

Ágnes Virág

Lilla Petronella Szabó¹

Populism on Paper:

Is Viktor Orbán a Strong Leader in Hungary's *HVG* Magazine?

1. Introduction

Claiming that the Hungarian government is a populist one is a ‘thorny’ issue; however, there are features of populism which can be detected in the country’s leadership (Batory 288). In the present study, we examine the depiction of Viktor Orbán as a populist leader via conceptual visual and verbal metaphors on the front pages of the Hungarian weekly *HVG*. In order to identify the contextually motivated visual and verbal metaphors, we take into consideration the following factors. First, we explore the metonymic basis of the possible metaphors in which ‘x stands for Viktor Orbán’ (e.g., ‘part for the whole’) and ‘y stands for Orbán’s strong leadership’ (y could be displayed through the size, the position, the role, and the gaze of the character). Besides, we analyze all instances of irony linked to the depiction of the leader because they alternate the meaning of the visual and the verbal metaphors. Finally, we **determine** the overwhelming metaphoric frames of the cover (e.g., POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT) with the aim of systematically organizing our results obtained from the detailed analysis. We hypothesize that the crucial role of the character of a strong leader (in this case Viktor Orbán) is expressed through visual metaphors and visual metonymies on the cover pages. We apply a methodology based on cognitive visual metaphor studies (Baltaretu et al., Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 24, Pérez-Sobrino 77–94) and supplement this kind of metaphor analysis with our own steps to gain a full understanding of the underlying conceptual

¹ Lilla Petronella Szabó’s research is funded by the project titled “Political communication in the age of expressivity. What are the discursive mechanisms of expressive, emotional and uncivil political rhetoric in Hungary?” under the grant agreement no. 131990.

representations. Our results indicate that Viktor Orbán's persona appears in the form of contextual visual metaphors motivated by the features of strong leadership.

In what follows, we discuss the notion of populism and its presence in Hungary in section 2. Section 3 provides some of the most recent findings of cognitive linguistic research in the area of politics. We detail our methodology and corpus in section 4. While section 5 presents our results, section 6 concludes our chapter at large.

2. Populism in Viktor Orbán's political communication

'Populism' is among those terms in politics that are well-nigh impossible to define unequivocally (Mudde 542–548; Mudde & Kaltwasser 1; Müller 2). It is beyond our aim to give a definition to a notion that has been discussed widely from various theoretical and empirical perspectives (cf. Mudde & Kaltwasser). The aspect of populism at the center of our paper is the *populist leader* who is mostly characterized as a charismatic person in the literature (Deiwiks 3; Mudde 40). Populist leaders tend to exploit the gap between citizens and political institutions because they wish to appeal to voters directly (Deiwiks 5; Mudde 41). The elimination of intermediate agents between the populist leader and his or her followers is further enhanced by stressing that the leader is one of theirs (Müller 32). Moreover, populist leaders must be radical, since they want to implement a new and moral order and replace the old system (Pappas 71).

Are there populist features in the political communication of the Hungarian prime minister? Csehi traced populist features in Prime Minister Orbán's speeches since 2010. These components were compatible with the three main pillars of populism which were mentioned above, i.e., "the people," "the elite," and "the people's will." Csehi (1016) also notes that following the 2014 elections, non-governmental organizations were depicted as "the elite" in Orbán's speeches; however, as the 2015 migrant crisis occurred, the role of "the elite" was

assigned to several politicians and institutions of the European Union. Migration had an effect on the framing of “the people” as well. According to Csehi’s data, Orbán initially addressed his Hungarian supporters as “the people,” which was followed by the inclusion of (Central) European people following the migration crisis (1017). Finally, Csehi mentions several elements which can be considered as building blocks of “the people’s will” (1020), the most striking of which may be the so-called “national consultations” that were created to survey Hungarians’ opinion on issues such as migration, pensions, or taxation. In sum, there are several indicators in Orbán’s speeches that point to the populist nature of his rhetoric. The relevance of Viktor Orbán as a charismatic leader shows not only in his speeches but in his actions as well. On the one hand, Orbán’s leadership of Fidesz has been stable since he became the party’s leader in 1993 (Batory 288-89). Moreover, Körösenyi & Patkós (622) maintain that the political system was restructured during the Fidesz government in a way that the prime minister’s position gained unprecedented strength.

