

PARLAMENT A FELHŐK FÖLÖTT: MOTIVÁCIÓS TÉNYEZŐK A METAFORIKUS HIBRIDEKBEN

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Absztrakt

Az egyik legismertebb vizuális metafora a hibrid (Forceville 2002), egy olyan fogalmi folyamat, amelyben a vizuális cél- és a vizuális forrástartomány egyetlen entitássá olvad össze, ez azonban nagyfokú összeférhetetlenséget eredményez, ilyen például egy macska elefánt fülekkel. A korábbi kutatások a hibrideket közegetől elválasztva vizsgálták, és a különböző entitások összekapcsolódásának motivációját a hasonló fizikai tulajdonságokkal magyarázták. Jelen tanulmány a hibrideket diskurzusban elemzi, és megoldást kínál a hibrideket magukban foglaló, együttműködő fogalmi folyamatokra. A tanulmány legfőbb eredménye az analóg előhívás azonosítása, amely motivációs tényezőként jelenik meg a hibridekben, és azt jelenti, hogy a hibrid más fogalmi metaforával is együttműködik. Ez kétféleképpen fordulhat elő: (1) egyfelől lehetséges, hogy a hibrid egy tőle eltérő fogalmi metaforával szorosan együttműködik, (2) másfelől a hibrid céltartománya kettő vagy többféle forrástartománnyal is fuzionálhat.

Kulcsszavak

metaforikus hibrid, analóg előhívás, motivációs tényezők, szerkesztői karikatúra

THE PARLIAMENT ABOVE THE CLOUDS: MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS OF METAPHORIC HYBRIDS

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Abstract

One of the most known visual metaphors is hybrid (Forceville 2002), a conceptual process in which the visual target and the visual source domains are integrated into one entity providing a high potential of incongruency (e.g., a cat with elephant ears). Previous research mostly focused on hybrids in isolation and studied their physical features as potential motivational factors behind them. The present paper aims to systematically investigate the hybrids with their motivational factors in discourse and provides a solution to the conceptual collaborations including a metaphoric hybrid. As a main result of the study, analogous priming is hypothesized as a potential motivating factor in hybrids meaning that more conceptual metaphors are construed at the same time out of which at least one is a metaphoric hybrid. It can appear in two ways: (1) when the metaphoric hybrid is intertwined with another conceptual metaphor different from the hybrid, or (2) when the target domain (being part of the hybrid) is shown by two or more sources.

Keywords

metaphoric hybrid, analogous priming, motivational factors, editorial cartoon

THE PARLIAMENT ABOVE THE CLOUDS: MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS OF METAFORIC HYBRIDS¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

In a cartoon, we can see disturbing fantasy drawings such as an image of a parliamentary dome transformed into an air balloon (Fig. 1). Why and for what purpose can two distant entities merge into each other? The study attempts to find answers to these questions. Based on a hybrid, the viewer can construe a metaphor in which one of the entities is understood in terms of the other entity and connections are made or discovered between the entities.

Following Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff – Johnson² (2008: 274) summarizes the compulsory features of a conceptual metaphor according to which (1) it involves two categorically distant phenomena in a given context; (2) due to the two distinguishable domains it can be concluded that the source domain is telling something about the target domain; (3) the viewer can discover the connotations of the source domain, which are mapped to the target domain; (4) and the mappings are optimized to help the audience recognize them. Conceptual metaphors can be produced based on existing underlying conceptual metaphors, but they can also creatively formulate novel similarities between the domains (Forceville 2008: 275). Being a conceptual process occurring in thought and action (Lakoff – Johnson 1980: 3), metaphor can appear in various modalities, in verbal, sonic, and in visual, among others.

Presently, we are focusing on the monomodal visual metaphors that have visually rendered source and target domains. Forceville (2008: 278) sets up a typology of visual metaphors based on their structure: a) *simile* when the target and the source domains are juxtaposed as

¹ Acknowledgements: I am indebted to Réka Benczes and Alfons Maes for thoughtful and insightful observations on earlier drafts of this article. For English language proofreading my special thanks go to Éva Osztyényi.

² However, it should be noticed that not all hybrids are metaphoric (e.g. there are metonymic hybrids in which two visual metonymic sources refer to an implicit metonymic target) (cf. Forceville 2006, Schilperoord, 2018).

separate entities, b) *contextual metaphor* where the target domain appears in a context belonging to the source, c) *integrated 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.³ The paper highlights the metaphoric hybrid (hereinafter referred to as hybrid⁴) in which ‘the metaphorical identity relationship is conveyed visually by conflating target and source into a single, “impossible” gestalt’ (ibid). This is exactly the case when the parliamentary dome appears as an air balloon, and we can construe the conceptual metaphor THE DOME IS AN AIR BALLOON. Two questions arise here: why do these two things work together? What message can their collaboration convey?

Forceville (2008, 2009) provides potential motivational factors, for instance, physical and conceptual similarities (for detailed discussion see 2.2), however, these elements have not yet been systematically examined in the previous analyses of metaphoric hybrids. Visual hybrids have already been used to justify the existence of visual metaphors (Forceville 1988, Carroll 1994, 1996), demonstrating the roles of metonymies in various metaphoric domains of the hybrid (Bolognesi and Vernillo 2019), therefore, metaphoric hybrids were mostly examined out of context. In brief, there is a lack of analyses of metaphoric hybrids in discourse. The major objective of the following research is the systemic investigation of the motivational factors in metaphoric hybrids of a specific corpus and to carry out the analyses in discourse and this implies a subjective interpretation of the examples following consistent steps (Charteris-Black 2011).

Before analyzing our first example, it is necessary to become acquainted with the metonymic motivation of visual metaphors, which operate in metaphoric hybrids as well.

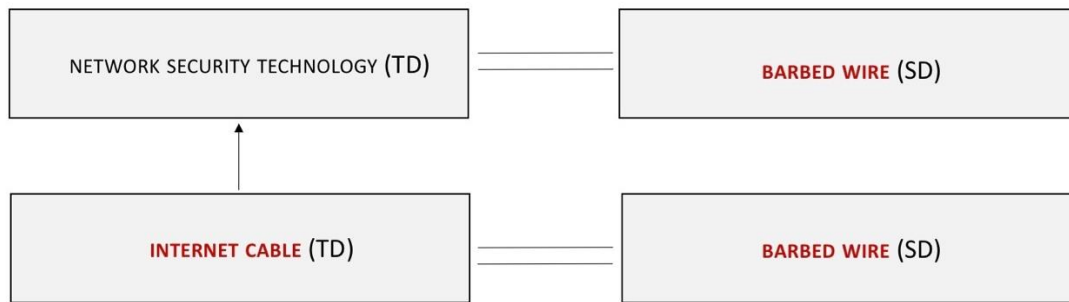
To start, Forceville (2009: 28) states that the mapped features are usually metonymically linked to the source domain. Hence, within a conceptual metonymic process, the source entity and its connoted feature belong to the same domain and their relationship is built on part-for-the whole or other logical relation (e.g. cause-and-effect).

In their paper, Marianna Bolognesi and Paola Vernillo (2019: 26–28) show a metonymy-based metaphoric fusion of an internet cable and a barbed wire. They confirm the physical and the conceptual similarities (elongated thin shape and protection) between the domains of the hybrid and conclude how metonymy contributes to the relation between these similarities. In their example, based on physical similarity between the two objects, they identify the visual hybrid metaphor, AN INTERNET CABLE IS A BARBED WIRE, and they argue that there is no conceptual link between the domains. Following the conceptual metonymy AN INTERNET CABLE STANDS FOR NETWORK SECURITY TECHNOLOGY, the conceptual metaphor NETWORK SECURITY TECHNOLOGY IS A BARBED WIRE is constructed. The message of the advertisement is interpreted as follows: the advertising agency promotes the valuable qualities of a network security technology. Clearly, the example demonstrates the essential role of metonymy in a hybrid by which it is possible to build conceptual link between the domains.

³ Somewhat similar typology can also be found in visual rhetoric. Barbara J. Phillips and Edward F. McQuarrie exemplify (2004) that visual structures can be divided into three main groups: juxtapositions (objects placed next to each other), fusions (two merged objects), and replacements (an object depicted within distant context).

⁴ However, it should be noticed that not all hybrids are metaphoric (e.g. there are metonymic hybrids in which two visual metonymic sources refer to an implicit metonymic target) (Forceville 2006, Schilperoord 2018).

