necessary, it should be obtained from a different source of information than the magazine. Otherwise, the political cartoons in satirical magazines were highly visual and colorful, which cannot be told about the editorial cartoons of this period which appeared in black and white in the dailies.
- b. Another and most probably more relevant extension of the corpus is the inclusion of editorial and political cartoons published online. This, however, shows a very limited number of cartoonists usually one cartoonist per each daily (some of the cartoonists are

²⁰⁶ Due to the historical material of the corpus, the author finds it difficult, if not impossible to measure the reactions from the recipients. Political topics are not active anymore and knowledge of these is necessary to understand the cartoon.

not active because they lost their forums, or active on their Facebook and Instagram pages). The platforms where cartoons were published are index.hu (in 1999, ceased in 2020, cartoonist: Grafitember, presently at telex.hu), nol.hu (from the early 2000s, ceased in 2016, cartoonist: Marabu), nepszava.hu (from the early 2000s, cartoonist: Gábor Pápai), and hvg.hu (from 2011, cartoonist: Marabu). Hence, online political cartoons can be investigated from the early 2000s, and already the compilation of the corpus can be challenging. Most probably it is worth to turn towards the cartoonists, the Hungarian Cartoons Association, and the kArton Gallery.

- c. It would be worthwhile to study other multimodal political discourses used by the media such as posters and billboards of the government, political campaigns, campaign films, and covers of political magazines. Presumably, these genres show the political actors in very similar metaphoric domains, use recurring permanent metaphoric domains, metonymies, and ironies intertwined with cultural references. Therefore, this allows the researcher to examine similar variables in genres different from the political or editorial cartoons.

7.3.2 The extension of the examined variables

The dissertation undertook to examine several variables (conceptual metaphor, metonymy, irony, and cultural references including idioms, allusions, and national symbols). It remains necessary to study the relationship between these procedures (e.g., conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and irony). The refinement of the typology of irony and identification of causal ironies in multimodal genres also needs further investigation.

- a. In addition to irony, hyperbole is such a characteristic device of the editorial cartoons which should be considered important to examine, however, there is a little research on hyperbole in Cognitive Linguistics, and these also mostly focus on verbal hyperboles (Barnden, 2018; Burgers et al., 2016; Burgers et al., 2018; McGlone, 2011) with rare examples which are dealing with visual and multimodal hyperboles (Ferré, 2014; Greenbaum, 2015; Schilperoord & Maes, 2010). Thus, regarding the visual and the potential multimodal hyperbole, its typology and identification can cause a difficult starting point for research. It appears to be such a primary element as conceptual

metonymy which contributes to various superstructures, and at the same time, hyperbole seem highly metonymic.

- b. We could observe that in the corpus of the dissertation, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT was dominant. It can be further explored through at least two aspects: first, the scale and intensity of the aggression in the editorial cartoons can be measured involving the results from the fields of conflict management and psychology. It would show whether the display of aggression in relation to parliament has increased.
- c. Second, it may be a partially related study when attempting to identify verbal aggression (it is aimed at gaining power and is done to harm the other party by the aggressor) in editorial cartoons. A potential and tested typology is provided by Borbás (2020), whose research shows that verbal aggression is not a new phenomenon, it has always been with us and has even become socially acceptable (perhaps the type and frequency have changed). Verbal aggression is usually studied in a school setting and in love relationships, but also in social platforms, a far fewer studies deal with political verbal aggression (only exception is the focus on hate speech), and it is often considered as part of the show.

7.3.3 Shift in the focus of the research

The present corpus research tried to provide an overall insight into a period of thirty years by focusing on the figurative representation of the Parliament and compared the results of three various periods of democracy (Körösi, 2015).

- a. However, it is conceivable that a year-over-year investigation can indicate different trend lines and finer changes; thus, a continuous timeline would be drawn. It is planned to process some variables (e.g., the violated democratic values) in this way later.
- b. The existing corpus allows us to take into account the political ideological background of different newspapers. Thus, it is possible to study how social democratic, liberal, and conservative dailies are mocking their political opponents. A specific profile can even

be set up for the critical communicative strategies used in editorial cartoons per each daily.

In conclusion, the main objective of this research was the investigation of the figurative meaning of the Parliament in editorial cartoons during the past thirty years (between 1989 and 2019). The study discussed and highlighted the tendencies grasped through the identification and analysis of the personal and institutional criticism, cognitive devices (such as the conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and irony) and cultural references (such as the idioms, allusion, and national symbols). At the same time, it indicated similarities and differences of the periods of democracy set up Körösenyi (2015).

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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Appendix

Appendix 1 (A1) Codebook

A²⁰⁷ No = Number of the cartoon

It provides a unique inventory number for the editorial cartoon (EC) to register it in the digital archive of the corpus.

B Medium

It assigns the place of publication of the EC, specifically the source national daily under the following numbers

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Népszabadság (N)</i> |
| 2 | <i>Magyar Hírlap (MH)</i> |
| 3 | <i>Magyar Nemzet (MN)</i> |
| 4 | <i>Népszava (NS)</i> |

C PTDisc= Political topic

It gives a short description of the political affair shown in the EC. It often cites relevant articles published on the topic that appeared on the same day as the cartoon or before the EC with a maximum of three days.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 0 | When the current political topic is not found then 0 (zero) is assigned to the field in the table. |
|---|--|

D PTFocus= Focus of the political topic

It highlights the critical target of the EC under the following codes:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | INDIVIDUAL POLITICIAN, if and only if any politician is visually recognizable or named verbally (e.g., József Torgyán). |
| 2 | POLITICAL PARTY, if and only any political party's symbol (e.g., logo, color) is visually recognizable, or named verbally. |
| 3 | POLITICIANS IN GENERAL, if and only if any politicians are visually (e.g., men in suits) or verbally (e.g., the politicians) cited. |
| 4 | POLITICAL SYSTEM, if and only if the critical target is the operation of the political system (e.g., government). |
| 5 | OTHERS, if and only if the critical target is not surely determined, not known, or is missing (e.g., the parliamentary broadcast is paused because the politicians are on holiday). |

E PTPerson = Person appearing in the editorial cartoon

²⁰⁷ Capitals in the rows highlighted in grey remarks the columns of the Excel table applied for the analysis.