4. Corpus and Methodology

4.1. Corpus

The prime minister’s speeches were extensively analyzed from the perspective of linguistics (Magyar et al.), rhetoric (Fülöp; Hoványi), and political science (Vékony), among others. However, there are only a few studies which discuss Orbán’s visual representation. For example, Éva Argejő conducted a quantitative analysis of politicians in political caricatures (between 1990 and 2002) and found that Viktor Orbán was the most often depicted politician, whose turn from liberal to Christian conservative politics became a popular topic. Cartoonists’ criticisms were directed against his leadership style and lack of expertise after 2002. Orbán is often presented as the signature figure of the Fidesz party in Argejő’s corpus.

To examine the pictorial representation of Viktor Orbán as a populist leader in the Hungarian media, we turned to the best-selling (according to MATESZ²) Hungarian weekly, *HVG*, between 2014 and 2018.³

Our focus is on the images which appear on the front page of *HVG*, as the front covers of magazines help readers recognize magazines on the shelves (McLoughlin 5). The creative front page can be classified as multimodal satirical discourse. Structurally, it consists of three main parts: first, an eye-catching short title, e.g., wordplays, compounds, or metaphorical expressions, usually of ambiguous meaning. Second, it involves a more concrete and longer subtitle that contextualizes both the title and the visual part by referring to current weekly political events. Third, the visual element is a consciously created image which works in the same way as political cartoons: it “aims at affecting states of minds, beliefs, points of view, and perspectives on socio-political affairs” or “expresses a particularly critical, if not radically negative stance towards the topic” (Schilperoord & Maes 218).

4.2. Methodology

First, we determine the leader’s role through the size and position of the image (Baltaretu et al.): both the magnified figure and central or upper position refer to the person’s importance and power. It is completed with a third feature, namely the *role*: a strong leader is transformed into a hierarchical top role, a winner, or the hero of a scene.

In order to characterize Viktor Orbán’s portrayal, we follow four analytical steps applied separately to the visual and verbal modes (see 4.1.):

² MATESZ (Magyar Terjesztés-ellenőrző Szövetség; www.matesz.hu) is an alliance that controls the distribution of the Hungarian newspapers and provides data on the number of copies sold.

³ *HVG* is the acronym for *Heti Világgazdaság*, which translates as ‘World Economy Weekly’.

(1) What are the source domains if the target is determined as the Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán? What are the mapped features?

This approach is identical with the first step taken by Forceville and van de Laar (295), Pérez-Sobrino (88-89) and Schilperoord and Maes (219-20). “In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is seen as a cross-domain conceptual mapping that partially structures the understanding of one domain (the target domain) in terms of another domain (the source domain)” (Pérez-Sobrino 48). **At least** one feature (external or conceptual) is mapped onto the target domain in a unidirectional process. If both domains occur in the same mode, the metaphor is called monomodal. Forceville (2009: 25) argues that typical visual metaphors contain incongruities **and** come in three main types: (1) simile, when the domains are visually depicted next to each other; (2) hybrid, when those are visually merged into each other; (3) contextual, when the target is placed into a type of context that belongs to the source.

(2) What type of metaphor represents Orbán (visual simile, visual hybrid metaphor, visual contextual metaphor, or verbal metaphor)?

The types of metaphors (simile, hybrid or contextual visual metaphor, verbal metaphor) we distinguish are based on Forceville’s & Urios-Aparisi’s typology (25). Similes **and** contextual metaphors are more often used, because in these cases the target domains are not distorted. We think that Orbán’s character should be recognizable on the cover pages; we expect that similes and contextual metaphors will appear in higher number for this reason.

(3) Can we identify any metaphorical frames in which the conceptual metaphor of Orbán appears?

The question focuses on the conceptualization of Orbán and its placement within the cognitive structure. Political cartoons usually depict various scenarios (which operate as ‘mini narratives’ involving activity and various roles and relations among them), e.g., marriage and

games (Schilperoord & Maes 229). We assume that Orbán as a strong leader is presented as an actor of such scenarios which can frame the political discourse (Burgers et al. 2).

(4) How do the visual and verbal metaphors appearing on the same cover page relate to each other?

We differentiate **between** three types of relations: *identical*, *similar in function*, and *complementary*. *Identical* means that the visual and verbal metaphors have the same target and source domains, and that the two modes establish one single conceptual metaphor. **By the term *similar in function***, we understand **that while two different sources occur in verbal and visual modes, their highlighted features (mostly their functions) are similar**. We call the relation *complementary* if the sources just like the mapped features differ from each other in the various modes; thus, the visual and the verbal modes complement each other and show two discrete perspectives of the target.

