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### **Metaphorical representations of the HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT in political cartoons (1989–1990)\***

#### **Abstract**

Metaphorical representations of the US CONGRESS have been discussed by Stephen Frantzich (2013: 157), whose corpus included 650 political cartoons spanning the last forty years. With the help of content analysis he concludes that the most frequent metaphors are linked to source domains like ANIMALS, SPORTS, TOOLS AND MACHINES, BEHAVIORS, HISTORICAL, LITERARY FIGURES, and JOB HOLDERS. However, metaphorical representations of HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT have not yet been studied. This paper reveals the recurring thematic frames of political cartoons that refer directly to HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT. Furthermore, it also presents the metaphoric source domains of this target in context with its specific manifestations. It is maintained that similarities can be observed between the reported metaphors of the US Congress and those of the Hungarian Parliament as both targets belong to the realm of political discourse. The Hungarian corpus (a total of 91 cartoons) was collected from the satirical magazine *Ludas Matyi* from 1989 and 1990, a time when parliamentary democracy was established, the Hungarian Republic proclaimed, and the new government elected. The results show that the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS WAR and POLITICS IS SPORT which are often used in political discourse, generate a high number of FIGHT and SPORT SCENES, especially in the year of the election, 1990 when the PARLIAMENT was mostly conceptualized as a FIELD.

*Keywords:* thematic frame, metaphoric source, Hungarian Parliament, political cartoon, multimodality

## **1 Introduction**

Stephen Frantzich (2013) investigated representations of the US Congress in political cartoons and found that the institution with its members has always been targeted by jokes and derision depending on the technological possibilities of the era. Messages and criticism that encourage laughter are plentiful in newspaper articles, radio, and TV comedies, but editorial cartoons have become one of the most common locations for these jokes. Frantzich (ibid. 157) conducted a large-scale content analysis of more than 650 congressional cartoons from the past forty years where he summarizes the cartoonists' tools regarding occurring metaphors.

Congress is associated with a number of common metaphors such as animals (tortoise, pigs at trough, herding cats, stealing chickens, bull in china shop), sports (fight, strip poker, bull fight), tools and machines

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\* The present publication is the outcome of the project "From Talent to Young Researcher project aimed at activities supporting the research career model in higher education", identifier EFOP-3.6.3-VEKOP-16-2017-00007 co-supported by the European Union, Hungary and the European Social Fund.

(out of gas, long knives, meat grinder, smoking gun, puppet), behaviors (hand in cookie jar, crossed fingers, in bed with, kids in sand box) historical or literary figures (Pinocchio, Frankenstein, Cookie Monster) or job holders (clowns, robbers).

Until now, metaphorical representations of HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT in political cartoons have not been studied. This paper attempts to reveal the recurring thematic frames of political cartoons that directly refers to the HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT. Furthermore, this paper also presents metaphorical source domains of this target along with their specific manifestations. Because of the aforementioned conventionality of metaphors (ANIMALS, SPORTS, TOOLS AND MACHINES, BEHAVIORS, HISTORICAL, LITERARY FIGURES, and JOB HOLDERS), one can observe similarities between the reported sources of the US Congress and Hungarian Parliament as both targets belong to the realm of political discourse, and belong to the most powerful political bodies in their respective states.

In addition to metaphors, Frantzich also mentions caricature, sarcasm or irony, word play, and sight gag among “the cartoonists’ armoury” (Gombrich 1963). However, this paper focuses only on the visual thematic frames and metaphoric sources supported by metonymic processes and excludes the investigation of other conceptual operations. Furthermore, Frantzich (2013: 162–163) differentiates two major types of criticism: on one hand, the cartoons pinpoint the politicians’ personal characteristics and behavior (as immoral, corrupt, promoting bad policy, clueless, and inflexible), on the other hand, they complain about the operation of the Congress (as inefficient, partisan, or influenced but lobbies). The critical standpoint of Hungarian cartoons is always noted during research in order to support and justify the operation of conventional metaphors.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 1 gives a brief overview of the findings linked to the representation of the US Congress in political cartoons and also clarifies the major aims and relevance of the present research. Section 2 proposes a literature review on conceptual procedures (visual metaphor/metonymy, metonymic chain, and multimodal metaphor/metonymy). The third section features the corpus and methodology (multimodal analysis) used. The next chapter outlines the results according to the major thematic frames identified in the corpus. Section 5 provides a comparative discussion of the US and Hungarian cartoons. Conclusions are drawn in the final section.

## **2 Literature review**

There is a vast amount of literature on the features of political cartoon as a genre (El Refaie 2003, 2009, Alousque 2013, Forceville 2016) which confirms that it is “a metaphor-rich communicative area” (Schilperoord & Maes 2009: 214–215) in which visual metonymies play a significant role (Alousque 2014), and are conceptual operations that sometimes work as framing devices (Abdel-Raheem 2019, Godioli & Pedrazzini 2019). Political cartoons are not only published in newspapers but they also exploit the news as a source of humor (Frantzich 2013: 154), and as a result have become a booming field of media framing as well. In the wake of Entman 1993, Gitlin 1980, and many others, Réka Benczes and István Benczes (2018: 432–433) have emphasized the function of media frames which proceed as “stable cognitive representations and as dynamic context-dependent knowledge structures.” Hence, frames are “acts of communication” (Krippendorff, 2017: 98), selection of “some aspects of a perceived reality” (Entman 1993: 53) and “salient in a communicating text [...] to promote a particular

problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (ibid.), “generic frames are abstract and applicable to a wide range of topics” (Brugman et al. 2017: 181). One of the purposes of the present paper is the identification of recurring guiding thematic frames (different from the political topic) in the corpus. This analytical step is embedded in grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1998), in which the coding process is continuous and the categories are developed during analysis.

The past decade has seen a renewed interest in multimodality research. Charles Forceville (2009) differentiated conceptual metaphors depending on their manifestations in various modes. According to his definition (ibid. 4), “monomodal metaphor is a metaphor whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode.” However, the metaphor is only called multimodal (ibid. 6) if its “target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes.” Claims of metaphoricity involves that the domains are irreversible; thus, a unidirectional process of mapping occurs when the viewer picks up the relevant features of the source and projects them (at least one) onto the target domain. Hence, the conceptual link between the different domains is necessary to create a metaphor. For instance, the conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENT (target domain) IS A SCHOOL (source domain) operates with structural mappings in which POLITICIANS ARE (BAD, FAILED, OR KEEN) STUDENTS, and POLICY-MAKING turns out to be A DIFFICULT ASSIGNMENT.