Diagram 1
Metonymy-based metaphoric hybrid⁵



To justify the role of the already mentioned motivational factors of metaphoric hybrids (physical and conceptual similarity pushed forward by metonymical relations), let us consider Figure 1 that shows a merge of the parliamentary dome and an air balloon based on their physical similarity in their hemispherical shape. The metaphoric hybrid *THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS AN AIR BALLOON* can be formulated, although, in this phase, the viewer most probably does not know what the metaphorical shift is between the two domains. We must notice some relevant news published in *Magyar Nemzet* (19.07.1990): the politician shown can be identified with József Antall, the first freely elected Hungarian prime minister after the change of the system, who had a heated speech in a meeting in Brussels. He announced that “Hungary’s strategic goal is to achieve its accession to the European Community.”

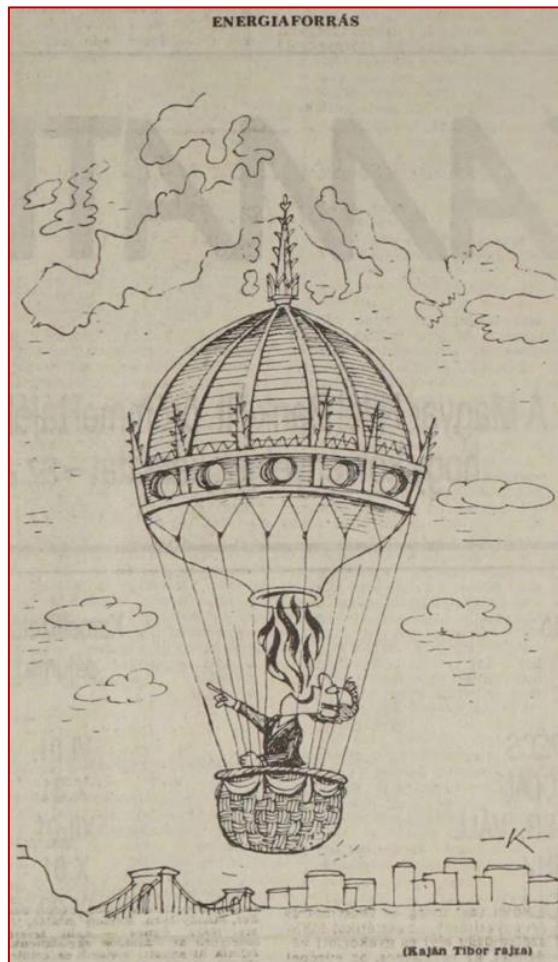
Due to the contextual factors, it can be concluded that the air balloon recalls the scenario of a *JOURNEY*. For the sake of the direct contextual factor of the map of Europe presented in the background, the viewer can infer that *THE MAP STANDS FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY*. Interestingly, it is more like a mind-braker for the viewer because the map itself is a metaphoric hybrid where *THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOWN IN THE MAP ARE THE CLOUDS OF THE SKY*. Based on these, *THE DOME* metonymically *STANDS FOR HUNGARY (MEMBER FOR THE CATEGORY)*, and it is realized in the form of an air balloon resulting in the metaphor *HUNGARY IS AN AIR BALLOON*. In political discourse, countries are conventionally depicted as vehicles, for instance, ship, car, and air balloon in the scenario of a *JOURNEY* (Godioli and Pedrazzini 2019, Reehorst 2014, Bounegru and Forceville 2011) and it can characterize the development of a country by showing the movement of the vehicle.

In our case, the metaphoric shift between *THE DOME* and *THE AIR BALLOON* is only revealed when the conceptual metonymy *THE DOME STANDS FOR HUNGARY*, and consequently, the conceptual metaphor *HUNGARY’S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IS RAISING UP THE BALLOON* are determined. Supported by the verbal text and the contextual political knowledge, it can be supplemented as follows: the scenario points toward the cause of the ascension by showing a small figure, who is able to heat the air with the help of the flames coming out of his mouth. He (the prime minister József Antall) can be identified with the ‘source of energy’ offered by the title of the cartoon. Thus, the viewer can infer the conceptual metaphor that *THE POLITICIAN IS THE SOURCE OF ENERGY* in the development of the country, who drives it upward. In short, we can conclude that the perceivable similarity of the dome and the air balloon; the

⁵ = refers to metaphoric relation, arrow refers to metonymic relation, TD is the metaphoric target domain, SD is the metaphoric source domain, finally, the visually depicted parts are written in red.

Figure 1

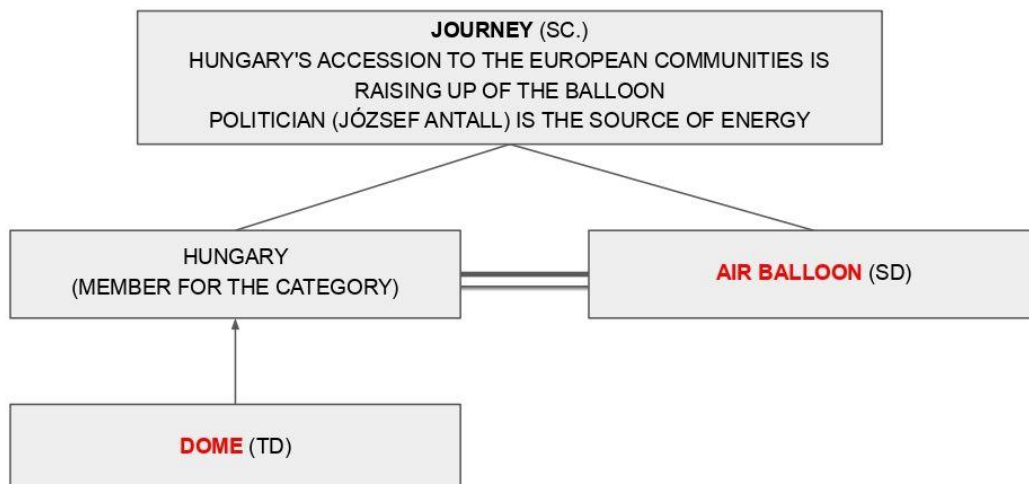
Metaphoric hybrid: The parliamentary dome (standing for Hungary) is an air balloon
 Title: 'Source of Energy'



(19.07.1990. Magyar Nemzet, drawn by Tibor Kaján)

Diagram 2

The identified conceptual processes of Figure 1



metonymic relationship between the dome and Hungary made the revelation of the conceptual similarity, especially a functional similarity ('rising up') available for the viewer, which was realized in the scenario of a JOURNEY. During the interpretation of the cartoon, the viewer is likely to rely on several motivational factors at the same time.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Previous literature on metaphoric hybrid

The reason for the following summary of various views on hybrids is that I did not find such review in previous literature to which I could refer here.

To begin with, metaphoric hybrid has been already proposed under the name of 'visual fusion' linked to portrait caricature where, for instance, a politician's head is amalgamated with an animal's body (Gombrich 1971: 134, El Refaie 2003). The viewer is encouraged to look for common internal and external features of the two disparate entities, the politician and the animal. The same visual phenomenon is also called as 'praesentia conjoint' by Groupe Mu (1992, cited by Mulken 2003: 118–119) meaning that both elements are present (in praesentia) and shown in one entity (conjunction). Additionally, it is also stated that due to the distortion, understanding requires greater cognitive effort than in the case of 'praesentia disjunction' (simile). In this vein, Margot van Mulken's example (ibid.), the advertisement of Paris shows a man whose spectacles are conflated with a wheel of a bicycle suggesting the man's thoughts on how to discover the city. We can see again that the spectacles and the bicycle are not only formally compared, but conceptually as well, namely that both are suitable for discovery. The first, the spectacles are directed to the imagery world through reading while the other, the bicycle aims at discovering the reality, namely the city.

One of the pioneers dealing with visual hybrids was Noël Carroll (1994, 1996), who argued that 'visual hybrids' were prototypical cinematographic metaphors. For instance, he mentions a film shot from the film *Metropolis* where a machine is transformed into a monster, Moloch. In this case, he supposes that the identified metaphor can be THE MACHINE IS A MONSTER or THE MONSTER IS A MACHINE. Additionally, Carroll elaborates that the superimposition of the monster onto the machine invites us to think of the machine, which symbolizes modern industry as something eating men (while men stand for workers). As for the mapping between the two entities, we can also observe how certain machinery elements fit the body parts of the monster (e.g., paws, face, etc.). Even if Carroll confirms the reversibility of the domains, we must see that Carroll's interpretation determines machine (more precisely modern industry) as a target domain of the hybrid and not the other way around.

In contrast to Carroll, following Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995), Forceville (2002, 2009) claims that visual hybrids are only one subtype of monomodal visual metaphors in which the source and the target domains appear exclusively and predominantly in visual mode as one entity (ibid. 2009: 24), but these domains are prototypically irreversible.⁶ Thus, the features of the source are mapped onto the target domain in a contextually determined one-way process, for example, "a cat with a trunk-like snout and large flapping ears" (ibid.: 25) presents the target of A CAT through the characteristics of the source of AN ELEPHANT which humorously transforms the cat into an elephant-like animal.