These four analytical steps are extended by the identification of metonymies as well as ironies in order to interpret the covers in an adequate manner. Often, Orbán's character is referred to by conceptual metonymies, mainly by the 'part for the whole' type. For instance, his HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON which leads to the role metaphor ORBÁN IS THE SUN. We follow Pérez-Sobrino's operational definition: "Metonymy is a cognitive mechanism by means of which, in specific context, one entity is used to stand for another that belongs to the same conceptual domain" (Pérez-Sobrino 95). The metonymical substitution process can be based on *part for the whole*, *whole for the part* and *cause and effect* relationships.

Irony is understood here as an oppositional evaluative process. To solve this contradiction, understanding the irony based on verbal humor or cultural knowledge is a must. Metaphor can be ironic when the real meaning is the opposite of what is shown on the cover, e.g. ORBÁN IS A SAINT, yet he is just not being interpreted as holy man at all.

5. Results

5.1. Orbán Depicted as a Strong Leader

During the period examined, 31 cover pages present the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán visually. He was depicted three times in 2014, six times both in 2015 and in 2016, nine times in 2017, and seven times in 2018. We append a sample of our analysis with some relevant examples (table 1) which shows the identified conceptual metaphors and their types, mapped features, and metaphorical frames. The grey rows of the table highlight those complex examples where visual and verbal metaphors occur as well.

Table 1

List of metaphorical representations of the Hungarian PM, Viktor Orbán.

Date	Metaphor type	Visual metaphor	Verbal metaphor	Mapped features (visual; verbal)	Metaphoric frame (visual; verbal)	Relation of the modes
19/10/2017	contextual	O=PRIEST (SAINT)*	O=TRADER	morally better, convince others; manage to sell the product	P=PREACHING; P=BUSINESS	C (irony)
5/3/2016	contextual	O=MILITARY	O=TRAITOR	warrior, resolute	P=WAR	C (irony)

		DEFENDER OF CASTLE OF EGER*		winner; unreliable		
7/12/2017	simile	O=CHILD	O=DICTATOR *	innocent, playful; tyrant	P=A GAME	C (irony)
14/7/2016	hybrid	O=SUN*		strength and potency, top position	P=MOVEMENT	
20/12/2014	contextual	O=SAINT JOSEPH*		omniscient, top position	P=INTIMATE EVENT (FAM)	

Source: *HVG*, 2014-2018

O =: ORBÁN IS; *: strong leader position; P=: POLITICS IS

C: complementary

Most of the cover pages (25 occurrences) present Viktor Orbán by visual conceptual metaphor (based on the ‘part for the whole’ metonymy). The creative ones are used only once (e.g., POKER PLAYER, ROPE-WALKER) in a very specific context, probably because the person’s character is discussed over a longer period, **with the image meant** to keep the reader’s attention alert. In six cases, we were unable to identify the visual metaphor for Orbán’s character (for examples, see table 2).

Table 2

List of metonymical representations of the Hungarian PM, Viktor Orbán

Date	Visual metonymy	Features	Metaphoric frames
------	-----------------	----------	-------------------

15/2/2014	top of his head for O for the nation	hidden: small part, looking up	P=A GAME
12/12/2015	double chin for O as the host, responsible person	hidden: without face	P=INTIMATE EVENT (FAM)
27/9/2018	profile for O as the responsible person	hidden: as reflection on a bottle of wine	P=INTIMATE EVENT (LOCAL)

Source: *HVG*, 2014-2018

O: Orbán, P=: POLITICS IS, FAM: family

Regarding Orbán's strong leadership (table 3), the prime minister is placed in a top position (12), but he also has a participatory role (10), and a subordinate role (3) in the corpus. His top positions appear in such source domains as BIG BROTHER, TOM THE CAT, MILITARY DEFENDER OF ÉGER, RULER, EMPEROR, SUN, PRIEST/ SAINT, JÁNOS KÁDÁR, TOP BUILDING BLOCK OF A TARGET THROWING GAME, CHILD/ WINNER, GHOST and SAINT JOSEPH, which are featured by big size, central, or upper position, **and by his** hierarchically dominant role. Position is prioritized **over enlargement** of the figure. The figure's gaze can also create a hierarchical relationship: Orbán is mainly featured looking down on his opponent, on the reader, or on an object (seven cases). He is rarely looking into the eyes of the reader (suggesting the reader is being watched), closing his eyes, or looking straight right (as if he knew the future), looking towards the light (which may refer to greater knowledge or potential), and looking angrily up right (he is annoyed by his opponents).