What makes a difference between frames and metaphoric sources is the degree of abstraction of the concepts and also their fields of reference. In this case, the *frames* identified involve concepts which categorically differ from the political scene and at the same time, describe and revise the whole situation depicted in the cartoon. For instance, in the case of a school-like Parliament, the frame could be EDUCATION (a highly abstract concept). However, even if the political situation is framed as such, one cannot be sure that the Parliament is also understood as metaphor. In short, not all the frames trigger metaphorical representation of the Parliament (only hybrid, contextual and multimodal metaphors are accepted here as metaphorical representations, while any other cases, when Parliament is only inferred to be metaphoric, for instance due to one’s background knowledge, are excluded). In addition to framing, metaphoric sources of the Parliament that mostly occur in metaphoric scenarios also play a key role. In understanding *metaphoric scenario* considered as a special situation (mostly culturally determined), for instance, within the frame of EDUCATION the following situations can happen, ‘taking an exam’, ‘changing school’, ‘leaving school’, ‘graduation’, ‘naughty behavior of students’, ‘power abuse of a teacher’, and so on. These situations are metaphoric when they provide access to a categorically different topic, in this case, a certain political situation. Andreas Musolff (2020: 8-9) defines the metaphoric scenario as

“an analytical tool [...] to indicate a type of analysis that focuses on patterns of metaphor use in corpus data and links them to hypotheses about (a) their core conceptual material (participants, roles, event schemas) as well as implicit story-lines and evaluative bias(es), and (b) the culture-specific discourse-traditions they may belong to. Scenarios thus reflect not just the universal “schematic” ontology of a metaphor and its lexical and domain-specific “framing” but also include narrative, emotive and argumentative elements.” They are “not from pre-conceived mental architectures, collective worldviews or individual consciousness” (ibid.)

In my view, metaphoric target is understood through the associations linked to the metaphoric source and the correspondences between the two sources usually occur in a metaphoric scenario what belongs to an often very schematic frame. For instance, the HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT can

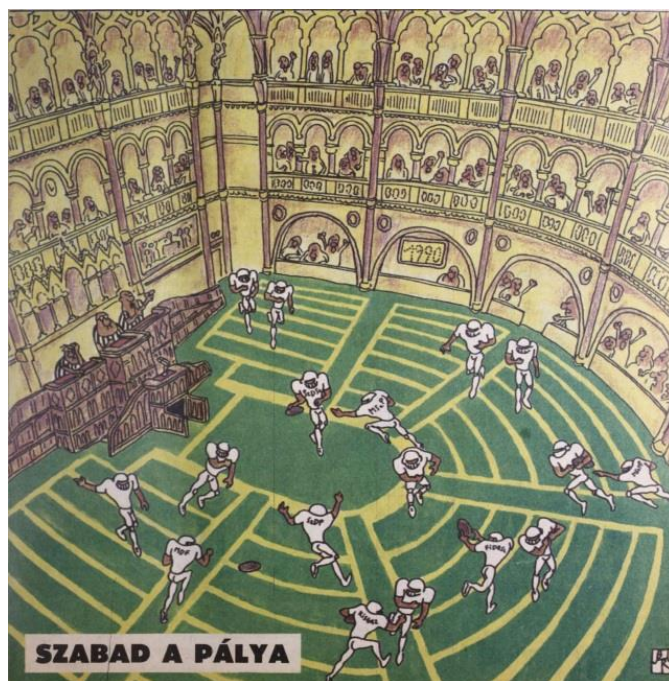
be shown as a PRIMARY SCHOOL what introduces a SCHOOL-LEAVING metaphoric scenario which can be discussed under the EDUCATION frame.

In addition to metaphors, recent developments in metonymy research (Negro Alousque 2013, 2014, Benczes 2019) point out the importance of metonymies and their consequences linked to metaphorical processes, especially in visual fields (Pedrazzini & Scheuer 2019). Metonymies are “domain-internal conceptual mappings” (Alousque 2013: 367) based on part-whole and part-for-part relationships which can be reductions (e.g. PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT based on the primary metonymy BUILDING FOR INSTITUTION) or expansions of the occurring domains (PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR HUNGARY based on the primary metonymy MEMBER FOR THE CATEGORY). Interestingly, metonymies (just like metaphors) can be linked to each other in a chain-like structure when X STANDS FOR Y (that relates to x), and Y STANDS FOR Z (z relates to y), it can also be formulated as X FOR Y FOR Z, e.g., THE DOME OF THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE ASSEMBLY HALL and it stands FOR SPEECHES. Regarding the function of metonymy, Benczes (2019: 20) argues that it has a “persuasive power in political communication, thanks to its subtle and unobtrusive qualities.”

Parliament is a highly abstract concept, and representations of the parliamentary building are direct references of parliamentarism. Furthermore, the constitutional lawyer, Lóránt Csink (2019: 165) pointed to the fact that “in the recent period, the operating principle of the state organization, parliamentarism, has changed.” According to Csink, it meant the opposite of the absolute monarchy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was “a form of government in which the government is politically accountable to the parliament and the government can be replaced for political reasons” (ibid.). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the executive power (the government) makes laws, however, the parliament should remain the forum for democratic debate. According to the first paragraph of the Basic Law, the Prime Minister determines the general policy of the government (ibid. 164). In addition, according to a previous definition of parliamentarism from the 1970s, it is “a 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: 261). On the basis of the above-cited definitions, we can draw some conclusions regarding the identification of potential conceptual metonymies in which the overarching conceptual metonymy THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR PARLIAMENTARISM is expressed through conceptual metonymies where THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR THE GOVERNMENT (EXECUTIVE POWER)/ POLITICIANS (WHO ARE THE AGENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER)/ A POLITICAL TOPIC/ A POLITICAL EVENT OR ACTION/ POLITICAL POSITION, and POLITICAL POWER. As a symbolic building of the country, it can refer to the nation, the country, and even the population via conceptual metonymies as THE PARLIAMENT STANDS FOR HUNGARY/ BUDAPEST/ and HUNGARIANS. It must be added that the building itself is often shown only partially which results in a part-for-whole metonymy such as DOME/ ENTRANCE/ INTERIOR (assembly hall, corridor, buffet, and cloakroom) FOR THE BUILDING and as it is previously mentioned, these conceptual metonymies highly influence the critical target of certain cartoons and should always be taken into account.

### 3 Methods

The corpus involves ninety-one political cartoons from the satirical magazine called *Ludas Matyi* which directly refer to the concept of the HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT from 1989 and 1990. Thirty cartoons were collected from 1989, while sixty-one pieces were found in 1990. *Ludas Matyi* was a pro-government satirical magazine during the socialist regime, and by 1992 it had become a supporter of the Hungarian Democratic Forum party. Criteria for selection have been applied to all the political cartoons that visually or verbally refer to the Hungarian Parliament in an explicit manner. This means that the political cartoon involves at least one of the following verbal expressions: “parliament”, “House of the Country”, or “parliamentary democracy” in any form (e.g. with a suffix or in a wordplay). In the visual mode, the political cartoons also include a recognizable part of the building (e.g. silhouette of the neo-gothic building, staircase with lions, horseshoe shape of the Assembly Hall, or a piece of red carpet).