Along the conceptual link between the depicted entities, Joost Schilperoord investigated the phenomenon of visual incongruity. To start with, visual component is incongruent if its

⁶ As for the surrealist hybrids, Forceville (2002) does not exclude the interchangeability of distant domains.

literal reading leads to anomaly (Schilperoord 2018: 16); it is also determined as “deviation from expectation” (ibid.: 19). Based on this terminology, Schilperoord sets up a typology in which he discusses three types of the visual hybrids (2018: 23–25): (1) *merge* formulated as a ‘this and that’ relation, e.g., the hammer and the flute, (2) *ambiguate* understood as ‘either this or that’, e.g., a tissue paper depicted three dimensionally as a sink, so the same object can be perceived both as paper and as a sink at the same time, and (3) *transmute* where ‘this is rendered as that’, e.g., a tulip-like wine glass (ibid.: 25). Regarding the operation of these object-fusions, Schilperoord argues that as long as one of the visual entities of a fusional incongruity can be identified with the target domain then it can be solved metaphorically (ibid.: 36–37) regardless of the type of the fusional process (merge, ambiguate or transmute). As a matter of fact, this classification draws attention to the fact that not all types of incongruities are metaphoric (see 2.3), moreover, it offers resolution templates for the interpretation of the incongruities.

From here on, I will refer to a metaphoric hybrid by applying Forceville’s definition⁷; thus, metaphoricity means a linear conceptual process from the source toward the target domain determined by contextual factors, and many others. In doing so, I accept Schilperoord’s clause that “merge-based incongruities can be metaphorically resolved only if one of the entities actually is the topic of the message” (2018: 19), and the conceptual relation between the entities (‘and’, ‘or’, ‘as’) will be determined as well. The next chapter proposes to differentiate the factors that motivate the choice of the source domain in a metaphoric hybrid.

2.2 Motivational factors behind the visual metaphors

We have already seen that research on metaphoric hybrid is not new, however, we did not know anything about motivational factors and the purpose of the two different entities connected. Firstly, Schilperoord (2018: 11) posits that the role of the topic of the depicted elements is essential in understanding the message behind the structure, especially behind any incongruity occurring in the image. As for pragmatic functions, he (Schilperoord 2018: 16–17) adds that visual incongruity enables to ‘capture attention’, they are ‘recallable’, and what is more, encourage the viewer to resolve the anomaly.

Regarding the visual metaphors in general (not just for hybrids), Forceville lists four major motivating factors: (1) the *cultural connotations* (e.g. genre expectations and special knowledge on the source) that are usually metonymically linked to the source domain (Forceville 2009: 28, Schilperoord 2018: 17, 29), (2) the *external similarities* between the two domains or situations (Forceville 2009: 28, Schilperoord 2018: 36), (3) the *internal similarities* between the two domains or situations (Forceville 2009: 29, 31), and (4) the *personification* of a product (ibid.) in the case of advertisements.

Linked to *genre attribution*, Forceville (2016a: 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: 29) and builds upon the viewers’ expectations.

As for *perceptual resemblance* – ‘appearing in size, color, position, posture, texture, materiality, etc.’ – can only occur in monomodal metaphors (Forceville 2009: 31). In a similar vein, Schilperoord states that object-fusions apply such external similarities of the two entities

⁷ The definition was chosen because Forceville (2002) convincingly presented his theoretical approach to metaphoric hybrid, put his critical views on Carroll’s definition of hybrid, and showed examples that went against Carroll’s presumptions. Schilperoord’s thoughts (2018) on merge-based incongruities were added as it is a more nuanced way of seeing hybrids and enable to define the relations of the domains more precisely.

as shape, and the ‘scene characteristics like proportionality’ (2018: 36). Remember the example of the balloon-like parliamentary dome which are connected through their hemispherical shape (Figure 1).

Similarity in shape is often supplemented by *internal* (also called *conceptual or functional*) *similarity* (van Weelden et al. 2018: 150), and experiments on juxtapositions justified that similarity in shape facilitates metaphor construction (ibid.: 159) by inviting the viewer to create semantic connections between the entities. According to the experiments on the comparison of similes and hybrids, it can be stated that the fusion of two distant concepts, as a graphic strategy, often has transformational effect and encourages the viewer to see one term in terms of another (Ojha et al. 2018: 264) and it is perceived more strongly than any other visual form (e.g. simile). Consider again Figure 1 where the air balloon is rising up expressing the development of Hungary, especially the accession of the country based on the primary conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. Thus, a more developed country can always be found in an upper position.

Furthermore, personification of the target domain is able to recall an entire scenario. These scenarios are mini-narratives, usually made up of an activity that happens at a place, the activity itself has a start (it might refer to antecedents as well), and it also has a process with a final event (probably pointing toward its consequences). It is carried out by different actors, and the cartoon can also show the relations among these actors. What is more, it can make the represented actors responsible in a positive or a negative way. The metaphoric hybrid can be an element of a situation, in those cases the structure of the scenario (physically and conceptually) can be mapped onto the target scenes. Imagine the parliamentary dome as a human head which eagerly eats the food piled on trays (Figure 7). It refers to quick and thoughtless decision making through the personification of the parliament visualized in a hybrid of a dome and human head.

During the analyses of the selected cartoons, *analogous priming* as a motivational factor was present. In my view, analogous priming refers to intertwined operations of two (or more) conceptual metaphors at the same time. In our case, due to the focus of the study, analogous priming always involves a hybrid. Based on the analysis, it can be said that it has two ways of realizations: first, with the help of a joint metaphor, second, in the form of a mixed metaphor.

Firstly, the metaphoric hybrid co-works with a distant conceptual metaphor, which provides a novel aspect of the hybrid that will be called *joint metaphor*. Here the interaction of the two conceptual metaphors can be formulated as A IS B that co-works with C IS D. Consider Figure 1 where the balloon-like parliament (HUNGARY IS AN AIR BALLOON) cooperates with the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. This analogous priming – interplay – is complemented by our knowledge of a journey in which moving up means progress, development, and higher achievements. The hybrid HUNGARY IS AN AIR BALLOON cannot tell us much about the message of the cartoon; thus, interpretation builds upon more complex processes. This type of analogous priming is not rare at all, it is more of a general phenomenon in the corpus.

In the second case, analogous priming is a *mixed metaphor* when the same target domain is shown through two (or more) distant source domains within a discourse that is understood as one unit (Forceville 2016b: 226); it is usually intentional and creative (ibid.: 233). In Forceville’s paper on mixed metaphors, there are two among the six examples which are carried out by metaphoric hybrids. Both present three semantically different entities in a visually fused form, however, the first introduces two source domains and the target belonging to them (VW’S MOTOR IS ORCHESTRA/ARTISTIC INSTALLATION). While in the second case, three source domains are merged, and the target domain can be inferred with the help of genre-specific knowledge on sci-fi and other textual clues (MONSTER IS BEAR/SHARK/OCTOPUS). Therefore, the mixed metaphor can be formalized as follows A IS B and A IS C to which A IS D may be added. In the

corpus, it happened only once that the parliament was hybridized with two other sources (with A MILITARY TANK and A FORTRESS). It may not be very practical to combine too many domains into a single hybrid. See figure 4 for detailed analysis.

3. Corpus-based approach

3.1 *The composition of the corpus*

The currently investigated corpus is subordinate to an ongoing research that highlights the concept of the Hungarian Parliament in printed editorial cartoons (meaning almost 600 items) collected from national daily newspapers. Thirty-one of which show the most abstract part of the building, namely the parliamentary dome (duplications are eliminated). Presumably, due to its significant abstraction as a simple cupola shape, this architectural element is likely to occur as a hybrid.⁸ Visual fusion appears in twenty cartoons of the thirty-one-piece corpus. As we shall see, ten of them can be determined as metaphoric hybrid in which the target domain of THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME is merged with a distant source domain. Presently, the paper spotlights only on these ten metaphoric hybrids and their motivational factors.

Based on distribution data, the editorial cartoons were retrieved from national dailies, *Népszabadság*, *Magyar Hírlap*, *Magyar Nemzet*, and *Népszava* (MATESZ⁹) from the period between 1989 and 2019. Cartoonists are Tibor Kaján (four pieces), Gábor Pápai (two pieces), while János Fábry, Pál Léphaft, and László Dluhopolszky represented themselves by one cartoon per each. Hybrids were typically popular in the corpus in the 1990s and early 2000s. The year 1990 pops out a bit, because then three metaphoric hybrids were published.