It provides the name(s) of the politician(s) shown in the EC.

F DemV= Main democratic values

It provides general categories of democratic values under the following codes

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 0 | There is no reference of any democratic value. | |
| 1 | FREEDOM, | if and only if the EC shows the violation of the liberty of any human rights (e.g., freedom of speech). |
| 2 | SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FEATURES, if and only if the EC shows the violation of the stable or improving living standards (e.g., unfair wages, high level of corruption). | |
| 3 | PARTIES AND ELECTIONS, if and only if the EC shows the undemocratic operation of the parties (e.g., irreplaceable politicians). | |
| 4 | JURIDICAL INSTITUTIONAL, if and only if the EC visually or verbally cites the violation of the democratic operation of the court (e.g., Rule of Law). | |
| 5 | PARTICIPATION, | if and only if the EC visually or verbally renders political affairs that violate people's will and partnership in policymaking (e.g. referendum). |
| 0 | In case the violation of a democratic value is not characterized by the EC then 0 (zero) is assigned to the field in the table. | |
| 6 | In case the violation is not specified to any of the aforementioned categories (from 1 to 5) but democracy is verbally mentioned by the EC then 6 (six) is assigned to the field in the table. | |

G DemSubV= Subtypes of democratic values

It gives the specifications of the general democratic values. These subtypes of democratic values are marked if their violation is critically commented by the EC.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 0 | There is no reference of any democratic subtypes. | |
| 1 | Freedom of speech, public opinion, critics without retribution (e.g., a politician is not allowed to think, he is only permitted to push the button) | |
| 2 | Freedom of press, independent media, reliable information (e.g., any medium is unlawfully banned from the parliament). | |
| 3 | Freedom of travelling, moving (e.g., currency exchange limit) | |
| 5 | Respect of minority groups, equal opportunities (e.g., a gipsy politician needs to sit in the back row) | |
| 6 | General welfare, improving living standards, fair wages | |

- (e.g., more and more people lose their jobs)
- 7 Fair wages
(e.g., politicians receive a pay rise)
- 8 Social security
(e.g., increase in crime)
- 9 Low level of corruption
(e.g., high level of corruption)
- 10 Multi-party system
(e.g., one party is governing and making decisions on its own)
- 11 Free and fair elections
(e.g., a political party is cheating in its political campaign or in the elections itself)
- 12 Replaceable politicians
(e.g., a politician asks for a vote of confidence against himself)
- 13 The government also takes into account the opposition's views
(e.g., the governing party leaves no room for others' opinions, abuses its power, does not seek consensual democracy)
- 15 Accountability
(e.g., a politician does not get punishment due to his position, there is no consequences of breaking the law)
- 16 Transparent decision-making, the court treats everyone equally
(e.g., fast decision-making procedure without discussing the certain political issue)
- 18 Rule of Law
(e.g., submission of an unconstitutional amendment proposal)
- 19 Referendum, having a say in decisions
(e.g., people cannot say their opinions, national consultations, demonstrations are shown in ECs)

H Feature = Critical feature of the politician(s) or the institution

It provides the criticized characteristic features of the politicians or the institution

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|--|
| 1 | Immoral activity, | if and only if it cannot be listed under the more specific features from 2 to 10 and the politician violates any of the ethical norms (e.g., politician uses a xenophobic example to influence people not to vote for dual citizenship). |
| 2 | Corrupt, | if and only if the corruption is visually or verbally rendered in the EC, it is a subtype of immoral activities (e.g., Flórián Farkas party leader packs the contents of the safe in his own bag in the Parliament). |
| 3 | Bad policy, | if and only if the politician carries out things contrary to the interests of the people (e.g., there is no access to possession). |

4	Clueless,	if and only if the politician shown in the EC has no knowledge, or ability to manage a political issue (e.g., dizzy face with surprised eyes).
5	Inflexible,	if and only if the politician shown in the EC is not able to change his mind or compromise (e.g., a politician who does not want to negotiate with his coalition partners).
6	Incompetent,	if and only if the politician shown in the EC can be featured with the lack of knowledge and expertise (e.g., politician depicted as a mad or sick person, he speaks about nothing).
7	Undesirable behavior,	if and only if the politician behaves inappropriately (e.g., physically fights against other politicians or plays as a kid).
8	Inefficient,	if and only if the politicians cannot solve a certain political issue and it becomes an endless project, it is somewhat similar to incompetency, but here the focus is on the unattainable solution (e.g., privatization).
9	Partisan,	if and only if loyalty to the party appears as servility and the representative is not able to express his own opinion against the oppressive power, abuse of power is always a part of partisanship (e.g., a politician presses the voting button because he is physically coerced by another politician).
10	Lobby influence,	if and only if clientelism, getting undue advantage comes to the fore and it appears in the EC visually or verbally (e.g., one can get better position or higher payment only because he was once a classmate, nepotism).
11	Other,	if and only if there is no negative feature, or it cannot be listed under 1 – 10 (e.g., politicians are happy because summer vacation comes).

I Met = Conceptual metaphoric representation of the Hungarian Parliament

It gives answer to the question whether the Hungarian Parliament appears in a conceptual metaphor, or it is not the case.

