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COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS

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INTRODUCTION

The modern lifestyle and rhythm of life have changed the way people perceive or want to perceive information. Visual data is becoming more and more popular as it is easier and quicker to evaluate and digest than written passage on multiple pages. No wonder that political cartoon genre has been on the rise in the recent years.

Editorial cartoons have been objects of research of many scientists and can be viewed from different perspectives. In the previous centuries, they constituted a great field of research for art critics as they are examples of the cartoonist's style and for historians as they reflect on certain events from various perspectives. However, with the development of linguistic studies political cartoon being a multidimensional artifact have been researched from the points of view of sociolinguistics, rhetoric, pragmatics, semiotics and cognitive linguistics.

Cognitive linguistics emerged in the 1970s as an influential approach to language learning. The main questions it concentrated on were human cognition, conceptualization and meaning construction. Cognitive linguistics is one of the fastest growing and influential perspectives on the nature of language and its interaction with human mind and experience. As political cartoons encompass both visual and verbal modes, cognitive linguistics studies how the concepts are employed, integrated and transformed in a political cartoon and how the verbal component influences and changes the meaning of a visual one. Another area of research quite prominent in the studies of political cartoons is the peculiarities of audience perception, decoding and interpretation of a cartoon.

Relevance of the current scientific work is preconditioned by the necessity to study in detail the phenomenon of political cartoons, in particular from the cognitive perspective. New political, social and cultural trends are constantly appearing which in turn shapes the way we think and creates new mental spaces one may refer to. The way we perceive the world as well as the concepts we use to describe it change very quickly.

Each new event brings new concepts to our world perception, thus, to our language system as well. It is important to examine the cartoons which appeared in course of the development of new historical event, which is a new point of reference and concept creation, and to discover and categorize the new concepts which appeared as a result.

The aim of the research is to examine main conceptual aspects of the selected political cartoons and identify the concepts used to create them and convey a certain message to the audience.

Several objectives are identified in order to achieve the purpose of the research:

- Define the notion of “political cartoon” and identify its main peculiarities and functions
- Define main cognitive mechanisms employed in political cartoons
- Examine the cartoons relating to the selected historical event and select appropriate samples for further analysis
- Identify main references made in the cartoons in order to decode their meaning
- Analyze the mechanisms of humor creation in the selected cartoons
- Identify and analyze the conceptual metaphors depicted by the political cartoons
- Examine the conceptual integration employed in the selected cartoons.

The object of the study is represented by the editorial cartoons framing the impeachment process of the US President Donald Trump.

The subject of the study are the cognitive mechanisms used to create the given political cartoons.

The supporting material of the study is selected from the Daryl Cagle’s cartoonist index and thematic gallery (<http://cagle.com/>). Totally, 120 cartoons were chosen between the dates of July, 1, 2019 and February, 1, 2020. The cartoons were searched for by such tags as “impeach”, “impeachment”, “Trump”, “Quid pro quo”, “Pelosi”, etc. Out of 1,453 results all the irrelevant ones were

eliminated. In addition, only the cartoons published on the territory of the US and in the English language were selected.

The research methods used in the work include *analysis, synthesis and generalizations* – to outline the main directions of linguistics research; *structural method* – for systematization and visualization of the research materials; *method of linguistic observation, descriptive methods* – to outline the cognitive mechanisms of cartoons; *frame analysis method* – to determine the content and representations of conceptual blending in political cartoons.

The novelty of the research is ensured by the fact that this is the first attempt to analyze the cartoons related to Trump's impeachment process. Also, it is the only research to complete a complex analysis of multiple cognitive mechanisms employed in the cartoons with the set of 120 samples. As a result of the analysis, main sources of intertextuality in the cartoons were identified. In addition, the conceptual blends were categorized according to the frames they appear within. Main metaphors were distinguished and classified according to the repeating source/target component.

The practical value of the work infers the possibility of its use for further research on political cartoons as well as the use of the results of the research for the analysis of a different sample set framing a different political event.

The work comprises introduction, 3 chapters, conclusions, the list of references (82 items), list of supporting materials (61 items). Totally, the work has 119 pages where 92 pages comprise the main text.

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF POLITICAL CARTOON RESEARCH WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

1.1 Political cartoon as a multifaceted phenomenon

The interest in studying the connection between verbal and non-verbal components in language and the dynamic development of the media in the second half of the 20th century led to the emergence of a significant number of linguistic works devoted to the study of a creolized text in general and in political discourse in particular [27, p. 419].

According to P. Chilton and C. Schäffner's definition, political discourse is the result of politics, which, on the one hand, is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it; on the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like [52, p. 1382]. The subject of political discourse analysis is a political text, including a creolized one. The main peculiarity of the political text is its ideology and communicative strategy directed at the manipulation and persuasion [26, p. 163].

Political cartoon is a genre of political discourse that entered the scope of linguistic problems in the middle of the 20th century. As political discourse has such characteristics as anthropocentrism, multidisciplinary approach, expansionism, functionalism and explanatory nature, all of them can be applied to the political cartoons as well. Political cartoon is a creolized text that unites iconic and verbal levels and has paralinguistic characteristics [26, p. 158].

The political cartoon constitutes a very specific genre, with its own history, distinctive styles, conventions and communicative purposes. It is an illustration, usually in a single panel, published on the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper. Most commonly, cartoons address a current political issue or event, a social trend, or a famous

personality, in a way that takes a stand or presents a particular point of view [29, p. 184-185].

The peculiarity of a modern political cartoon as a social phenomenon is general high dynamism of publication activity of a particular publication and authors. The significance of a political cartoon in the contemporary political discourse confirms the fact that the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Caricatureing has been awarded since 1922 as well as the award from the news house Press Gazette “Caricatureist of the Year”, which is presented in Britain [26, p. 159].

According to the classification of M.M. Bakhtin, a political cartoon can be defined as the secondary genre. Such genres appeared in discourses in the situation of developed cultural communication and are distinguished by a complex construction and reactive essence [Bakhtin 1996: 161—162; cited as in [26, p.165]. Taking into account the functions of political cartoons, which will be discussed further, it is clear a cartoon is a kind of commenting on primary genres — political speeches, debates, negotiations and other politicians’ speeches [26, p.165].

In the typology of texts by G.V. Eyger and V.L. Yukht, the authors suggest the dichotomy of mono and polycode texts. “Polycode texts in a broad semiotic sense should also include cases of combining a natural language code with the code of another semiotic system (image, music, etc.)” [G.V. Eyger and V.L. Yukht, (1974). C. 107 cited as in 27, p. 427].

In modern linguistic literature, the terminological combination a polycode text still has a wide use, however, it is often interchangeable in use with the term “creolized text” and many scholars prefer the latter one. As for the creolized text, researchers in the linguistic literature most often rely on the definition given by E.E. Anisimova, in which a creolized text is a text “which consists of two non-homogeneous parts: verbal (language/speech) and non-verbal (belonging to other, non-linguistic, semiotic systems)” [1, p.8]. The term “creolized text” is also found in the works by Yu.A. Sorokin and E.F. Tarasov, who used it in the following context: “texts the texture of which consists of two

non-homogeneous parts (verbal language (speech) and non-verbal (belonging to other sign systems than a natural language)” [27, p.422].

In linguistic discourse, the problem of describing and classifying creolized texts was first posed in works on semiotics and psycholinguistics as an attempt to define the role of non-verbal, and iconic (already in question) means in human cognitive activity. One of the tasks of understanding these processes was to manage them through establishing the role of the combination and interaction of verbal and iconic information in the text, the other was the task of identifying discrete image units [27, p.420-421]. A creolized text in political discourse is represented by the following genres: agitation leaflets; political posters; political cartoons; images in the frames of the agitation text. A political cartoon is an image that usually contains a text component [26, p. 164].

1.1.1 Defining the term “political cartoon”

A political cartoon is a universal instrument of a political dialogue between government and society, a reflection or reaction of society to a political event, a series of events or a person of the national or world level. The goals and tasks of a political cartoon, mechanism of influence over addressees and peculiarity of its genre have a common tradition and certain common components [26, p.158].

As far as the political cartoons are concerned, there is no universally acknowledged definition of the term. “Political” is interpreted in a fairly narrow sense as involving electoral politics (e.g. cartoons of election campaigns), controversies with direct political impact (e.g. the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed), or issues with direct public policy implications (e.g. “women’s liberation” cartoons) [14, p.126]. Many scholars have come up with the new definition of a cartoon, depending on the approach they undertake to study this phenomenon. Some of them are presented as follows:

- Editorial or political cartoons are artistic creations depicting political and social commentary of the time [12, p. 537].

- A cartoon is "a drawing, representational or symbolic, that makes a satirical, witty, or humorous point" [55, p.1].
- Bal et al. claim that cartoons are static form of caricature, which in turn is a form of satire [7, p.153].
- Edwards defines cartoons "visual/verbal, non-narrative commentary, typically in single-panel form, created by a staff member or a newspaper or appearing originally on the editorial pages of a newspaper" [21, p.481].
- As one study puts it, "[c]artoons can be seen as artistic work, historical documents, forms of humor or satire (analogous to literature), and as artefacts of journalism history, as well as rhetorical texts [14, p.125].
- According to Connors, political cartoons are a unique form of media message; they offer voters an opinion on the campaign or candidates encapsulated typically in a single image. However, for those images to be comprehended and appreciated, cartoonists make reference to other events or images to allow readers to receive and digest the message quickly [21, p. 479].
- Cartoons are often a humorous commentary on recent events, which allows the spectator to easily elaborate on the image and develop an opinion on the subject. Political cartoons are often an outlet of opposition or criticism, which are used to propel social issues to the general public's attention [7, p. 153].
- Cartoons are understood as a humor-carrying visual/visual-verbal picture, containing at least one incongruity that is playfully resolvable in order to understand their punch. Cartoons are jokes told in a picture (drawing, painting, etc.) comprising one or only a few panels [44, p. 614].
- A political cartoon is "a satirical comment, usually humorous... about a political person, event, institution or idea, and reflecting the cartoonist's own values or opinions on that issue" [46, p. 453].
- Giarelli and Tulman (2003) argue that cartoons are actual social artefacts; they have a higher claim to truth, and arguably to a superior representativeness than opinion polls

(which, they claim, are invariably constructed and do not report actual public opinion) [14, p. 131].

- A political cartoon is a pictorial representation that characteristically combines caricature, satire, and humor, to convey sociopolitical commentary about individuals or relevant current events. Political or editorial cartoons generally consist of single or multiple-panel drawings with captions and sometimes speech balloons, which are usually placed on the editorial page of newspapers and news websites in order to co-construct and express editorial opinion [60, p.1].

1.1.2 Historical overview of political cartoons. Cartoon vs caricature

The historical origins of cartoons are to be found in the simple, unsigned, visual messages drawn on walls since ancient times, often revealing the ordinary citizen's opinion of the establishment [39, p. 70].

The term “*cartoon*” originally comes from the Italian word “*cartone*” and means a strong, heavy paper or pasteboard. It denotes a full-size drawing made on paper as a study for further drawings, such as a painting or tapestry. Cartoons were typically used in the production of frescoes to accurately link the components of the composition when painted onto plaster over a series of days. From this origin, cartoons came to be used to signify a line drawing in one panel done on a piece of paper [44, p. 613-614].

The origins of the modern political cartoon can be traced to the 16th century, with drawings used in the theological debates of the Reformation. The cartoon style as such developed in Britain in the 1800's and is distinguished by the use of caricature [55, p. 1].

The first political cartoon campaign, with the regular serial publication of cartoons on a large scale, appeared in Britain and the Netherlands during the 17th century as a reaction against the threat posed by the political influence and power of France's Louis XIV. In the United States, Benjamin Franklin's cartoon “Join, or Die,” published in the Pennsylvania Gazette in 1754, together with his editorial on the “disunited state” of the colonies, is considered the first truly American political cartoon [60, p. 1].

Throughout much of the United States' history, political cartoons have held a prominent place. During the Civil War era, Thomas Nast's mastery of the medium was applied very effectively to the defense of Lincoln's policies. Nast is the inventor of Donkey and Elephant signs that remain today the de facto standard signs for the Democratic and Republican parties, respectively. Additionally, his influence is credited with the overthrow of the corrupt ``Boss" Tweed government of New York City [55, p. 1].

Martin Conboy argues that from the 1880s onward, American newspaper cartoons ‘became a prominent means of including a wider audience in political debate and satire’. He sees them as an extension of older forms, such as broadsheets and ballads, adapted to an era of emerging photojournalism [42, p. 683].

The term ‘cartoon’ was first used in its current meaning in the mid-19th century, when the British satirical monthly *Punch* used it as a title for a series of humorous illustrations lambasting the government’s plans for a new lavish Parliament building and contrasting this lavishness with the extreme poverty of many ordinary people. At a time when the newspaper was still a predominantly verbal medium, cartoons created a visual sensation that is hard to imagine now, and many cartoonists of the late 19th century and early 20th century came to be regarded as influential and highly respected political commentators [29, p. 185]. Since the 20th century, cartoon is used as an umbrella term for all forms of humorous drawings, such as caricatures, gag-cartoons (i.e., a single-panel cartoon, usually including a caption), short funny stories, and later even for animated cartoons, a dominant meaning in the American context [44, p. 613-614].

In discussing the nature and mechanisms of political cartoons, the term “caricature” is often used to label a cartoonist’s mode of expression rather than the cartoons themselves. As far back as 1969, Coupe found it problematic that the conception of caricature varied so much among scholars [14, p. 132]. Ever since John Leech in 1843 described as 'cartoons' the parodies he drew for the frescoes of the Houses of Parliament, popular usage has not differentiated between 'cartoon' and 'caricature', but

has applied both indiscriminately to almost any drawing which refers to the social or political situation [22, p. 83].

This problem, along with the confusion it can cause, still prevails today. While “caricature” is used by many as a generic term for political cartoons, other uses of the word are more specific. Historians use it to locate political cartoons in a past when the term was predominant, such as when writing about nineteenth-century French satirical prints. Art and literature scholars can use it to refer to exaggerated representations. Both for scientists studying facial recognition and for cartoonists talking about their work, caricature often refers specifically to exaggerated facial likenesses [14, p. 132]. Historically, the term 'caricature', in the sense of a 'portrait' in which characteristic features of the sitter were exaggerated to the point of distortion, is considerably older, the first usage recorded by the New English Dictionary occurring in a letter of Walpole dated 1748 [22, p. 83].

The caricature represents a pictorial image of a human or groups of them. It may also be a symbolic representation of a nation, political party, idea or social issue. It is useful to distinguish between the "cartoon" and the "caricature". The term "caricature" has been employed to indicate exaggerated representation of the most characteristic features of persons or things, and, as noted, in a satirical manner. It could then be stated in a formal fashion that pictorial "caricature" pertains to grotesque or ludicrous representation of scorn or ridicule of human vices or follies and exaggeration of their most characteristic features by means of graphic images [74, p. 431].

The classic theory of caricature says that the caricaturist seizes on the essence of his victim and provides a negative counterpart to the idealizing tendencies of the normal portraitist. He destroys his victim's persona {persona = mask, the 'personality' of a man being, so to speak, the player's mask he wears in the drama of life) by penetrating to the reality behind the appearance presented to the world and revealing the true man behind the mask of pretense and showing up his essential littleness and ugliness [22, p. 87-88].

Caricature, according to art theorist and perceptual psychologist Rudolf Arnheim (1983), is an expression by deviation which can be investigated through a qualitative analysis of perceptual effects of physiognomic deviation. Gombrich (1985) traces the origins of caricature portraits in the science of physiognomics by which animal character traits could be ascribed to people by the shape of their faces. The modern cartoonist, he believes, finds it useful for its ability to extend an equation into a virtual fusion by associating a targeted person with the traits of something else and merging the two forms [14, p. 133].

The Greeks used caricature in their depiction of political situations and individuals in ways that even today would be seen as bawdy and obscene. These symbols immediately created an emotive response in the audience making it an effective tool of dissent [4, p. 231]. Alba suggests that the caricature is a vehicle for hostility. As well as constituting a vehicle for aggression, caricature can equally well convey a grudging admiration—affection even [22, p. 89]. According to Coupe, many caricatures are neither humorous nor propagandistic and they satisfy us simply because they reduce a complex situation to a formula which sums it up neatly [22, p. 87].

The modern cartoon developed gradually out of caricature from the 15th and 16th centuries. Leonardo da Vinci's "caricatures" focused primarily on the face, exaggerating the grotesque in contrast to the concept of ideal beauty; they were a form of visual satire as a reaction against the constraints of social order and fixed canons of beauty. The caricature is an essential ingredient in the cartoon: it consists of a distorted or hyperbolic drawing highlighting some salient or unique feature of the individual. The use of satirical caricatures, depicting physical deformations and comic analogies with animals, can be traced to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Caricatures of a more evaluative and socio-religious nature developed during the Protestant Reformation as a visual strategy of protest and propaganda. Caricature and cartoon as social satire began to blend in the 17th century, particularly in Hogarth's social satirical prints combining text with

intricate and allegorical visual forms, and with the exploitation of stereotypes attributed to different social groups [60, p. 1].

Cartooning as we know it today is an outgrowth of caricature. Cartooning is not simply caricature evolved to a higher plane. Rather, a division has happened between the two styles of event or person representation—caricature is now perceived as the distorted representation of an individual, and cartooning is the more or less distorted representation of issues, situations, and ideas [47, p. 21].

Cartoons can more easily be distinguished from caricatures. A caricature is a pictorial representation of an object, usually a politician, exaggerating some of its features, in order to allow a more distinct characterization (someone with a big nose gets an even bigger one in the drawing) or metaphorical meanings (someone with a big belly is voracious in a figurative sense). Cartoons often incorporate caricatures or exaggeration as general stylistic devices. But some cartoons also portray a very realistic drawing style. The essential difference to cartoons is that besides the exaggerations of certain body parts (which sometimes stand for certain personality characteristics) there doesn't have to be a punch line [44, p. 615].

In conclusion, caricature is now more perceived as a peculiarity of cartoon which is a counterpart of exaggeration in visual form. As one of the graphic journalist's most striking and effective devices, caricature has come to be an indispensable ingredient in the modern cartoon [22, p. 87-88]. Though many scholars still do not make a distinction between caricature and cartoon in their works, our study tends to use the term “cartoon” while referring to the object of analysis (that is a drawing itself). Thus, cartoon is understood as a generic term which signifies a representational image whether or not this image includes caricature as its feature. Even if the image is devoid of caricature, we still consider it to be a cartoon.

1.1.3 Peculiarities and functions of political cartoons

Political or editorial cartoons are a multimodal mode of communication, where meaning is typically constructed via two semiotic modes, the verbal and the visual. They generally consist of single-panel, or multiple-panel cartoons with captions and sometimes speech balloons, which are usually placed on the editorial page of newspapers and news websites to construct and express editorial opinion. In addition to the content or depicted scenario and the verbal elements (captions, labels, etc.), it is essential to consider the local contextual aspects of the cartoon, all of which affect meaning construction and contribute to unravel the point of the cartoon [62, p. 124]. It is worth mentioning that modern political cartoons are often more complex for interpretation than they used to be as they are generally published online. Thus, they are not accompanied with the articles which explain the major events. The modern reader can use only tags to orient themselves in the meaning of any given cartoon.

Political cartoons are bright examples of multimodal texts which are characterized by the use of visual metaphors and caricatures to portray political situations and politicians and by the use of humorous or emotional pictures for current events [52, p. 1382]. From a semiotic point of view cartoons belong to one of the most complex and sophisticated areas of drawn communication [39, p. 70].

Among main characteristics of cartoons, Gerberg (1989), for example, lists atmosphere, calligraphy, and texture, cast, dialogue, gestures, background, composition and selectivity. He adds differences in silhouetting and shading: the main character can be made to stand out by contrast and brightness and more detail than the surroundings, as well as omitted background immediately around it [44, p. 618].

The cartoons can be said to represent a visual discourse [2, p. 242]. Several studies of political cartoons consider their ability to communicate visually. Morrison (1969) emphasized the importance of visual aspects in this discourse, arguing that non-verbal symbols can transmit meaning more directly than verbal symbols. For example, a

sense of action in the cartoons is usually encouraged through the depiction of movement that is frozen in the instance of representation and the use of vectors: strong, often diagonal lines formed obliquely by depicted objects or people, which indicate the direction of an action. Some cartoons also use conventionalized motion lines leading to or from a moving element. [29, p. 186]. Cahn (1984) suggested that cartoonists should rely on visual properties that are universally understood. The use of such graphic cues helps the reader easily imagine the whole scenario in their heads and unfold the course of events. It is important to note that cartoons and caricature allowed to catch at a glance the meaning of an event or person [5, p. 378]. However, though the cartoons can easily attract the attention of a person who has little time for reading an editorial as they offer quick and short digest in an easily digestible form, one should consider that quite often the meaning of the cartoons is fully disclosed only after careful examination of the elements of the cartoon.

From the point of view of the language, one of the distinguishing features of a political cartoon is the interaction of verbal, iconic and paralinguistic components within it, i.e. its creolized text [26, p. 159]. Particular attention in a creolized text of political cartoons deserves paralinguistic means: synergraphic (unmotivated use of punctuation marks), supra-graphic (font-based variation) and topographic (plane-type placement of the font) [26, p. 167].

A creolized text as a product of the development of mass communication and the expansion of mass culture often uses intertextual links. Intertextuality as the ability of the text to accumulate information obtained from the surrounding reality and from other texts is described in such terms as the “semiotic memory of culture”, intertextuality gives it the ability to have “extensibility for new revelations of thought”. Intertextuality is a marker of aesthetic and epistemological validity of a text, if a new text does not have an intertextuality property, it does not have the opportunity to become a new link in the transition of a cultural code [27, p. 424].

The specifics of political discourse and media discourse, in contrast to the literary text, is associated more with precedence than with intertextuality. Nevertheless, it is possible to speak of several general variants of the cognitive mechanisms for processing an intertextual and precedent sign in a creolized text:

1) intertextual sign is a concise and recognizable embodiment of a social stereotype;

2) intertextual sign attracts the addressee with the recognizability of the form, under which there is no usual content, since for the purposes of manipulation it is replaced by new content; in this process, complex information is replaced by its simplest elements;

3) in the creolized text, such a form of intertextuality as interconicity is demanded, i.e. reference to the non-verbal prototext [27, p. 424].

The cartoons draw on a variety of symbolic images, allegorical representations, historical figures as source domain characters. In the cartoons we find various forms of allusions to historical events together with recontextualisation of quotes, proverbs or sayings, from literary or historical sources, songs, and so on [62, p. 128-129].