Indeed, the investigation will focus on the aspect of the operation of metaphoric hybrids and will not make statements regarding other features of the corpus (e.g., timespan, authors, etc.).

3.2 *The procedure of corpus annotation*

Based on previous literature, *it is maintained that metaphoric hybrids can be motivated by cultural connotations, physical and conceptual similarities of the entities or situations, and by the personification of the target domain, furthermore, analogous priming was added as a novel potential motivation factor.* To justify this statement, the following steps were carried out:

- a) Identification of the depicted entities (Entity 1 and Entity 2) where Entity 1 is necessarily the parliamentary dome;
- b) Determination of the metaphoric source and the metaphoric target domain (SD and TD) of the visual hybrid where the TD is necessarily the parliamentary dome;
- c) Description of the mapped physical features of the entities;
- d) Description of the mapped conceptual features of the entities based on the metonymy THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR X;
- e) Description of the scenarios, if there is any;
- f) Description of the personifications of the target domain, if there is any;
- g) Identification of the analogous priming, if there is any.

⁸ The most salient, central architectural element of the Hungarian Parliament is its hexagonal, ribbed, steeply arched dome (Csorba et al. 2016: 103–104). It sits on a drum surrounded by arches and closes in a pointed, lacy peak.

⁹ Hungarian Distribution Control Association provides authentic distribution data for national dailies. URL: <https://matesz.hu/>

Table 1 shows the detailed schema for corpus annotation with an example, the fusion of THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME (Entity 1) and AIR BALLOON (Entity 2). A summary table, Table 2 (in Appendix) presents the analysis of the entire corpus of the metaphoric hybrids and it also shows how the various factors can interact with each other.

Table 1
Schema for corpus annotation

Entities and type of the hybrid	Metonymic base	External similarity	Conceptual similarity	Mappings embedded in a scenario	Analogous priming
Entity 1 (target) PARLIAMENTARY DOME Entity 2 (source) AIR BALLOON Type: Merge (dome + basket)	THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR HUNGARY (MEMBER FOR THE CATEGORY)	cupola shape and top position	going up, rising	Scenario: JOURNEY Mappings: HUNGARY’S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IS RAISING UP OF THE BALLOON THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOWN IN THE MAP ARE CLOUDS THE POLITICIAN IS THE SOURCE OF ENERGY Hybrid: HUNGARY IS AN AIR BALLOON	MORE IS UP

4. Motivating factors behind the metaphoric hybrids

In Section 4, three examples will be discussed that display complexity regarding the motivational factors of the metaphoric hybrids. The first (Figure 2) shows an example of the personification of the parliamentary dome embedded in a scenario. The second instance (Figure 3) introduces the phenomenon of analogous priming based on the joint conventional conceptual metaphor. The third example (Figure 4) highlights again an analogous priming now realized in the form of a mixed metaphor.

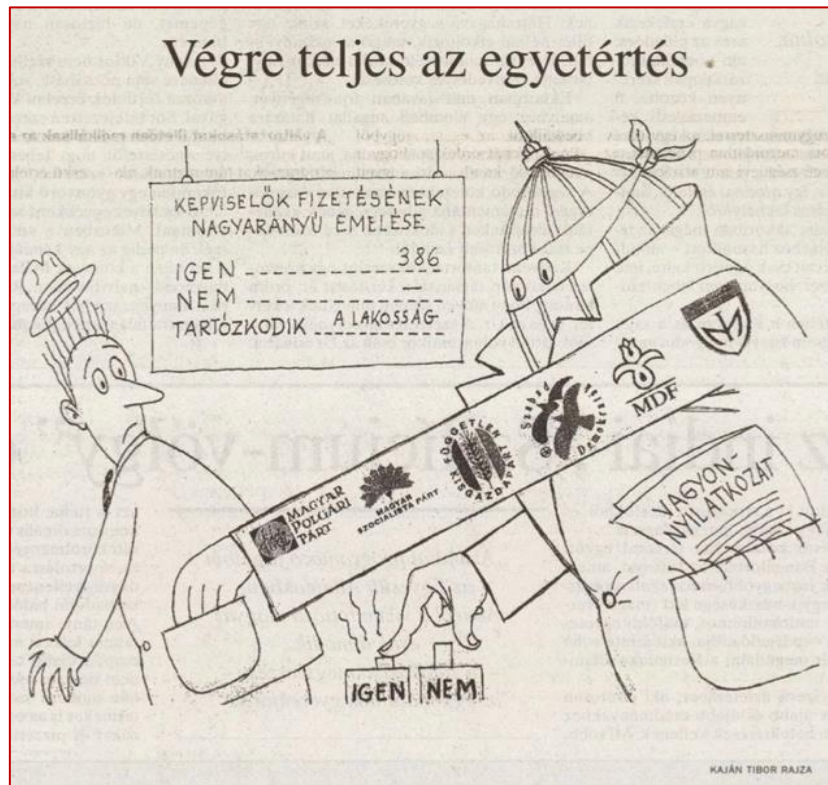
Physical and conceptual similarities between the two metaphoric domains are not illustrated with separate examples as they were discussed in several previous literature (e.g., Bolognesi and Vernillo 2019, Schilperoord 2018). Otherwise, they are general phenomena in hybrids and are touched upon during the analysis found below.

5.1 Personification embedded in metaphoric scenario

Our example, Figure 2 depicts the parliamentary dome as a human being, which is visually indicated by human eyes and by human arms also due to the activities linked to them. This metamorphosis is supported by the likeness of the entities in their globe shape and top position. Hence, the metaphoric hybrid merges two distant entities, AN ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT and A HUMAN BEING.

Figure 2

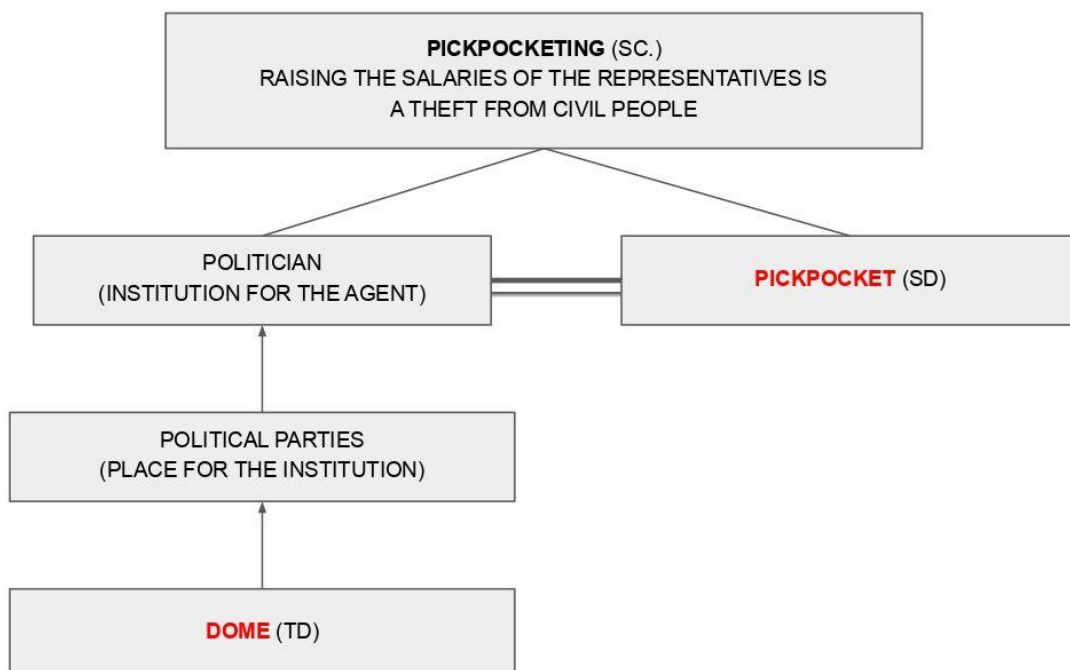
Text: on top: 'Finally, complete consensus'; scoreboard: 'Large increase in the salaries of the parliamentary representatives, yes: 386, no: -, abstain: the people'; in the pocket: 'Declaration of assets'



(6.01.2001. Magyar Hírlap, drawn by Tibor Kaján)

Diagram 3

The identified conceptual processes of Figure 2



This hybrid is embedded in a metaphoric scenario of PICKPOCKETING displayed in the picture. The metonymy, THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE POLITICIANS can be inferred through the metonymic chain in which THE DOME STANDS FOR ALL PARTIES that STAND FOR THEIR POLITICIANS (PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE). This inference comes from the logos of the parties marked on the sleeve of the jacket and from the documents of the declaration of assets placed in the pocket of the coat. Hence, the metaphoric hybrid POLITICIANS ARE THIEVES can be formulated in which the thief is metonymically featured by bandaged eyes and the action of pickpocketing happening right now. By the creation of this conceptual metaphor, such conceptual similarities emerge between the two entities as stealing, corruption, and self-interest which are mapped from the source of the THIEF onto the target of the POLITICIAN.