- 1 'yes' the Hungarian Parliament is metaphorically rendered; thus, the Parliament is depicted as a conceptually different domain.
- 0 'no' the Hungarian Parliament is not rendered metaphorically.

J MetTD/MetySD = Possible metaphoric target domain/possible metonymic source

It provides the represented part of the Hungarian Parliament which is a possible target domain of a conceptual metaphor, a possible source domain of a conceptual metonymy or it is not part of any metaphoric or metonymic conceptual processes. The question that determines the answer is what we see in the EC.

- 1 ASSEMBLY HALL with the horseshoe shape space
- 2 ASSEMBLY HALL with a pulpit
- 3 ASSEMBLY HALL with arches
- 4 ASSEMBLY HALL with the rows of seats

- 5 ASSEMBLY HALL with a semicircle or round shape
- 6 BUILDING of the Parliament
- 7 DOME of the Parliament
- 8 PARLIAMENTARY LIONS, entrance of the Parliament
- 9 CORRIDOR of the Parliament (e.g. red carpet, benches with windows behind them)
- 11 The Hungarian Parliament is only verbally indicated (e.g., Honored House)

K MetSD = Metaphoric source domain

It provides the entity of the metaphoric source domain (e.g., FOOTBALL PITCH) where the conceptual metaphor is the PARLIAMENT IS X, (e.g., THE PARLIAMENT IS A FOOTBALL PITCH).

L MetSDScen = Scenario linked to the metaphoric source domain

It visually or verbally provides the specification of a source domain that differs from the metaphoric target domain of the political field, finally, the target can be understood in terms of this source which is supported by the mappings between these domains (e.g., POLITICS IS SPORT).

- 0 There is no metaphoric source domain presented in the EC
- 1 ENTERTAINMENT (e.g., circus, theatre, puppet theatre)
- 2 ROYAL SCENE (e.g., royal palace strengthened by the crown or a person wearing a cloak)
- 4 CULINARY DELIGHTS (e.g., bad cooking, pot)
- 5 CLEANING (e.g., cleaning ladies pack the scattered papers)
- 7 COMMERCE (e.g., parliamentary lions are selling agent files)
- 8 GAME (e.g., kids are shooting each other with slingshots)
- 9 CHRISTIAN SCENE (e.g., cross appears on the top of the Parliament)
- 10 SPORT (e.g., football pitch)
- 11 PHYSICAL CONFLICT (e.g., military battlefield)
- 12 MOVING (e.g., the Parliament is transformed into an ox cart going to Europe)
- 13 EDUCATION (e.g., kindergarten, school)
- 15 MEDICAL SCENE (e.g., hospital, house of fools)
- 18 OTHERS (e.g., JURASSIC WORLD, EXPLOSION)
- 19 HUMAN BEING (e.g., thief)
- 20 MAN-MADE OBJECT (e.g., toilet container)
- 21 SPECIAL PLACE (e.g., pub)

M MetType = Type of the metaphor

It identifies the type of the occurring metaphor based on Charles Forceville's (2009) metaphor typology.

- 0 There is no metaphoric representation of the Parliament.
- 1 HYBRID, if and only if both the source and the target domains are visible and merged into one entity, and one is understood in terms of the other. (Pay attention, because not all hybrids are metaphoric.)
- 2 CONTEXTUAL, if and only if one of the domains (usually the target) is placed in the context that belongs to a conceptually different domain.
- 3 SIMILE, if and only if both the source and the target domains are visible but they are not merged or distorted.

- 5 MULTIMODAL, if and only if the conceptual metaphor has its domains in various or mixed modes (e.g., verbo-pictorial).

N MetyTD = Metonymic target domain

It provides a possible metonymic target domain what conceptually belongs to MetySD and according to which AN ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT OF THE PARLIAMENT/VERBALLY CITED PARLIAMENT-RELATED TERM STANDS FOR X.

- 0 There is no metonymic target.
- 1 THE GOVERNMENT based on the conceptual metonymy BUILDING FOR THE INSTITUTION
- 2 THE POLITICIANS based on the conceptual metonymy BUILDING FOR THE AGENT
- 3 THE CITY (BUDAPEST) based on the conceptual metonymy MEMBER FOR THE CATEGORY
- 4 THE COUNTRY (HUNGARY) based on the conceptual metonymy MEMBER FOR THE CATEGORY
- 5 THE POLITICAL TOPIC based on the conceptual metonymy FORM FOR THE CONCEPT
- 6 THE POLITICAL EVENT/ACTION (e.g., PARLIAMENTARY SESSION) based on the conceptual metonymy BUILDING FOR THE EVENT HELD AT THAT PLACE
- 7 THE PEOPLE (HUNGARIANS) based on the fact that the citizens entrust politicians to represent their rights and interests.
- 8 OTHERS (e.g., MINORITIES, STATE, DEMOCRACY, LYING, REPUBLIC, NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS)
- 9 THE PARLIAMENT based on the conceptual metonymy BUILDING FOR THE INSTITUTION
- 10 THE POWER based on the conceptual metonymy POSSESSION FOR POSSESSOR

O MetMod = The modality of the two metaphoric domains

It provides the modalities of the occurring metaphoric domains.

- 0 NOT PRESENTED, if and only if the relevant domain is not presented in neither of the modes.
- 1 PICTORIAL, if and only if the relevant domain is depicted visually.
- 2 VERBAL, if and only if the relevant domain is verbally cited.
- 3 MULTIMODAL, if and only if the relevant domain occurs visually and verbally at the same time.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1/1; 2/2 | MONOMODAL, if and only if the various domains appear in the same mode. |
| 1/2; 2/1; 1/3; 2/3; 3/1/; 3/2; 3/3 | MULTIMODAL, if and only if the various domains appear in different or mixed modes. |

P OMets = Other relevant metaphors

It provides a list of those possible conceptual metaphors and mappings which can be construed linked to the EC. It is not exclusive.