Another cognitive category associated with the characteristics of a creolized text is the category of precedence. The concept of precedence was proposed in the article by Yu.N. Karaulov “The role of precedent texts in the structure and functioning of a linguistic personality” and it has been expanded in other works. The precedent texts are understood as “significant for a particular personality in cognitive or emotional relations, having a suprapersonal character, i.e. well known to the wider environment of a given personality, including his or her predecessors and contemporaries, and, finally, those the appeal to whom is resumed repeatedly in the discourse of a given language personality” [27, p. 423].

Political cartoons provide a means of expressing usually critical political and social commentary, through a visual format that may include images, words, or both. Like other editorial outlets, they both reflect and influence trends in public thought [6, p.

2]. The political cartoon is stronger even than the written editorial for the simple reason that it is a picture, because it communicates more surely with the emotions of the reader, because it speaks visually in a tongue that knows no barrier of language or education, because it often strikes some half-forgotten aspiration that transcends geography and is common to all men everywhere [13, p. 39].

Communication via cartoons differs from communication through print media in a variety of ways. First, like other graphics, cartoons impart meanings and emotions almost instantaneously (in parallel)—compared to the comprehension of written or spoken text, which is based on a linear (serial) presentation mode— and involves different cognitive processes than verbal communication. And because political cartoons can be understood at a glance, they reach more people than written editorial commentary; they can be taken in by “skimmers,” those people who glance across an editorial page but do not take the time to read its text. By their graphical nature, cartoons are capable of communicating subtle, complex, multilayered messages about people and events in the details of how they are drawn—messages that would be difficult or impossible to express verbally. The use of humor in political cartoons often allows the artist to present viewpoints that would be too extreme, mean-spirited, or “politically incorrect” to verbalize in an editorial essay column [38, p. 536]. According to Gombrich, politicians may have legitimate reasons for fearing editorial cartoons. Gombrich claims that while language is superior to pictures alone at conveying information and formulating arguments, the visual image is "supreme" in its ability to arouse emotions [10, p. 43].

Political cartoons operate as frames for the organization of social knowledge insofar as they make use of various rhetorical devices metaphors, catch phrases, depictions, etc.-that purport to capture the essence of an issue or event graphically. As Gamson and Stuart have argued, cartoons “offer a number of different condensing symbols that suggest the core frame” of the issue [40, p. 183]. Dela identifies eight types

of linguistic features employed in political cartoons. They are irony, paradox, antithesis, parody, colloquialism, vividness, topicality, and exaggeration [68, p. 464].

Political cartoons generally operate on two distinct levels: on one level, they tell an imaginary story about a make-believe world, while on a second, more abstract level, they refer to real-life events and characters. This relationship between the two levels of meaning is essentially metaphorical, inviting people to map properties from a more tangible area of reality onto one that is more abstract [186, p. 29].

Using language resources to attract public attention and interest by the media, journalists especially cartoonists harness both linguistic and nonlinguistic elements ingeniously and persuasively to create effect in a literary or dramatic passion and to evoke a particular response from readers. These devices are employed purposely to communicate with the public to persuade them towards considering a particular topic from a different point of view to make them more receptive and to provide rational argument for making public opinion that perhaps may bring positive change in society [71, p. 53].

Political cartoons provide humorous commentary, often using exaggeration of events or individual characteristics, on contemporary issues and events. Although much of a political campaign is ritualized and may not present newsworthy events for media coverage, the idiosyncrasies of political campaigns—the unexpected events, the misspeaking and missteps—provide continuous material for new political cartoon imagery [16, p. 299]. Political cartoons, by definition, strive to exploit the most obvious or grotesque features of a leader and put them on display, and in so doing, go directly to highlight or attack political image [4, p. 230].

In her study of political cartoons, Alousque Negro yields the following definitory features of political cartoons:

1. They have a descriptive function inasmuch as they are characterized by allusion to a socio-political situation, event or person.

2. Since they are related to recent events, factual knowledge is essential for their correct interpretation.

3. Recent events are combined with an imaginary world in such a way that “cartoons act as a bridge between fact and fiction”. The metaphorical process of transferring meaning from the imaginary to the real world is conveyed predominantly in the visual mode.

4. Cartoons have a satirical nature. They are characterized by caricature, which parodies the individual.

5. The last feature stems from the previous one: Cartoons exemplify critical perspectives on recent events.

6. Metaphor is a recurrent device used in political cartooning. As Shilperoord and Maes remark, “editorial cartoons are a metaphor-rich communicative area” [57, p. 214-215]. In this light, these authors highlight the scenario character of newspaper cartoon metaphors, the most frequent scenarios being the hospital scenario, the cooking-scenario, marriage, funerals and (boxing) games [66, p. 370].

The metaphorical combination of the real and the imaginary is one of the features of cartoons that distinguish them from other newspaper images such as press photographs and illustrative drawings. It also to some extent sets political cartoons apart from the closely related genre of comics, which generally tend to remain within the realm of the fantastic, or, if they refer to real-life events, do so in a more literal manner. Edwards believes that political cartoons are also able to function as narratives since they encourage viewers to complete in their heads what is suggested by the depicted moment [29, p. 186].

The ‘persuasive’ power of cartoons as carriers of narratives lies in their capacity for the de-construction of familiar scenarios and the construction of figurative counter-scenarios as plausible frames, which works as an effective means of shaping beliefs and public opinion. Metaphorical scenarios and figurative framing provide the means to build narrative frames for the conceptualization and assessment of political issues and to

'spin out' these narratives into emergent discourse traditions. Cartoons provide apt counter-narratives, by drawing on cultural schemata, allusion and other features of intertextuality and thus revisiting narratives and creating narrative reconstructions of reality [62, p. 121].

Thus, political cartoons have a descriptive function since they are characterized by allusion to a socio-political situation, event or person; moreover, factual knowledge is essential for their correct interpretation since they are related to current events. Since political and social issues are mirrored in political cartoons, these are regarded as potential objects of discourse analysis. They not only reflect the thoughts of the public but also have the power to influence them. It is believed that editorial cartoons provide "a subtle framework within which to view the American political process and its players. Cartoons not only reflect our culture but also invite us to think about its constituent parts and their meaning for our own lives" and that cartooning is a "culture-creating, culture-maintaining, culture-identifying artifact" [46, p. 453].

Packalén and Odoi note that cartoons are an essential part of every country's culture. The cartoon heroes reflect values and convictions that are common in the prevailing culture and its symbolism, which allows people to identify themselves with the presented types, situations and trains of thought. The image of reality reflected in the cartoons, however, is not always exclusively anchored in the actual reality but often transmits instead an idealized and incisive image of everyday life. That is why cartoons reveal underlying facts and values both among their creators and among the consumers [39, p. 71].

Cartoons can also reflect on issues of ethnicity, as shown in Soper's (2005) historical content analysis of "complex patterns of identification, sympathy and denigration in cartoon representations" of the Irish in America. Streicher's (1965) study of David Low's cartoons exemplifies how cartoons "convey deeper meanings of social situations". Cartoons have also been seen simply as reflections of the public's (generally

negative) impressions of the subjects depicted. Cahn (1984) views them negatively because the biases of cartoonists are clearly represented [14, p. 137].

According to Iro Sani, the cartoon genre constitutes a formidable medium of communication through which the media set social agenda by attaching relevance to importance of issues and events through recurrent coverage aimed at shaping the people's understanding of the issues to bring positive change in society [72, p. 162]. Like urban graffiti, jokes, and other genres of popular culture, cartoons challenge the ways we accept official images as real and true. The purpose of political cartoons is not necessarily just to inform but also to make people reflect on current events and issues about politics, government, and society [7, p. 152-153].

Cartoons have widely been defined as metaphorical codification of a satirical humorous genre through which an artist subtly informs, educates and entertains the readership. They constitute a special media discourse that harnesses language in which linguistic and non-linguistic resources are manipulated efficiently and persuasively to create effect and impression in a dramatic way and evoke a particular response from the audience [49, p. 40]. Political cartoons configure the discursive construction and qualification (positively or negatively) of social actors, phenomena or events, and play a crucial role in challenging claims made by politicians and the face-saving strategies they engage in, and in highlighting the inconsistencies of political decisions and practices [62, p. 118].

Political cartoon discourse is an invaluable instrument of 'critique', strategically using humor as transgression in order to challenge political power and to provide contest for symbolic power. Cartoons provide a site for struggle in the contest for the terrain of symbolic power in that they may be used to legitimize, or resist, attitudes and beliefs which may be prevalent at a particular moment in society and in public discourse [62, p. 120]. Thibodeau argued that cartoons reflected the impressions of the public, providing negative representations of their subjects. Cahn argued that political cartoons were negative because they represent the biased point of view of the cartoonist [5, p. 378].

A cartoon exposes viewers to a point of view for or against its subject, either by presenting it as a figure worthy of sympathy or by distorting it into a figure of ridicule [74; 22]. Condensing history, culture, and social relationships within a single frame, a cartoon can re-contextualize events and evoke reference points in ways that a photograph or even a film cannot [7, p. 153]. The perspectives expressed by political cartoonists in their work contribute to that discussion, as do news reports, editorial columns, and commentary in social media [19, p. 182].

Political cartoons seem especially designed for powerful effect on their audience, but tracing these impacts proves complicated. Fiske saw cartoons as having the ability to reinforce dominant world views as well as fracturing current relations of dominance. While many researchers, such as Sawyer, stress cartoons' socially and politically progressive impact, Walker and others argue that they can also be weapons wielded by the powerful to reinforce established or reactionary social views [14, p. 139].

It should be noted that a political cartoon is always a reflection of the opinion of society or an individual's reaction to a significant public event, and it is its universal feature, which makes it possible to compare the means and categories of a creolized text of political cartoon in different linguistic cultures/in different languages [27, p. 418].

According to Hussein, political cartoons serve four functions that include entertainment, aggression reduction, agenda-setting and framing [46, p. 454]. In the opinion of linguists dealing with problems of political discourse, the main function of political discourse, and political cartoon in particular, is the use of politics' language as an instrument of political power structure, which is expressed by a set of specific functions. Among other functions there are:

- 1) the function of social control, i.e., for example, manipulation of public consciousness;

- 2) the function of legitimization of the power structure, which is understood as argumentation of decisions of the authorities, for example, in the course of allocating public resources;

3) the function of reproduction of the power structure, i.e. strengthening of commitment to the system in the society;

4) the orientation function, i.e. creation and strengthening of goals, tasks, prospects of political life in the society;

5) the function of social consolidation conducted for the whole society or individual social groups;

6) the agonal function of creating social conflicts, expressing protests against the actions of the authorities;

7) the actional function expressed in carrying out activities with the aim of mobilizing supporters of the power structure and diverting attention of the inactive or hostile part of the population [26, p. 161].

Thus, we can arrive at a conclusion, that political cartoons being a multimodal satirical reflection on a certain event or representation of a certain person mainly functions as a powerful tool of influence and manipulation. It is called to regulate social consciousness of the public, create certain image of political personae and create certain atmosphere to manipulate the emotions and opinions.

1.2 Cognitive mechanisms in political cartoons

Political cartoons have been the subject of various scholarly studies from different scientific perspectives. In the cognitive linguistics, there has been a significant interest in the role that cognitive mechanisms play in cartoons and the process of their perception and interpretation [60, p. 4]. From a cognitive point of view, cartoonists use their imagination to create a new mental reality. This reality derives from image and text integration and generates an emotional reaction in the reader-viewer [67, p. 5]. According to Marin Arrese, political cartoons provide the ideal site for ‘creativity’ as innovation and recontextualization involve the interaction of various cognitive mechanisms, for example, such as metaphor and blending, and semiotic resources [62, p. 119].

As it has already been mentioned, El Refaie defines a political cartoon as an illustration, usually in a single panel, published in the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper addressing a current political issue or event, a social trend, or a famous personality, in a way that takes a stand or presents a particular point of view. On the one hand, political cartoons tell an imaginary story about a make-believe world, while on the other, they refer to real-life events and characters. This relationship between the real and the imaginary is metaphorical in nature, inviting people to map properties from a more tangible area of reality onto one that is more abstract [29, p. 186]. This property of political cartoon genre makes it prone to being analyzed from a cognitive linguistic perspective [26, p. 120].

Kwon also makes a point that since political cartoons make another form of human manifestation based on his or her conceptualization of subjectivity, the construal of the artefacts necessarily involves cognitive mechanisms mainly such as conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending [53, p. 120]. In his turn, Bergen mentions another cognitive mechanism that is useful in studying the political cartoons. According to him, political cartoons are an independent source of evidence on the creative use of cultural models [6, p. 2]. It is worth mentioning that Semino highlights the pervasiveness of WAR, PATH/JOURNEY, CONTAINER and SPORTS metaphors, and personification in political discourse, cartoons in particular [56, p. 34].

We can also see how cartoons benefit from using these mechanisms. They are rendered more accessible and their messages are more tangible if they reify relatively abstract concepts like the nation or war in visible and recognizable concrete domains through the use of conceptual metaphor. Rendering these metaphorical depictions in terms of cultural models yields the added benefit of placing these metaphorical depictions within the context of a known frame of reference. Blending them with other known scenarios provides the basis for analogies and comparisons [6, p. 11].

1.2.1 Conceptual metaphor theory

Metaphor is a rhetorical device that performs the function of perspective, allowing us to see "something in terms of something else." By labeling something that which it is not, metaphor makes use of perspective by incongruity; our perception of the object/person is altered by its incongruous pairing with some other name. In this way, metaphor provides insight. Because perspective by incongruity plays such a central role in metaphor, this principle especially is suited to the form of the political cartoon. Through the interaction of both graphic and discursive elements, metaphor can be conveyed more readily than it is in language alone [10, p. 48]. In one of his essays, the art historian E.H. Gombrich argues that metaphor is a common and expected device in political cartoons: it is one of the main 'weapons' in the 'cartoonist's armoury' [31, p. 77].

In the last decades, metaphor has been vastly investigated from both a theoretical and an applied perspective [66, p. 366]. Metaphor started as a rhetorical, ornamental persuasive trope. However, with the cognitive turn in metaphor studies, metaphor was envisaged as a mental device for thinking and communicating faster and more intuitively through the conflation of semantic features into new conceptual frames [3, p. 70-71].

From a cognitivist perspective, metaphors are 'sets of mappings between a more concrete or physical source domain and a more abstract target domain' [50, p. 67]. Good, apt metaphors are thus able to do more than merely highlighting pre-existing similarities between two different objects: they can encourage us to see things in a completely new light and thus reconceptualize a whole area of reality [29, p. 197].

The view of metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon became popular in the early 1980s. Prior to this, a metaphor was seen as the poetic way of saying or writing something that could also be expressed in a literal way. Consequently, most authors ignored the possibility of metaphors being represented in other modes besides the verbal. Cognitive theorists, by contrast, proposed that metaphor is a property of thought

rather than of language and that it is about ‘understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’ [54, p. 5]. According to this view, the mechanisms underlying metaphor exist in the mind independently of language, and what used to be referred to as a metaphor is now considered to be simply the surface realization of a particular way of thinking. Hence, any form of communication can be seen as an instance of metaphor, if it is able to induce a metaphoric thought or concept [31, p. 76].

Lakoff argues that conceptual metaphor is perceived as the original image of the relevant culture, while metaphorical expressions are simply a verbal-linguistic reflection of that image [3, p. 78]. The frequent use of metaphor to represent this complex phenomenon can be explained through metaphor’s ability to ‘represent the unknown, unresolved or problematic in terms of something more familiar and more easily imaginable’ [11, p. 220]. As Pollio points out, what is considered to be known and unknown is always relative to an individual speaker, in a specific setting, in a particular culture, in a given historical period. Metaphors can thus be seen as indicators of the culturally shared preoccupations of the moment [31, p. 84]. Lakoff and Johnson’s claim that metaphor is not just a matter of language but an essential feature of our mind gives full relevance to the opinion that in addition to language, conceptual metaphor can manifest itself in other, non-verbal modes of communication [26, p. 117-118].

Langacker defines metaphor as “the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially mapped onto a different experiential domain, the second domain being partially understood in term of the first one” [56, p. 21]. A metaphor consists of a topic, or ‘target’, and of a vehicle, a ‘source’ – that to which the target is metaphorically compared. Thus, in ‘love is a battlefield’, ‘love’ is the target, ‘battlefield’ the source [11, p. 212]. Under these tenets, we can then define metaphor as an ontological mapping across conceptual domains [54, p. 192]. A mapping is a fixed set of conceptual correspondences between a source domain and a target domain. Lakoff describes the relationship between both domains as a function where specific features of the source are mapped onto the target domain. For instance, abstract concepts such as

time are often conceptualized in terms of money, as in “You are wasting my time” [54, p. 7], thus yielding the metaphor TIME IS MONEY. The mapping, however, can be:

1) asymmetric, i.e. the conceptual structure is projected in the target domain rather than in the source domain;

2) partial, i.e. only some features of the source domain are transferred onto the target domain;

3) unidirectional, so that, LOVE is usually understood in terms of JOURNEY, but the opposite never happens. [56, p. 21]

Following Forceville, different types of interaction between source and target domains in polycode texts can be distinguished:

a) Only one domain is expressed visually (i.e. replacement). Sometimes one of the images –generally the source image– is absent.

b) The two domains are expressed separately (i.e. juxtaposition)

c) The two domains are visually integrated (i.e. fusion). It has been noted that this form of interaction is very common in political cartoons, since caricatures often overlay the features of a famous personality onto any being or object [66, p. 368].

The recent research on metaphoricity tends to shift focus from metaphor being used exclusively in verbal texts to discourses where language, i.e. verbal expressions are one of the communicative modes [28, p. 119]. This involves a distinction between monomodal and multimodal metaphors. Monomodal metaphors are those whose target and source are rendered in one mode. On the contrary, multimodal metaphors are metaphors whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes. In Koller’s terms, a multimodal metaphor is constituted by a mapping, or blending, of domains from different modes [56, p. 26]. Forceville argues that if verbal metaphors are manifestations rather than reduplications of thought, one of these manifestations may be non-verbal or pictorial. Unlike monomodal metaphors, such as the prototypical verbal metaphors, non-verbal metaphors often have targets and/or sources that are cued in more than one mode simultaneously [28, p. 119].

Forceville, who has analysed pictorial metaphor in advertisements and on billboards, defines a visual metaphor in terms of the replacement of an expected visual element by an unexpected one. In order to speak of a metaphor, he argues, there must be no pre-existent or conventional connection between these two elements [31, p. 80]. In political cartoons visual metaphors not only highlight similarities between two different objects but they encourage us to view things in a completely new way and thus re-conceptualize reality. Visual metaphors are frequently more specific than words since they capture shades of meaning that would be difficult to convey through language only. Metaphors are regarded as "rhetorical constructions that condense features and define realities in a particularly potent fashion" [46, p. 454].

In his study of advertisements, Forceville has discovered that here, too, the topics of pictorial metaphors are often pictorially absent; in such cases, he believes, the context assumes a particularly important role in determining the meaning of a visual metaphor. Forceville distinguishes between pictorial context, linguistic context and what he terms world knowledge or encyclopedic knowledge. He bases his theory of linguistic context on Roland Barthes' perceptive and a theory of text-image relations. Barthes' main argument is that the meaning of images is always related to a linguistic message. The most common function of the linguistic message is what he calls 'anchorage': because images are by nature 'polysemous', implying 'a "floating chain" of signifieds', language is needed in order to fix both the denoted and the connoted meanings of the visual by identifying and interpreting what the image is showing [31, p. 85-86].

Forceville distinguishes four types of visual metaphors:

a) In a contextual metaphor, although target and source are identifiable from visual information alone, no verbal anchoring being necessary for this, full interpretation may require the contextual information.

b) In a hybrid metaphor the target and the source are physically merged into a unified object.

c) In a pictorial simile the similarity between target and source is suggested by the formal resemblance between the two images.

d) In an integrated metaphor a unified object is represented in its totality in such a way that it resembles another object even without contextual clues [66, p. 368-369].

Lakoff and Johnson classify conceptual metaphors into structural, orientational or ontological. Structural metaphors involve a cross-domain mapping of similar correspondences (e.g., ARGUMENT IS WAR). Orientational metaphors regard spatial orientations (e.g., HAPPY IS UP). Ontological metaphors are limited to bodily experiences, entailing the projection of an entity or an aspect of a substance upon something which does not have that aspect (e.g., CANCER IS AN ENEMY) [3, p. 71]. However, in a later edition this classification is rejected by the authors: The division of metaphors into three types was artificial. All metaphors are structural (in that they map structures to structures); all are ontological (in that they create target domain entities); and many of them are orientational (in that they map orientational image-schemas) [56, p. 23].

Conceptual metaphors are also classified into primary and complex metaphors. Primary metaphors map abstract concepts onto universal sensory-motor experiences and therefore are easily grasped and widely used (e.g., THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS). Primary conceptual metaphors are less culture-specific and therefore are better candidates for universals. Contrarily, complex metaphors are susceptible to culture-specific influences (e.g., EUROPE IS A HOUSE). Still, Kövecses posits that there are wide discrepancies between any two cultures, and therefore many conceptual metaphors as rendered as culture-specific. Moreover, a metaphor may constitute a generic schema which can be filled out differently across cultures [3, p. 71].

According to Haught, there are three models to account for metaphor comprehension. In the first model metaphors are understood as implicit similes through a process of matching those properties which the author intends to map onto the target. In the comparison model, literal categories of metaphor target and topic play a key role

in the way the metaphor is interpreted. A base knowledge of sets of metaphorical correspondences between abstract and concrete domains is needed for metaphor interpretation. McGlone and Glucksberg postulate the categorisation model, which claims that whilst similes are understood through comparison, metaphors are categorisation statements which are understood via dual reference - the process through which as a metaphor becomes conventionalised, its source or vehicle becomes polysemous. Sometimes metaphors and similes convey incompatible meanings. Aptness is the determining factor of processing mechanisms. Metaphors are always understood via categorisation, whereas inapt metaphors and similes are understood as comparisons. Aptness, thus, becomes a prerequisite of conventionalisation. The third model postulates that the interpretation mechanism for metaphors depends on the conventionalisation process of a metaphor: whilst novel metaphors are understood via comparison, they can also be processed through categorisation as they conventionalise [56, p. 23-24].

Kövecses states that conceptual metaphor is one of the linguistic strategies which help audience to understand, support, and agree on the content of political speeches. Jeffery and Katz contend that conceptual metaphors render abstract complicated political views uncritically accepted. Metaphor is also basically ideological. Lakoff maintains that conceptual metaphors help people to have a better understanding of ideological values in political speeches. Mammadov argues that conceptual metaphor ‘helps to identify the hidden meanings of the various subsystems functioning within these systems (formation of mind, means of formation of the culture and the ideology of society, preservation of the cultural-historical experience)’ [3, p. 71].