This scenario is completed by the figure of A SCARED MAN that metonymically STANDS FOR THE POPULATION (CATEGORY MEMBER FOR CATEGORY) from whom the political elite is stealing. Presumably, it can only be understood through the entire scenario in which the parliamentary vote on the salaries of politicians is also involved (a scoreboard is shown in the background and a voting machine is depicted in the foreground of the cartoon). Interestingly, the cartoon condenses the moment of voting with its results (that happens in the Assembly Hall) and the imaginary consequences of the parliamentary decision (that happens in the street in the form of pickpocketing). In this way, it conflates different locations and events that occur at different times. Indeed, the ‘thief-politician’ votes for the large increase in the salaries of the parliamentary representatives by pushing the button ‘yes’. Beside this action, the title of the cartoon ‘Finally, complete consensus’ and the verbal texts – ‘Large increase in the salaries of the parliamentary representatives’, ‘the population abstains’ – on the board ironically refer to the unequal power relations between the population and the political elite. As these verbal expressions mean the opposite of their literal meaning.

The analysis of the cartoon showed us how the physical and conceptual similarity of the two merged entities can be personified in the scenario of PICKPOCKETING, where the conceptual metaphor POLITICIAN IS A THIEF cooperates with the conceptual metaphor ACTION IS CONTROL OVER POSSESSIONS (Lakoff, 1991). This example shows how two separate conceptual metaphors jointly express the unfair and immoral behavior of politicians. Without the second metaphor, it would be difficult to judge the path of money and the responsibility of the politicians.

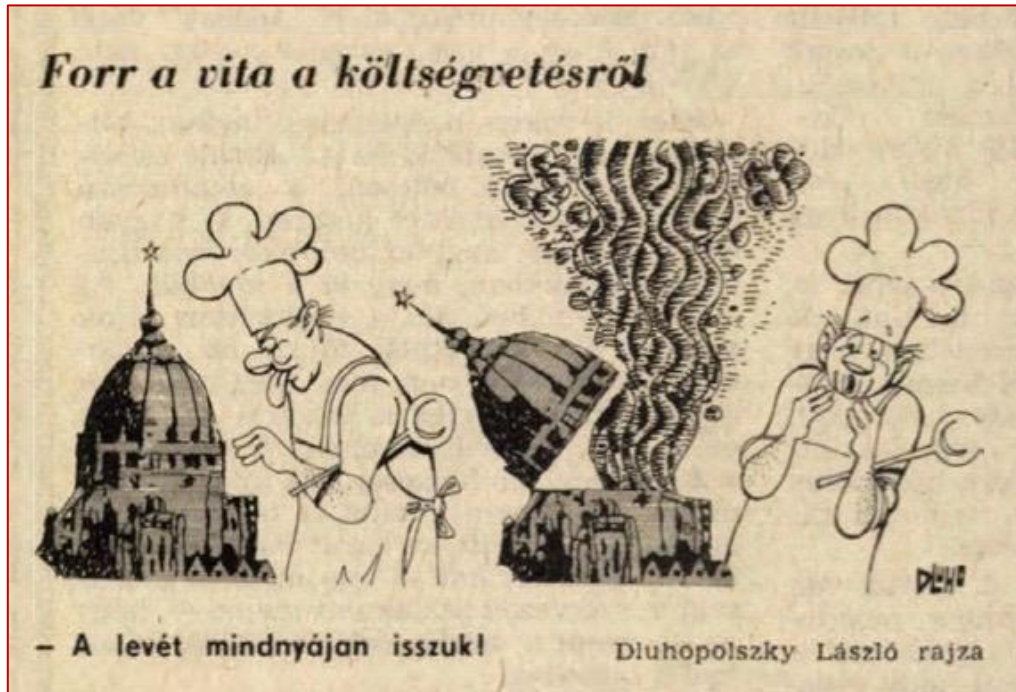
5.2 Analogous priming with joint conceptual metaphor

The analogous priming shown in Figure 3, is based on the interplay between the metaphors, THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS A POT and ANGER IS HEAT.

The title ‘Debate on the state budget is boiling’ explicitly denotes the political topic of the editorial cartoon. The political affair is prompted by the verbal phrase ‘debate on state budget’ and by the visually rendered parliamentary dome in the shape of the pot motivated by their formal similarity of cylinder shape. The metaphoric scenario of COOKING presents a clumsy cook who is boiling some liquid in a pot from which hot vapors rise. The viewer, helped by the title of the cartoon as well, can easily recognize that the cook is a politician who fails to control the happenings. According to the mappings, the following metaphoric hybrid can be formulated: THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS A POT. This hybrid is realized in the form of a transmute meaning that we can see only the parliamentary dome that behaves as a pot, so the pot is invisible and is only indicated through the tilted position of the top of the dome. The metaphoric hybrid can be validly elaborated through the metonymy, THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE ASSEMBLY HALL (PART FOR THE WHOLE). It is inspired by the fact that parliamentary debates usually occur in the Assembly Hall of the Parliament. Additionally, the intensity of the

Figure 3

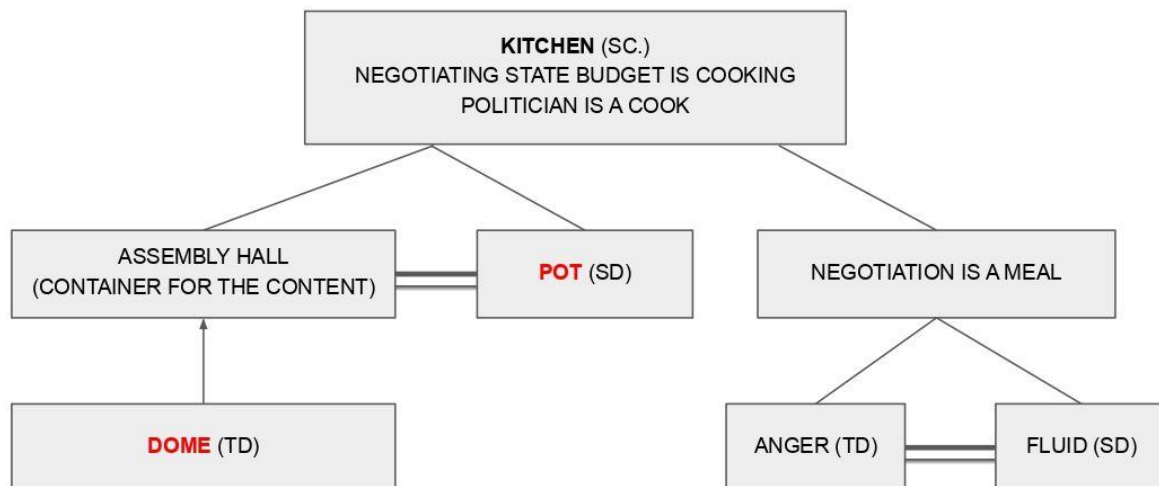
*Text: on top: 'Debate on the state budget is boiling';
bottom: 'We all drink its juice.'*



(23.11.1989. Népszava, drawn by László Dluhopolszky)

Diagram 4

The identified conceptual processes of Figure 3



negotiations is expressed by the rising vapors which recalls the conventional metaphor ANGER IS HEAT (GAS OR LIQUID) IN A CONTAINER (Forceville 2016b: 229). Anger is motivated by the phrase ‘debate’ in the title while heat is fostered by the billowing smoke and the KITCHEN scenario itself. Thus, the Assembly Hall and the pot are connected through their conceptual similarity (place of intensive processes) based on their function as a container.

Consequently, the cartoon combines two conceptual metaphors often used in political discourses, EXECUTING BAD POLICIES IS BAD COOKING on the one hand, and ANGER IS HEAT IN A CONTAINER on the other. These two enable to highlight various aspects of the political affair; first, COOKING makes the series of events and roles of people overt (both politicians and civilians). Second, ANGER metaphor confirms the seriousness and intensity of policymaking, furthermore, it indicates its possible outcome with its effects on the population. The negative consequences of such cooking are expressed through the idiom included in the cartoon, ‘We all drink its juice’ where the following mappings are activated: we all < civilians, juice < the consequences of the debates, drinking the juice < enduring the changes to the new budget.

The cartoon exemplified how the physical and conceptual similarities of the conflated entities formulated a metaphoric hybrid which was completed with analogous priming of joint conceptual metaphors and embedded in a scenario afterward.