*Figure 1. The SPORTS frame. Title: “Path is free”*  
*Drawn by László Róbert Szabó, Ludas Matyi, 28.3.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 190)*

Multimodal analysis (Pérez-Sobrino 2017) has been applied to the present corpus-analysis where the identification of conceptual operations – metaphor and metonymy – can be carried out in visual, verbal and in mixed modes as well. Indeed, this model (ibid. 93) investigates metaphor and metonymy in three dimensions: at the conceptual, the discursive, and the communicative level. At the conceptual level, the analyst focuses on the identification of conceptual operations (for a detailed protocol see ibid. 85-90). At the discursive level, interactions among the conceptual processes and the various modes are presented, and at the communicative level, the coder aims to reveal strategies linked to communicative intentions beyond conceptual operations. However, this investigation is conducted primarily at the conceptual level; it focuses on the appearances and manifestations of thematic frames and

source domains supported by conceptual metonymies that occur in relation to the target, HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT. During the coding process the position of the “fully informed viewer” is taken, implying “the knowledge of the relevant facts, such as news events, historical events, cultural habits” are understood (Schilperoord & Maes 2009: 221). Multimodal analysis involves the following steps: 1) determining the thematic frames (see fig. 1, e.g., SPORTS), 2) identification of the occurring metonymies (e.g., in the case of the conceptual metaphor THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT (ASSEMBLY HALL) IS A FIELD (IN A STADIUM) depicted above in the cartoon the following conceptual metonymies are linked to the target domain (PARLIAMENT) HORSESHOE-SHAPE LIKE PLACE FOR THE ASSEMBLY HALL, PERSON FOR THE POLITICAL PARTY and metonymies linked to the source domain (stadium) are HORSESHOE-SHAPE LIKE PLACE FOR A FIELD (IN A STADIUM), GREEN FOR THE FIELD, SOCCER JERSEY AND BALL FOR AMERICAN FOOTBALL, SAME COLOR FOR JERSEYS AND MORE BALLS ON THE FIELD FOR IRREGULARITIES), 3) identification of the conceptual metaphors with its source and target domain (e.g. ASSEMBLY HALL IS A FIELD, POLITICIANS ARE AMERICAN FOOTBALL PLAYERS, POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE IRREGULARLY PLAYED MATCHES), 4) determining the mappings between the domains (e.g. politicians’ unfair behavior linked to such incongruences as: there is more than one ball on the field and all the players wear identical white color jerseys), 5) explanation of the critical standpoint of the cartoon (e.g. it criticizes incorrect political strategies used by political parties during the election campaign).

## 4 Results

### 4.1 Thematic frames

Following the presentation of findings in political cartoon research (Bounegru & Forceville 2011, Forceville & Van de Laar 2019), a thematic and metaphor-based grouping of the investigated phenomenon, namely the target of the HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT is shown below. The first grouping of political cartoons (Table 1) reports the occurrences of thematic frames like CONFLICT, SPORT, EDUCATION, FAMILY, and CULTURAL SHOW (THEATRE AND CIRCUS SHOWS). Only the first four are presented in the following section due to space limitations, however THEATRE and CIRCUS will be touched upon as metaphoric sources of HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT.

Date (frames/ total no.of cartoons)	CONFLICT	CULTURAL SHOW	SPORT	EDUCATION	FAMILY	OTHERS
1989 (13/30)	1	3	0	0	4	5
1990 (26/61)	9	5	5	4	0	3
Total	10	8	5	4	4	8

*Table 1. Thematic frames in the corpus*

It may seem confusing that there are recurring topics among thematic frames and metaphoric sources in the two tables. It is important to keep in mind that thematic frames (which are abstract topical concepts) do not always entail metaphoric representations of the HUNGARIAN

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 DOI: 10.34103/ARGUMENTUM/2021/12

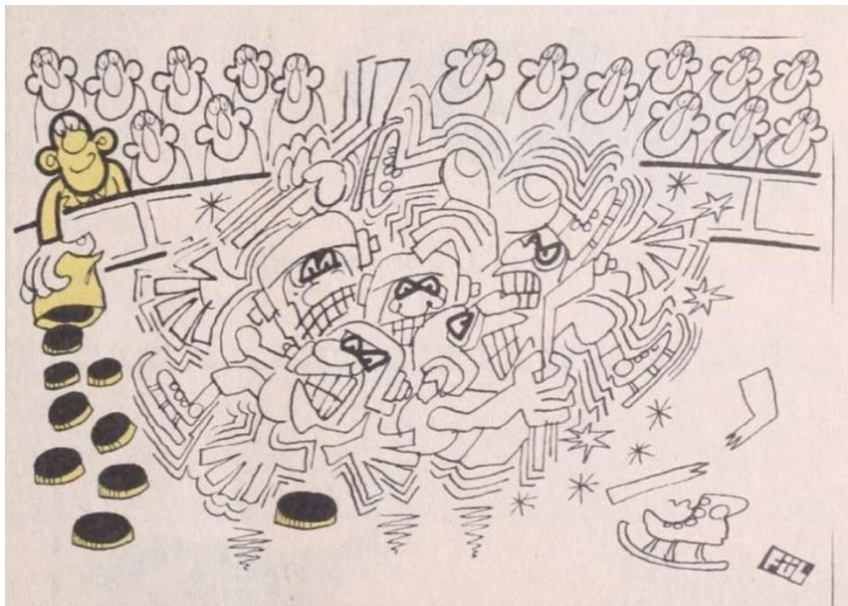
PARLIAMENT (hybrid, contextual metaphor or multimodal metaphor). One cannot speak of direct metaphorical representation (in the case of our corpus) regarding frames like FAMILY and CONFLICT. However, when the Parliament is conceptualized metaphorically, for instance as a SCHOOL, it often occurs in a scene that belongs to a metaphorical thematic frame (in the school case it would be EDUCATION). The two tables show different perspectives of the analysis.

The year 1989 was dominated by the thematic frame FAMILY (four occurrences). The first occurrence shows the personification of parliamentarism in the image of a howling newborn baby who is already very active and always gets in trouble. One can only assume that the politicians who are inclined to a systemic political change are his parents. The second case points to building personal relationships among politicians in the corridors of Hungarian Parliament. One of the politicians is showing photos of his kids to one of his colleagues while he is accused of forming a faction. Hence, the second frame is concerned with the creation of alliances and parties before the election campaign. The third occurrence of the frame FAMILY highlights the tension between the old and new generations of political parties. In the cartoon, the senior (most probably standing for Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) asks for patience from a youth (standing for the Alliance of Free Democrats or the Alliance of Young Democrats) all the while assuring them that they are his heirs. The fourth case also picks up an inheritance procedure; however, here heritage is manifested in the economic problems of the country. In these examples, messages of political cartoons emphasize various periods and problems of the year on a large scale (systemic political change, formation of political parties and alliances, tensions between old and new parties, and economic crisis of the country). In these cartoons, the governing politicians appear as parents, fathers, seniors, and grandmothers where at the same time, the Hungarian Parliament itself is not conceptualized metaphorically (e.g. as a family house).