The cognitive dimension of political metaphor subsumes two aspects. Firstly, metaphor is a means of framing and expressing political issues. In this sense, metaphor is a device to construct the political reality. Secondly, political metaphors reify abstractions. As Mio and Katz remark, “politics, being an abstract entity, rely heavily on metaphors to make concepts more tangible” [56, p. 35].

Ritchie debated that in a metaphor several associated fields interact with each other and the products of this interaction. These associated fields are all mini narratives; when one element of a narrative is expressed, this evokes the whole narrative and the ones connected. Metaphors are “invitations to action and narratives are users’ manuals for putting metaphors into action and for learning to work with and through metaphors. In a similar view Musolff introduces metaphoric scenarios: “a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about “typical” aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the “dramatic” storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc.” [63, p. 16]. Metaphor scenarios are cognitively, emotionally, and politically important as they enable the speakers to not only apply source to target concepts but to draw on them to build and to ‘spin out’ these narratives into emergent discourse traditions that are characteristic of their respective community. By identifying metaphorical scenarios, it can be determined which aspects of metaphorical mapping can be designated to be prominent in public discourse for a particular topic area at a particular time [63, p. 16]. Metaphors help to frame and organize our shared narratives and are probably amongst the most effective framing devices. They can be used by experts and the media to shape visions of the past and/or future and to affect our social and political actions in the present [63, p. 17].

1.2.2 The use of metonymy in political cartoons

While rather neglected at the very onset of cognitive linguistic research, metonymy has gradually begun to be considered an equally important cognitive device for influencing the way we think. Many authors have claimed that it is a cognitive phenomenon that may be even more fundamental than metaphor. Although disagreements still arise among cognitive linguists concerning many unresolved issues surrounding metonymy as a cognitive mechanism, it has now been widely accepted that

metonymy plays a crucial part in the motivation of numerous conceptual metaphors. Unlike metaphor, which entails a mapping between two conceptual domains, where the source is used to structure the target, metonymy, on the other hand, is, according to the standard cognitive linguistic view, understood as a conceptual projection whereby one domain is partially understood in terms of another domain included in the same experiential domain [28, p. 118].

A metaphor is a mapping between two different conceptual domains, while a metonymy is a domain-internal conceptual mapping. Although metonymy has so far attracted less attention than metaphor, its ubiquity has been highlighted by some scholars. Kövecses provided a taxonomy of metonymic mappings based on a set of 'metonymy-producing relationships', i.e. generic principles motivating metonymies. Some metonymies are based on the part-whole organization of a domain, while others involve part-for-part relationships, i.e. one subdomain within a domain stands for another subdomain within the same domain [66, p. 367].

Metonymy is an organizational principle that fulfills the function of reduction; it strives to convey some incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible. According to Burke, metonymic reduction overlaps upon synecdochic representation, in that the reduction of a complex entity to a simple form necessarily requires that the latter somehow represent the former. On a simplistic level, metonymy is a part of all political cartoons; within the limitations of a single panel, victims are diminished to mere depictions, which are crude at best and which serve to "represent" reductively the actual individuals. At the same time, however, metonymy also is capable of operating on a more complex level [10, p. 55].

Ruiz de Mendoza and Otał suggest two types of metonymy based on the domain-internal nature of metonymic mappings:

a) Source-in-target metonymies are those in which the source domain is a subdomain of the target domain. They involve domain expansion.

b) Target-in-source metonymies are those in which the target is a subdomain of the source, for example the metonymies based on part-for-part relationship and those based on other frames like the product and the location frames. They involve domain reduction and the consequent highlighting of part of a domain [66, p. 367].

Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez examine the patterns that arise when two metonymies work in combination. Since metonymy is based on domain-inclusion relationships where the source may be a subdomain of the target or the target a subdomain of the source, metonymy consists of domain expansion and reduction operations. Four double metonymy types can be put forward:

1. Double domain reduction, as in *Wall Street is in panic*. This pattern, illustrated by the double metonymy *PLACE FOR INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE (RELATED TO THE INSTITUTION)*, involves two subsequent reductions of the source domain (people).

2. Double domain expansion, as in *His sister heads the policy unit*. This type of mapping involves two subsequent expansions of the source domain, i.e. *HEAD FOR LEADER FOR LEADING*.

3. Domain reduction and domain expansion, as in *Proust is on the top shelf*. This pattern combines a target-in-source metonymy, *AUTHOR FOR WORK* –Proust standing for one of his novels, and a source-in-target metonymy, *WORK FOR MEDIUM*– the novel standing for the format in which it is presented.

4. Domain expansion and domain reduction, as in *He has too much lip*. This type of mapping combines a source-in-target metonymy, *INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION* –the lip standing for the speaking action– and a target-in-source metonymy, *ACTION FOR ABILITY* –the action of speaking standing for a person’s persuasiveness [66, p. 367-368].

Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal propose four patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy:

1. Metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source, as in “to close one’s eyes to the facts”. The eye-closing action in the metaphoric source domain is metonymically expanded onto a situation in which a person closes his eyes in order to ignore a problem or situation.

2. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target, as in “to clear one’s throat”. The correct interpretation of the idiom requires setting up a metaphoric correspondence between clearing one’s throat (the source) and coughing (the target). The result of this metaphoric mapping is then expanded by means of a metonymy, coughing being understood as a sign to attract the audience’s attention.

3. Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target, as in “to pay lip service”. One of the aspects within the source domain (‘payment’) is mapped onto ‘service with the lips’ in the target domain and then reduced by means of a metonymy. The expression ‘lip service’ means ‘providing support’. Literally, that support is provided with the ‘lips’, which metonymically stand for the speaking capacity. The implication is that, if help is provided only verbally, then it is not provided with real acts, which would be the suitable way to do it.

4. Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric source, as in “to stand up on one’s hind legs”. This metonymy only affects one of the elements of the source domain which is then projected upon a target domain in which a person stands up energetically to argue something in public [66, p. 369].

1.2.3 Conceptual blending theory

Conceptual Blending Theory is another critical component of theoretical apparatus employed in the current analyses [53, p. 121]. Blending, as a development of mental spaces theory, describes how cues prompt the selective activation of embodied knowledge, such as domains, through simulation, into temporary mental spaces that build in-the-moment multimodal understandings of prompts [8, p. 547]. Mental spaces are a partial and temporary representational structure that speakers construct when

thinking or talking about a perceived, imagined, past, present, or future situation [63, p. 17]. Mental spaces are conceptual packages of knowledge that accommodate relevant and optimal information to given contexts in interlocutors' mind, as discourse in focus unfolds. The knowledge accommodated by mental spaces is free from physical constraints with regard to, for example, indexical accessibility (i.e., temporal/spatial constraints etc.) and also is freely paired up with another package of knowledge profiled in cognizers' mind. The 'pairing' process is called mapping and the mapping process generates emergent meanings [53, p. 121].

These mental spaces are sets of activated neuronal assemblies and can be described by three main characteristics:

- a) they can be interconnected in working memory;
- b) they can be modified dynamically;
- c) they contain elements structured by frames.

Mental spaces are divided in structures called input spaces. We can use input spaces to create new realities that are not exactly in the inputs but are derived from them. The emergent structure of this cognitive creation is the blended space or the blend [67, p. 5].

The theory of conceptual blending states that the mapping process is not only about the mapping of the properties of the source domain to the target domain, but that the knowledge of both domains together can create new meaning. Therefore, the theory of conceptual blending makes use of a four-space model mostly that together form the conceptual integration model. This model consists of two 'input' spaces (a reality space and a pretence space), a 'generic space', and a 'blend' space. The two input spaces can be associated with the source and target domain distinguished by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the generic space represents the conceptual structure that is shared by both inputs and in the blend space the two input spaces interact and are combined [63, p. 18]. The purpose of the generic space is to define at a very high level the nature of the structures internal to the three other spaces [55, p. 4]. Subsequently the construction of

the blended cognitive model includes structure and elements from multiple input models, whereby new meaning is created [63, p. 18].

As Turner & Fauconnier note, blending is a general cognitive operation, operating over categorization, the making of hypotheses, inference, and the origin and combining of grammatical constructions. Blending can be detected in everyday language, idioms, creative thought in mathematics, evolution of socio-cultural models, jokes, advertising, and other aspects of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour [61, p. 5].

A range of techniques are used to indicate blending in political cartoons, among which are the following:

- language from one input and an image from the other;
- juxtaposition of two images and potentially associated language;
- merger of language from the two inputs;
- merger of images from the two inputs.

Just like linguistic blends, blends in political cartoons can display emergent properties, properties that are not drawn from either of the input spaces, but rather are specific to the blend itself [6, p. 6].

Coulson and Oakley have argued that the conceptual integration network should include some device for accounting for local contextual aspects which affect meaning construction. They propose a model of blending which includes a Presentation space, which elicits a mental scenario that functions to evoke the other reference space, a Reference space, which represents a facet of the situation that is the present focus of attention of the discourse participants, and a Blended space. In addition, they include a Grounding box, which contains the analyst's list of important contextual assumptions, specifying basic discoursal elements such as Participants, Forum, or medium and Circumstances. According to Coulson and Oakley, the derived meaning of the utterance develops out of the contextual information described in the grounding box and the mental spaces in the network [59, p. 6].

Fauconnier and Turner develop in a precise way how the blend emerges out of the input spaces. They mention the *composition*, i.e., we can compose elements to provide relations that do not exist in the inputs separately; the *completion*, i.e., we can bring additional structures (familiar frames) to the blend to interpret a richer pattern; and finally, the elaboration, the running of the blend modifies it imaginatively [33, p. 67-68]. As we run the blend, we establish a connection across spaces and this yields a flash of comprehension. Nevertheless, anything fused in the blend projects to counterparts in the input spaces. One important characteristic of the blend is that it does not matter how odd the resulting blend is or how far it is from any possible scenario; writers, cartoonists, etc. use them to represent new –possible or impossible–mental realities in life, art, culture or science [67, p. 5-6].

SUMMARY

Political cartoon is a multifaceted phenomenon. It can be studied from various perspectives as it represents a unique item for analysis. Political cartoons are multimodal creolized texts as they combine both verbal and visual modes in them. Such a structure allows the cartoonists to blend various sources to create a cartoon as well as it provokes multiple interpretations from the side of the audience.

The political cartoon constitutes a very specific genre, with its own history, distinctive styles, conventions and communicative purposes. As far as the political cartoons are concerned, there is no universally acknowledged definition of the term, however, the one comprising the most popular definitions of different scholars will be that a political cartoon is an artistic creation, a form of social commentary, typically in a form of a single panel, which employs symbols, allusions, metaphors, etc. in order to represent a humorous point of view, engage public in the discussion of certain political event or person and manipulate public opinion about this event or this person.

Historically, political cartoons originated in 16th century and the term was used interchangeably with caricature from then on. Even nowadays there is no a strict distinction between cartoon and caricature, however, we consider caricature to be a peculiar feature of a political cartoon. Among the other typical features are the following: multimodality, use of allusions and humor, reactivity to recent political events, subjectivity, openness to interpretation, wide use of cognitive mechanisms, such as conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends, etc.

In the 20th century there has been a great interest to the study of creolized texts especially from the point of view of cognitive linguistics. From a cognitive point of view, cartoonists use their imagination to create a new mental reality. Political cartoons provide the ideal site for ‘creativity’ as innovation and recontextualization involve the interaction of various cognitive mechanisms, for example, such as metaphor and blending.

Metaphor is a rhetorical device that performs the function of perspective, allowing us to see something in terms of something else. From the cognitive perspective, a metaphor is a process of mapping qualities of one domain (called the source domain) onto the other domain (called the target domain) in order to explain the target domain using the language, concepts and allusions which are usually attributed to the source domain.

Another important cognitive mechanism which is often used in political cartoons is metonymy. Metonymy plays a crucial part in the process of creating conceptual metaphors. Metonymy is similar to a metaphor as two domains are also employed in it, however, instead of taking one thing for another, however, in case of metonymy one domain is represented through the other, which may constitute a part of the domain which is represented.

Conceptual blending also deals with domains which are usually called 'mental spaces' in conceptual integration theories. The difference is that blending usually leads to the creating of a totally new mental space which may either integrate the all qualities of all the input spaces, integrate the qualities partially, or completely transform the implied meanings which results into a creation of a new concept.

The cartoonists employ all of the above mentioned processes in the cartoon creation. Quite often, various conceptual domains are integrated in a blend or metaphor construction in order to transmit certain messages or connotations to the public and shape readers' opinions. However, it is important to note that the cartoons are open for interpretation and the message the reader gets from it often depends on how the reader interprets different parts of the cartoon on their own and in their integrity, as well as it depends on the intellectual level of the reader and the cartoonist. Thus, the study and analysis of cognitive mechanisms and their function and interpretation in political cartoons may help understand how to properly code the message into the cartoon with the help of these mechanisms in order to help the audience properly decode them.

POLITICAL CARTOONS FRAMING THE TRUMP'S IMPEACHMENT SCANDAL

2.1. Cartoon representation of Trump's impeachment process: historical timeline of events

January this year Donald Trump has become the 3rd president to face the impeachment trial in the US. The trial has started on January 16, 2020, and the final sitting took place on February, 5. The events leading to the trial, however, are said to have started long time before the actual trial took place [25].

There exist multiple conspiracy theories connected with Trump's presidency at large. However, the major event which has led to the later submitted impeachment inquiry is a telephone call, which took place July 25, 2019, between Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy and the US President Donald Trump. Unfortunately for the presidents, but a whistleblower complaint was submitted alleging the President abused his power for political gain by targeting a potential election opponent [41].

On September 24, 2019, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi announces that the House is moving forward with an official impeachment inquiry, saying, "No one is above the law." Shortly afterwards the White House released an official script of the telephone conversation between the two presidents. It was then confirmed that Donald Trump asked for a *quid pro quo* from Zelenskiy: the US financial aid which earlier had been suspended due to corruption issues was offered to be released in exchange to an open investigation of Biden's affairs. Joe Biden decided to run for president in 2020 US election and became Trump's main opponent. His son, Hunter Biden, was a board member of the Ukrainian natural gas company Burisma Holdings at that time, and Trump hoped that following the investigation against his son his main rival would withdraw from the race [75].

On September 5, 2019, The Washington Post reported for the first time a possible link between the cut security aid and an investigation into Biden [41]. Then the House Intelligence, Foreign Relations, and Oversight committees, all led by Democrats,

announced an investigation into President Trump's requests to Zelenskyy on the July 25, 2019 call, and the committees accused Trump of withholding the security aid for political reasons [75].

On October 31, 2019, the House passed an impeachment resolution retroactively making the impeachment investigation approved by the full House [41]. On November 13 the House Intelligence Committee opens two weeks of public hearings with a dozen current and former career foreign service officials and political appointees who testify about efforts by Trump and others to pressure Ukraine to investigate Trump's political rivals. Among those who testified, were William Taylor, the charge d'affaires in Kyiv, and Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch [75]. Among the important testimonies was the one of Sondland, the now formed EU Ambassador from the US. He says he took Trump at his word that there was no quid pro quo with Ukraine. He will later return to Capitol Hill to partially or fully reverse that testimony [76].

No witness testified that President Trump himself directed that either the White House visit or the security aid be conditioned on the two requested investigations, but that Giuliani, Trump's personal lawyer, made the directive on Trump's behalf instead — leaving it unclear if the President desired a quid pro quo. Nevertheless, most witnesses testified that the President's requests alone were improper, whether or not they were a part of a quid pro quo [41].

On December 3, the intelligence committee releases a report contending that Trump “abused the power of his office for personal and political gain, at the expense of the US national security”. The impeachment inquiry is referred to the judiciary committee [76].

In the following trials, the Democrats headed by Pelosi accused Trump of abuse of power and of obstruction of justice, over charges that he threatened the integrity of U.S. elections and endangered national security in his dealings with Ukraine [75]. The articles of impeachment were voted on in separate majority votes, with most Democrats voting in favor and all Republicans voting against. On December 13, 2019, the House

Committee on the Judiciary ended the impeachment inquiry by approving the two above-mentioned articles of impeachment [41].

On January 16, 2020, the Senate formally began consideration of the articles of impeachment. The Senate trial continued into February. Legislators from the House of Representatives presented the case for impeachment, while White House lawyers presented President Trump's defense. On February 5, 2020, the Senate acquitted President Trump 52-48 on abuse of power and 53-47 on obstruction of Congress [41].

2.2 Construction of humor in political cartoons

One of the definition of cartoons presents them as 'drawn jokes'. Cartoons often convey messages thorough humorous representation which facilitation perception of the message by the audience. In addition, when political leaders are presented in humorous settings, they may be sympathized by the readers, thus, the use of humor in political cartoons contributed to their functionality and ability to manipulate public opinion.

Cartoons are jokes told in picture. Given their multimodal nature, the visual and verbal elements employ various degree of interaction to code a message of the cartoonist. Even though cartoons are often perceived more as a picture than text, the verbal element is not less important when interpreting humor in cartoons. The further analysis is based on the assumption that the verbal and visual modes in a given cartoon may or may not interact in the process of humor creation. Thus, the cartoon samples have been categorized as follows:

- 1) Cartoons based on verbal humor solely. These are cartoons where humor is understandable even without the picture. The image plays a supportive role in the humor creation process.
- 2) Cartoons based on visual humor. These cartoons comprise samples opposite to the previous category. The picture itself represents a joke and a verbal element is not necessary to decode it.
- 3) Cartoons based on a combination of verbal and visual humor.

Cartoons based on verbal humor

In the cartoons of the first category, only language is responsible for the construction of humor. The image part of the cartoon may provide some background information.



Figure 1. *Trump's Quid Pro Quo.*

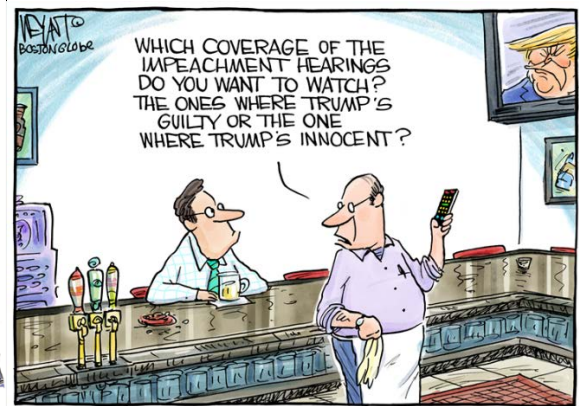


Figure 2. *Fox Skews*

In Fig. 1, the situation presumably is that Trump is making an official statement regarding the Ukraine scandal with an advisor to his right. However, each statement he makes worsens the situation as it is basically a confession in committing a crime. The advisor tries to save the situation, however, does not succeed and finally exclaims *Just stop talking*. This cartoon does not have a punch line because the whole dialogue seems to consist of jab lines. First of all, Trump is contradictory in his statements from the beginning. When accused of *quid pro quo*, he denies it by saying *It was pure and simple bribery*. As we can see this part of the dialogue represents humor constructed with the help of irony. The further development of the cartoons employs perspective of incongruity for humor construction. The image of the president as the head of the country, a wise and clever man, an honest and responsible person, is completely different from what one sees at the picture. Particularly, this discrepancy is enhanced by the very last words of the advisor which show his disrespect towards the President and make the latter look like a puppet manipulated by some council who cannot even make a statement unless it is prepared in advanced by knowledgeable people.

Another cartoon (Fig.2) depicts a situation in a bar where the bartender asks a client which version of the news he wants to listen to. Humor is constructed completely by the phrase of the bartender. The image of the bar serves as setting for the scene, however, an analogous conversation may take place in practically any other setting. The humor is constructed with the help of sarcasm. By asking which coverage the client wants to hear, the bartender basically says that whatever he chooses, they won't here truthful information. The incongruity is also present in the cartoon. The question of the bartender reads an indifferent tone while he is talking about outrageous things. The personages of the cartoon have no interest in the impeachment story as they seem to have put up with the fact that the outcome is already predicted and this all is no more than a performance to entertain public and attract media attention to certain people in the administration.

In both cases, humor appears in the cartoon text, while the picture only supports the dialogue between the cartoon characters. One can easily read the piece of text itself as a joke and completely understand it. The humorous mechanisms identified in the data under investigation are exaggerations, irony, sarcasm and incongruity.

Cartoons based on visual humor

A few cartoons in the data under examination are based solely on their picture to create the humorous effect. Sometimes they do contain verbal elements, however, once they are removed, the meaning of the cartoon remains clear as well.



Figure 3. *Trump's impeachment trial* Figure 4. *Trump Ties Republicans*

In Fig. 3, President Trump is depicted in an exaggerated form, he also resembles an elephant by his shape and posture. His hair makes up a trunk of the elephant while his tie serves as a tail. We may suggest that Trump through such a visual transformation metonymically refers to the Republican party. The elephant is about to tread on the tribune with a judge who is depicted as Uncle Sam, who as we may assume metonymically represents the values of the US. The play with the sizes of the depicted figures adds to the humorous effect of the cartoon.

Another cartoon (Fig. 4) uses similar images as means of humor construction. An elephant figure in a suit is tangled by Trump's red tie. The elephant may refer as much to the Senate as to the Republican party whose members constitute the Senate majority. The elephant looks grumpy and scared while Trump is quite satisfied and a bit obnoxious. An interesting element is the end of Trump's tie as it is curved with an arrow looking end as if it were some kind of curve representing a certain economic factor on a chart. The peculiarity of cartoons based on visual humor is that their interpretation is not restricted by the verbal elements. Basically, as in case with the verbal humor one can imagine any other setting for the joke to take place, visual elements of the cartoons from the second category imply multiple interpretations from the audience. For example, this curved tie tip may refer to the Trump's motto "Make America Great Again", thus the fact that the tie is pointing to the top means that Trump's actions are actually benefiting the US economy. Alternatively, this element may be interpreted as the rises and downfalls of Trump's popularity ratings. Obviously, the impeachment process attracted a lot of attention to the figure of the President which is an advantage taking into account the upcoming elections in 2020. The humor in the second cartoon is created with the help of analogy and incongruity. President Trump being the representative of the Republican party himself should have their support without such totalitarian methods. Besides, the way in which Trump is portrayed does not add him authority and rather causes misunderstanding as one may be puzzled by the fact how such an individual (not quite fit or intelligent) may control one of the US most powerful political parties.

By playing with well-known images, the discussed cartoons belong to the nonverbal cartoons of the dataset, in which humor is produced exclusively by visual means. The humor here is created mainly with the help of analogy, exaggeration and incongruity.