5.3 Analogous priming realized as a mixed metaphor

The example of Figure 4 shows how analogous priming is performed through a mixed metaphor applied in connection with a metaphoric hybrid. In practice, it means that the same target is understood with the help of two various source domains. Before addressing this motivational factor of the metaphoric hybrid, the political topic of the cartoon must be clarified.

The recalled scenario of the WAR appears through the depiction of László Kövér, the present Speaker of the National Assembly of Hungary who acts in the role of a tank driver with a machine gun in his hands; thus, LÁSZLÓ KÖVÉR IS A MILITARY TANK DRIVER. According to the news published in *Népszava* (7.07.2017), László Kövér argued that liberal democrats wanted to break up the constitutional legal order: “In the autumn, an undisguised coalition may be formed between the Hungarian opposition and György Soros’s organizations... They will try to create an atmosphere in which civil war psychosis overrides everything.” This impressive metaphorical picture of an imaginary civil war among the present parties became popular in the circle of the journalists who added the following terms to Kövér’s image: “Obviously, Kövér would like to shoot opposition members of the parliament”, “General Kövér is watching Tímea Szabó” (Independent Member of Parliament, Co-Chair of the Dialogue for Hungary Party). Following the verbal political news, the viewer can infer that THE POTENTIAL DEMONSTRATORS (LIBERAL DEMOCRATS AND SOROS) ARE THE POTENTIAL ENEMIES. The spy depicted in the background humorously refers to the absence of this enemy reporting ‘Boss, street riots are missing.’

To consider the significance of the mixed metaphor in Figure 4, we can establish the conceptual metonymy THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT (PART FOR THE WHOLE) which is indicated by its further details (e.g., pointed turrets). The target of THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT is rendered as a hybrid of two source domains at the same time, A MILITARY TANK and A FORTRESS, which seems relevant in a war situation.¹⁰ Viewers are invited to construe the mixed metaphor of THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A MILITARY TANK and THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A FORTRESS. On the one hand, the parliamentary dome

¹⁰ It visually combines the tank type used in World War II and the tactics of enemy surveillance of the Middle Ages.

Figure 4

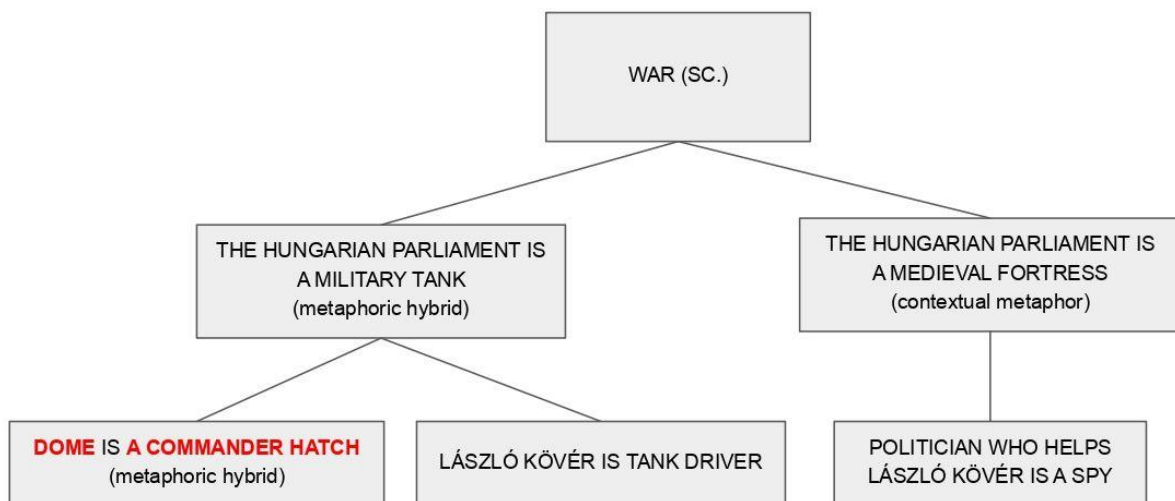
No title. Verbal text: (left) 'The arsenal is complete, yet something is missing'; (right) 'The street riots, boss.'



(7.07.2017. Népszava, drawn by Gábor Pápai)

Diagram 5

The identified conceptual processes of Figure 4.



itself is tilted, open at the top and it is transmuted into a commander hatch resulting in the metaphoric hybrid, *THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS A COMMANDER HATCH*. The physical similarity of these two entities highlights their cupola shape, and their conceptual shift is based on their function which is protection. This leads to the contextual metaphor, *THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A MILITARY TANK* through such contextual elements as a heavy machine gun (visually depicted) and the text ‘The arsenal is complete’ (verbally expressed in a text bubble) said by the protagonist, László Kövér in the cartoon. On the other hand, a small figure is clinging to a tower while he is just spying over the battlefield. The scene with the tower and the spy can remind the viewer of a medieval fortress. In this way, the conceptual metaphor *THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A FORTRESS* can be identified.

By focusing on the metaphoric hybrid, *THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IS A MILITARY TANK*, it can be stated that beside the formal and functional similarities, the hybrid was embedded in a scenario of *A WAR* and was made denser by forming an element of a mixed metaphor based on the sources of *A MILITARY TANK* and *A MEDIEVAL FORTRESS*.

6 Discussion

This section summarizes the major results following the motivational factors: physical similarity, conceptual similarity, genre-specificity, personification, scenario, and analogous priming.

Physical similarity seems to be a must in the case of metaphoric hybrids, it is realized by the resemblance of the entities in their globe (3)¹¹, cupola (3) shape (Figure 5), and cylinder (2) shape. Moreover, there are some specific versions, such as inverted funnel shape (1) (Figure 6), and elongated shape of the towers of the dome that appear as the arms of a crane (1) (Figure 7). To put it briefly, it means that all hybrids are built on likeness in shape. Furthermore, the similarity in appearance can also be recognized in the top position of the depicted entities in most of the fusions (e.g., the dome appears as an umbrella that is above people’s heads, Figure 5). The only exception is the funnel where the inverted position is taken into account expressing the declining institutional opportunities. Shape and position often appear as interacting physical motivational factors in metaphoric hybrids; thus, both are present and significant from the aspect of interpretation.

The other constantly present property of hybrids, conceptual similarity means a conceptual shift between the entities. On the one side, it focuses on the interior of the dome-container (e.g., *THE DOME STANDS FOR THE ASSEMBLY HALL* what *STANDS FOR LAW MAKING AND DEBATES* and these trigger processing and intensity). On the other side, it pinpoints the wall of the container which can protect, open, or even narrow.

As for genre-specificity, negative evaluation comes to fore when a certain feature shows its extremity, such as the intensity of cooking ending with an inedible meal which can be linked to the heated political debates (Figure 3). In other cases, the characteristic of the source is positive, for instance, the narrowing of the funnel, but when it is linked to the parliament (as an institution), it immediately changes its value into negative, and it refers to the narrowed possibilities after the institutionalization of the new political system. Among the properties, we find only one example that remains positive when the fusion of the parliamentary dome and an air balloon (representing Hungary), the rising, which metaphorically shows the will to catch up with other European countries (Figure 1). To sum up, mapped features can be negative due to their extremity or turned into negative through their links to the target, but in rare cases, they can remain positive even in editorial cartoons.

¹¹ Numbers in brackets indicate the occurrences of the mentioned type.

Figure 5
Title: 'Legal immunity'



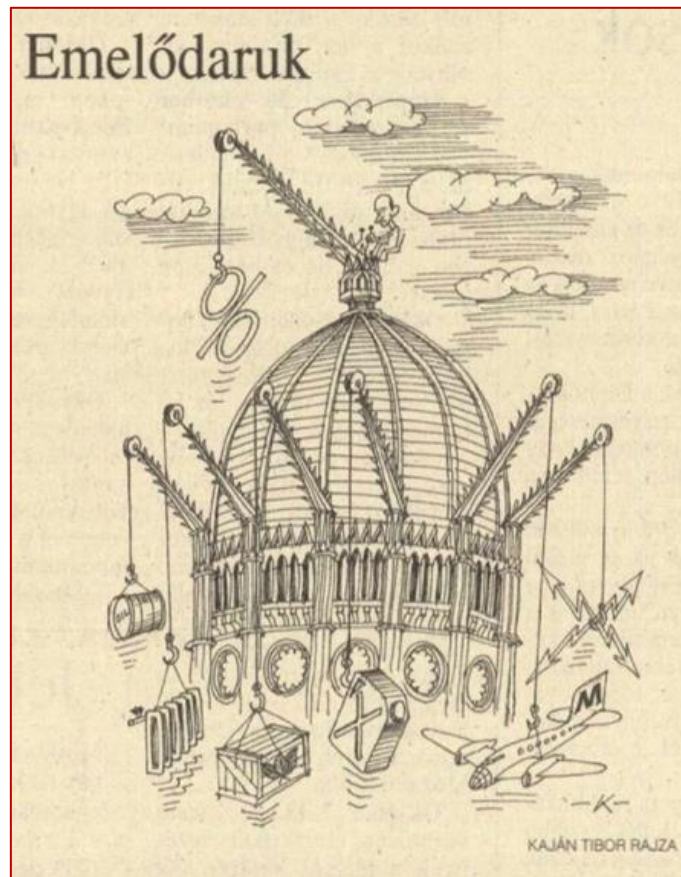
(26.8.2002. Magyar Hírlap, drawn by Tibor Kaján)

Figure 6
No verbal text.