Figure 2. The CONFLICT frame. Title: "As Kids", Text: "-Finally, campaign time is here."  
 Drawn by Joe Békési, Ludas Matyi, 3.10.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 621)

The significance of frames like CONFLICT, SPORTS and EDUCATION that highlight tensions and competition among opponents increased in 1990. Scenes of CONFLICT (ten occurrences) can be further specified depending on subtopics, including strikes and demonstrations; fighting and wrestling kids; mudslinging; bullfighting, and a war carried out via machine guns. If strikes and demonstrations are rendered on the page, then a crowd of people is usually depicted as a group of fighters in front of Parliament, where the politicians look out the window from a superior position. In the case of bullfighting, economic problems are depicted as a big sitting bull which cannot be defeated by a small bullfighter, the new government. Furthermore, political debates (Fig. 2) are often rendered in scenes of CONFLICT where their most characteristic features are depicted as heated, ugly, vulgar, invidious, insulting, and attacking. These features appear through visual metonymies in the forms of flying glasses and shoes, stars caused by strikes, and dust storms, but are also indicated by the use of weapons (e.g., a sword or machine gun), manifested in extreme gestures (e.g., open mouth with a waving tongue), and in actions (e.g., a fall or throwing something). The CONFLICT frame is rarely conceptualized verbally through expressions like “final fight” and “revolutionary situation”. In this frame, politicians are not recognizable and the criticism of their behavior applies to all of them as a group. At the same time, the Hungarian Parliament provides a place for conflict, but it is not metaphorically transformed into another entity. (There are researchers who may find these representations metaphorical as well (i.e. El Refaie 2003<sup>1</sup>) and they are satisfied with a metaphorical source like A PLACE FOR A FIGHT but this is found too broad, and too loose in this case.)

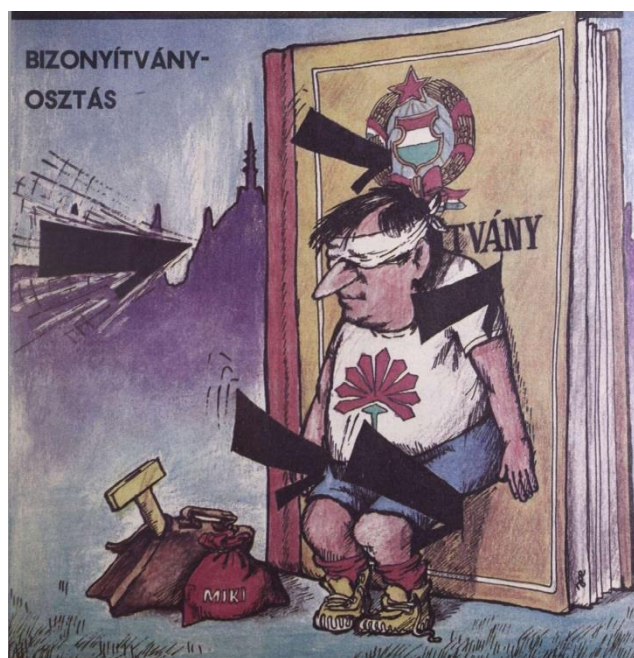


*Figure 3. The SPORTS frame. Ice hockey game without textual references.  
 Drawn by György Fülöp, Ludas Matyi, 3.1.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 11)*

<sup>1</sup> El Refaie (2003: 9) gives a broader definition of visual metaphors – including the implicated ones: “it is more appropriate to identify a visual metaphor by referring to the thoughts or concepts that appear to underlie it. A cognitive definition of a visual metaphor has the advantage of enabling the analyst to compare and contrast different ways, both verbal and visual, of expressing a metaphorical thought.”



In SPORT scenes (five occurrences) one can find specializations like table football game, American football, arm wrestling, fencing and ice hockey. This frame is highly related to the election campaign in which all the parties play unfair matches. In the scene of the ice hockey game (Fig. 3), all parties or politicians are hockey players but all of them are wearing similar jerseys and it makes differentiating between team members entirely impossible, whereas there are multiple hockey pucks on the hockey rink which also do not fit the rules of the game. It is also surprising that none of the players seem to care about those extra pucks. A similar situation occurs during an American football game (see Fig. 1). In the SPORTS scenes, politicians are criticized equally for their strategies and for violating the rules of the game. Contrary to the aforementioned examples, in this frame, the Hungarian Parliament is visually transformed into places suitable for sports activities such as a field, a hockey rink, and a tavern (which provides a place for arm wrestling), serving as visual metaphorical representations of the building based on the recurring conceptual metaphor in which the HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A SPORT ARENA.



*Figure 4. The EDUCATION frame. Title: “Certificate distribution”, Labels: “Certificate”, “Miki”  
 Drawn by Joe Békési, Ludas Matyi, 13.6.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 362)*

In 1990, the third most important frame with its four occurrences is identified as the EDUCATION scene. The first case (Fig. 4) shows the Hungarian economist and politician, Miklós Németh’s failure (as member of the Hungarian Socialist Worker’s Party and later the Hungarian Socialist Party as the last communist prime minister). He had to leave his office when József Antall’s party (the Hungarian Democratic Forum) won the first free elections. In addition to political references, the cartoon includes two other domains (Schilperoord 2013): a SCHOOL and a SHOOTING SALOON (the metaphors where the same target is shown with two sources at the same time are called mixed metaphors). The EDUCATION scene, especially the day of distribution of certificates presents Miklós Németh as a failed student who is standing in front of his enlarged certificate, waiting for his grades – one of which is flying towards him. In the meantime, the Parliament can be interpreted as a school. In the second source domain (SHOOTING SALOON),

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Németh as a target is standing in front of a dart board with bandaged eyes while arrows are thrown at him. The cartoon indexes Németh's failure where he is the cause (the student) and at the same time also the victim of current events (the targeted person on the shooting board). Among the cartoons, in the second SCHOOL scene, the House Speaker scolds one of the representatives because of his inappropriate behavior and draws the representative's attention to the potential penalty, namely that House Speaker will make him sit to the extreme left side. This is a general criticism aimed at the behavior of politicians in the form of a verbal metaphor in which POLITICIANS ARE (BAD) STUDENTS. At the same time, the House Speaker takes on the role of the teacher and the Parliament is understood to be a school.

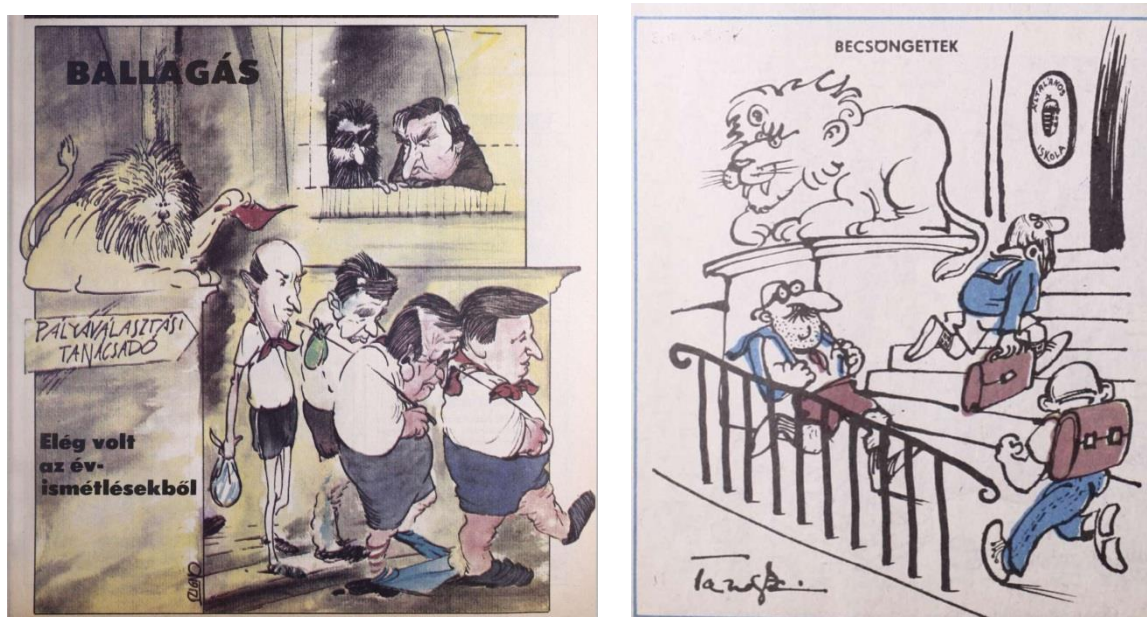


Figure 5. The EDUCATION frame. Title: “School-leaving ceremony”, Text: “Enough of the repeated school years.” Label: “Career guidance”