Cartoons based on a combination of verbal and visual humor

Cartoons based on combination of the two modes for humor construction represent the most common category of the cartoons. However, the examination of the data and interpretation of cartoons becomes a more complicated and not so straightforward issue in these cases. The interaction of the two semiotic modes often seems either to enhance the humorous effect or to produce a humorous effect via the juxtaposition of contradicting verbal and visual elements. Thus, we can further separate the cartoons of this category into the cartoons where the two modes are contradictive which produces the humorous effect and the cartoons where the two modes are combined to enhance the humorous effect.

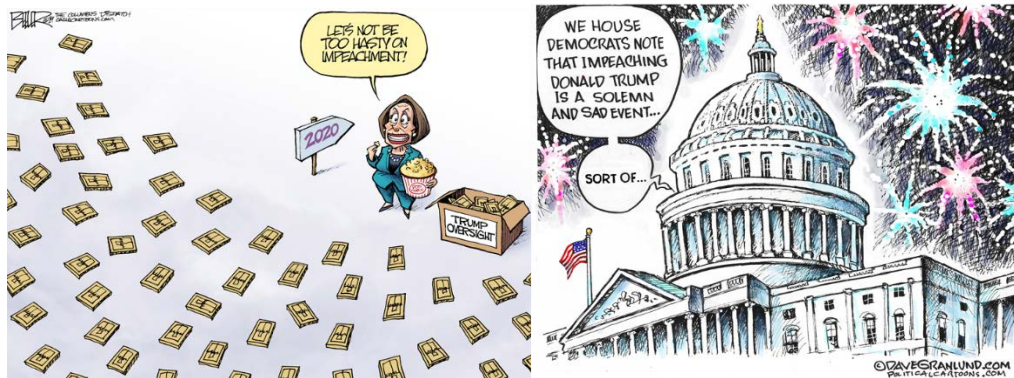


Figure 5. *Pelosi and Impeachment* Figure 6. *Solemn and sad impeachment*

Fig. 5 represents a clear contradiction between the verbal and visual modes. In the picture, the Capitol building surrounded by beautiful and colorful fireworks which implies certain celebration taking place. The captions, however, contradicts the image as they refer to the impeachment process as *a sad and solemn event*. Metonymically, the building this time represents the Democratic party whose representatives constitute part of the Congress. This is supported by *We House Democrats* in the captions, which

makes an allusion to the Constitution Preamble *We The People*. Also, the *we* pronoun creates the feeling of reconciliation with the Democratic party and identifies Trump and the Republican party as aliens, others, not belonging to the group which in turn helps to create positive feelings towards the Democrats and negative ones towards Trump. It is also worth mentioning that one of the means of creating humor in this cartoon is irony which is manifested by the additional phrase *Sort of* in captions.

In Fig. 6, Nancy Pelosi is portrayed planting the mousetraps around on the path to the year 2020. These traps are labelled as *Trump oversight*. While doing this, Pelosi says *Let's not be too hasty on impeachment*, which clearly contradicts her actions. One more vivid detail is a popcorn buckets Pelosi is holding in her hands. Clearly, as the head of the Democratic party, Pelosi is one of Trump's most active opponents. She was the one who filled the impeachment inquiry and as a prosecutor she had to gather evidence of Trump's crimes and misdemeanors. However, even if it was her most desirable thing in the world to have Trump impeached, she could not let the public believe that she is somehow prejudiced or not objective. Thus, the humorous perspective in this cartoons is created with the means of incongruity between the public image and real desires which are represented in an exaggerated manner in the cartoon. The inputs of visual and verbal modes contradict each other which contributes to the humor construction and helps to create the incongruity.



Figure 7. *Impeachment Report*

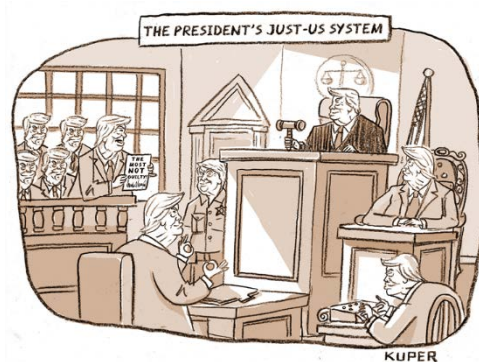


Figure 8. *Trump impeachment Just Us*

Another cartoon (Fig. 7) represents an ostrich with the elephant's head. Obviously, the elephant metonymically depicts the Republican party. This cartoon employs a conceptual blend which is based on the metaphor REPUBLICAN PARTY IS OSTRICH. The humorous perspective is created with the help of analogy and conceptual blending. As it has already been mentioned, the blend integrates the images of the Republican party and the ostrich comparing them to one another. In the picture, the elephant's head is below the surface which is a well-known trait of an ostrich – to hide its head as a mechanism of survival and hiding. At the same time, the elephant says *Impeachment charges don't hold up if you look beneath the surface*. This phrase, taken separately, can be interpreted as *if you look into the facts and dig deeper into the situation you will understand that the charges do not correspond to the reality and neither abuse of power nor obstruction of justice could possibly happen*. However, the phrase *beneath the surface* combined with the mental space of an ostrich hiding its elephant head evokes opposite connotations suggesting that *if you don't look too close, we may all avoid the mess with the impeachment trial*. Thus, the humor is based on pun – the incongruity between the literal meaning of the phrase *beneath the surface* and its indirect meaning. This pun is created with the help of the visual means mostly as they help to create contradiction on semiotic level.

The humor in a different cartoon (Fig. 8) is based mainly on a pun in the verbal part of the cartoon which is reinforced by the visual input. The captions of the cartoon state *The President's Just-us System*. The pun is based on homonymic similarity between the words *justice* and *just-us*. Also, the cartoon employs perspective of incongruity which is rendered with the help of the visual. The image depicts a courtroom where each person present is Donald Trump. The meaning of the picture can be interpreted as pointing at the corruptive actions and manipulations conducted by the President.

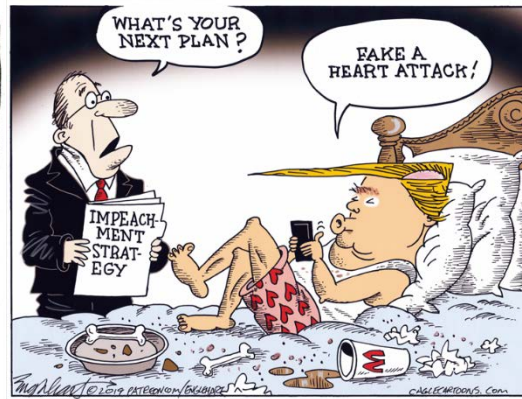
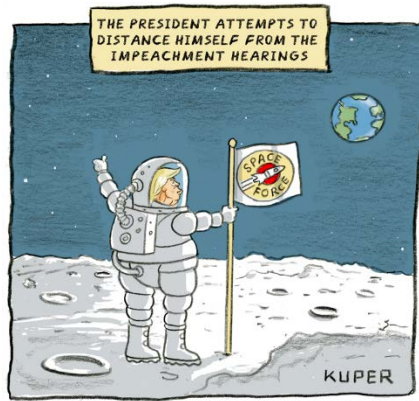


Figure 9. *Trump avoids Impeachment* Figure 10. *Trump's Health*

Similarly, in Fig 9 both verbal and visual elements are combined for humor construction. The caption is quite similar to some scandalous newspaper heading; it employs incongruity as the President cannot distance himself from the impeachment hearings. It is indeed in the President's best interests to follow the procedure closely so that to be able to take necessary actions when the need arises. The visual element of the cartoon enhances the verbal part by means of exaggeration. It also manipulates the reader into negative reception of Trump's actions as the caption *Space force* may evoke references to the Iran conflict.

The last example is Fig. 10. It employs the metaphor TRUMP IS A CHILD which is created with visual means mostly. Both the image and the captions are employed in humor construction. The humor in this cartoon is based on the perspective of incongruity. A serious government official approaches Trump to discuss his plans with regard to the impeachment process unfolding. This figure is contrasted with the President, who exhibits irresponsible and childish behavior. One may also suggest that Trump's bed in this picture is a representation of the US as it's his terrain. If we add Trump's motto *Make America Great again* in the picture, it is evident that irony is also employed here to create humorous perspective.

In short, in cases of exaggeration and contradiction, humor can be produced via the interaction of verbal and visual means. It could be claimed that, in the latter cases (Fig. 8,9,10), there is an enhancing or even complementary interaction of the two modes,

while, in the former (Fig. 5,6,7), there is a different kind of interaction, namely a counterpointing or even contradictory one. The visual elements and their interaction with verbal ones (if any) appear to be of critical importance for the construction of a humorous message, but also for its cognitive processing, namely its actual interpretation by cartoon readers.

2.3 Intertextuality and its manifestation in selected editorial cartoons

Political cartoons are designed to convey an opinion visually, briefly, and usually one that can be easily interpreted by readers. However, cartoons are heavily loaded with metaphors and symbols common to the culture they emerge in [18, p. 601]. In such a way, political cartoons challenge interpretive competence of their audience [73, p. 75]. In the analysis and interpretation of a cartoon, it is essential to consider not only the image and verbal elements (captions, labels, etc.) but also the local culture, which affect meaning construction [60, p. 4].

Intertextuality is one of the important means of constructing the cartoon scenario. Cartoons may make allusions to some familiar everyday situations (e.g. visit to the doctor), popular culture (e.g. books and movies), historical events and actors (e.g. a famous battle) which readers from specific regions can easily recognize [81, p. 2]. There are also international symbols which may be used in political cartoons in order to simplify their interpretation in multicultural societies.

Having analyzed the dataset of cartoons framing Trump's impeachment scandal, we have identified major sources of intertextuality listed as follows:

1. Christian scriptures (e.g. allusions to God and religion)
2. Famous American literature (e.g. themes, characters, etc. from novels, poetry, etc.)
3. Historical events and characters (apart from the ones actually participating in the present events)
4. Holidays and other important celebrations
5. Movies and television shows (title, characters and posters)

6. Proverbs and clichéd sayings, including quotations from famous songs

7. Symbols and symbolic characters

However, in most political cartoons several allusions are combined in order to create a complex message which will better convey the idea to the audience and manipulate their perception of a certain event or a person. Further analysis will be concluded to illustrate how intertextuality works in political cartoons and how the cartoonists create new references and new concepts by combining different points within one frame.

One of the most numerous and prosperous field for allusions comprises movies and literature. The US is a country where a lot of content is produced each year. However, a tendency to make allusions for only the most well-known films or books proven famous by time can be noticed.



Figure 11. *Pelosi Ponders Impeachment*

Figure 12. *Impeachment Letter*

One of the cartoons (Fig 11) portrays Nancy Pelosi in a classical Shakespearian setting: she is talking to a skull of a donkey (presumably) and reflecting on whether to impeach or not to impeach the President. This cartoon cover's several sources of intertextuality. Firstly, there is a clear reference to *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare. Secondly, the skull, though it is also part of the Shakespearian reference, may also be an allusion to the Democratic party as it resembles a donkey skull which is a symbol of the party. Thirdly, the cartoon refers to an exact event in the whole impeachment process, i.e. the time when Pelosi postponed submitting 2 impeachment articles to the Senate.

Another cartoon (Fig.12) which also makes a clear reference to literary work is a cartoon connected to Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1850 historical novel *The Scarlet Letter*.

According to the book, a scarlet letter was a symbol a sinner was supposed to wear to be differentiated from the ‘good’ people. The difference from the conventional story is that Trump have letter *I* on his puritan dress. The letter most probably means ‘impeachment’ or ‘impeached’. Actually, the use of this symbol is quite contradictory by its nature as the meaning of the scarlet letter transforms towards the end of the book, although it is highly possible that an average American does not know or remember the whole content of the book, only the symbolic meaning of the letter should be recognized.

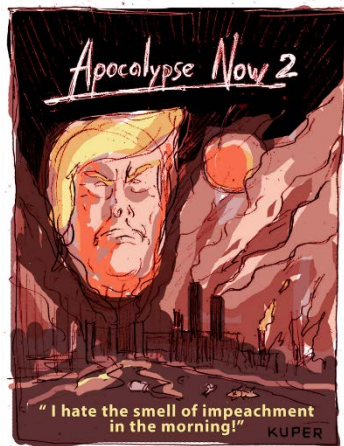


Figure 13. *Impeachment 3 Apocalypse 2*

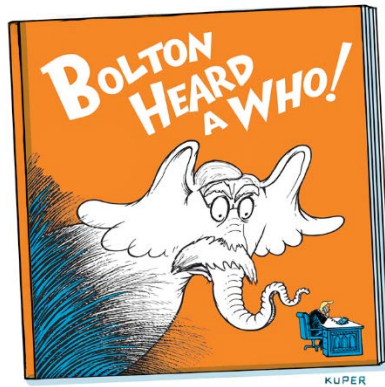


Figure 14. *Bolton's Book*

Quite interesting is the use of movie references in the cartoons. For example, one of the cartoons (Fig.13) has been designed as a poster to *Apocalypse Now 2*. A huge head of Donald Trump can be seen lit by the fire and chaos of the surrounding environment. The poster looks quite a lot like the original one, however, the fire from bomb explosion was changed to the exhaust fumes from the factory pipes. The whole picture seems to be the depiction of a trash container which Trump unwrapped for some reason, especially considering empty bottles and dead fish lying there. Through the allusion to the film *Apocalypse Now* and to the trash container, 2 complex metaphors are created: TRUMP'S PRESIDENCY IS APOCALYPSE and IMPEACHMENT IS A RUBBISH DUMP.

A similar tactic has been employed in one more cartoon (Fig.14). A poster for an animated cartoon *Horton hears a who!*. This film shows a story of Horton, an elephant,

who heard a yelp for help and discovered a totally new world with its inhabitants when he reacted to it. The play on words (Horton – Bolton) is used to create this allusion. Instead of the new world, the poster of the political cartoon portrays John Bolton, as an elephant Horton, eavesdropping to a secret conversation between President Trump and President Zelenskyi which gave a push to the whole impeachment story and helped to discover a whole new world of Trump’s misdemeanors. Thus, the title and the poster of the movie were used to create a reference to this story and transform it to reflect the real story which happened in the political setting.



Figure 15. *EU Ambassador Fired* Figure 16. *It's a Wonderful Lie*

Quite often if a cartoon is posted in a certain period of time, it makes references to the most important and easily recognizable holidays of that period. For example, many cartoons published in November portray Trump as a Thanksgiving turkey. Another set of cartoons uses allusions to Christmas. For example, Fig.15 depicts Sondland as Grinch, a character from a famous movie who is believed to have stolen Christmas. Here, a metaphor is also employed based on a comparison of their actions. SONDLAND IS GRINCH, because when he changed his testimony, he basically stole a victory from the hands of the Democratic party.

Another cartoon (Fig 16.) combines several major references. First of all, the scene is set in winter setting which may also reflect upon Christmas allusions. Another allusion is represented by the words above the scene *It's a wonderful lie*. This is a phrase from the song titled *It's a wonderful life* which also contains such words as *No need to*

run and hide, which can be applied to the impeachment situation. The cartoon depicts one more character whose image represents two allusions at once. Firstly, Mitch McConnell is portrayed as a devil with red skin, horns and a tail with an arrow-shaped tag. Such a depiction may be an attempt to manipulate the reader to believe that McConnell is the one actually in charge of the misdemeanors conducted by Trump. Another component of his portray is the clothes which are typical of those a private detective or a spy might wear. This creates a reference to McConnell’s successful tactics of eliminating the witnesses during the Senate trial to ensure that Trump will be acquitted.

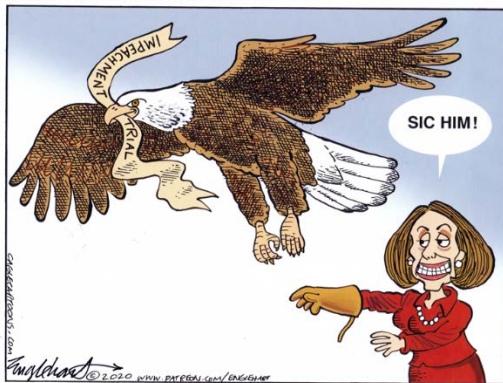


Figure 17. *Impeachment Trial*

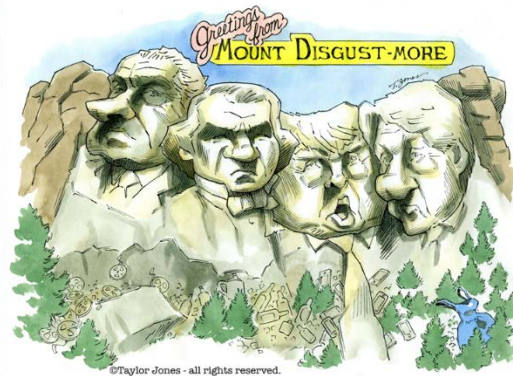


Figure 18. *Mount Disgustmore*

The prosperous source of intertextuality are the symbols of the US culture as they are easily identified, comprehended and interpreted by Americans from all walks of life. One of the cartoons (Fig.17), for example, portrays Nancy Pelosi letting off an eagle to chase Trump. The eagle is a famous bald eagle, symbol of freedom and justice in the USA. He is holding the “impeachment” ribbon in his beak transmitting a message that impeachment is a tool of seeking justice.

Another cartoon (Fig. 18) is a distorted image of Mount Rushmore, distinguishing mountain of 4 presidents. However, the face of Theodore Roosevelt, well-known for his anti-trust policies, is replaced with the face of Donald Trump. The noses of all the other presidents are deliberately exaggerated and the mountain name is changed to *Mount Disgust-more*, which is supposed to be the expression of the feeling three most famous

US presidents might have towards the current one. The foot of the mountain is filled with litter (old cellphones, empty bottles, etc.) transforming a popular sightseeing location to a dumpsite metaphorically representing what the country (or at least the administration) was transformed into during the time of Trump's presidency.

Another source of intertextuality is represented by recent historical, political, societal events. For example, Fig. 19 represents Trump staying in front of the impeachment wall, trying to jump over it. This is an allusion to the Mexican wall which is one of the main 'achievements' of Trump as the president. The scandal around the wall still exists and it has caused great public reaction both advocating for and against the construction. Here, the cartoonist uses the same concept of the wall but transforms it into an obstacle for Trump being a president.

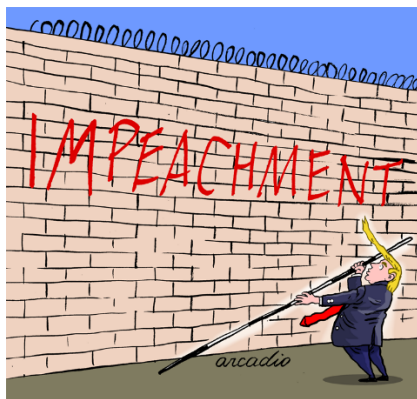


Figure 19. *Impeachment the real wall*



Figure 20. *Impeached Banana Art*

Another representative example is Fig. 20. The cartoon makes a reference to quite famous artwork *Comedian* created by Italian artist Maurizio Cattelan. The exhibit represents a banana taped to a wall with a piece of duct tape. The masterpiece has been sold for \$120k. This even caused a heated discussion at various media platforms and even led to the appearance of a flashmob called *#Cattelanbanana* where people from around the world represent their own variations of the artwork. The cartoon represents Trump's hair instead of the banana taped to the wall – this is a new artwork by Nancy Pelosi called *Impeachment banana*.

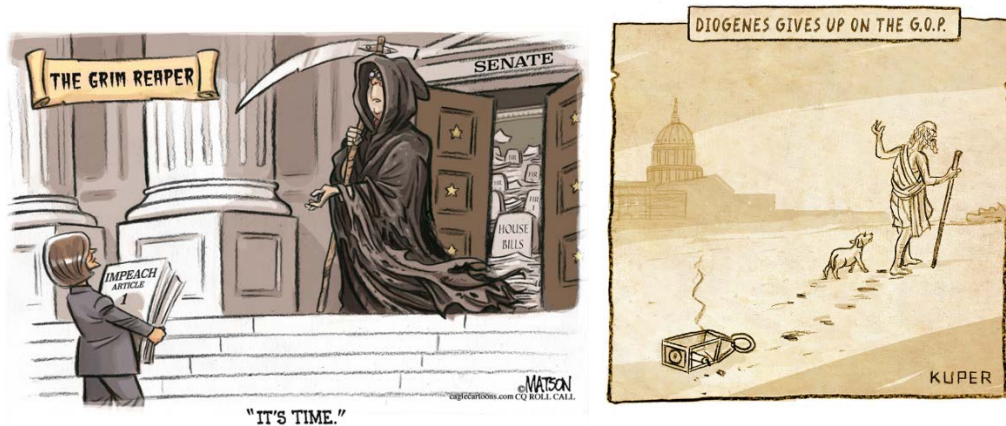


Figure 21. *Senator McConnell Is The Grim Reaper* Figure 22. *Diogenes*

One of the cartoon (Fig. 21) represents quite an interesting allusion. It depicts a figure of Death at the doorstep of the building of the Congress. The face of Mitch McConnell can be recognized under the hood of the figure. Behind Death, one can see loads of documents that are buried in (or by) the Senate, the same presumably can happen to the impeachment articles. Basically, this image of death may be referred to as a biblical allusion. There is also a phrase in captions *The Grim Reaper* which is a personification of Death, the symbolic image of Death which appeared in Europe during the 14th century, thus, making it a reference to the well-known symbols around the world. According to the legend, the grim reaper takes souls of people. This gloomy image is reinforced by the words *It's time* below the picture.

Another cartoon (Fig. 22) makes reference to an ancient Greek philosopher Diogenes. Diogenes is one of the founders of Cynic philosophy, he lived in poverty and criticized social values and the government for corruption. He was also carrying a lamp with him all the time, claiming that he was looking for an honest man. The cartoonist transfers his story to the modern US political setting showing that even though Diogenes tried hard to find a man of virtue in the Senate he could not, so he had to give up looking. In such a way, philosophy and history have become a source of intertextuality which helped to create a frame of representation of the Republican party so as to manipulate public opinion about it.

Cartoonists quite often try to change public opinion or communicate their own point of view on the issue. The easiest way to do that is to use the intertextuality source which is well-known to the audience to ensure proper decoding and understanding of the message. As it can be seen from the cartoons analyzed above, one of the most distinguishing references is an allusion to literary work or a movie, while the least represented were the allusions to Christian scriptures. We assume that biblical references are rarely implicated as they may offend feelings of the believers of a certain religion. The next source of intertextuality which was quite rarely used is represented by US symbols. Even though such cartoons are often the easiest to decode, they do not leave much space for interpretation, which puts them at one of the least used categories of referencing. The most common source has become the reference to literature and movies. This is justified by several aspects of such a source. Firstly, there are many famous artworks which one can refer to. Secondly, they allow much more space for interpretation and meaning transformation than any other sources. And the last but not the least, as books quite often become adapted into movies, both literature and film industry represent ready visual material for the cartoon. As in case with the *Scarlet letter* reference, only slight modification is required in order to create a new blend and new frame for the audience.