(6.10.1990. Népszabadság, cartoonist is not known)

Figure 7
Title: 'Cranes')



(2.1.1995. Magyar Hírlap, drawn by Tibor Kaján)

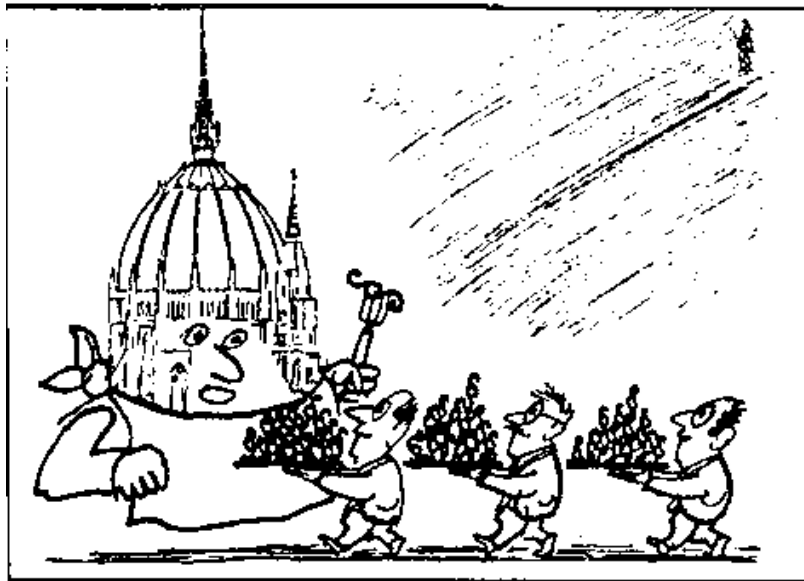
Figure 8
Verbal text: 'Well, that's why they do not convene in election time.'



(8.6.2004. Népszava, drawn by Gábor Pápai)

Personification as a strategy was a recurring phenomenon in the corpus. First, the dome was depicted as an angry head of a person in the scenario of an EXPLOSION (Figure 5); second, it was merged with a hungry head in the scene of DEVOURING (Figure 9), and third, the dome was fused with a thief in the scenario of PICKPOCKETING (Figure 2). Personification featured the dome – standing for the Assembly Hall that stands for politicians – by such negative characteristics as uncontrolled, irresponsibly fast or superficial, and self-interested; thus, it drew the attention to those who were responsible.

Figure 9
No verbal text.



Fábry János rajza

(2.5.1996. Magyar Nemzet, János Fábry)

After all, scenario appeared to be one of the most defining inspiring power in hybrids, however, it could be linked not only to personifications but to metaphoric hybrids in general. Eight of the ten cartoons showed scenarios, such as KITCHEN, JOURNEY, EXPLOSION, THEFT, WORK, and WAR. Metaphoric hybrids occurred in only two cases in isolation. These ordinary scenarios are well-known by the viewers and both the antecedents and the consequences of the activity can be guessed, so these provide dynamic approach toward hybrids and the political problems shown by them.

Analogous priming – when the hybrid cooperates with another conceptual metaphor providing another perspective of the target – was a common phenomenon in the corpus. For instance, as for heated parliamentary debates, the conventional conceptual metaphors, ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER cooperated with the hybrid THE DOME IS A POT (Figure 3) and ANGER IS GAS IN A CONTAINER cooperated with the hybrid THE DOME IS A HUMAN BEING (Figure 8). These co-operations could express the various phases of the debate and the tension linked to it. The conventional conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP proved to be productive as well and co-worked with such hybrids as THE DOME IS A FUNNEL, THE DOME IS AN AIR BALLOON, and THE DOME IS A HOISTING CRANE. This cooperation could present dynamic viewpoints of a certain activity including upward and downward movements, for instance, as the crane arms rise, so do the prices (Figure 7).

In the other case of the analogous priming, a visual mixed metaphor could be identified meaning that THE DOME (standing for the Parliament) as a target was transmuted to the source

of A COMMANDER HATCH OF A MILITARY TANK (Figure 4). In the meanwhile, a spy-like figure hanging on a tower of the Parliament contextually transformed it into a novel source, A FORTRESS. Hence, two metaphorical operations – THE PARLIAMENT IS A MILITARY TANK and THE PARLIAMENT IS A FORTRESS – are intertwined. Interestingly, the first is a metaphoric hybrid while the second is a contextual metaphor according to Forceville's terminology (2008: 278). What we could see here, the application of the different sources could highlight two diverse aspects of the war situation: the aggressivity of the leader in the tank (which is for attack) and the outdated monitoring technique (which is for defense). The use of the mixed metaphors in hybrids, however, seems a quite complex task for both the cartoonist and the reader.

7 Concluding remarks

To conclude, the analysis of the hybrids showed up an extended typology of the motivational factors behind the metaphoric hybrids. Physical and conceptual similarities, just as analogous priming were constantly present, furthermore, scenario was an emerging factor as for its frequency. Of these, the frequency of both analogous priming and scenario emphasizes that hybrids cannot be interpreted outside their context, and the pure construction of the hybrid (e.g., THE DOME IS AN UMBRELLA) does not provide enough help for the interpretation. Among the motivational factors, personification does not seem negligible either that contributed to the moral judgment of politics.

Although the metaphoric hybrid is an early discovered metaphor type and is among the most cited ones, it does not mean that its operation would be so simple. Geoffrey Ventalon and his colleagues (2020) experimentally justified that metaphoric hybrid is quite complex and its recognition and even its recall are more difficult and got lower score than contextual metaphors. The systemic investigation of the motivational factors in hybrids confirmed that hybrids should be discussed via more motivational factors at the same time as these factors occur in parallel, and what is more they cooperate with each other. The correspondence of the two entities is not enough to construe the conceptual metaphor and infer potential messages.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory proved to be a useful tool in analyzing editorial cartoons which can be helpful for cartoonist and researchers who take up the challenge to interpret visual hybrids.

8 Further research

Although, the paper focuses exclusively on metaphoric hybrids, it should be noted that not all hybrids are metaphoric in their conceptual nature. Based on his observations, Forceville (2006) concerns that non-metaphoric hybrids “do not necessarily allow for construal of one thing in terms of another”, e.g. an amphibian car or a Swiss pocketknife are only multifunctional objects, but there is no conceptual shift when we comprehend its essence.¹² One of his examples shows a hybrid of a tree and a matchstick, but again their relationship is not metaphorical. Without going into details, Forceville posits that “both consist of wood, and that the one causes the destruction of the other, is what metonymically links the two.”

Somewhat similarly, along the conceptual structure of visual incongruencies, Schilperord (2018: 37) offers a possible solution for hybrids built on taxonomic relationship, where the metonymic target is the set, while the two entities shown are its set-members. In his example, a printed advertisement shows a fusion of a hammer and a flute where THE FLUTE STANDS FOR A TYPE OF SOUND, while THE HAMMER STANDS FOR ANOTHER TYPE OF SOUND, hence, the hybrid

¹² <http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/semiotics/cyber/cforceville2.pdf>