The sources linked to Orbán's figure and their characteristic features (central or upper position, dominant role, big size, downward look) **enhance the 'strong leader'** position of the prime minister.

Table 3

Visual metonymies and visual metaphors: ‘strong leader’ category

Visual metonymy (not becoming visual metaphors)	6/31	19.4%
<i>strong leader (top position)</i>	2/6	33.3%
<i>participatory role</i>	3/6	50%
<i>subordinate role</i>	1/6	16.7%
Visual metaphor (mostly based on metonymies)	25/31	80.6%
<i>strong leader and his features:</i>	12/25	48%
~ dominant role	9/12	75%
~ central or upper position	9/12	75%
~ downward looking	7/12	58.3%
~ bigger size	3/12	25%
<i>participatory role</i>	10/25	40%
<i>subordinate role</i>	3/25	12%
Total		
<i>strong leader</i>	14/31	45.2%
<i>participatory role</i>	13/31	41.9%
<i>subordinate role</i>	4/31	12.9%

Contextual metaphor predominates our corpus (16 occurrences), hybrids come up in eight cases, and simile occurs only once. Orbán is featured through visual metonymy in six cases. The frequency of the contextual metaphor and visual metonymical types indicates that Orbán’s figure was not distorted at all in 23 cases (the figures’s integrity is *inviolable*). Besides, the prime minister’s face is modified only in the hybrids, but these images are not as offensive as those attributed to *Geert* Wilder’s character, which appears as a FOUL-EXUDING CREATURE

(Forceville & van de Laar 297). Instead, Orbán's violated body makes him more powerful and dominant (for example, when his face is hybridized with the Sun), strengthening his role of an authoritarian **figure** in an extreme way.

Orbán is metonymically depicted through his face (10), his double chin (1) and his eyes (1); these types use close-up display mode. These results convey intimacy (Feng 450-451) **and confirm** the image of the populist leader who is close or similar to the people (e.g. eating tomato soup, or making a sausage after slaughtering a pig, just like most Hungarians). These 'part for the whole' metonymies can be continued in a metonymic chain: a body part stands for Orbán who stands for the ruling Fidesz party. In foreign affairs scenes, he may represent Hungary or the Hungarian economy.

The prime minister is described as an omniscient, even supportive person (e.g., placing a Christmas ornament on the Christmas tree, where MONEY IS conceptualized as a CHRISTMAS ORNAMENT and the topical frame is CORRUPTION). He appears in dominant as well as participatory roles, but his figure always remains hidden, e.g., faceless, his figure placed behind the Christmas tree or being reflected on a snow globe and a bottle of wine. On the basis of the conventional metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING, we can conclude that Orbán's presence and his watching of the corrupt activities motivates the metonymy 'Orbán who stands for the responsible person'.

The third step of the analysis focuses on Orbán's roles in various scenarios regarding the entire corpus. We identified five major, generic metaphorical frames: POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT (nine cases), POLITICS IS WAR (five cases), POLITICS IS A GAME (five cases), POLITICS IS MOVEMENT (five cases), and POLITICS IS BUSINESS (four cases). Some of the metaphorical frames occur only once (e.g., POLITICS IS PREACHING) and are not cited here. In some cases, we could identify different metaphorical frames in the visual versus the verbal modes, e.g., the visually motivated frame is POLITICS IS PREACHING, in which VIKTOR ORBÁN

IS A PRIEST/ SAINT, while at the same time the verbal mode recalls the frame POLITICS IS BUSINESS, within which VIKTOR ORBÁN IS A TRADER.

In four cases, we could not identify any metaphorical frames, for example, with the image VIKTOR ORBÁN IS THE BIG BROTHER. Drawing on George Orwell's novel *1984*, this cover page ascribes superpower to the prime minister, as in the totalitarian state.

5.2. The Main Metaphorical Frames in the Corpus

In the following paragraphs we introduce the major metaphorical frames, analyze the features mapped onto the prime minister's character, and discuss the possible complex cognitive structures constituting the figure of the strong leader.

(1) POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT

This frame involves such source domains as LOVE SCENE and FAMILY EVENT where Orbán usually appears metonymically as a responsible person who participates in state corruption (MONEY is visualized as LETTERS MADE OF PASTA in tomato soup, while CORRUPTION IS EATING). Only two LOVE scenes depict ORBÁN metaphorically: in one, he figures as the ACTIVE LOVER OF RUSSIAN LEADER Vladimir Putin; in the other, he is a HOPELESS LOVER who sends love letters to Donald Trump, the 45th President of the United States. The metaphorical frame POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT is specific to Orbán's character but has been known in political discourse relating to the conceptual metaphors POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP IS MARRIAGE / DIVORCE (Schilperoord & Maes 229), and it correlates with the close and medium shots of the visual metonymies 'body part for the person.'