Q OMetys = Other relevant metonymies

It provides a list of those possible conceptual metonymies which can be construed linked to the EC. It is not exclusive.

R Irony type

It provides the special type of the occurring irony in the EC on the basis of John Barnden's typology (2018).

- 0 'No' irony, if and only if there is not any contradictory element found between the literary and the expressed intended meaning.
- 3 OXYMORON-BASED IRONY; thus, the statement means exactly its opposite, if and only if contrast can appear between the metonymic source and target, e.g., "our friends the cockroaches" based on the metonymy FRIENDS FOR ENEMIES (2018: 110).
- 4 CAUSAL IRONY; thus, the statement refers to an illogical case, there is contrast between the two readings (literal and metonymic) (cf. Littlemore 2015), e.g. "What are the French army doing in Mali?" where the contrast occurs between the speaker-concerns about (action) and target (reasons), namely that the speaker knows that French army shouldn't be in Mali (2018: 111).

S IronyDesc. = Description of the irony

It verbally provides the two contradictory elements in the form of A/B or sets up the illogical elements of the irony.

T CRType = Type of the cultural reference

It provides the type of cultural references on the basis of their thematic focus.

- 0 'No' cultural reference, if and only if there no identifiable cultural reference in the EC.
- 1 HISTORICAL EVENT (considered as national symbol), if and only if the cultural reference shown in the EC cites or symbolizes a certain national historical event, e.g., the flag with a hole in the middle symbolizes the revolution of 1956.
- 2 HERALDRY (considered as national symbol), if and only if the cultural reference shown in the EC is one of the national heraldic symbols, e.g., flag and crest.
- 3 TRADITIONS AND HABITS (considered as national symbol), if and only if the cultural reference rendered in the EC cites any of the national Hungarian traditions, e.g., Easter watering.
- 4 FOLK CULTURE (considered as national symbol), if and only if the cultural reference represented in the EC is in connection with any of the national Hungarian folk cultural genres, e.g., traditional costume what stands for the Hungarian folk dance.
- 5 CULTURAL PRODUCTS (considered as allusion), if and only if the cultural reference cited in the EC is linked to any literary, musical or fine art product, e.g., tagging for 'The Whole Class Laughs' [Röhög az egész osztály] written by Frigyes Karinthy.
- 6 NEW NATIONAL, CULTURAL SYMBOLS (considered as national symbol), if and only if the cultural reference has started to become a new national, cultural symbol in the way that it reoccurs time by time in the media, e.g. the light rail of Felcsút or Pancho Arena in Felcsút.

- 7 IDIOMS, if and only if the cultural reference cited in the EC is stemming from a well-known idiom used by the Hungarian community, e.g. ‘lobs from the left’ in Hungarian ‘gives a high ball’ [magas labdát ad] meaning that somebody offer opportunities, or ask unpleasant questions.
- 8 OTHER, if and only if cultural reference can be identified but it cannot be listed under 1 – 7.

U CRDesc. = Description of the cultural reference

It verbally provides the description of the cultural reference applied in the EC, then its original form is mentioned with its literary meaning in English [original form in Hungarian], finally the intended meaning is cited in English.

V Year

It provides the year when the EC was published.

W Date

It provides the date when the EC was published (month.day).

X Author

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Marabu | 28 Szilvász Nándor |
| 2 Mészáros, András | 29 Ferter, János |
| 3 Lehoczki, István | 30 Földes, Vilmos |
| 4 Balázs-Piri, Balázs | |
| 5 Szmodis, Imre | |
| 6 Kaján, Tibor | |
| 7 Brenner, György | |
| 8 Barát, József | |
| 9 Lehoczki, Károly | |
| 10 Veszprémi, László | |
| 11 Szőnyei, György | |
| 12 Györffy, András | |
| 13 Fekete, Valér | |
| 14 Jókó, Csaba | |
| 15 Pápai, Gábor | |
| 16 Sajdik, Ferenc | |
| 17 Dallos, Jenő | |
| 18 Tót, Gyula | |
| 19 Tóth, Róbert | |
| 20 Dluhopolszky, László | |
| 21 Gaál, Tibor | |
| 22 Fábry, János | |
| 23 Léphaft, Pál | |
| 24 Bojcsuk, Iván | |
| 25 Szoboszlai, Péter | |
| 26 Selmecsi, István | |
| 27 Sánta, István | |

Appendix 2 (A2) Political parties cited in the corpus

Political party	No.of occurrences	%
MSZP	18	48,6
Fidesz	9	24,3
SZDSZ	4	10,8
Momentum	2	5,5
FKGP	1	2,7
MDF	1	2,7
KDNP	1	2,7
LMP	1	2,7

Table A2 Occurrences of the political parties in the corpus (no. and %)

Appendix 3 (A3) Politicians cited in the corpus

Name of the politician	No. of the occurrences	Affiliation
Orbán, Viktor	64	Fidesz
Gyurcsány, Ferenc	40	MSZP, since 2011 DK
Torgyán, József	24	FKGP
Kövér, László	20	Fidesz
Horn, Gyula	13	MSZP
Áder, János	9	Fidesz
Medgyessy, Péter	9	Independent (before 1989 MSZMP)
Antal, József	7	MDF
Sólyom, László	7	Independent (before 1989 MDF)
Dávid, Ibolya	5	MDF
Kuncze, Gábor	5	SZDSZ
Csurka, István	4	before 1993 MDF, after 1993 MIÉP
Göncz, Árpád	4	SZDSZ
Szabad, György	4	MDF
Bajnai, Gordon	3	MSZP, from 2014 Együtt
Bokros, Lajos	3	MSZP, from 2009 MDF, from 2013 MoMa
Kiss, János	3	SZDSZ
Kónya, Imre	3	MDF
Lázár, János	3	Fidesz
Lendvai, Ildikó	3	MSZP
Pető, Iván	3	SZDSZ
Répássy, Róbert	3	Fidesz