*Drawn by Joe Békési?, Ludas Matyi, 16.5.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 299)*

Figure 6. The EDUCATION frame. Title: “Rang the bell” Label: “Elementary School”

*Drawn by Zoltán Tarnóczy, Ludas Matyi, 5.9. 1990 (in Arcanum database p. 559)*

The third SCHOOL case (Fig. 5) depicts an ambiguous school-leaving ceremony where the members of the Hungarian Socialist Party are rendered as students leaving the school (and even the lion waves ‘goodbye’ to them with a red tissue). According to the text, “Enough of the repeated school years” we cannot be sure whether the students had passed the final exam. The last example of EDUCATION (Fig. 6) was published in September 1990 after the summer holiday and it points to the start of the new school session. The members of the new government are running up the stairs to the Parliament which is metaphorically transformed into an elementary school. Visual and verbal metonymic clues – blue school uniforms, schoolbags, a board with an inscription on the wall of the school, and the title “rang the bell” – help the reader’s interpretation of the political cartoon. One can conclude that the conceptual metaphor HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A SCHOOL is a recurring productive one in which the corpus can focus on various school occasions (e.g., certificate distribution, maintaining discipline, graduation, and start of

the school year) according to the cartoonists' intentions. Nevertheless, the politicians are depicted as students and the Parliament is transformed into a school within this frame.

#### 4.2 *Metaphoric sources of the Hungarian Parliament*

The second grouping of cartoons (Table 2) explains the most important source domains of HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT, namely PITCH, OBJECT, SCHOOL, CIRCUS-, THEATRE-, and JOURNEY-related sources. There was no dominant source domain in 1989, and most occurrences were distributed over several source domains labelled “Other”, while in 1990 they did tend to group around some specific source domains. As the sources PITCH and SCHOOL have already been touched upon in relation to the thematic frames of SPORT and SCHOOL, only the sources of OBJECT, CIRCUS-, THEATRE- and JOURNEY-RELATED SOURCES are discussed below.

Date (source domain/ total no.of cartoons)	PITCH	OBJECT	SCHOOL	CIRCUS-related sources	THEATRE-related sources	JOURNEY-related sources	OTHERS
1989 (13/30)	1	0	0	1	1	1	9
1990 (26/61)	6	4	4	3	2	2	5
Total	7	4	4	4	3	3	14

Table 2. Metaphorical source domains of HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT in the corpus

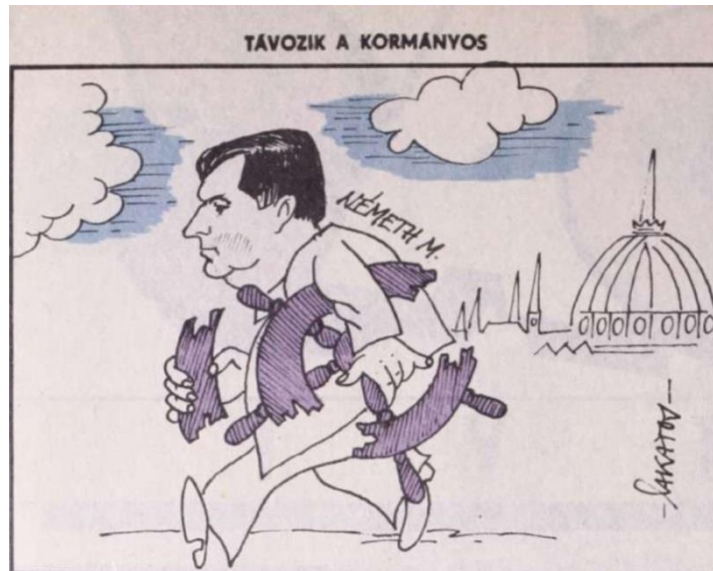


Figure 7. HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A SINKING SHIP. Title “The helmsman is leaving”, Label: “Németh M.”  
 Drawn by Ferenc Lakatos, Ludas Matyi, 11.4.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 222)

HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS AN OBJECT with its four occurrences is a recurring conceptual metaphor in the corpus. The analysis revealed that the PARLIAMENT can be understood as a SHIP (Fig. 7) where Miklós Németh is depicted as a failed helmsman holding a broken steering wheel, leaving the vehicle. Among these objects, we can also identify A PRICKLY OBJECT that causes pain to the person who wants to sit on a specific chair depicted in the cartoon. The metaphor is motivated by the architectural neo-gothic shape of Hungarian Parliament. The message can be summarized as: Being a politician is not comfortable; on the contrary, it is sometimes very painful. In another example (Fig. 8), Parliament is referred to as a precious object which has been stolen. However, the accompanying text reveals that its value is not what one would think it to be at first sight and instead, PARLIAMENT IS AN OBJECT that metonymically stands for the cause of the crime. Indeed, the thieves stop the crime by stealing the object, the cause of the crime itself. This is a critical stance on corruption. The third objectification of Hungarian Parliament (Fig. 9) shows the conceptual metaphor where its DOME IS A MICROPHONE. In this case, this metaphor is supported by a metonymic chain where THE DOME STANDS FOR THE ASSEMBLY HALL and it stands FOR SPEECHES. Speeches are visually strengthened by those figures which are placed into the cone of the microphone and they open their mouth visibly. The critical standpoint of the cartoon – expressed mainly by the accompanying verbal text “Everybody tells his own speech” – emphasizes that politics is often based on speeches without the processes of listening and reflecting upon what others actually say.