Figure 1: POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT: *Nagy Harácsony*, HVG, December 20, 2014 (© HVG)

Figure 2: POLITICS IS WAR: *One against everyone*, HVG, March 5, 2016 (© HVG)

The cover page in figure 1, embodying the metaphorical frame POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT, was published on 20 December 2014 under the title *Nagy Harácsony*.⁴ The title is a wordplay that blends ‘Great Christmas’ (in Hungarian, *nagy karácsony*, from a Hungarian Christmas carol) and the concept of ‘preying upon’ (in Hungarian, *harácsol*). The front page is modeled on Dutch artist Gerard van Hornhorst’s painting *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1622). It multimodally refers to Christmas and corruption at the same time. We can decode the contextual metaphor ORBÁN IS SAINT JOSEPH, HEAD OF THE HOLY FAMILY visually. CORRUPT POLITICIANS ARE THE MEMBERS OF THE HOLY FAMILY (ILDIKÓ VIDA⁵ IS MARY) and some POLITICIANS or PUBLIC FIGURES (ANDRÁS GIRÓ-SZÁSZ, ANTAL ROGÁN, ÁRPÁD HABONY, JÁNOS LÁZÁR, PÉTER SZÍJJÁRTÓ)⁶ ARE THE SHEPHERDS. A PILE OF MONEY IS depicted as JESUS. As a

⁴ This and all other translations of Hungarian front pages are by the authors.

⁵ Director of the National Tax and Customs Administration, a person close to Fidesz.

⁶ András Gíró-Szász is a historian and political scientist. He was the former spokesman of the Hungarian government and became a chief domestic policy adviser. Antal Rogán is an economist and a Fidesz politician, the **Chief of Staff** of the Prime Minister’s Office. Árpád Habony is a businessman and a personal adviser to the prime minister. János Lázár is a jurist and a Fidesz politician. He was the former Secretary of State in charge of the Prime Minister’s Office. Péter Szíjjártó is an economist and a Fidesz politician; presently he is the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

father, Orbán commands a central, upper position and a significant role within the family. The metaphorical frame POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT is connected to the conventional metaphors POLITICIANS ARE FAMILY, POLITICIANS ARE MARRIED PARTNERS, which are common in political discourse (Musolff, “Metaphor scenarios in public discourse” 34; Đurović & Silaški 25).

2) POLITICS IS WAR

This frame is also conventional in political discourse (Đurović & Silaški 26) when political opponents **are pictured as** war opponents, with the war ending in victory or defeat. Politicians labelled populist prefer to be seen as fighters: WILDERS IS A CRUSADER (Forceville & van de Laar 297), or DONALD TRUMP IS A CONQUEROR (McCallum-Bayliss 242) were identified in previous research.

The front page in figure 2 was published on 5 March 2016. Its title is *One against everyone: Europe and the refugee crisis*. The cover page reflects the fact that the EU and Turkey were preparing to sign a migration declaration on 18 March 2016 (Juhász 69). According to a decision of 20 July 2015, persons in need of protection were resettled to the territory of the European Union. At that time Hungary and Poland did not admit refugees.

The image shows ORBÁN IS A HERO; more specifically, THE HUNGARIAN MILITARY DEFENDER IN THE CASTLE OF EGER. The creator uses the oil painting *Women of Eger* (1867) by Hungarian historical painter Bertalan Székely. The artwork depicts a monumental heroine who embraces her dead husband with her left arm while whisking a huge saber toward the attacking Turkish figure. In 1552, a few Hungarian castle guards defeated the overcrowded Turks in a historical battle known as “The Triumph of Eger.” Through cultural knowledge, **the perseverance, heroism, and** victory of the Hungarians can be discovered which are mapped onto Viktor Orbán, whose closed eyes may metonymically stand for the vision of future victory. The castle of Eger evokes a dangerous situation in Hungary due to the migration policies of the EU states. The source domain of the Turkish attackers is linked to the target domain of the EU

member states (metonymically motivated by the EU flags). Consequently, the EU member states are presented as the opponents of Hungary today.