SUMMARY

Trump's impeachment process has become a major event which attracted lots of media attention. The audience has closely been following the unfolding of the process, so many resources have been employed to highlight any actions taken by everyone involved. Cartoons, in their turn, have become a great means of humorous and to a certain extent speculative representation of the impeachment process.

One of the definition of cartoons presents them as 'drawn jokes'. Cartoons often convey messages thorough humorous representation which facilitation perception of the message by the audience. Humor helps to convey important messages to the audience with ease. When political leaders are presented from humorous perspective, the audience may start to feel sympathetic towards them as well as humor helps to make these people closer and more familiar to the audience.

After the analysis of the given cartoon dataset, several conclusions concerning humor construction in them can be made. Three major types of cartoons can be distinguished based on the interaction of different modes in the cartoon and the degree to which these modes were used in the humor constructions process. The cartoons based on visual humor only constitute the rarest type of the cartoons with only 15,4% representation in the poll; the cartoons based solely on verbal humor are more common with 17,9% appearance in our sample set, whereas the cartoons based on both visual and verbal humor are the most common type of the cartoon (66,7%). The first type of the cartoons is very open to readers' interpretation as such cartoons are not constrained by any verbal means. Similarly, the second type of cartoons, basically, constitute a joke reinforced by an image situation, though the image can easily be replaced by a different one depicting another scenario. The last type of humor construction is the most common and was further subdivided into cartoons where humor is based on collaboration of visual and verbal elements and the ones where these elements are contradicting. As for the means of humor employed in the cartoons, the most common are the perspective of incongruity, exaggeration, pun and irony.

Political cartoons are designed to convey an opinion visually, briefly, and usually one that can be easily interpreted by readers. They are loaded with various symbols and references, making intertextuality one of the main characteristics of cartoons as a genre. Having analyzed the dataset, we have distinguished that the most common source of intertextuality are famous movies and books. First of all, both movies and books are full of images on their own, so the cartoon actors can easily be blended into a movie or book scenario. Secondly, they target huge audience with quite clear message. The cartoonists tend to use only the well-known and popular works so that they are easily recognizable by the audience. The use of US symbols is also very common visual element of the cartoon as they are very recognizable and help to create strong connotations with certain events or people. Several other sources of intertextuality have as well been distinguished after the analysis, however, they appear rarely in the cartoon. We assume that this is due to either unclear or no message they may send (as with songs), low recognizability or demand for high intellectual level of the reader (references to other cultures or historical events of low importance), or due to the fact that they may offend, for example, religious feelings of the audience (as in case with religious references).

All in all, both humor and intertextuality may be expressed by verbal or visual elements of the cartoon or a combination of the two. They are important elements of coding and decoding the cartoon message and require certain cognitive effort for quick and correct interpretation.

COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF THE IMPEACHMENT PROCESS REPRESENTED IN THE POLITICAL CARTOONS

3.1 Multimodal metaphors: major domains employed in political cartoons

In this section, we analyze a number of editorial cartoons that portray Trump's impeachment process, with the purpose of identifying whether the metaphors are created with both verbal and visual means and how to decode a conceptual metaphor by tracing its input domains. All the metaphors used in the cartoon from the given dataset can be divided into 3 major categories by their target domains. They are metaphors about Donald Trump, metaphors about impeachment and metaphors about the Republican party.

Cartoons which contain a metaphor employing Trump's image constitute the most common group of the cartoons Trump being the most common cartoon personage (86% of the cartoons have image of Trump in them or a Trump reference). All the metaphors about Trump can be further subdivided into TRUMP IS A VILLAIN, TRUMP IS A CHILD and others. These metaphors are very generalized names for the actual metaphors employed in the cartoons. The TRUMP IS A VILLAIN type of metaphors usually portray President Trump as a cunning manipulator, often in a position of power compared to other personages in the cartoon, which manipulates the public into developing more negative opinion about the President. The TRUMP IS A VICTIM type of metaphors depicts Trump as a child, clown or puppet which is being manipulated or cannot make a decision on his own, which even though adds negative connotations to the image of the President also evokes sympathy to his regard. The last category that has been singled out is 'other' and it assembles all the other metaphors which employ Trump's image as the target domain.

An example of the first category TRUMP IS A VILLAIN is illustrated in Fig. 23. The more precise verbalization of this metaphor will be TRUMP IS AN ALIEN SQUID ABLE TO MANIPULATE ONE'S MIND. At the picture, President Trump is literally depicted as a squid with long tentacles, though this squid has Trump's head. The image

is reinforced by the verbal element *Squid pro quo* which plays two important functions: firstly, it helps to identify a correct source domain for the metaphor, secondly, it is a pun based on homonymic connection of the words *quid* and *squid* which add humorous component to the cartoon. The target domain of the metaphor is pictorially represented whereas the source domain is cued by both visual and verbal elements. Squids are famous for often portraying giant ocean monsters or the aliens which come to conquer the Earth. Biologically, squids can change their color for camouflage, also they can release a cloud of ink. Thus, the connotations mapped from source to target can be formulated as ‘an ability to quickly change one’s color (behavior, words) for camouflage (manipulating and hiding one’s misdemeanors)’.

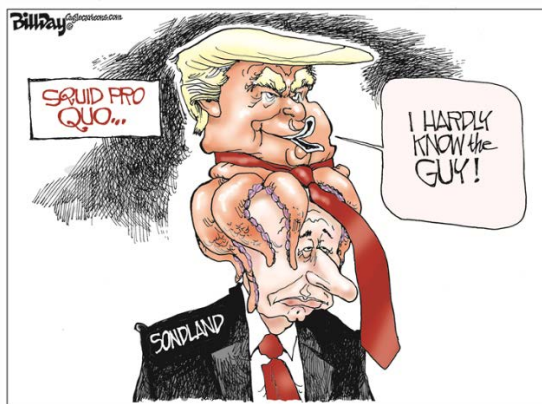


Figure 23. *Squid Pro Quo*



Figure 24. *Trump Acquittal*

A further metaphor pertaining to the same metaphor categories is TRUMP IS A DEVIL (Fig. 24), where the source domain is mainly inferred with a visual element of the cartoon namely the devilish horns, tails with an arrow-like tip and a pitchfork which are quite typical characteristics of a devil’s image. The two domains of this metaphor would probably be recognized without the verbal message, although the captions narrow the possible interpretations a little bit. The connotations mapped from source to target can be formulated as ‘a clever and mischievous manipulator’.

The cartoon Fig 25 represents a very complex image which is full of various cognitive mechanisms including the metaphor TRUMP IS A CHILD. Trump is portrayed wearing diaper on, having a rattle in his left hand and a milk bottle in his right

hand. The rattle has an Earth-shaped head, which metonymically refers to the responsibility Trump has as the President of the US, which is one of the most powerful countries in the world. The image of a baby-Trump standing on his desk at the President's office is opposed to the image of a spine labelled as *GOP backbone* and the whole cartoon is titled as *Spare the rod, Spoil the child*. This famous biblical quotation refers to both images as Trump is that spoilt child in this picture while *rod* actually resembles the spine visually, while the image of a backbone metonymically refers to the Republican party which constitutes the Senate majority and, according to the cartoon's message, should control Trump and reason his behavior. Thus, by employing the metaphor TRUMP IS A CHILD, the cartoonist maps the connotations of irresponsible and self-centered as well as immature and the one who should be taught and controlled, thus, concealing the responsibilities of Trump for his misdemeanors and transferring that responsibility to the Republican party.



Figure 25. *Republicans and Trump Impeachment* Figure 26. *The Clown Show*

The further cartoon (Fig.26) represents the metaphor TRUMP IS A CLOWN. The target domain of the metaphor is pictorially represented whereas the source domain is cued by both visual and verbal elements. The connotations mapped from the source domain are 'someone who lacks good judgment or amuses others by ridiculous behavior'. Same as in the previous case, the cartoonist shows that the responsibility was transferred from Trump to his administration. However, unlike the previous cartoon, in Fig. 26 Trump is the one who blames others for his actions and even though it is clear

that the President was not the one taking any decisions, this image of Trump is more prone to causing negative and judicial opinions towards Trump himself.



Figure 27. *Objection*

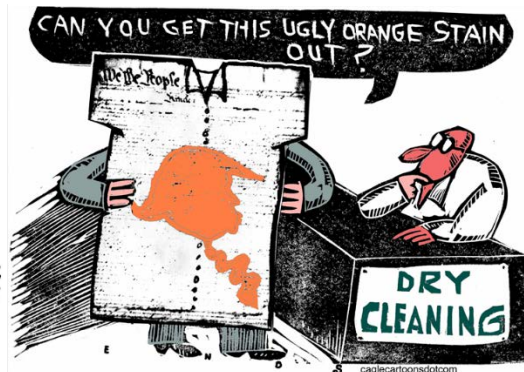


Figure 28. *Stain On The Constitution*

Fig. 27 represents a metaphor TRUMP IS A TURKEY. The target domain of the metaphor is depicted by the integration of visual (fair hair) and verbal (*tweet*) elements while the source domain is mainly represented using only an image of a turkey. The connotation mapped from the source domain is ‘not very intelligent person, who lacks good judgement and might have failed’. These connotations are reinforced by the cartoon scenario where the turkey (Trump) and an elephant (the Republican party) are standing in a line for their head to be chopped off by a donkey (the Democratic party). So, Trump is represented here as a guilty criminal awaiting to be executed. At the same time, the image of a turkey serves as an allusion to Thanksgiving which adds the sense of rightfulness to this situation.

The next cartoon (Fig. 28) makes use of the metaphor TRUMP IS A STAIN. According to the cartoon scenario a t-shirt, which is actually a page from the US Constitution, has been brought to the dry cleaning in order to have a stain, which is Trump, removed from it. Here one also deals with the case of double metonymy as the t-shirt stands for the Constitution, which respectfully represents the US. The metaphor TRUMP is a stain is represented both visually and verbally. The connotation mapped from the source domain is ‘a mark of guilt or disgrace which manipulates the audience into forming quite negative perception of Donald Trump. By blending this metaphor with an allusion to the US Constitution, the cartoonist remarks that years of Trump’s

presidency have become a stain at the US history as by his actions Trump neglected all the values proclaimed in the US most important document.

Another category of metaphors concerns the Republican party which is usually metonymically represented with the help of an elephant. The cartoons employing this metaphor are not very numerous even though the image of the Republican party is the second most common image encountered at the cartoons of our dataset (64%).

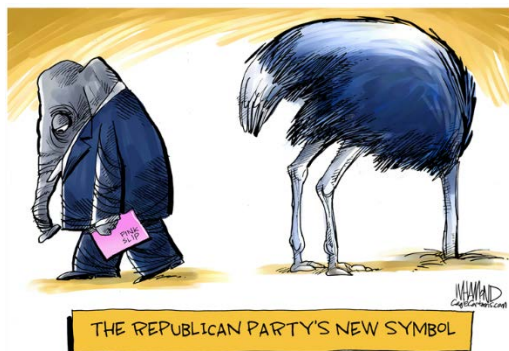


Figure 29. *New GOP symbol*



Figure 30. *Impeachment Trial Oath*

Fig. 29 demonstrates a metaphor REPUBLICAN PARTY IS AN OSTRICH. The cartoon represents an elephant which has received a pink slip (termination notice) walking away since he was replaced with an ostrich – new symbol of the Republican party. Both the target and the source domain are represented visually, though the captions add some meaning to both domains. The connotation mapped from the source domain is ‘someone who is hiding away from problems or pretends that they do not exist’. The cartoon implies similar meanings to Fig. 25, i.e. the Republican party as part of the Congress is responsible for the current situation in the US. Also, the message cartoon sends may be interpreted following the Senate trial results where all except one members of the Senate belonging to the Republican party voted to acquit Trump. Thus, in this cartoon scenario the Republican party is portrayed being controlled by Trump (though he is not in the picture) and it does not have enough potential and strength to confront the President or admit his crimes.

The further cartoon (Fig.30) represents a metaphor REPUBLICAN PARTY IS A RAGDOLL. The images in this cartoon reinforce the opinions created by the previous

cartoon. The cartoon scenario represents an elephant ragdoll (which stands for the Republican party who represent the Senate majority) taking an oath of impartiality before the impeachment trial. However, the elephant-doll is fully controlled and manipulated by Donald Trump, who is hiding behind the counter. Both the target and source domains are represented only with the help of visual means. The connotation mapped from source domain is ‘a weak, incompetent person manipulated by someone in overpowering manner’. This connotation reinforces one of the impeachment articles *abuse of power* by Donald Trump, which also manipulates the public opinion.

The last category of metaphors concerns the impeachment [trial]. Cartoons belonging to this category are the less numerous ones, however, they are also the most diversified metaphorically-wise.



Figure 31. *Justice Weeps*



Figure 32. *Impeachment*

One of the cartoons represents a metaphor *IMPEACHMENT IS A SWORD*. The target domain of the metaphor is expressed verbally while the source domain is represented visually in the picture. The connotation mapped from the source domain is ‘an instrument causing death and/or destruction. The cartoon also represents Lady Justice, and a sword is part of her symbolic portray. Interestingly enough, this cartoon interacts with the Fig. 23, where Trump was represented as a squid. If one takes a close look the clouds behind Lady Justice remind the clouds of ink a squid ejects. Thus, this cartoon and this metaphor can be decoded in two different ways. One was is that the sword, which is impeachment, hurts Lady Justice as the final trial’s decision turned out

to be not that just and many people were disappointed with the decision. On the other hand, the metaphor can be interpreted as a sword of justice which actually reaches Trump, a criminal. Basically, the interpretation depends much on the time perspective the reader takes while interpreting the cartoon as well as his or her personal beliefs and opinions.

Further cartoon (Fig. 32) represents a different metaphor **IMPEACHMENT IS A DOG WHICH IS ABOUT TO BE UNLEASHED**. Similar to the previous cartoon, the target domain is expressed verbally while the source domain is represented visually in the picture. The connotation mapped from the source domain is ‘to attach or pursue, often in offensive, violent and/or perseverant manner’. Based on the cartoon scenario, the metaphor can be decoded representing impeachment as an uncontrollable process during which many other people may be harmed as well. At the same time such qualities of a dog as perseverance while hunting are also transferred onto impeachment process, which implies that the guilty ones won’t be able to get away with their crimes.



Figure 33. *Trump Impeached*

The last cartoon (Fig. 33) is an interesting sample image for analysis. It portrays a metaphor **IMPEACHMENT IS A PUNCH INTO TRUMP’S FACE**. The target domain is represented verbally while the source domain is represented visually as a black eye, which metonymically refers to a punch. The connotation transferred from the source domain is ‘an effective, vigorous action which has a strong impact’. This implies, we assume, that the whole impeachment process was quite a surprise for the President and it

happened that quick that neither Trump nor his administration could prevent the process of happening or stop it when it started.

All in all, the metaphors used in the cartoons have very strong connotative meaning and they are quite persuasive and manipulative towards the audience. Mostly, the metaphors in the cartoons represent Donald Trump, the Republican party and the impeachment process more from a negative perspective. However, the implied message in the cartoons differ depending on how the reader interprets the metaphors and their interactions with the other elements of the cartoons.

3.2 Conceptual blends within frame theory

When editorial cartoonists draw cartoons about political issues, they usually prescribe meaning and evaluate the issue. By providing meaning or emphasizing a particular position through visual imagery, a cartoonist is engaging in the exercise of framing. As it has already been mentioned, framing is one the main functions of political cartoons. Framing refers to the process by which the readers construe and evaluate certain issues focusing on certain frames, i.e., certain features or implications of the issue [77, p. 239]. The frame is a salient feature that underlies the topic of the cartoon and the reporting of the topic [63, p. 24].

The analysis of the selected cartoons helped us to identify 6 major frames surrounding the Trump's impeachment process. These key frames are: conflict frame, trial frame, performance frame, media frame, morality frame, movement frame and US values frame. However, a number of cartoons have unique frames which could not have been classified into neither group of the above-mentioned or the number of cartoon belonging to a frame was not applicable for the analysis, thus, they constitute the 'other' section. We have used the frame theory in order to classify the cartoons under analysis and exemplify the use of conceptual blends in political cartoons.

Conflict frame

Conflict frame represents conflict between groups or individuals. We define the cartoons which belong to the given frame with the help of the following set of questions:

- Does the cartoon present disagreement/conflict/violence between individuals, groups or institutions?
- Does the cartoon present winners or losers?
- Does the cartoon present different views on the conflict/disagreement?

Cartoons representing Trump's impeachment often portray the conflict between Trump and Pelosi as they are main opponents in the government. Moreover, it was Pelosi who filed official impeachment inquiry. However, some cartoons also feature other personages. In total, we have classified 23 cartoons as ones, falling into the conflict frame. 16 of them feature Trump himself, as one of the protagonists of the cartoon scenario, while Pelosi appears on 8 of them, including 6 cartoons representing her together with Trump.

The cartoon in Fig.34 represents one of the conflict frames where Trump is portrayed as a gobbler while Nancy Pelosi and Adam Schiff are about to hit him with an axe and a sledge-hammer respectively.



Figure 34. *Thanksgiving impeachment*

It is quite easy to identify Trump in the picture as the gobbler has fair hair with a forelock and holds a phone in its wings, presumably posting new tweets (an activity Trump is well-known for). Adam Schiff is a chairman of the United States House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, which is known to be one of the first institutions to react to Pelosi's impeachment inquiry. Schiff also led the investigation and was in charge of preparation of the report which helped to initiate further impeachment trial.

The cartoon is titled “THANKSGIVING IMPEACHMENT”, thus triggering certain implications in the eyes of the public. We can define the 2 input spaces: the real impeachment investigation situation and the preparation for the Thanksgiving dinner. The conceptual blending in the cartoon is represented by the following figure 35:

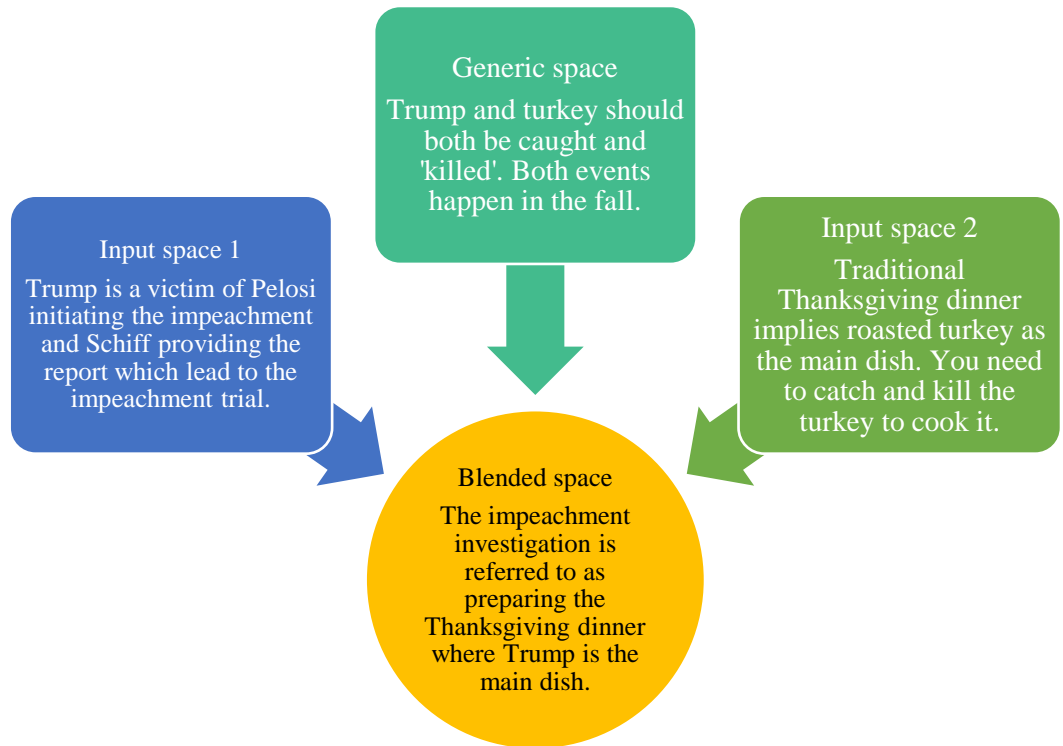


Figure 35. *Conceptual blending model*

The blended space turns out to be Pelosi and Schiff preparing Trump as the main dish for the Thanksgiving dinner.

Another representative cartoon featuring Trump and Pelosi is Fig. 36.



Figure 36. *Trump impeachment*



Figure 37. *Impeachment*

At the first sight, it may be difficult to distinguish the conflict between the two, however, at a closer look, it becomes obvious that the atmosphere is quite tense. Pelosi is pictured as a hairdresser combing Trump's hair with the "IMPEACHMENT" comb. By the expression on the Trump's face, the reader might suggest that he feels pain and/or is annoyed by the actions of Pelosi. There are also some bugs flying around the couple. We may assume that they have appeared from Trump's hair after it was combed. These bugs may be interpreted as different facts which prove Trump being guilty of power abuse. By combing the bugs out, Pelosi digs out these pieces of evidence to present in the court. The posture of Pelosi can also be interpreted as her being in the position of power, as she is standing over Trump, pulling his hair to different sides as if she were steering the wheel, for example.

On the other hand, this picture can be interpreted from the totally different perspective. As presumably Pelosi is a hairdresser and Trump is her client, she has lower position than he does, thus, he is the one who controls the situation and is in the position of power. This interpretation is also supported by the 'annoyed' look on his face and the fact that his figure is portrayed more exaggerated than that of Pelosi. The bugs flying around may as well attack Pelosi, preventing her from completing her mission (i.e. advancing the impeachment process). In this perspective, the bugs can metaphorically represent Trump's supporters, which may not have much power (which is why they are bugs) but can be quite distracting and eventually become that straw which breaks the camel's back.

The blending model uses two input spaces (the reality with the Trump's impeachment inquiry initiated by Pelosi and a typical situation in hair salon) in order to create one blended space which represents the situation. The blended space shows that even though the hairdresser (member of Senate) is in lower position comparing to the client (President), they may use their tools (comb/information) in order to punish the client (President) in case the latter behaves in improper way (in case the President abuses his power).