Figure 8. HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A STOLEN OBJECT Text: “- We have taken the necessary steps to reduce crime.”  
 Drawn by Pál Pusztai, Ludas Matyi, 7.11.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 708)

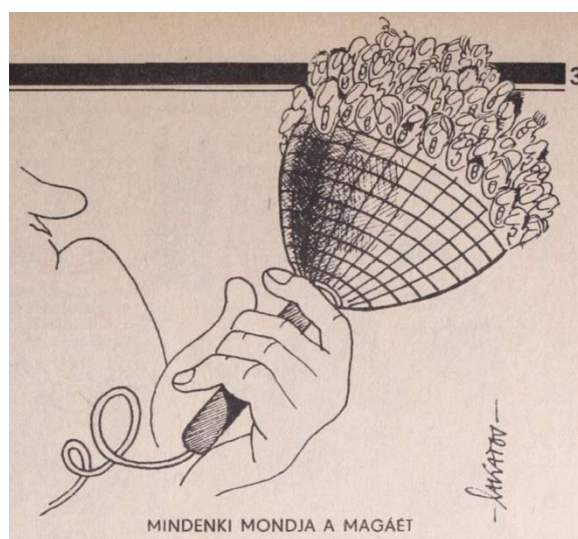
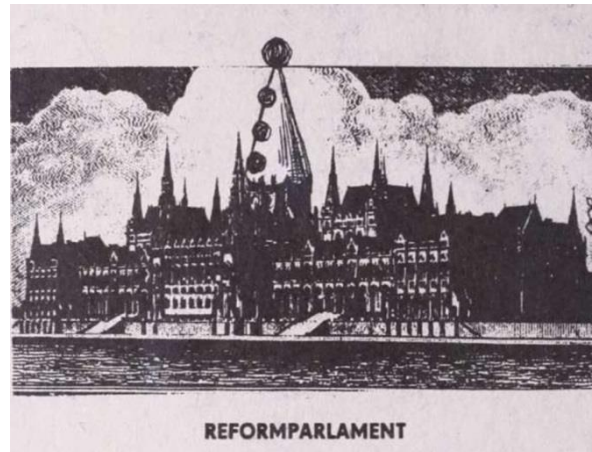
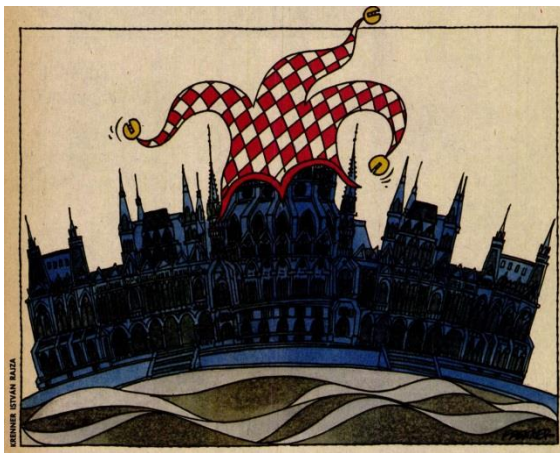


Figure 9. HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A MICROPHONE Text: “Everybody says his own thing.”  
 Drawn by Ferenc Lakatos, Ludas Matyi, 3.1.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 3)

The conceptual metaphor HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A CIRCUS occurs four times in the corpus. Twice it is reached through visual metonymic chains in which first a fool’s cap (Fig. 10), then a clown hat (Fig. 11) stands for the clown, in addition to standing for the circus in the metonymic chain. (The fool’s cap may also evoke the image of a royal palace as a jester is a

common actor of tales. But here, circus as a larger associative semantic field was taken into consideration.) Interestingly, the two cartoons express various critical standpoints. In the case of the fool's cap, there is no accompanying text. Hence, foolishness is a general criticism of the parliament: however, we do not know what the parliament stands for. Parliament can metonymically stand for its operation, for the political elite in general, and also for the ruling government. In the other case (an image of a clown hat), the cartoon involves the following title: "Reform Parliament." Hence, the image criticizes the incoming new government which is ineffective in aiding and realizing capitalist development (by using this particular compound 'reformparlament', the cartoon refers back historically to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century parliament. In Hungarian this is 'reformországgyűlés', where in the presently used compound 'reformparlament', 'parlament' is the modern expression for 'országgyűlés').



*Figure 10. Visual metonymy: FOOL'S CAP FOR JESTER FOR CIRCUS >*  
*Visual metaphor: THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A CIRCUS*  
*Drawn by István Krenner, Ludas Matyi, 25.7.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 467)*

*Figure 11. Visual metonymy: CLOWN HAT FOR CLOWN FOR CIRCUS >*  
*Multimodal metaphor: THE REFORM PARLIAMENT IS A CIRCUS. Text: "Reform Parliament"*  
*Drawn by Joe Békési, Ludas Matyi, 14.3.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 164)*

During the demonstrations of 1989, the political cartoon in Figure 12 shows a mass gathered under the windows of Parliament. The accompanying text says, "Now the people want only bread, not circus..." The text ironically subverts the meaning of the original Roman saying "Panem et circenses" which suggests the confrontation with power can be avoided if people have something to eat and the means by which to have fun. In this version, people claim real solutions for their serious economic problems caused by the government. Empty political speeches and foolish political behavior are seen as parts of the unnecessary circus provided by Hungarian Parliament. The last example of the CIRCUS metaphor (Fig. 13) depicts a parliamentary representative (József Torgyán) balancing on the top of a rolling barrel. The barrel became some cartoonists' recurring topic because it was linked to a political scandal frequently touted by the media. József Torgyán, one of the founders of the Independent Smallholders' Party shouted the following sentence during Fraction Leader Péter Tölgyessy's speech (Alliance of Free

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 DOI: 10.34103/ARGUMENTUM/2021/12

Democrats): “Barrel for the speaker!” Torgyán was accused of anti-Semitism and his words were thought to imply “Barrel for the Jewish.” Even the sound recordings were falsified by the slanderers. In various contexts, the image of the barrel was recalled seven times during the year. The latter two cases of cartoons implicate the conceptual metaphor according to which HUNGARIAN POLICY-MAKING IS A CIRCUS. Moreover, the last cartoon expresses that a HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVE (likely JÓZSEF TÖRGYÁN) IS A CLOWN. The criticism is directed here at the unreal solutions of the government for real social and economic problems.



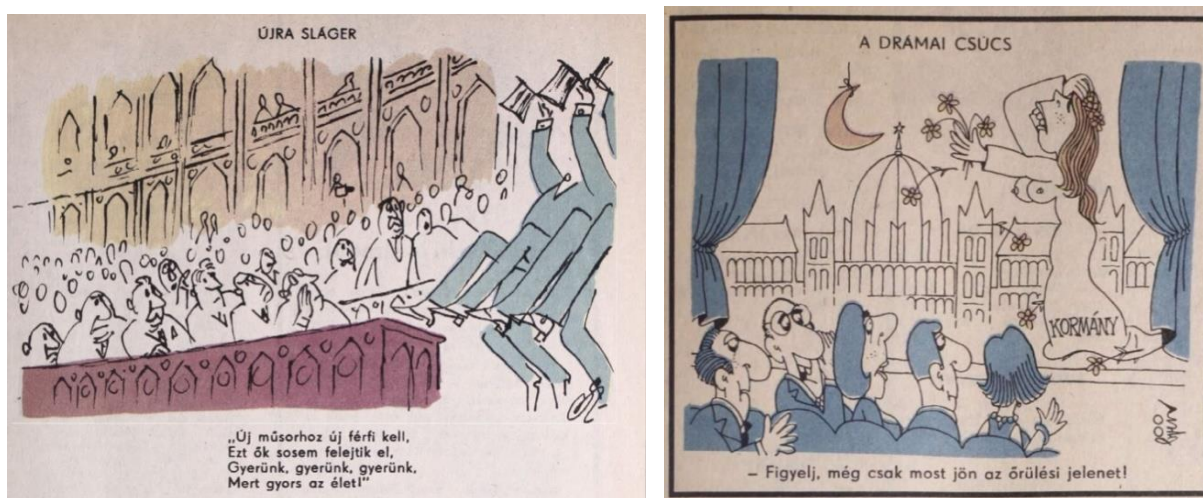
*Figure 12. Verbal metaphor: HUNGARIAN POLICY-MAKING IS A CIRCUS*  
*Text: “-Now the people want only bread, not circus...”*  
*Drawn by István Lehoczki, Ludas Matyi, 8.3.1989 (in Arcanum database p. 160)*