The title *One against everyone* is the ironical version of the Latin “Unus pro omnibus, omnes pro uno!” (‘One for all, all for one’). The original version refers to an alliance, but *One against everyone* means that one will betray the alliance; thus, it recalls the conceptual metaphor VIKTOR ORBÁN IS A TRAITOR OF THE EU ALLIANCE within the frame POLITICS IS WAR.

ORBÁN IS A HERO is compatible with the HUNGARIANS ARE VICTIMS metaphor. According to Hans de Bruijn, in political framing, the ‘hero, villain and victim’ triade is a very productive pattern. The hero offers simple answers for complex problems and the chosen roles become fixed (62). Here, regardless of the positive role, the hero is evaluated negatively, an unreliable military person, and the REAL VICTIMS ARE THE ASYLUM SEEKERS. Multimodal irony has been generated with the help of the two frameworks employing opposing roles, yet it is safe to say that the heroic role seems to override the role of the traitor.

3) POLITICS IS A GAME

The third metaphorical frame, POLITICS IS A GAME, usually describes the politicians as players or sportsmen (Schilperoord and Maes 227).



Figure 3: POLITICS IS A GAME: Homeland and progress, *HVG*, December 7, 2017 (© HVG)

Figure 4: POLITICS IS MOVEMENT: Runaway, *HVG*, July 14, 2016 (© HVG)

Figure 3, illustrating the frame POLITICS IS GAME, was published on 7 December 2017 under the title *Homeland and progress: György Spiró about the circulation of dictatorships*. The image shows a tricolor carousel decorated with national folk motifs. Three Hungarian politicians are sitting on their vehicles: Miklós Horthy, the Regent of Hungary between the two World Wars, is **riding a white horse**; János Kádár, the communist leader from 1956 to 1988, is sitting in a **car**; and Viktor Orbán, the current prime minister, is on a **locomotive** of the **narrow-gage** railroad of Felcsút. All the politicians depicted in the image are waving their arms. **Visually, we identify** the contextual metaphor THE POLITICIAN AS A **CHILD, which** is a preferred **image** in cartoons and is used for politicians with extremist ideologies and activities, such as Donald Trump, Kim Jong-un, or Geert Wilders (Forceville & van de Laar 297). The constantly rotating carousel symbolically represents historical time, while selected Hungarian politicians metonymically proclaim their dictatorships ('producer for the product' metonymy). Regarding Orbán's character, it is reflected by the only simile in the corpus: he is compared to Horthy and Kádár, dictators all three of them.

The title *Homeland and progress* is a detail of a citation from Ferenc **Kölcsey, author of the Hungarian national anthem**. Kölcsey as a politician argued that modern progress preserves health; conversely, staying in one place causes wasting. A multimodal form of irony is constructed by the positive, humorous image of the playful politicians and the negative tone of the subtitle suggesting 'the circulation of dictatorships.' The reader is helped multimodally to recognize that the image is the camouflage of the real progress due to its unidirectional circular motion.

4) POLITICS IS MOVEMENT

The fourth metaphorical frame, POLITICS IS MOVEMENT, involves the sources WALKING, DANCING, and FLYING. In the corpus, mainly Orbán is the person in motion, e.g., as a ROPE-WALKER balancing between the EU and Russia.

The cover page (figure 4) was published on 14 July 2016 with the title *Runway: Torn Power of Lázár*. The visual image evokes the myth of *Ikaros*, where the hybrid metaphors VIKTOR ORBÁN IS THE SUN and JÁNOS LÁZÁR IS IKAROS appear with the mappings POLITICAL CAREER IS FLYING, POWER IS A FEATHER, and POLITICAL FAILURE IS THE FALLING OF FEATHERS (POWER IS A FEATHER made more direct by the subtitle “Torn Power of Lázár”). Features of the SUN as strength, potency, and top position are mapped onto the target domain of Viktor Orbán.

The title *Runway (Elszállópálya)* is a modification of the word for ‘airstrip’ (*felszállópálya*). Without the initial /f/ sound, ‘runway’ ironically means the opposite of ‘airstrip’, combining the terms for ‘take off’ (*felszállni*) and ‘fly away’ (*elszállni*). The wordplay involves the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL CAREER IS FLYING (‘flying’ meaning *szállni* in Hungarian) with its failure.