Békesi, László	2	MSZP
Boross, Péter	2	MDF
Demszky, Gábor	2	SZDSZ
Farkas, Flórián	2	Lungo Drom
Kóka, János	2	SZDSZ
Mádl, Ferenc	2	Independent
Semjén, Zsolt	2	KDNP
Ungár, Péter	2	LMP
Balás, István	1	MDF
Balogh, József	1	FKGP, since 2003 Fidesz
Bánk, Attila	1	FKGP
Baráth, Etele	1	MSZP
Deutch, Tamás	1	Fidesz
Fekete, Péter	1	Fidesz
Fodor, Gábor	1	before 1993 Fidesz, since 1994 SZDSZ, since 2013 MLP
Gy. Németh, Erzsébet	1	before 2011 MSZP, since 2011 DK
Hadházy, Ákos	1	before 2013 Fidesz, between 2014-18 LMP
Halász, István	1	Fidesz
Isépy, Tamás	1	KDNP
Járai, Zsigmond	1	Independent
Keller, László	1	MSZP
Király, Zoltán	1	MDF between 1988 and 1990, after 1997 MSZP
Kiss, Péter	1	MSZP
Kovács, László	1	MSZP
Kupa, Mihály	1	MDF, since 2001 Centrum Párt
Lamperth, Mónika	1	MSZP
Latorcai, János	1	KDNP
Maczó, Ágnes	1	MDF, since 1998 Új Szövetség Magyarországért
Magyar, Bálint	1	SZDSZ
Martonyi, János	1	Fidesz
Miklós, Árpád	1	Jobbik
Morvai, Krisztina	1	Jobbik
Németh, Imre	1	MSZP
Németh, Szilárd	1	Fidesz
Pál, László	1	MSZP
Pálffy, Ilona	1	under Fidesz-government
Pallag, László	1	under Fidesz-government
Pokorni, Zoltán	1	Fidesz
Rogán, Antal	1	Fidesz
Sándor, Klára	1	SZDSZ, since 2009 Szabadelvű Polgári Párt
Sepsey, Tamás	1	MDF
Stumpf, András	1	Fidesz

Szabó, Iván	1	MDF, since 1996 MDN, since 2002 Centrum Párt
Szabó, Tamás	1	MDF
Szabó, Tímea	1	LMP
Székely, Zoltán	1	FKGP
Szél, Bernadett	1	LMP
Szijjártó, Péter	1	Fidesz
Szilasy, István	1	Magyar Piacpárt
Szili, Katalin	1	MSZP, since 2010 Szociális Unió
Szűrös, Mátyás	1	MSZP, between 2003 and 2013 SZDSZ
Tarlós, István	1	Fidesz
Varju, László	1	DK
Veres, János	1	MSZP
Zacsek, Gyula	1	Magyar Piacpárt

Table A3 Hungarian politicians and policy-related people cited in the corpus (no.)

The order follows the frequency of the politicians' occurrences.

Appendix 4 (A4) Metaphor types in the corpus

In Appendix 4, metaphor types based on the formula PARLIAMENT IS X are presented in brief. Differentiation of the types was based on their appearance in diverse modalities. When it appears visually, both the metaphoric target and the source domain occur exclusively in visual mode. If any of the domains appear in mixed modes or the domains are represented in distant modalities, then the conceptual metaphor is considered multimodal.

Out of the metaphor types based on their modality, four major types – multimodal (58%), contextual (27%), hybrid (13%), and simile (2%) – appeared in the total corpus in order of frequency (Table A4.1). These ratios were similar over the three different periods of democracy (Table A4.2). All contextual, hybrid and simile metaphor types belong to visual metaphors (42%), and we can observe that multimodal metaphors were in majority in the corpus (58% of total number of metaphoric representations of the Parliament). Due to the high number of multimodal metaphors, we can conclude that verbal content, just like visuals, played an important role in construing conceptual metaphors in the corpus.²⁰⁸