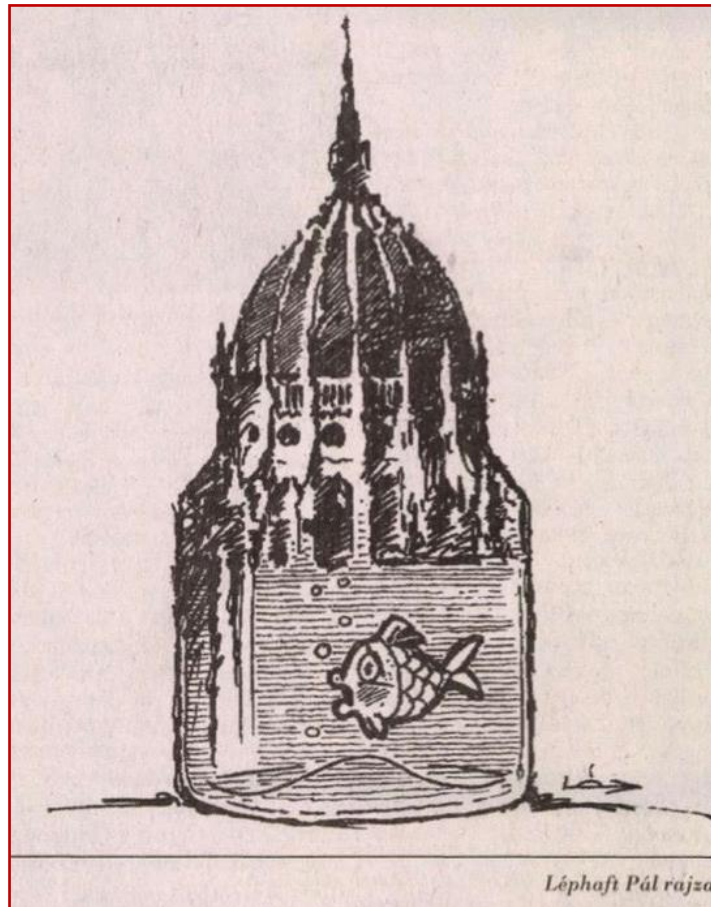
is able to point to a wide range of sounds. By revealing the categorical relations of the depicted entities, the viewer can infer that the company designs various sounds from hammers to flutes.

In our corpus, an interesting example, Figure 10 stood out based on category-member (Schilperoord 2018) or metonymical relationship (Forceville 2006). This cartoon presents three entities THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME, WATER WITH FISH and A JAR that operate according to the pattern of a metonymic hybrid-based metaphoric hybrid. Before analyzing the hybrid, I will briefly discuss the political topic. The decision on the Danube Dam made in The Hague in 1998 urged Hungary to agree with Slovakia. Hungarian political actors planned it to be built in Pilismarót instead of Nagymaros but the researchers of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences were still against the dam construction because it could cause harm in the natural environment and could change the climate of the area which might lead to the rising of the groundwater. Furthermore, the dam would have been useful only for a short time, and according to the scientists, it was not worth planning for it in a long run. At the time of publishing the cartoon, final decision had not been made on the matter.

Considering Figure 10, the viewer can infer the metaphoric hybrid according to which THE PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DANUBE DAM CONSTRUCTION IS COMPOTE IN A JAR. The mapping between THE NEGOTIATIONS and THE JAR is based on the postponing of the consumption of the compote, which is understood as the postponing of the resolution of the problem regarding the dam construction. This form of the jar is significant as this glass is usually used for storing fruits and vegetables (in the form of compote or pickles) for the winter. The target domain of the metaphoric hybrid, THE PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DANUBE DAM CONSTRUCTION is visually expressed by two merged entities (metonymic sources) THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME and the WATER WITH FISH. The first metonymic source is THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE PLACE OF NEGOTIATIONS (THE ASSEMBLY HALL), while the other metonymic source is THE WATER STANDS FOR THE TOPIC OF THE NEGOTIATION (FOR RIVER DANUBE WHAT STANDS FOR THE DANUBE DAM CONSTRUCTION in a metonymic chain). The composition of these entities – THE PARLIAMENTARY NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DANUBE DAM CONSTRUCTION – can be seen as a metonymic hybrid where both metonymic sources (belonging to the same domain) refer to the metonymic target. It is important to notice that neither of these entities – neither the dome nor the water with fish – can be understood as metaphoric target domain.

It would be worthwhile to examine whether the introduction of a metonymic hybrid type has a *raison d'être* where two or more metonymic sources point toward a metonymic target. Based on the example above, it is suspected that metonymic hybrid is able to lay the foundation even for a hybrid metaphor.

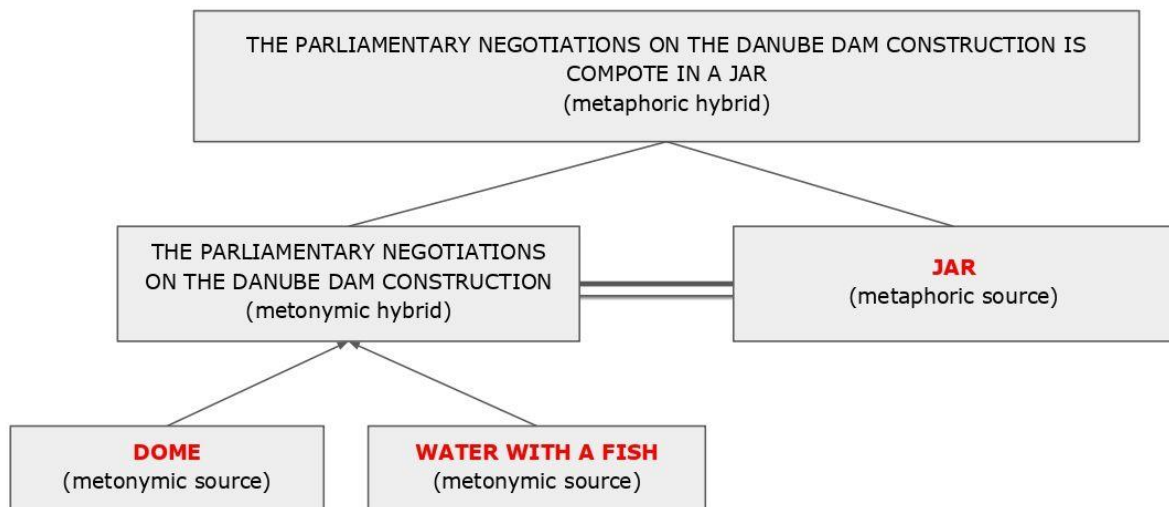
Figure 10
No title



(26.02.1998. Magyar Nemzet, drawn by Pál Léphafi)

Diagram 6

The identified conceptual processes of Figure 10



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Appendix

Metaphoric relationship (THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME IS A ...)	Metonymic base (THE PARLIAMENTARY DOME STANDS FOR THE ...)	Metaphoric scenario	External similarity	Conceptual similarity	Analogous priming
POT	ASSEMBLY HALL (CONTAINER FOR THE CONTENT)	KITCHEN NEGOTIATING STATE BUDGET IS COOKING	cylinder	processing, intensity	ANGER IS HEAT, ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER
HUMAN BEING (AN ANGRY HEAD/ EXPLODED OBJECT)	ASSEMBLY HALL (CONTAINER FOR THE CONTENT)	EXPLOSION INTENSITY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ARE THE EFFECTS OF THE EXPLOSION	globe shape and top position	processing, intensity	ANGER IS GAS IN A CONTAINER
HUMAN BEING (A HUNGRY HEAD)	PARLIAMENT/GOVERNMENT (INSTITUTION FOR AGENT)	KITCHEN DISCUSSING LAWS IS EATING LAWS	globe shape and top position	processing	IDEAS ARE FOOD
HUMAN BEING (A HEAD OF A THIEF)	POLITICIANS (INSTITUTION FOR THE AGENT)	PICKPOCKETING RAISING THE SALARIES OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES IS A THEFT FROM CIVIL PEOPLE	globe shape and top position	takes money from others	ACTION IS CONTROL OVER POSSESSIONS
FUNNEL	POLITICAL SYSTEM (FORM FOR CONCEPT)	none	inverted, funnel shape	it narrows	MORE IS UP
AIR BALLOON	HUNGARY (MEMBER FOR CATEGORY)	JOURNEY HUNGARY'S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IS RAISING UP OF THE BALLOON	cupola shape and top position	going up, rising	MORE IS UP
HOISTING CRANE (occur 3 times)	MINISTRY OF FINANCE (OBJECT FOR FUNCTION)	WORK RAISING TAXES/ MAINTAINING THE PRICES ARTIFICIALLY IS UPLIFTING OBJECTS	elongated arm-like structure, top position	lifting/raising up	MORE IS UP
UMBRELLA	LEGAL IMMUNITY (OBJECT FOR FUNCTION)	JOURNEY REQUEST OF TAX RETURNS IS HEAVY RAIN	cupola shape and top position	protecting	BEING PROTECTED IS BEING IN A CONTAINER
COMMANDER HATCH OF A MILITARY TANK	CONSTITUTION (OBJECT FOR FUNCTION)	WAR PROTECTION FOR THE CONSTITUTIONS IS DEFENDING THE FORTRESS	cupola shape and top position	suitable for defense and attack	PARLIAMENT IS A FORTRESS
MASON JAR LID	ASSEMBLY HALL (PART FOR THE WHOLE)	none	cylinder shape and top position	closing, postponing	PROBLEM IS AN OBJECT IN A LOCKED CONTAINER