5) POLITICS IS BUSINESS

The fifth metaphorical frame POLITICS IS BUSINESS is used to characterize political partnership either as a fair or an illegal business process, with the hierarchy between the partners possibly indicated. Consider the example that shows THE PRIME MINISTER AS A SUBORDINATE BUSINESS PARTNER of the Turkish businessman Adnan Polat. Viktor Orbán is clasping his hands in prayer above a bag marked with the symbol of the Euro. ADNAN POLAT is wearing Turkish high-class attire with turban (perhaps he is depicted as A SULTAN) while Orbán is smaller, placed on the lower part of the page and looks upward in those images that problematize foreign relations. However, on front pages referencing domestic politics, the prime minister appears as an active, determined person in unique roles, such as a gasfitter/a butcher filling a sausage, or a priest/saint.



Figure 5: POLITICS IS BUSINESS: *Vicious circle*, HVG, October 19, 2017 (© HVG)

One of the last-mentioned cover pages (figure 5) was published on 19 October 2017 under the title *Vicious circle: Government parties trade with religion*. Fidesz and the Christian Democratic Party govern Hungary in a coalition. Based on the visuals, we identified the contextual metaphor ORBÁN IS A PRIEST/SAINT, while the president of the Christian Democratic Party, ZSOLT SEMJÉN, IS A SERVANT. The visually activated metaphorical frame is POLITICS IS PREACHING where the presumed features of the PRIEST such as ‘morally superior to others’ (expressed by the halo) and ‘convincing’ (perceived through the action of preaching) are mapped onto Orbán’s figure. The halo over his head stands for holiness, but it ironically becomes a physical tool which makes him a saint. The unreal halo suggests that Orbán just plays a role which does not correspond to reality.

The title *Vicious circle* (“ördögi kör,” literally “devil’s circle” in Hungarian) has a double meaning here. First, it refers to a circle from which no one can escape; second, it is **an instance of multimodal irony that puts the person who is in a vicious circle and is associated with the devil’s side in a negative light**. The subtitle, *Government parties trade with religion*, uses the expression “government parties,” which metonymically refers to Fidesz and the

Christian Democratic People's Party. The term "trade" motivates the metaphoric frame POLITICS IS BUSINESS where THE PARTIES ARE TRADERS and RELIGION IS GOODS.

The prime minister's 'strong leader' position is underscored visually through his roles (PRIEST and SAINT), and he is given a new role (TRADER) in the verbal mode. As a 'saint', he is not driven solely by his intentions; like a 'priest' works from his conviction, the trader works for profit. These contradictory roles question the credibility and honesty of Orbán's character.

6. Conclusion

In this study, we examined the way Viktor Orbán is depicted as a populist leader on the front pages of the Hungarian weekly magazine *HVG*. We argued that Viktor Orbán is depicted as a strong leader in high frequency in the corpus: twelve times through visual metaphors; in addition, half of these cases express the same through verbal metaphors as well. These metaphors usually operate with top position roles, e.g., MILITARY LEADER, RULER, or SAINT featured by central or upper position, downward look, and sometimes in larger size.

The inviolability of the PM is confirmed by the high number of contextual metaphors and by the use of positive rather than offensive hybrids. The most frequent metaphoric frame, POLITICS IS AN INTIMATE EVENT, introduces the figure of the populist leader by way of direct communication and shows his congeniality with ordinary people (e.g., Christmas Eve spent in the circle of the family). We observed that the metaphoric frames used (POLITICS IS WAR/ A GAME/ MOVEMENT/ BUSINESS) can provide a framework for such topics as clientelism (figures 1, 4), nationalism, and anti-immigration policies (figure 2). The major metaphoric frames turned out to be conventional and often employed in political discourse. Visual and verbal metaphors occurring within the frames are creative and highly determined by the context. Half of the visual metaphoric cases (thirteen occurrences) operate in conjunction with verbal metaphors. In these combinations, complementary relations predominate (eight occurrences),

i.e., the visual and the verbal conceptual metaphors provide various sources for the prime minister. The cover pages are designed with great care: in fine ironies, Orbán's character is visually presented as a positive, heroic, even superhuman person, while at the same time the rebuttal (negative evaluation) comes with the verbal component of the front page. However, the verbal elements never use direct conceptual metaphors about Orbán's personality. They only introduce a novel metaphoric frame in which a novel role is to be determined by the reader in order to understand the irony. Hence, we consider this phenomenon as 'veiled' irony rather than a rude attack. Visual metaphors need to be more direct in the sense that they have to show the target domain of Viktor Orbán overtly; thus, they remain positive and prefer to highlight the character of the strong leader sometimes extremely in order to showcase his power and charisma humorously, e.g. ORBÁN IS THE MILITARY DEFENDER OF EGER.