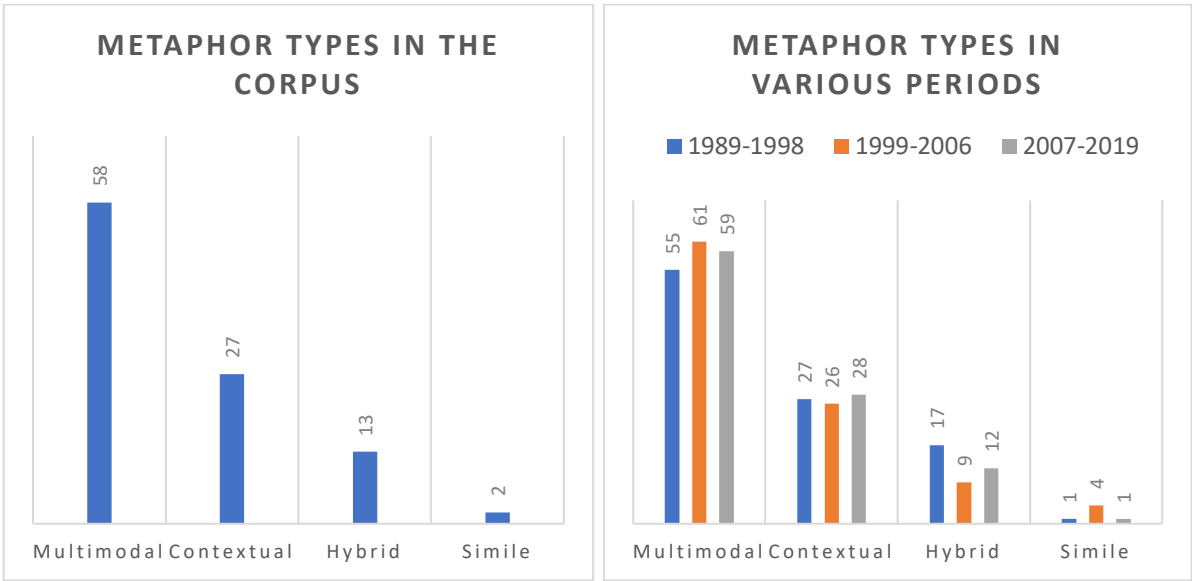


Table A4.1 Distribution of the metaphor types in the total corpus (%)
(100% = 313, no. of cartoons with the metaphoric representation of the Parliament)

²⁰⁸ Verbal metaphors (monomodal) were not identified in the corpus (when the target and the source domains are expressed verbally), however, it should be noticed that during the selection of the corpus members, visual source domains appeared significantly more times (92% of the total corpus) than verbal source domains of the PARLIAMENT (8%) and it resulted in a higher number of visual and multimodal representations.

Table A4.2 Distribution of the metaphor types in various periods (%)
(100% = 118, 88, and 107, no. of cartoons with metaphoric representation of the Parliament in various periods of the democracy)

If we take a closer look at the parliamentary elements, we can observe, however, that various parliamentary elements triggered certain metaphor types. This is shown in Table A4.3, where the various parliamentary elements, for instance, the Assembly Hall is presented, and we can observe that this particular element was mostly applied to construe multimodal metaphors. By contrast, the dome, for instance, was much more suitable to construe visual hybrids. The table shows the typical and less typical metaphor types per each architectural part of the Parliament and also for its verbal expression.

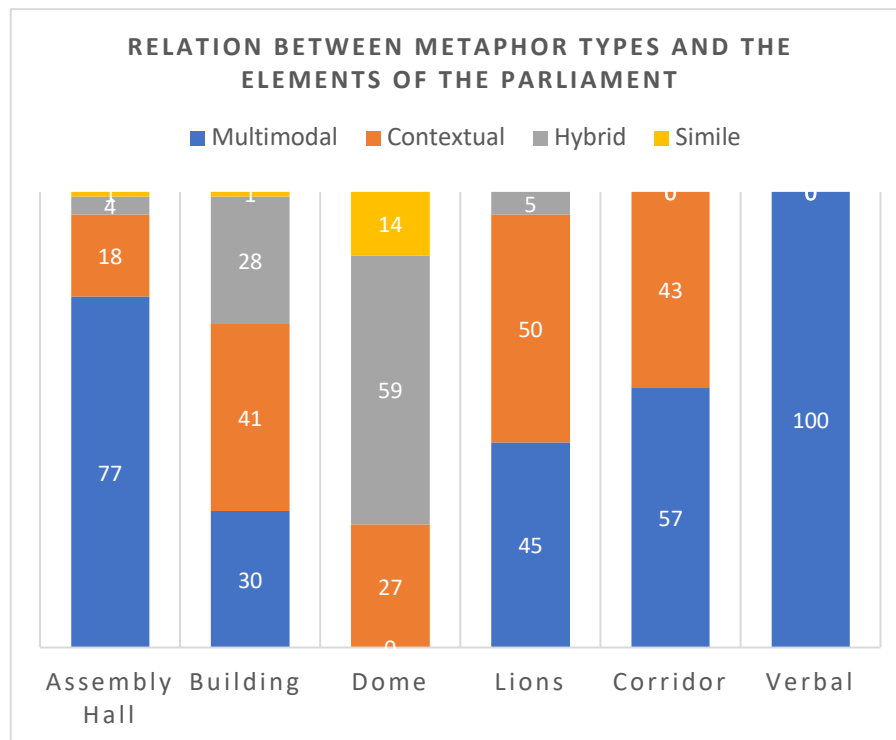
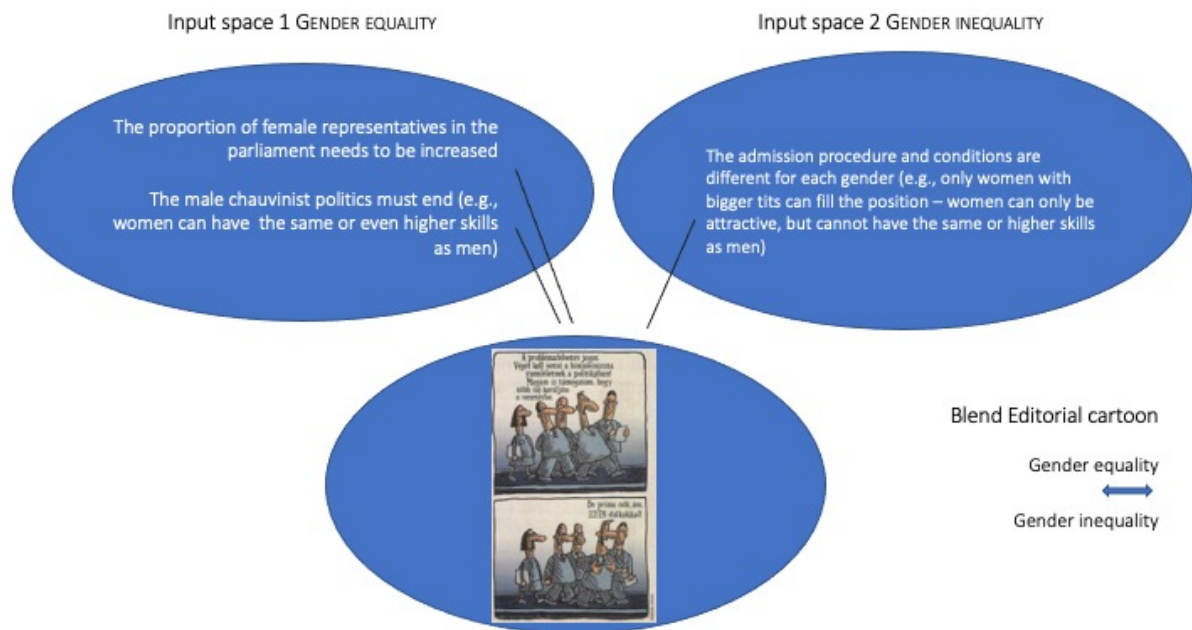
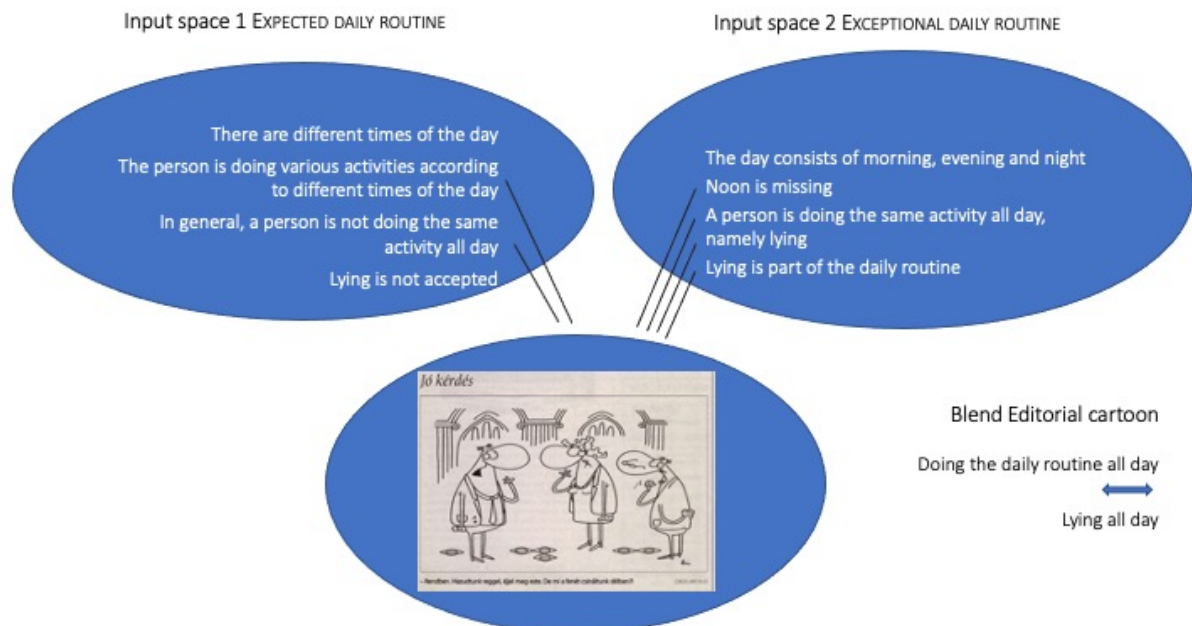