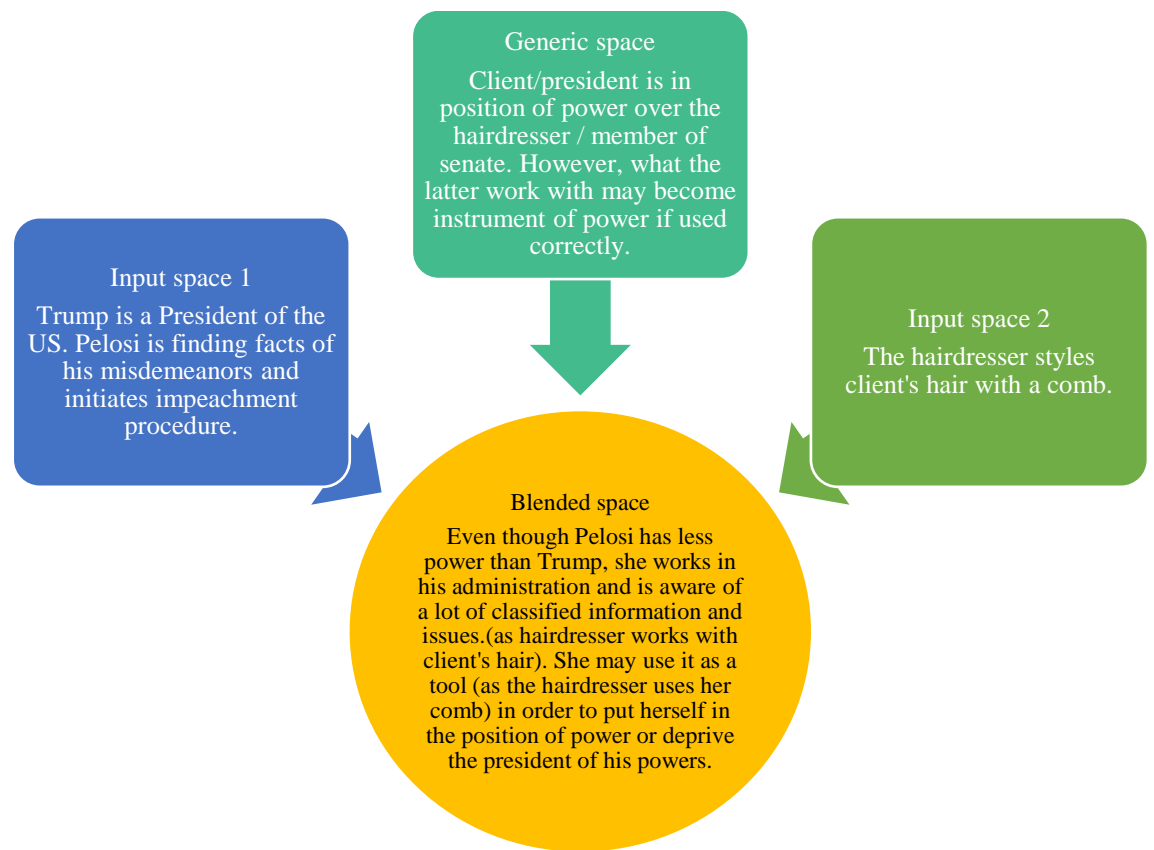


Figure 38. *Conceptual blending model*

The next subject of analysis is a cartoon which does not portray Trump but Pelosi. The figure represents Pelosi and a Donkey, which metonymically represents all the members of the Democratic party, loading bullets in the cannon. The bullets stand for the Trump's misdemeanors and they are evidence of his improper behavior as a President. These bullets serve as the weapon for bombarding Trump and destroying him as a political figure.

Blending in this cartoons is represented by 2 input spaces (the reality space and the war scenario). Impeachment is metaphorically represented as war where Pelosi and the Democratic party is fighting against Trump. Their victory is guaranteed by storing up evidence of his 'criminality' in order to provide them to court and remove him from the position of the US President.

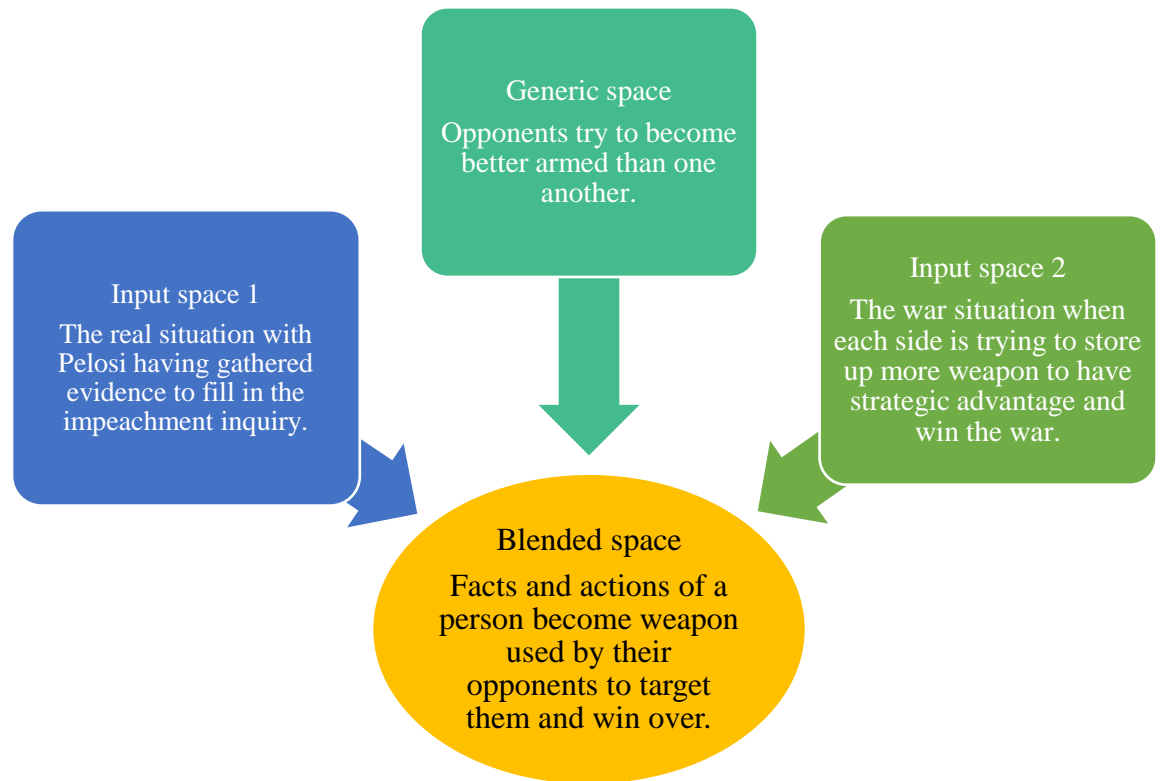


Figure 39. *Conceptual blending model*

Trial frame

The trial frame unites all the cartoons that feature the impeachment trial from either perspective. These cartoons often portray the court room, the US congress, the witness box, etc. We have identified 14 cartoons as falling into this category.

After the trial hearings, there were many cartoons portraying the key witnesses giving testimonies. One of the cartoons under analysis features Trump himself as a witness. The cartoon is titled “Trump Ukraine No Quid Pro Quo”

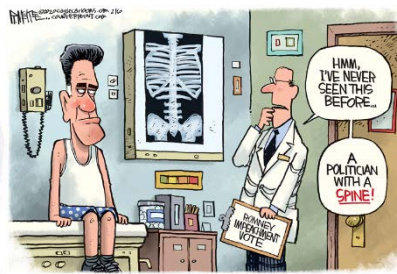


Figure 40. *Trump Ukraine No Quid Pro Quo* Figure 41. *Romney Spine*

Trump is portrayed in a classic position of a witness taking an oath to testify in court with his right hand raised. The setting around him, however, suggest that he is at a public conference as the US president. Apparently, the theme of the conference concerns Ukraine as well as the US as the two flags are to be found on both sides from the President. We may assume that Trump is giving a formal statement concerning the phone call he had with Ukrainian president, Volodymyr Zelenskyi. The phrase “Quid pro quo” means favor for a favor, thus, by making this statement Trump proclaims his innocence. His right hand is raised as if he is taking an oath to tell the truth and only the truth. However, this verbal cue does not correspond to the imagery on the picture. Left hand of the President is hidden inside a cookie jar which resembles the Ukrainian flag, while the right hand is covered with something similar to cookie crisps. This creates the perception of incongruity between the pictorial image and the verbal message pronounced by Trump.

In order to create this incongruity, conceptual blending has been used.

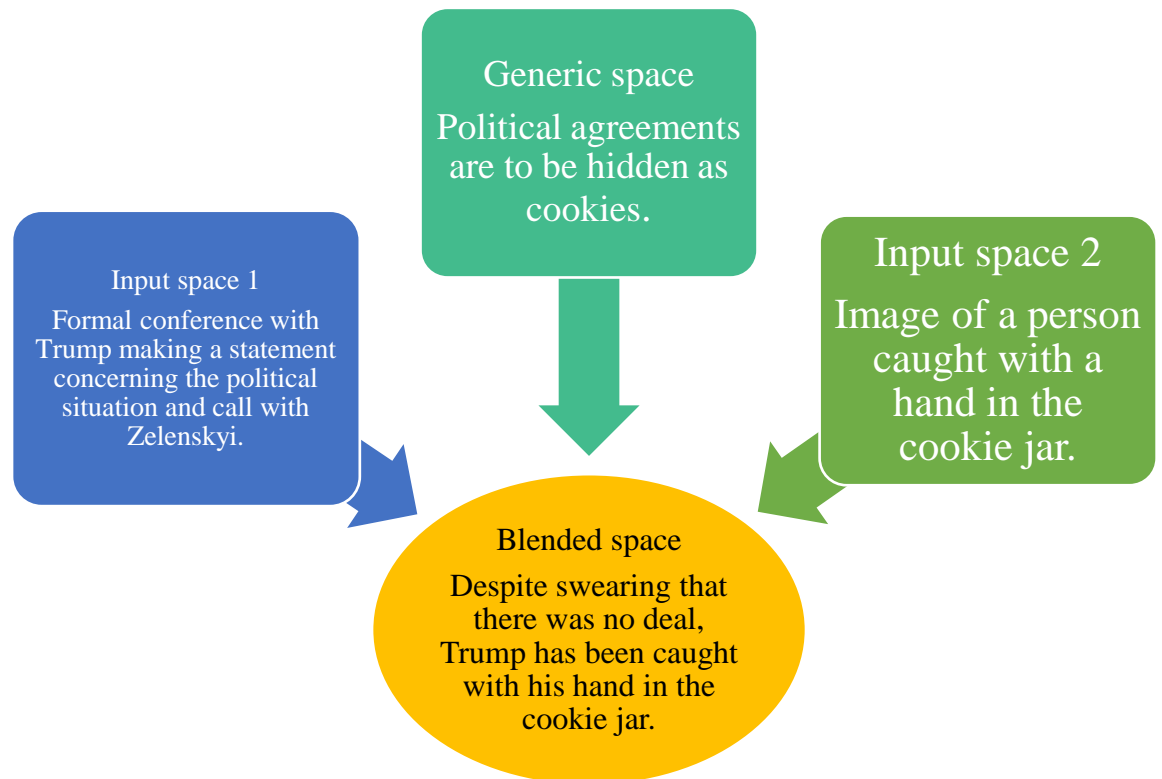


Figure 42. *Conceptual blending model*

As represented in the model above, two input spaces have been used to create the blend. They include the real situation of Trump proclaiming his innocence and the image of being caught while stealing cookies. Cookies in the current cartoon metaphorically represent the advantages one can get being a president. As they were stored in the blue-yellow jar, one can understand that Trump abused his power in order to take advantage of the situation in Ukraine by manipulating the financial aid promises. The blended space shows Trump basically openly revealing his misdemeanors while still refusing to admit his fault.

Another representative cartoon is Fig. 41. The cartoon portrays Mitt Romney, a representative of the Republican party and the US senator. Romney has become the one and only senator to give his vote to convict Trump of the abuse of power, especially considering the fact that Romney belongs to the same political party as Trump.

The conceptual blending in this cartoon integrates two input spaces which are the impeachment trial (Romney's vote in particular) and a visit to the doctor.

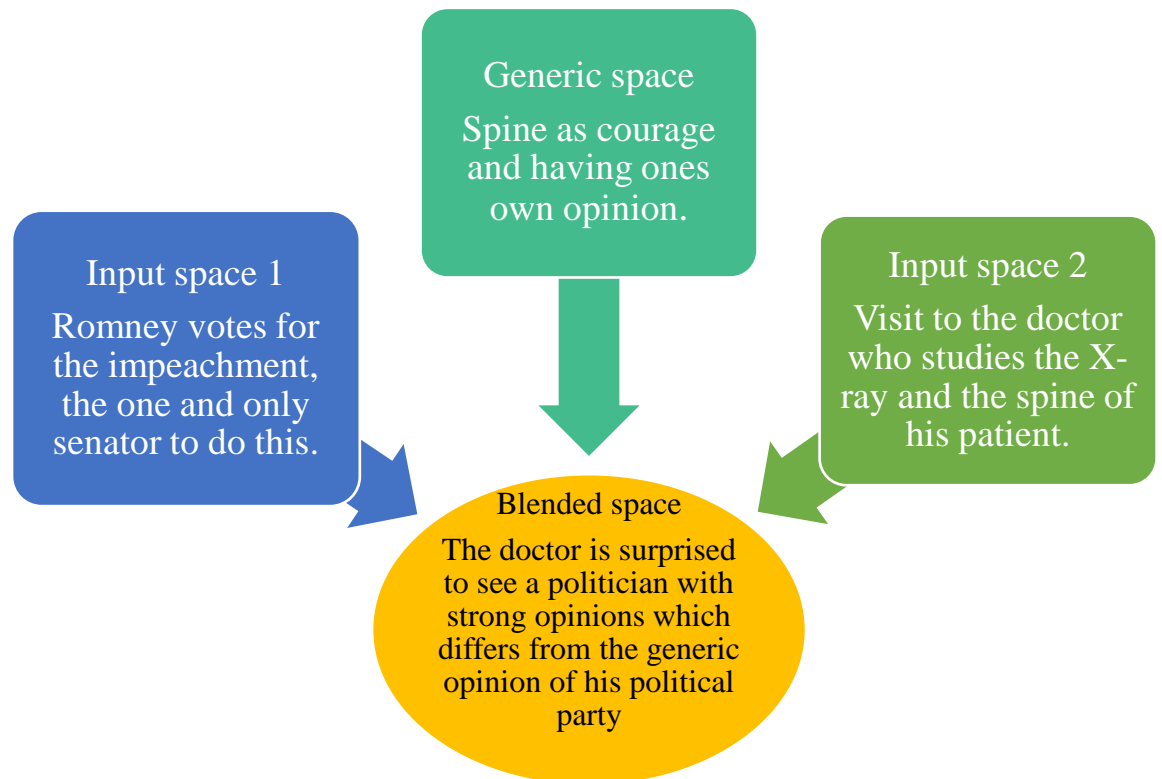


Figure 43. *Conceptual blending model*

The input space also includes characteristics of Romney as a politician. Generally, politicians are regarded as sly and manipulative, even though they are supposed to firmly represent certain positions and have strong beliefs. Also, they do not have a ‘spine’ quite often, which means that being a politician you need to calculate all the consequences, pros and cons of your decisions and words and take the more beneficial side. Basically, voting to find Trump guilty Romney could have gotten into great troubles as he stood up against the President and the Republican party, his own political party. The cartoon represents the X-ray of Romney and a doctor who is surprised to find a spine there. He is also holding Romney’s card in his hands which says “Romney impeachment vote”. We can assume that this medical examination was organized by the Republican party in order to understand the reason for such strange behavior. As Romney is a republican, he was not supposed to vote differently from everybody else. Thus, blending the image of a manipulative politician with the image of a person having a spine (figuratively speaking), a new image of politician with a spine (i.e. a politician who has strong opinions and does now choose to follow the most advantageous and safe path) is created.

Performance frame

Performance frame comprises all the cartoons which represent the Trump’s impeachment process as any kind of show or acting, be it a talk show, a theatrical play, awards ceremony, etc. We have included 10 cartoons in this group.

One of the cartoons in the group exploits quite a common blending of impeachment process with the circus scenario.

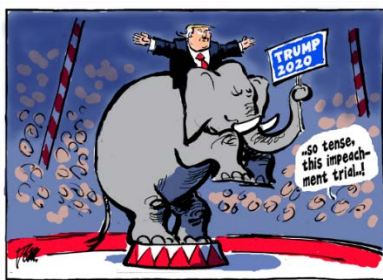


Figure 44. *Senate impeachment trial*



Figure 45. *Bolton offers to testify*

The cartoon depicts circus arena where Trump is riding an elephant in front of the audience. He ironically complains about the difficulty of going through the impeachment process which being on top of the situation and having fun. From his position and posture, one can conclude that Trump is represented as having the situation under control and simply playing his role in the performance. Another character taking part in it is the elephant which may be considered a metonymic representation of the Republican party, especially considering the symbol of the party. However, the elephant at the picture is totally submissive to the Trump's demands which may also ironically represent the official politics of the Republican party and the way they make important decisions.

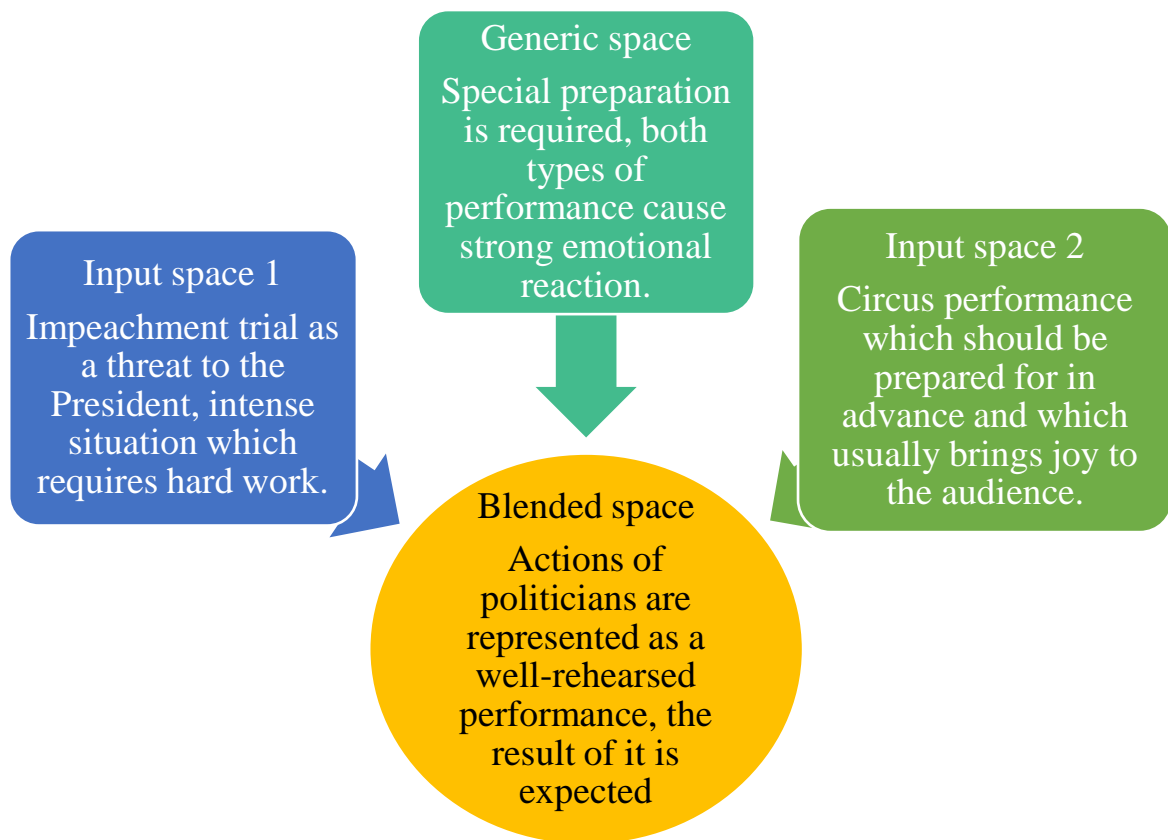


Figure 46. *Conceptual blending model*

The integration of two different scenarios of political trial and circus performance creates a complex blend which completely derogates from the President's reputation and

the faith into the rule of justice. The whole impeachment process is represented as a show created in order to get more attention from the public especially considering that Trump is running for president in the upcoming elections. The outcome of the process is well-known for all the participants: Trump manipulates people and events as a tamer handles wild animals in the circus.

Another example of a cartoon belonging to the performance frame differs in the message it transfers. The cartoon portrays John Bolton and Mitch McConnell performing on the “Mitch McConnell Show”. The name of the show is an allusion to many popular talk shows in the USA where outrageous truth can often be revealed or which are held in quite a humorous format.

John Bolton played a major role in the Trump’s impeachment process, though not quite on the official level. He is known to confirm the allegations about Trump being guilty of power abuse when a rough draft of his future book leaked to the Internet.

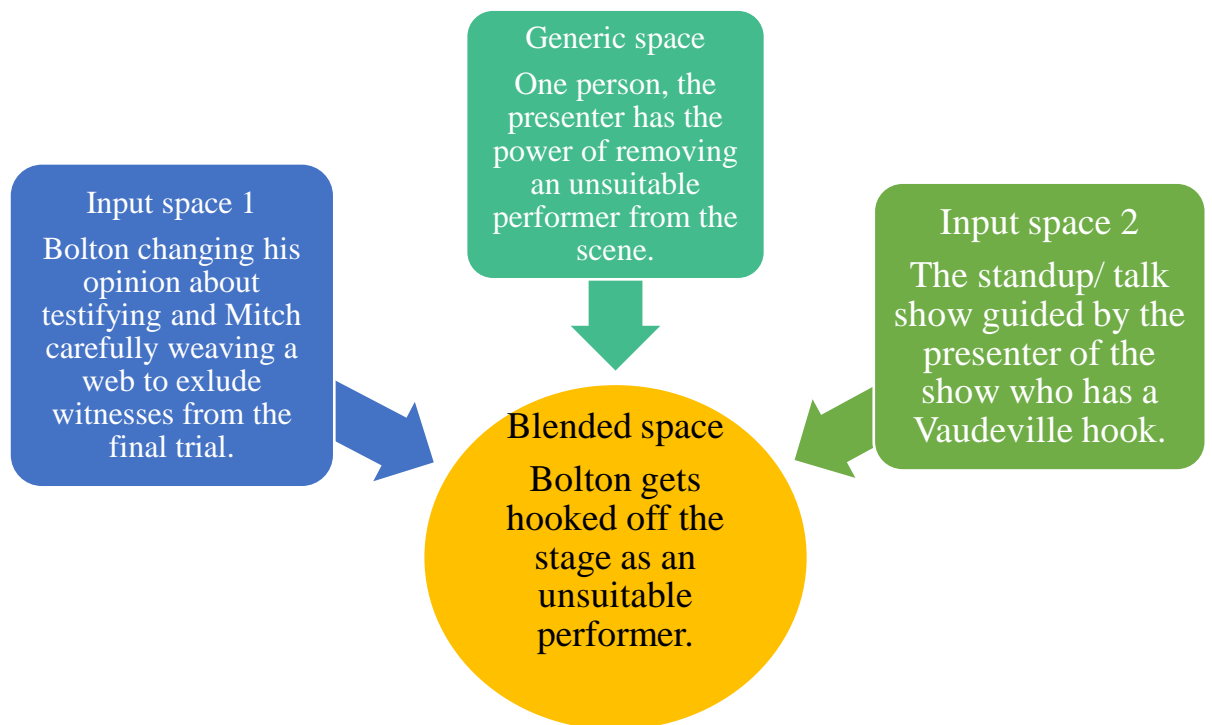


Figure 47. *Conceptual blending model*

However, Bolton originally refused to testify, only in January before the big trial day he expressed consent to testify when it turned out that there will be no testimonies at

the Senate impeachment trial. Mitch McConnell, the Senate Majority leader, played his cards exclude calling witness from the trial procedure.