In sum, visual and verbal cognitive processes and the complex cognitive structures which produce them underscore some of the often-cited features of leaders who are labelled populist. Viktor Orbán's portrayal in our corpus has many features associated with populism. It must be added, though, that our research only covered a single Hungarian weekly, *HVG*, and examined only a four-year period (2014 – 2018). In order to learn more about the depiction of Viktor Orbán as a populist leader, the study of larger corpora covering a longer time span is needed.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank the editorial staff of *HVG* for making the covers available to us.

Works Cited

- Argejő, Éva. "A politikai karikatúrák a rendszerváltás után." *Médiakutató*, 2003, spring, pp. 1–8.
- Baltaretu, Adriana, et al. *Power Metaphor as Size Difference: 5th UK Cognitive Linguistics Conference*, Lancaster, 2014.
- de Bruijn, Hans. *The Art of Political Framing: How Politicians Convince Us that They are Right*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2019.
- Burgers, Christian, et al. "Figurative Framing: Shaping Public Discourse Through Metaphor, Hyperbole, and Irony." *Communciation Theory*, vol. 24, no.4, 2016, pp. 410–30.
- Csehi, Robert. "Neither Episodic, Nor Destined to Failure? The Endurance of Hungarian Populism After 2010." *Democratization*, vol 26, no. 6, 2019, pp. 1–17.
- Deiwiks, Christa. "Populism." *Living Reviews in Democracy*, vol. 1, 2009.
- Durović, Tatjana, and Nadežda, Silaški. "The End of a Long and Fraught Marriage: Metaphorical Images Structuring the Brexit Discourse." *Metaphor and the Social World*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2018, pp. 25–39.
- Feng, William Dezheng. "Metonymy and Visual Representation: Towards a Social Semiotic Framework of Visual Metonymy." *Visual Communication*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2013, pp. 441–66.
- Forceville, Charles, and Nataša Van de Laar. "Metaphors Portraying Right-Wing Politician Geert Wilders in Dutch Political Cartoon." *Populist Discourse: Critical Approaches to Contemporary Politics*, edited by Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio et al., **London**, Routledge, 2019, pp. 292–307.
- Forceville, Charles and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi. *Multimodal metaphor*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 2009.

- Fülöp Károly. “Orbán Viktor ünnepi beszédének elemzése.” *A politikai beszéd: A régi-új retorika*, edited by J. Raátz and E. Tóth, Budapest, Trezor, 2014, pp. 120–128.
- Hoványi Márton. “Donald Trump és Orbán Viktor retorikája.” *retorikaiskola.hu*, 2019, <https://retorikaiskola.hu/tag/evertekelo-beszed/>. Accessed 29 July 2020.
- Juhász Krisztina. “Az Európai Unió normatív hatalmának mérlege a 2016. március 18-i uniós-török nyilatkozat tükrében.” *Külügyi Szemle*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2018, pp. 64–80.
- Körösényi András, and Veronika Patkós. “Variations for Inspirational Leadership: The Incumbency of Berlusconi and Orbán.” *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 3, 2017, pp. 611–632.
- Magyar Hajnalka, et al. “Van egy Magyarország.” *archive.org*, 2018, https://ia902806.us.archive.org/32/items/161189wA180616_201807/161189w_a_180616.pdf. Accessed 15 April 2020.
- McCallum-Bayliss, Heather. “Donald Trump is a Conqueror: How the Cognitive Analysis of Trump’s Discourse Reveals His Worldview.” *Populist Discourse: Critical Approaches to Contemporary Politics*, ed. Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio, Miguel-Ángel Benítez-Castro, Francesca De Cesare, London, Routledge, 2019, pp. 250–267.
- McLoughlin, Linda. *The Language of Magazines*. London, Routledge, 2000.
- Mudde, Cas. “Populism: An Ideational Approach.” *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser et al., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 27–47.
- Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Musolff, Andreas. “Metaphor scenarios in public discourse.” *Metaphor and Symbol*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2006, pp. 23–38.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. *What is populism?* London, Penguin UK, 2017.

Pérez-Sobrino, Paula. *Multimodal Metaphor and Metonymy in Advertising*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins, 2017.

Schilperoord, Joost, and Alfons A. Maes. “Visual Metaphoric Conceptualizations in Editorial Cartoons.” *Multimodal Metaphor*, edited by Charles. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 211–38.

Vékony, Dorottya. “A menekültek mint politikai ellenség Orbán Viktor beszédeiben.” *Politikatudományi Tanulmányok*, 2016, pp. 21–9.