Table A4.3 Relation between the metaphor types and the elements of the Parliament (%)

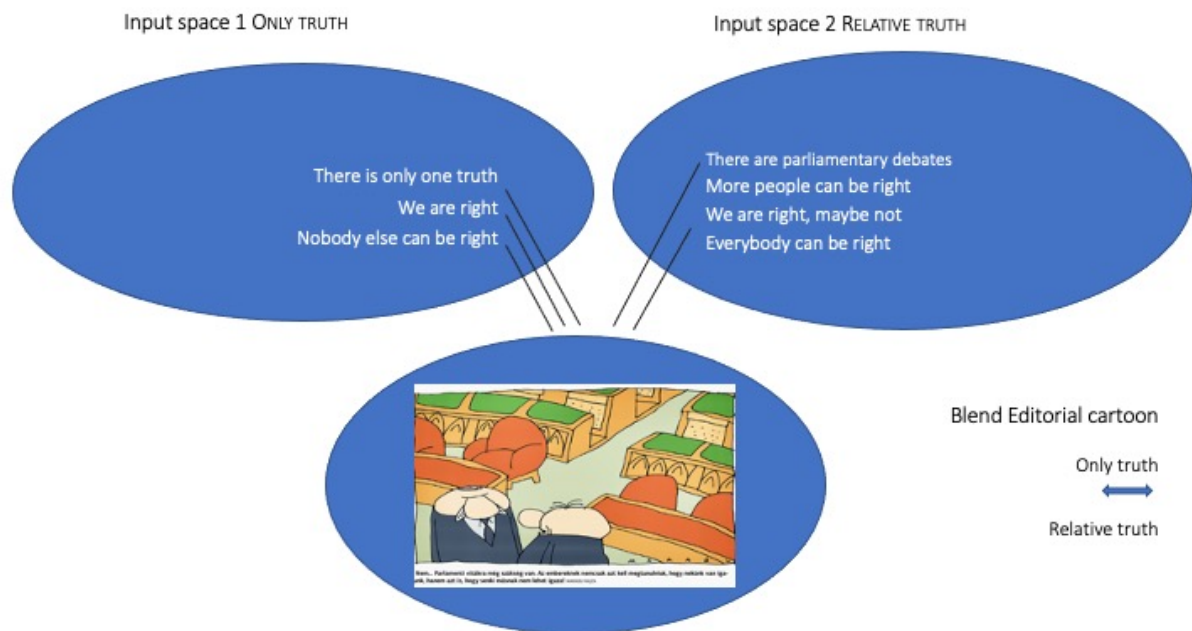
Appendix 5 (A5) Mental space models of ironies