Thus, the first input space consists of the real story line of the Bolton testimony story. Another input space is a stand up show situation. A standup comic is supposed to be funny and entertain the public. Quite often, these artists draw their inspiration from the real life situations which may also be an allusion to Bolton writing his book based on the time he worked in the administration. McConnell in this situation is the master of the show, thus, he controls all the artists and can decide who speaks and who does not. Finally, in the blended space, we see a picture of McConnell pulling Bolton off from the scene with the help of a giant hook. This hook was used in Vaudeville shows to pull away a bad performer. Thus, we can conclude that Bolton did not fit into the plans of the Senate at large which is why he was hooked off the stage.

Media frame

The next frame we have identified is the media frame. Media frame is connected with the media coverage of the events and encompasses the scenarios which refer to the print and online resources connected with the Trump's impeachment process. Mostly, the cartoons belonging to this frame have direct references to newspapers, news broadcasting programs, etc.



Figure 48. *Can Not Tell the Truth*

One of the cartoons selected within the media frame represents two Twitter posts made by George Washington and Donald J Trump respectively. Donald Trump had been quite famous for his Twitter activity even before he became the president. After the

inauguration, however, his posts became official statements. Despite this fact, Trump is notoriously known for posting false or contradictory information on the platform. Some of such unsuitable tweets later become deleted from his official Twitter account, though they can still be found on the Internet. Another character referred to at the cartoon is the first president of the US, George Washington. He is one of the commonly referred to political figures and a symbol of the US Constitution, liberalism and nationalism. The cartoon itself is based on the irony represented in two verbal messages of the tweets. This irony is reinforced by the images of the two presidents and the mental packages which those images evoke. Washington in the minds of many Americans is the best president and the symbol of prosperity of the US and the establishment of democracy in the country. Trump, on the one hand, is an impersonification of American stereotype. He is a white man, quite rich, with a great career and he has made all these promises which Americans fell for during his presidential campaign. On the other hand, he is a complete opposite of George Washington, who is the embodiment of the US values. In general, this cartoons reflects upon what the Americans were striving for and received in the end.

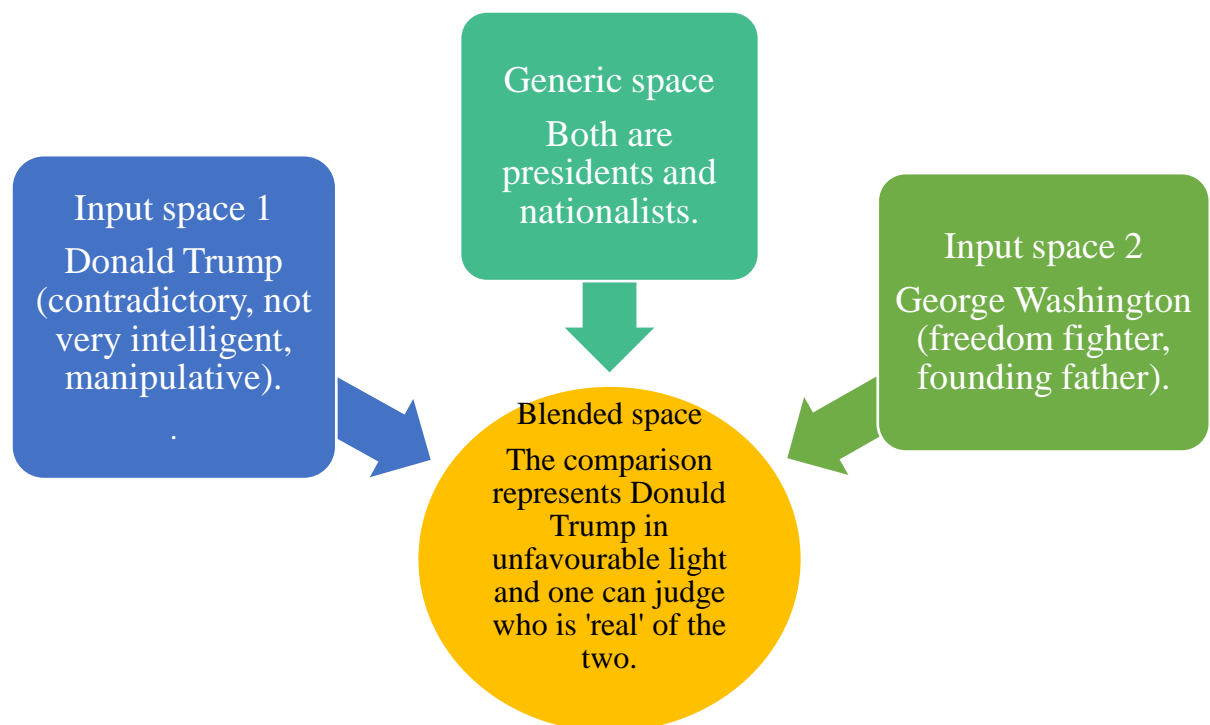


Figure 49. *Conceptual blending model*

Morality frame

The morality frame puts an event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. This frame can be identified by the following set of questions:

- Does the cartoon contain a moral message?
- Does the cartoon refer to morality, God, or some other religious grounds?
- Does the cartoon offer social conditions with respect to desired behavior?

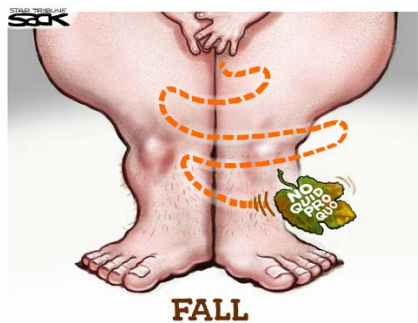


Figure 50. *Trump's Fallen Fig*

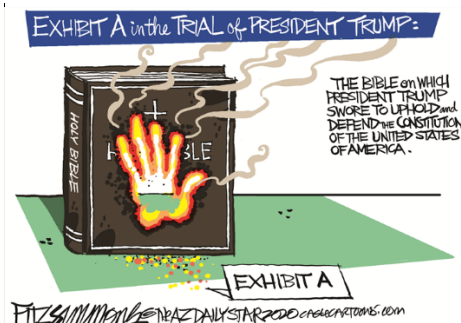


Figure 51. *Impeach*

One of the exemplary cartoons illustrating this frame is figure 50. The cartoon depicts a person, presumably Trump, presumably naked. The first presumption is confirmed by the cartoon reference to 'quid pro quo' and the stout constitution of the person.

The portray itself is an allusion to the first people on Earth which are believed to live in the Garden of Eden. The fig leaf is a metaphoric reference to the Bible and Adam and Eve who used fig leaves to cover their nudity. The expression '*fig leaf*' has acquired perjorative connotation and usually means minimal cover for an act or an object which is embarrassing or shameful.

The word "fall" written below the picture adds more meaning to the cartoon. According to Christian doctrine, the fall is a term used to describe a transition from an innocent person to a guilty one after committing a sin or disobeying God. In the input space concerning Trump, it may refer to autumn when the events started to unravel.

Moreover, it refers to the collapse of Trump's corruptive schema and may mean the failure of him as the President.

The blend appears as a result of superimposing the mental space of Trump's impeachment and the mental space of the first sin. Thus, as a result of this blend a range of metaphors can be created. They are ABUSE OF POWER IS A SIN, CONSTITUTION IS A WORD OF GOD FOR THE PRESIDENT, IMPEACHMENT IS AN EXILE FROM THE GARDEN OF EDEN. The blending which takes place in the cartoon is represented by the following model.

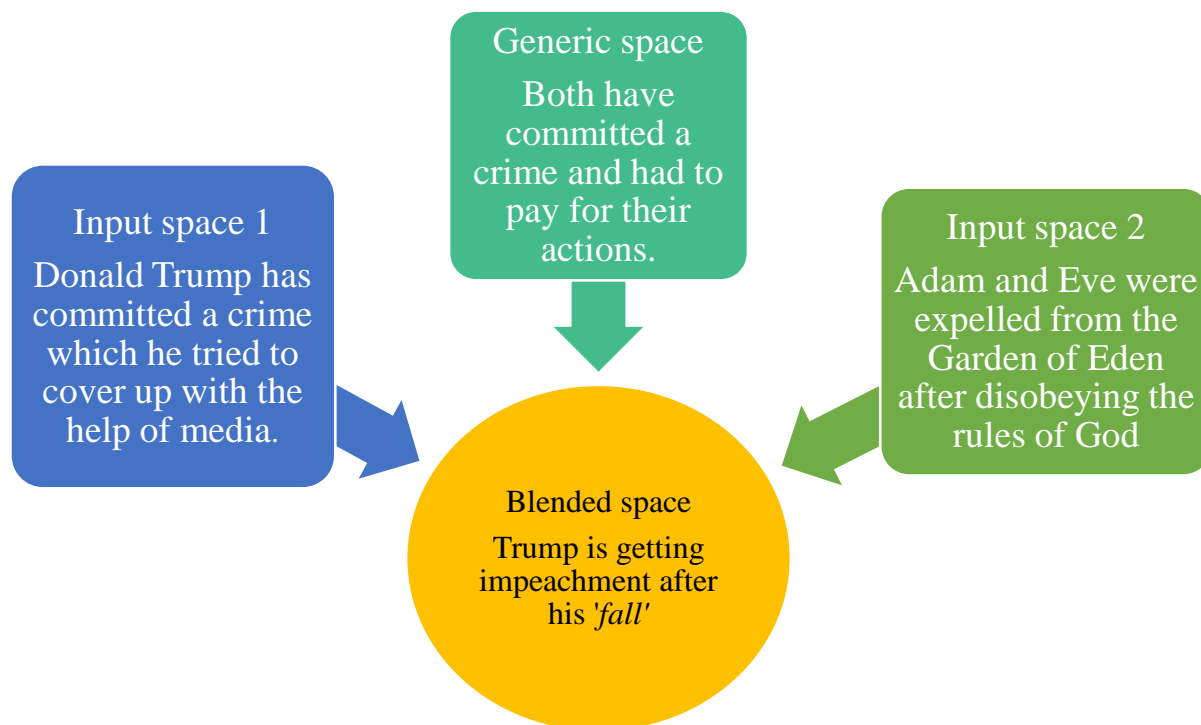


Figure 52. *Conceptual blending model*

Another cartoon belonging to the morality frame is figure 51. This is quite a complex image. The first thing that attracts attention is the Bible with a bid red handprint. The Bible is frames as an exhibit in the museum with an appropriate label. The inscription indicates that this is the very copy of the book Trump took the oath on. The peculiarity of the exhibit is that the handprint is red and on fire. In fact, it seems that Trump's hand made the book burn. This is an allusion to an old belief that a sinner cannot touch the holy objects unless he repents his sins, otherwise he will leave the

devil’s mark. Similar to the previous cartoon, Trump is represented here as a sinner, the one who breaks his oath. This cartoon reflects upon Trump being dishonest and engaged in illegal activity. The burning handprint confirms that Trump does not keep his oath and he is not going to abide by the US Constitution. If one imagines a story behind this cartoon, it may be identified as a fable. The representation of the Bible as a museum exhibit transfers the reader into the far-fetched future where Trump is a historical personage and the peculiarities of his impeachment process and service in general have become the moral lesson for the Americans in the future. The burning handprint can as well be associated with the idiom “*to be caught red handed*”. It actually corresponds to the situation as there is an official transcript which confirms Trump’s attempt of blackmail apart from the witnesses’ testimonies. However, the religious connotation is much stronger in this case.

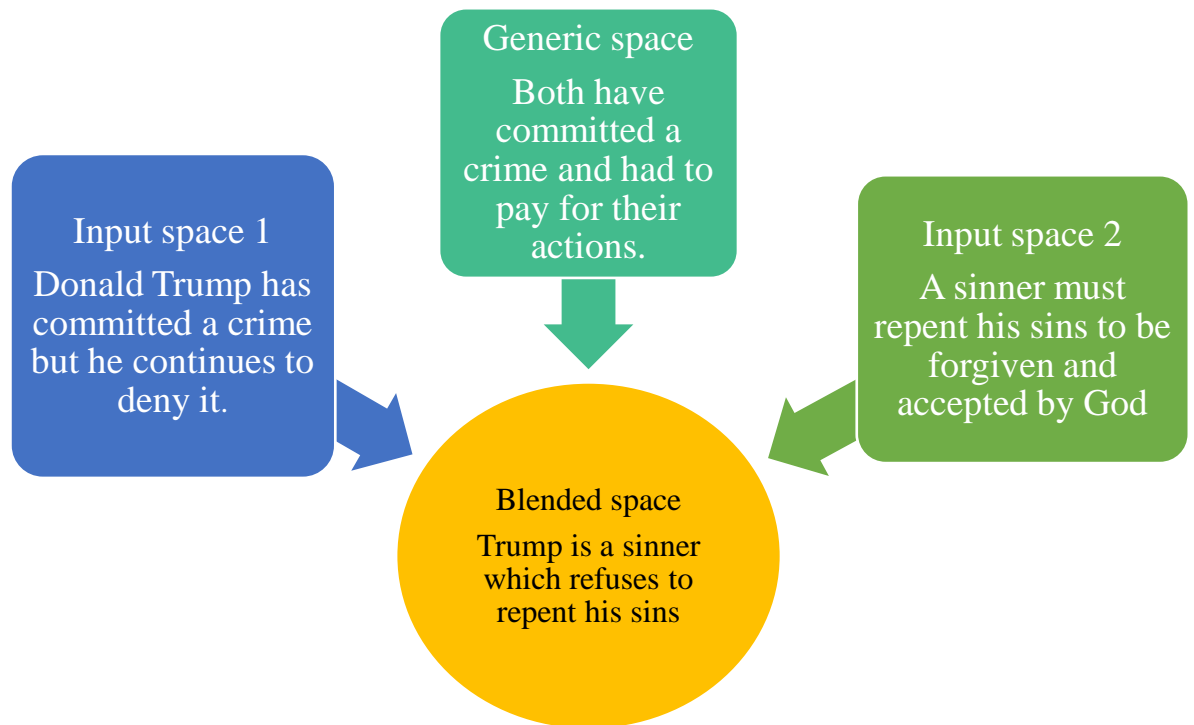


Figure 53. *Conceptual blending model*

Movement frame

The movement frame encompasses all the cartoons which portray any kind of movement, mostly walking, driving a car, riding a bike, flying, etc., and which cannot be identified as belonging to any other more prominent frame.

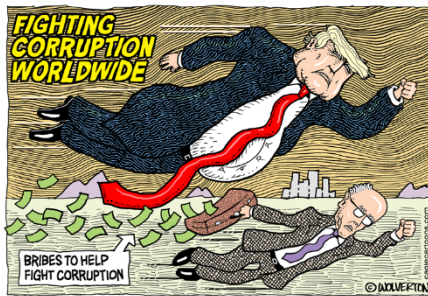


Figure 54. *Fighting Corruption Worldwide*



Figure 55. *Impeachment water*

One of the prominent cartoons belonging to this frame portrays Donald Trump and Rudy Giuliani as two superheroes. Giuliani played a huge role in Ukraine-Trump scandal. He is known to be Trump’s lawyer since 2018 and there are many theories which highlight the illegal actions of Giuliani in Ukraine which may be regarded as violation of the US Constitution.

One can suppose from the picture that this is an allusion to Superman and his accomplice as the two politicians are depicted in the sky with their left hand stretched forward – the legendary Superman pose. The lines in the lower part of the picture resemble waves, while the silhouettes of the city and mountains can be seen far away. We suggest that these mountains and the city metonymically refer to the US (the city) and other countries or continents (the mountains).

The irony in the cartoon is presented by the integration of verbal and visual modes. The visual represents Trump and Giuliani as two heroes working under the motto of fighting corruption. However, their main instrument is bribery (which actually considered to be corruption). Giuliani holds a business case which leaks banknotes (the bribes). The irony is also reflected through the conceptual blending of the input spaces of, so to speak, “white” politics (the image of political leader for casual people, i.e. their

‘brand’) and “black” politics (the insides of the political world and illegal methods used to attain higher goals) creating the concept of double-dealing politics.

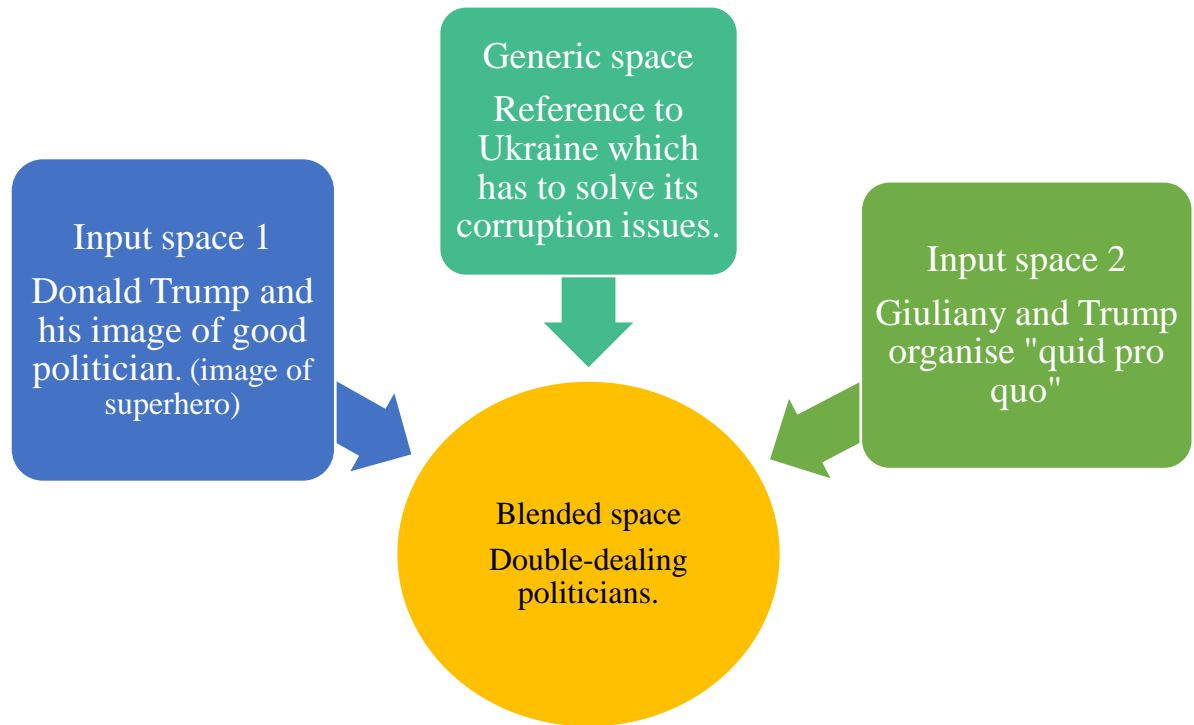


Figure 56. *Conceptual blending model*

The scenario of another cartoon revolves around a famous saying *you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink*. This cartoon brings up quite interesting allusions and topics as it partially deals with one of the premises for Trump’s impeachment. A man portrayed at the picture is Robert Mueller, former Special Council who is particularly famous for writing *Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election*, the Mueller Report. When Nancy Pelosi and the Democrats were preparing for the impeachment trial, the report was mentioned again as it contained several examples of potential obstructions by Trump, though did not direct point at them, neither did it confirm the illegal activity of the President. After the discussion, the Democrats decided to present only 2 articles of allegations to the court, excluding the obstruction of justice from the list.

The cartoon portrays Mueller dragging a donkey with an elephant to the Impeachment pond. The donkey and the elephant together constitute the US Congress,

being the symbols for the Democrats and the Republicans. Mueller may be referred to as a real person, though he was never subpoenaed a witness to the impeachment trial, or be a metonymic reference to his scandalous report. The cartoon represents the donkey as a horse from the famous saying who resists drinking the ‘impeachment’ water. This scene may also be an allusion to the ‘time-out’ the Democrats took before sending the articles of impeachment to the Senate to decide Trump’s fate. Even though this delay was explained as time to carefully plan the strategy and gain advantage, it was perceived by many as expression of doubt. Not even mentioning the fact that the Muller report could have been enough evidence even in 2016 to start the investigation.