*Figure 13. Multimodal metaphor: THE REPRESENTATIVE IS A CLOWN > HUNGARIAN POLICY-MAKING IS A CIRCUS*  
*Title: “Just a hunch”, Text: “-Well, what’s going on in the parliament?”*  
*Drawn by Tibor Rau, Ludas Matyi, 7.11.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 699)*

The HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT is sometimes understood through THEATRE-related sources. The cartoon in Figure 14 was published in 1989 before the free elections of 1990. It quotes a verse from a Hungarian operetta called the *Gipsy Princess* (written by Imre Kálmán and first shown in 1915). The lyrics cite a particular part of the operetta when in the Orpheum, a count and a waiter are singing together about those men whose hearts are broken by the girls of this world. It is a never-ending circular process: it happens all the time, new men come and leave continuously. In addition to the verbal text, the atmosphere of the THEATRE is recalled by the help of a visual metonymy in which the DANCING MEN WITH HATS STAND FOR THE OPERETTA. The cartoonist critically suggests that even if a new party governs the country it does not really mean any change regarding the major operations of politics. In the next example, Figure 15, another literary source is cited, Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*. Here, the building of the Parliament as theatrical scenery appears on the stage in a night scene, where in the meantime the personified

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figure of the Hungarian government plays Lady Macbeth amidst madness. The cartoon entails the conceptual metaphor according to which LIFE (more specifically POLITICS) IS A THEATRE, where POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS and PEOPLE ARE THE AUDIENCE of the drama. Lady Macbeth was an accomplice and instigator of her husband in a royal murder, and she went mad when she could not bear the consequences of her deeds. Attributes of the Lady – raises her hand to her forehead expressing that she doesn't know what to do – are mapped onto the government, and does not offer much good.



*Figure 14. Multimodal metaphor: THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS AN OPERETTA THEATRE*  
 Title: “It is a hit again.” Text: “New men are needed for a new show/ it is never forgotten/  
 Come on, come on, come on/ Because life is fast.”  
 Drawn by József Szűr Szabó, Ludas Matyi, 10.5.1989 (in Arcanum p. 291)

*Figure 15. Multimodal metaphor: THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A THEATRICAL SCENE FROM MACBETH > LIFE IS THEATRE.* Title:  
 “Dramatic climax.” Text: “-Attention, the scene of madness is now coming.” Label: “Government”  
 Drawn by Balázs Balázs-Piri, Ludas Matyi, 3.1.1990 (in Arcanum database p. 3)

Finally, the two cartoons presented below show JOURNEY-related source domains linked to the Parliament (similar to Fig. 7). The first, Figure 16, was published in 1989. The cartoon depicts a man asking for information at an Information Desk which seems to be integrated with the Parliament building. The verbal label “Information” and the visually rendered window metonymically stand for an Information Desk. The conceptual metaphor CONTROL OVER PROGRESS IS CONTROL OVER FORWARD MOTION is motivated by the man’s question: “Please tell me, where is forward now?” The question entails the interplay of conceptual metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY (in which the PROTAGONIST IS THE PASSENGER) and FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE IN FRONT OF US, while DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY IS KNOWING THE WAY TOWARD THE DESTINATION. The cartoonist argues that the leadership of the country (visually represented through the integration of the Parliament and the Information Desk) cannot provide any further information regarding the way of progress. The last example, Figure 17, shows a young member of the party the Alliance of Young Democrats (Fidesz) who is standing on the red carpet of the Parliament. He looks at the guards and provides the following official instruction for them complemented by a private question in slang: “At ease, adjust the rails. Where can I find the

karzy?” (karzy is a slang rude expression for restroom) This man refers to a train trip and remarks upon a sentence that is usually hear on loudspeakers at railway stations. He treats the guards of Parliament as if they were railway men, and in this way, PARLIAMENT IS A STATION for him. The cartoon critically presents the new generation of politicians who do not know how to behave and how to deal with their newly acquired power.

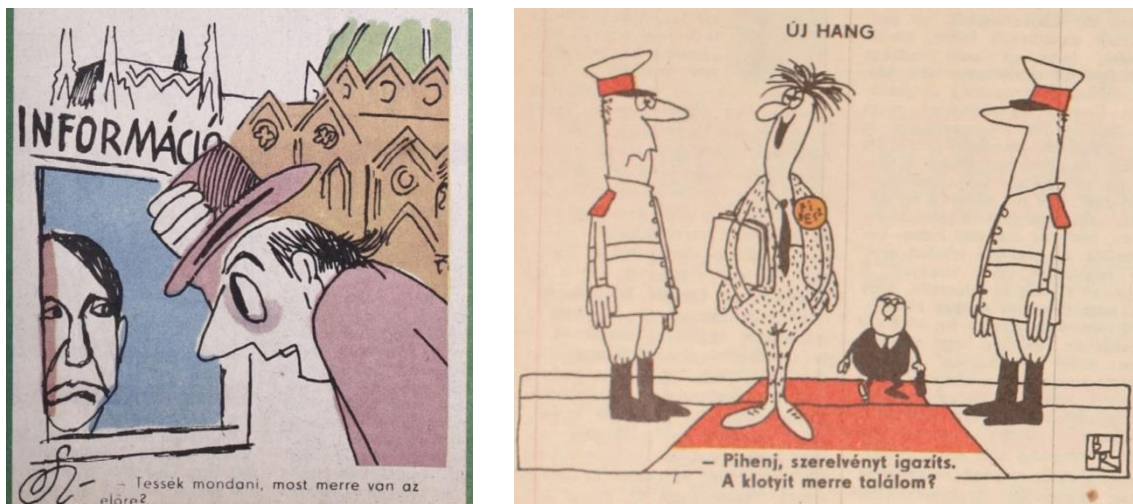


Figure 16. Multimodal metaphor: *THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS AN INFORMATION DESK*  
 Label: “Information” Text: “Please tell me, where is forward, now?”  
 Drawn by József Szűr Szabó, Ludas Matyi, 19.4.1989 (in *Arcanum* p. 249)

Figure 17. Multimodal metaphor: *THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A RAILWAY STATION*  
 Title: “New voice”, Text: “At ease, adjust the rails. Where can I find the karzy?”  
 Drawn by László Róbert Szabó, Ludas Matyi, 28.3.1990 (in *Arcanum* database p. 193)

## 5 Discussion

In his analysis, Frantzich (2013: 157) claims there are the following metaphorical sources for US Congress: ANIMALS, SPORTS, TOOLS AND MACHINES, BEHAVIORS, HISTORICAL, LITERARY FIGURES, and JOB HOLDERS. These reported sources are almost identical to those identified in the Hungarian corpus. The only exception is the source of animals which was extremely rare in the Hungarian corpus (with the exception of bullfighting, conversation between a cricket and an ant, as well as literary realizations of Hungarian vulgarity, where expressions like “cattle”, “donkey”, and “pig” are addressed). Hence, one can see that Hungarian politicians are not usually rendered as animals in cartoons depicting the Parliament in the period between 1989 and 1990.