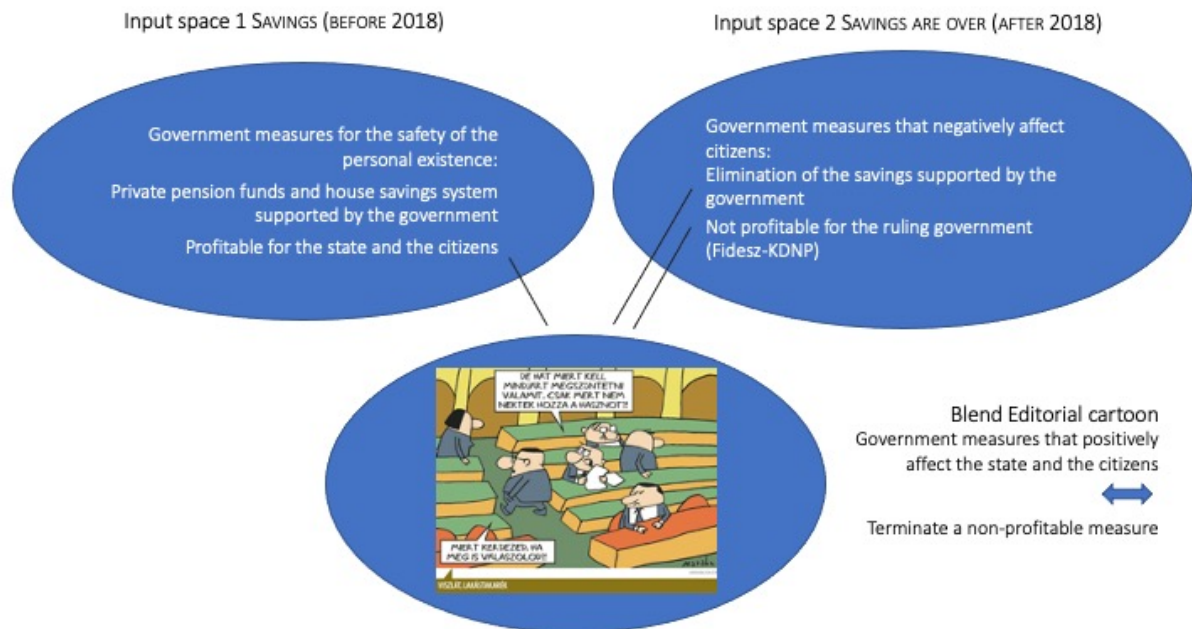
A5.1 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.40:
gender equality vs. gender inequality



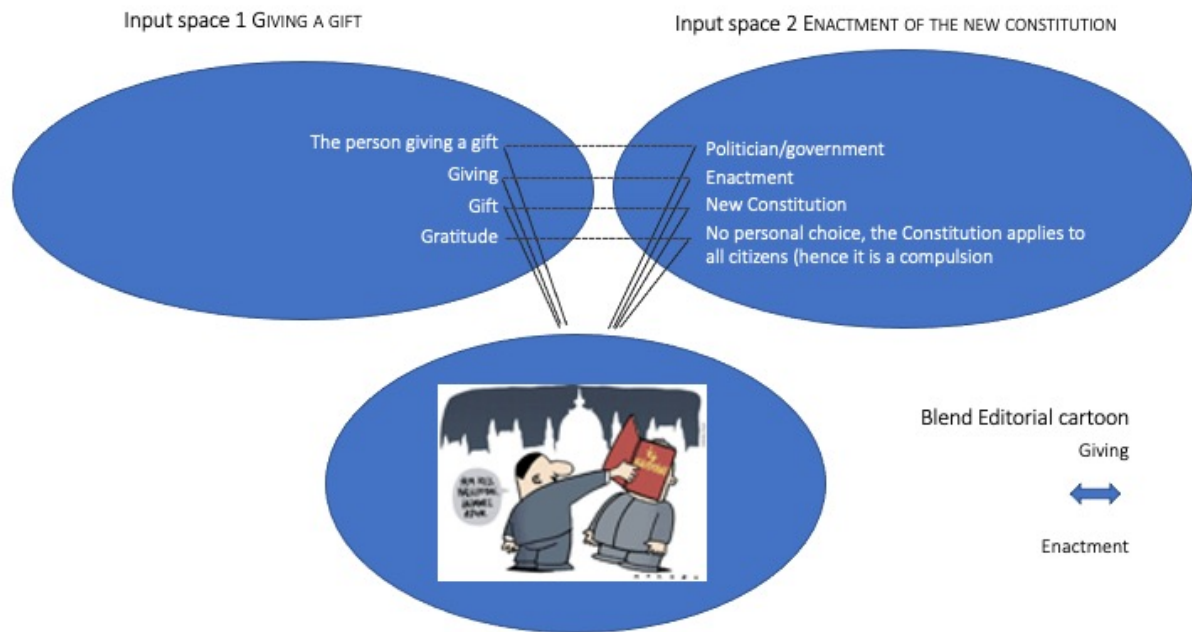
A5.2 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.41:
real question vs. constant deception and lying



A5.3 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.42:
one is right vs. nobody else can be right



A5.4 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.43:
real question vs. not profitable for the party



A5.5 Mental space model of the editorial cartoon shown in Figure 5.44:
giving a present vs. forcing something on somebody else