However, a number of cartoons implied thematic frames of SPORTS and CONFLICT that fit metaphoric sources earlier identified by Frantzich: these are “sports (fight, strip poker, bull fight)” and also “tools and machines (out of gas, long knives, meat grinder, smoking gun, puppet).” Indeed, politicians’ behavior (which is a separate topic addressed by Frantzich) was criticized in almost all frames of this corpus. Consequently, it was not differentiated as a separate topic and instead, it seems to be one of the essential features of political cartoons in general. Literary figures differed from those named by Frantzich (e.g., Pinocchio and



Frankenstein) but one could argue that national (the count and the waiter from *Gipsy Princess*) and international characters (Lady Macbeth) were also found within the THEATRE metaphoric frame. The last topic, “job holders (clowns, robbers)” were linked to metaphorical sources like HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT as a CIRCUS and an OBJECT.

During the coding process of the corpus, Frantzich’s typology of criticism was taken into consideration. This logic basically divides the critical evaluations into two groups. First, it targets personal characteristics and behavior of a person or a party. Second, it criticizes the operation of the institution. Frantzich’s codes had to be slightly refined to better fit and describe the corpus (Table 3). For the types of criticism directed at personal or institutional qualities, the following codes were applied: behavioral problems (e.g., aggression, shouting), immoral activity (e.g., deception, irresponsibility), bad policy (e.g. doing bad economic policy), silly/clueless action (e.g. hesitation at Round Table Talks), inefficient /dysfunctional system (e.g., government has no solutions for the economic problems and has no plan for progress), change (e.g., following the West, appearance of market capitalism), institutional immorality (e.g. negation of environmental impacts of Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dams), and crisis of credibility (e.g. the government does not help the retired people and does not recognize their value – where God is depicted as a senior who is expelled from the building of parliament and no help is given him). In sum, the year 1989 was dominated by the institutional critical stances which appeared in 60 % of the total number of cartoons. The most frequent critical evaluations targeted systemic political change, institutional immorality, and the dysfunctional institution itself.

On the contrary, the following year, 1990 was highly dominated by critical statements of seemingly improper personal characteristic features which occurred in 73.8 % of the total number of the cartoons. There was an extremely high number of cartoons that criticized the behavior of the politicians and parties. Emphasis on personal immoral activity and bad policy were also significant standpoints that year.

Type of criticism	1989 (30 cartoons)	1990 (61 cartoons)	Total (91 cartoons)
Behavioral problems (personal)	4	23	27
Immoral activity (personal)	4	8	12
Bad policy (personal)	2	8	10
Silly/clueless (personal)	2	6	8
Inefficient /dysfunctional (institutional)	5	7	12
Change (institutional)	6	3	9
Immoral (institutional)	6	3	9
Crisis of credibility (institutional)	1	3	4
<b>Total (personal)</b>	12 (40 %)	45 (73.8 %)	57 (62.6 %)
<b>Total (institutional)</b>	18 (60 %)	16 (26.2 %)	34 (37.4 %)

*Table 3. Types of criticism in the corpus*

Members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party are not recognizable (where the only exception is Miklós Németh who appeared several times after leaving the political scene). However, representatives of newly created parties are rendered by their names, e.g., József Antall (leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum), János Kis (leader of the Alliance of Free Democrats), or József Torgyán (chairman of the Independent Smallholders’ Party). In 1990, the

Alliance of Young Democrats (the current ruling party) was repeatedly depicted through a figure of a young boy. Consequently, when a critical standpoint becomes personified (linked to one particular person) its target seems to be a new political generation.

## 6 Conclusions

As stated in the Introduction, this research reveals the most frequent thematic frames and metaphorical sources of Hungarian Parliament in political cartoons in a tumultuous historical period in Hungary when parliamentary democracy was born and the Hungarian Republic was proclaimed. It was found that 43.3 % of the corpus from 1989 involve metaphorical sources, while 42.6 % of the cartoons from 1990 also consist of metaphorical sources through which the target HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT can be reached. The findings showed many similarities with those metaphors that are often applied to the US Congress (previously identified by Frantzych 2013). Nevertheless, novel thematic frames such as EDUCATION, FAMILY, CULTURAL SHOW and metaphoric sources such as SCHOOL, CIRCUS, THEATRE, JOURNEY and OBJECT were identified as similar to Frantzych's topics. However, the above sources are not new in political discourse: a growing body of literature has examined the sources FAMILY (Musolff 2009), SCHOOL (Đurović & Silaški 2017, Schilperoord & Maes 2009), JOURNEY, and (PUPPET) THEATRE (Forceville & Van de Laar 2019).

Regarding conceptual metonymies, the identification procedure is always more uncertain because on one hand, it depends on conventions and symbols, but on the other, it also relies on associations which makes its interpretation quite subjective. With this in mind, in Figures 1, 2, 3, 9, and 14 THE ASSEMBLY HALL STANDS FOR PARLIAMENT WHICH STANDS FOR POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS during any time of political campaigning or in 'peacetime'. In the first case, political negotiations itself can be characterized as an unfair activity (American football), where the second can be featured as an aggressive (mudslinging). These characteristics are intertwined in the third situation (ice hockey game), while in the fourth cartoon describes never-ending negotiations with politicians unable to cooperate and take into account the other's position (mic). The last case criticizes the newly elected political party (*Gipsy Princess*). In Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 15, and 17 THE BUILDING (or a part of it like the entrance, the dome or the red carpet in the corridor) metonymically STAND FOR THE PARLIAMENT WHICH only STANDS FOR THE POLITICAL TOPIC/ACTIVITY of the cartoons where criticism is directed against a politician (ex-PM Miklós Németh, József Torgyán's story with barrel, the fallen political party, or the novel political generation). In the remaining cases (Figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, and 16) the cartoons show PARLIAMENT (or a part of it like the PM's room or the dome) that STANDS FOR LEGISLATIVE POWER WHICH STANDS FOR its agents, namely THE POLITICAL ELITE. The political elite are described as corrupt (Fig.8) those who cannot be taken seriously, are not responsible (Fig.10, 11), are unable to find solutions to serious problems (Fig. 12), those who assist in sinful deeds (Fig. 15) and have no long-term plans (Fig. 16).

In these examples, one can see that thematic frames of political cartoons highly depend upon the interplay of metaphorical sources and visual metonymies. These can become frames themselves and are often able to direct the readers' attention to the critical target in hidden form via metonymical processes. Further research in the field of multimodality can provide deeper understanding of these metonymical processes.

### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the anonymous lector for the critical findings and suggestions. I would like to thank Jessica Storey-Nagy for the accurate language corrections.

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