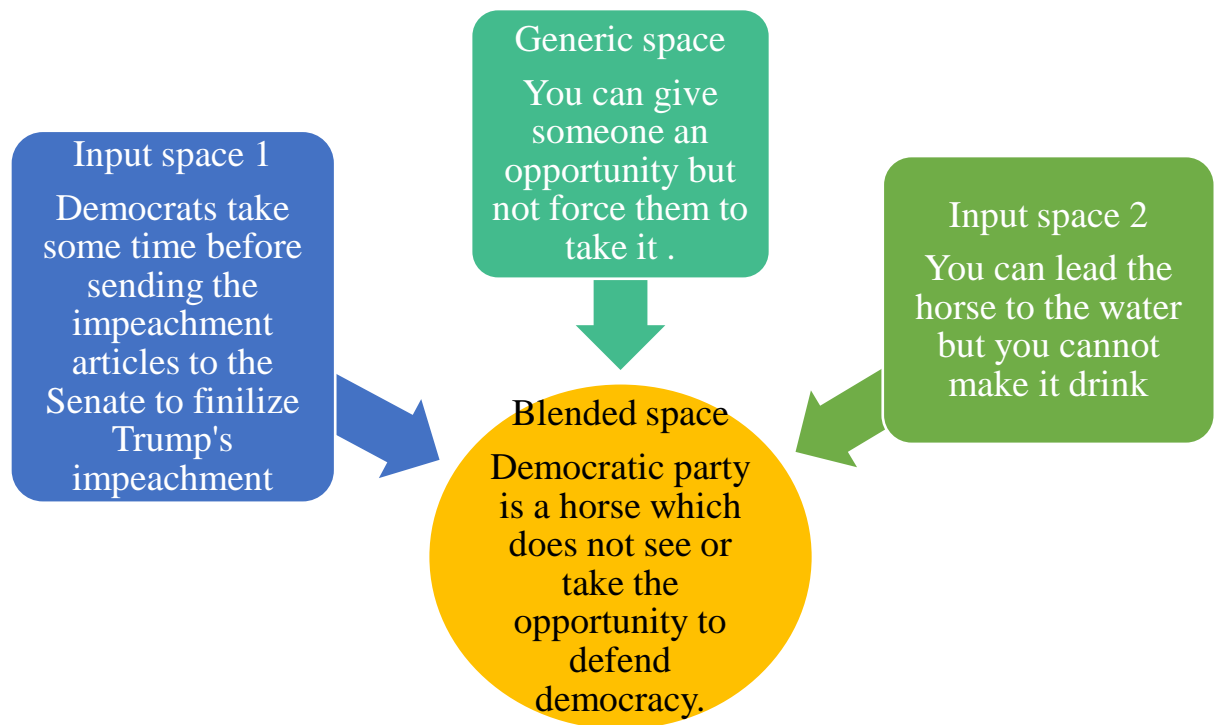


Figure 57. *Conceptual blending model*

Thus, the cartoon presents an extensive field for the conceptual analysis. More than two input spaces can be found here considering all the references made. We have, however, distinguished the two most prominent ones which appear to be the concept of *leading the horse to the water* and the time Democrats took before sending the impeachment articles to the Senate. Taking into account such constituent parts, the cartoon is supposed to send such a message: even though there were more than enough

evidence of Trump’s illegal actions, the Democratic party put off bringing up the impeachment question or at least a question of legitimacy of his actions, which in its turn leads to even more disturbing conclusions: either the Republicans led by Trump are that invincible or the Democratic party does not have enough power to stand up to them.

US values frame

The US values frame incorporates the cartoon which depict main and the most recognizable American symbols. Here belong such allusions as the US Constitution (mostly referred to as “We The People”), the White House, the Congress, Mount Rushmore, etc.

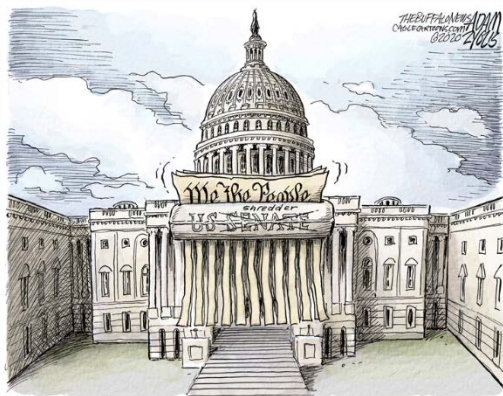


Figure 58. *Impending acquittal*



Figure 59. *Trump and Due Process*

The first cartoon from this frame depicts a building of the Senate which has been renamed into Shredder. Above the entry one can see the first page of the US Constitution easily recognizable by its opening phrase “We The People”. Below one can see what used to be the columns of the Senate – the pieces of the Constitution coming out from the shredder.

This cartoon illustrates a complex metaphor SENATE IS SHREDDER which appeared through the conceptual blending of the input space of the Senate acquitted Trump and the input space-image of a shredder destroying the US constitution. This metaphor can be further generalized to REPUBLICANS ARE VILLAINS.

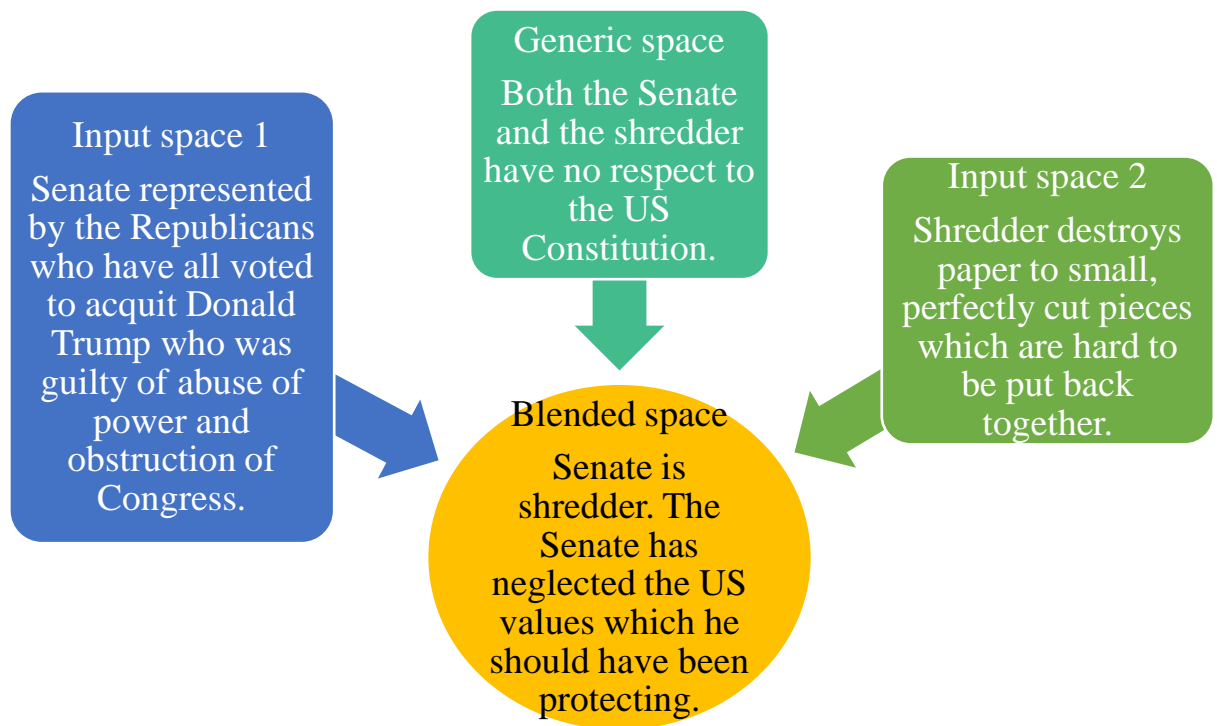


Figure 60. *Conceptual blending model*

The next cartoon within this frames also dwells upon the US Constitution, however, in a different way. The verbal component is quite important in this cartoon as it might be improperly interpreted without the words in captions.

At the picture one can see President Trump standing on the US Constitution as if it was some kind of a carpet. The Constitution is referred to by the same phrase “We The People”. There are many footprints on the page which is highly disrespectful of the US highest law. At the same Trump is depicted posting a new tweet online where he mentions the ‘due process’ The due process is a legal term which refers to the fact that according to the US Constitution a person cannot be deprived of his or her life, liberty or property without the due process of law. The irony is that the reference to the ‘due process’ was one of the points of Trump’s defense during his impeachment trial. So, together with the footprints it seems to be the highest degree of negligence and disrespect – to use the Constitution in order to protect oneself from the legal proceedings aimed at holding Trump responsible for his actions against the US Constitution.

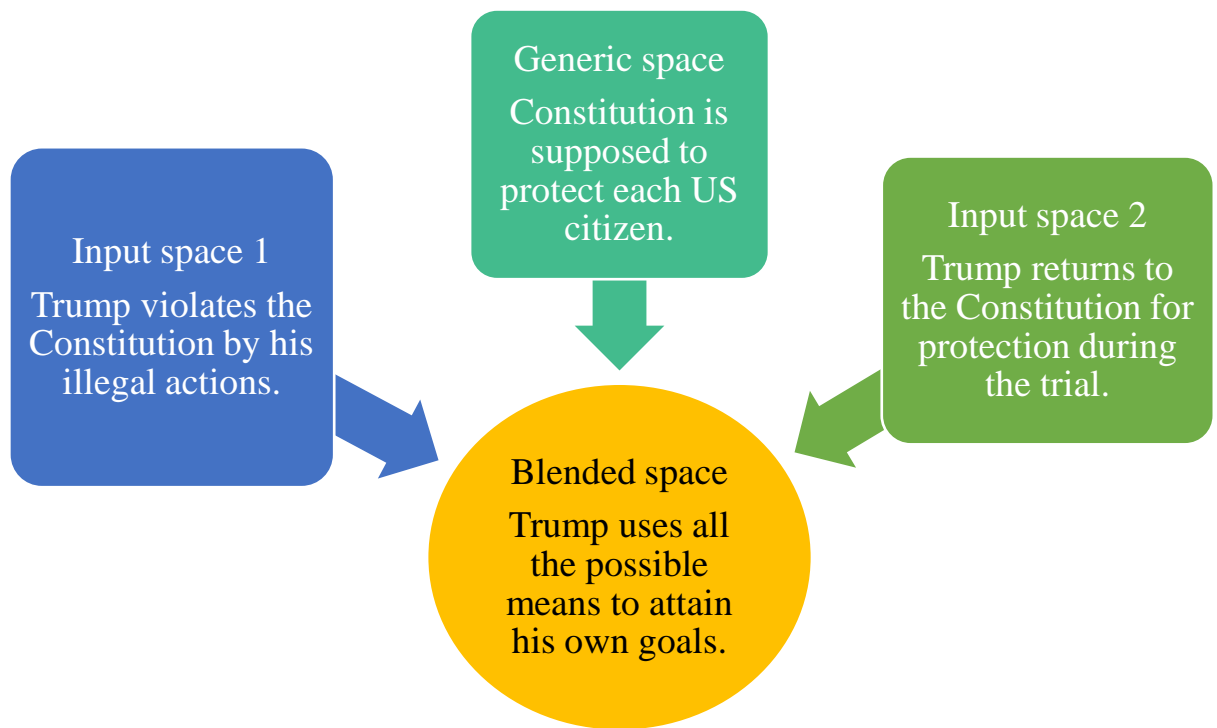


Figure 61. *Conceptual blending model*

All in all, the conceptual blends within different scenario frames are important cognitive aspects employed in the cartoons. Correct understanding of the blended image makes the interpretations of the cartoon easier as well. After the integration of input spaces, the cartoonist may come up with a totally new image (e.g. politician with a spine) or simply a juxtaposition of qualities and images of the input spaces.

SUMMARY

As multimodal, creolized texts cartoons are quite loaded with imagery and captions with rare exceptions. Most cartoonists try to transmit certain messages to the audience with the help of cartoons, so they tend to integrate various elements into the cartoons which would take little space in the picture while being very loaded with senses and open to interpretation. The major mechanisms that are used in the cartoons to allow such a neat construction are conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends.

Conceptual metaphors basically work by applying qualities of one phenomenon to another similar for comparison. The conceptual metaphors employed in the cartoons under analysis fall into 3 major categories divided by the target domains at use. These categories are metaphors about Trump, metaphors about the Republican party and metaphors about impeachment in general. Of course, this classification does not cover all the metaphors used in the cartoon dataset but it distinguished the most common ones. Several more metaphors are mentioned in other sections of the paper as well. As far as metaphors about Trump are concerned, they can be further subdivided into metaphors portraying Trump as a villain and metaphors portraying Trump as a child. The metaphors of the first Trump-subcategory usually evoke quite negative connotations and represent Trump as a cunning manipulator who does not respect the US values whereas metaphors of the second subcategory transfer responsibility from the President to the government, in particular the Republican party in most cases. However, the image of Donald Trump, though does acquire the ability to provoke more sympathetic audience response, still depicts the President as quite irresponsible and sometimes even foolish person, which is definitely not the type of person one wants to see governing the country. Metaphors about the Republican party were created in a similar way with the help of source domains from which mostly negative connotations were mapped onto the target domain. As far as the impeachment metaphors are concerned, they tend to be slightly more neutral. It is even possible to describe the sword metaphor as a positive image of liberation. However, in general the cartoonists depict all of these phenomena in

bad light, most probably because of the fact that such metaphors provoke greater audience-response both from those who agree with such representations and those who do not.

Conceptual blending is another cognitive mechanism employed in the cartoon creation. Not every cartoon has a good metaphor in it, but every cartoon demonstrates some kind of conceptual integration. The blend is quite different from metaphor in that it creates a new mental space out of the input spaces and it may comprise of more than 2 mental spaces. The qualities of one mental space are not simply mapped onto the other one, the two spaces are integrated which results into a creation of a new scenario. This new blended space may either comprise all or certain qualities of the input spaces or create a new mental space which will have different connotations from the initial ones. The mental spaces involved into conceptual blending are various, so a frame theory has been applied to the cartoons to facilitate the analysis. In general, the cartoons were divided into 6 major frames and the most distinctive cases of conceptual integration within each frame were analyzed. Generally, the blended space only integrates the qualities of the input domains, however, there were several cases where a surprisingly different mental space was created. Occasionally, the conceptual blending partially coincides with the conceptual metaphors in terms of the implied connotations and mental spaces used for their creation.

In conclusion, conceptual blending does not have the same powerful effect on the audience as conceptual metaphor does. It rather provides a different perspective on a certain phenomenon or a certain person which in turn stimulates thought process and helps to shape public opinion, for example, by using well-known intertextual clues as one of the input spaces.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Political cartoons are multimodal creolized texts as they combine both verbal and visual modes in them. They can be studied from various scientific perspectives. At the end of 20th century scholars devoted much attention to the exploration and analysis of cognitive aspect of political cartoons. From a cognitive point of view, cartoonists use their imagination to create a new mental reality. Political cartoons provide the ideal site for ‘creativity’ as innovation and recontextualization involve the interaction of various cognitive mechanisms, for example, such as metaphor and blending.

One of the definition of cartoons presents them as ‘drawn jokes’. Cartoons often convey messages thorough humorous representation which facilitation perception of the message by the audience. After the analysis of the given cartoon dataset, three major types of cartoons can be distinguished based on the interaction of different modes in the cartoon and the degree to which these modes are used in the humor constructions process. The cartoons are, thus, subdivided into cartoons based on visual humor, cartoons based on verbal humor and cartoons based on interaction of both modes. The first type of the cartoons is very open to readers’ interpretation as such cartoons are not constrained by any verbal means. Similarly, the second type of cartoons, basically, constitute a joke reinforced by an image situation, though the image can easily be replaced by a different one. This type of cartoons is less open to interpretation as verbal means are more rigid in this regard. The last type of humor construction can be further subdivided into cartoons where humor is based on collaboration of visual and verbal elements, and the ones where these elements are contradicting. As for the means of humor employed in the cartoons, the most common are the perspective of incongruity, exaggeration, pun and irony.

Political cartoons are designed to convey a message within limited space with the help of verbal and visual modalities. Thus, these elements are heavily loaded with sense and connotations. Quite often cartoonists use allusions to some other phenomena in order to bring more perspective into the cartoon. Intertextuality is one of the important

means of constructing the cartoon scenario. Cartoons may make allusions to some familiar everyday situations (e.g. visit to the doctor), popular culture (e.g. books and movies), historical events and actors (e.g. a famous battle) which readers from specific regions can easily recognize. Having analyzed the dataset, we have distinguished that the most common source of intertextuality are famous movies and books as they are full of images on their own, so the cartoon actors can easily be blended into a movie or book scenario. Moreover, they target huge audience with quite clear message which is already familiar to the audience because of those movie/book allusions. Several other sources of intertextuality have as well been distinguished after the analysis, however, they appear rarely in the cartoon. We assume that this is due to either unclear or no message they may send (as with songs), low recognizability or demand for high intellectual level of the reader (references to other cultures or historical events of low importance), or due to the fact that they may offend, for example, religious feelings of the audience (as in case with religious references).

One more cognitive mechanism is closely connected with intertextual aspect of the cartoons. Cartoonists often make use of allusion not only to make a cartoon more meaningful or easier for interpretation but also to integrate those references and create a new mental space to ensure that the message of the cartoon will be easier to remember and recollect. This process of integration is called conceptual blending and it is usually described as follows: qualities from several input spaces are analyzed and similar characteristics are distinguished – they create generic space. Further, all of the spaces are blended together to create a new mental space. This new blended space may either comprise all or certain qualities of the input spaces or create a new mental space which will have different connotations from the initial ones. The mental spaces involved into conceptual blending are various, so a frame theory has been applied to the cartoons to facilitate the analysis. In general, the cartoons were divided into 6 major frames and the most distinctive cases of conceptual integration within each frame were analyzed. These key frames are: conflict frame, trial frame, performance frame, media frame, morality

frame, movement frame and US values frame, the firstly named frame being the most common one within our language data.

Conceptual metaphor is another cognitive mechanism employed in the cartoon creation. Not every cartoon has a good metaphor in it, but every cartoon demonstrates some kind of conceptual integration. This is due to the fact that constructing a conceptual metaphor is a more complex process. Basically any mental spaces can be blended together, while conceptual metaphors have certain restriction which may be language-related or culture-related, etc. Conceptual metaphors work by applying qualities of one phenomenon to another one which is very similar to comparison. Metaphors may comprise only two domains, the target domain and the source domain, and the creation of metaphors never result into creation of a new mental space or domain.

The conceptual metaphors employed in the cartoons under analysis fall into 3 major categories divided by the target domains at use. These categories are metaphors about Trump, metaphors about the Republican party and metaphors about impeachment in general. The first category of metaphors can be further subdivided into metaphors portraying Trump as a villain and metaphors portraying Trump as a child. Both metaphors about Trump and metaphors about the Republican party are created in a similar way with the help of source domains from which mostly negative connotations were mapped onto the target domain. As far as the impeachment metaphors are concerned, they tend to be slightly more neutral. However, in general the cartoonists depict all of these phenomena from a negative perspective, most probably because of the fact that such metaphors provoke greater audience-response both from those who agree with such representations and those who do not.

In general, the identification and interpretation of these cognitive mechanisms are not the easiest tasks as they require solid background knowledge of the US history and culture, as well as strong knowledge of the main event depicted in the cartoons, i.e. Trump's impeachment process. Many of the cartoons from our supporting material have

culture-specific humor and references which is why they may not seem funny or at least comprehensive for a foreigner or a person with low educational background. It also takes more time than a few seconds to distinguish all the fine details and senses the cartoonist has put into his piece of work. However, cartoons immediately attract attention of the audience as they familiarize readers with political leaders and events at the same time narrowing the gap between governmental officials and usual citizens. Besides, cartoons have very powerful and efficient messages hidden inside of them. What seems a simple funny picture is often subconsciously memorized and then decoded at least to a certain degree which is usually enough to manipulate opinion of any given individual or shape public opinion according to expectations of the others.

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Figure 33. *Trump Impeached* published December 18, 2019 by Rick McKee. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/rick-mckee/2019/12/trump-impeached-2>

Figure 34. *Thanksgiving Impeachment* published November 27, 2019 by NEMØ. – Retrieved from: <http://cagle.com/nem0/2019/11/thanksgiving-impeachment>.

Figure 35. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 36. *Trump Impeachment* published December 21, 2019 by Pismestrovic P. – Retrieved from: <http://politicalcartoons.com/sku/233178/>.

Figure 37. *Impeachment* published May 30, 2019 by Pat Bagley. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/pat-bagley/2019/05/impeachment-5>

Figure 38. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 39. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 40. Trump Ukraine No Quid Pro Quo published September 23, 2019 by R.J. Matson. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/r-j-matson/2019/09/trump-ukraine-no-quid-pro-quo>

Figure 41. Romney Spine published February 6, 2020 by Rick McKee. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/rick-mckee/2020/02/romney-spine>

Figure 42. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 43. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 44. *Senate impeachment trial* published January 22, 2020 by Tom Janssen. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/tom-janssen/2020/01/senate-impeachment-trial-4>

Figure 45. *Bolton offers to testify* published January 7, 2020 by Dave Granlund. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/dave-granlund/2020/01/bolton-offers-to-testify>

Figure 46. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 47. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 48. *Can Not Tell the Truth* published November 4, 2019 by Bill Day. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/bill-day/2019/11/can-not-tell-the-truth>

Figure 49. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 50. *Trump's Fallen Fig* published October 26, 2019 by Steve Sack. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/steve-sack/2019/10/trump-s-fallen-fig>

Figure 51. *Impeach* published January 15, 2020 by David Fitzsimmons – Published. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/david-fitzsimmons/2020/01/impeach-6>

Figure 52. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 53. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 54. *Fighting Corruption Worldwide* published November 16, 2019 by Monte Wolverton. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/monte-wolverton/2019/11/fighting-corruption-worldwide>

Figure 55. *Impeachment water* published June 1, 2019 by Milt Priggee. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/milt-priggee/2019/06/impeachment-water>

Figure 56. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 57. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 58. *Impending acquittal* published February 1, 2020 by Adam Zyglis. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/adam-zyglis/2020/02/impending-acquittal>

Figure 59. *Trump and Due Process* published December 6, 2019 by Jimmy Margulies. – Retrieved from: <https://www.cagle.com/jimmy-margulies/2019/12/trump-and-due-process>

Figure 60. *Conceptual blending model*

Figure 61. *Conceptual blending model*

ANNOTATION

Editorial cartoons have been objects of research of many scientists and can be viewed from different perspectives. In the previous centuries, they constituted a great field of research for art critics as they are examples of the cartoonist's style and for historians as they reflect on certain events from various perspectives. Cognitive linguistics is one of the fastest growing and influential perspectives on the nature of language and its interaction with human mind and experience. As political cartoons encompass both visual and verbal modes, cognitive linguistics studies how the concepts are employed, integrated and transformed in a political cartoon and how the verbal component influences and changes the meaning of a visual one.

Relevance of the current scientific work is preconditioned by the necessity to closely study the phenomenon of political cartoons especially from the cognitive perspective. It is important to examine the cartoons which appeared in course of the development of new historical event, which is a new point of reference and concept creation, and to discover and categorize the new concepts which appeared as a result.

The aim of the research is to examine main conceptual aspects of the selected political cartoons and identify the concepts used to create them and convey a certain message to the audience.

Several objectives are identified in order to achieve the purpose of the research:

- Define the notion of “political cartoon” and identify its main peculiarities and functions
- Define main cognitive mechanisms employed in political cartoons
- Examine the cartoons relating to the selected historical event and select appropriate samples for further analysis
- Identify main references made in the cartoons in order to decode their meaning
- Analyze the mechanisms of humor creation in the selected cartoons
- Identify and analyze the conceptual metaphors depicted by the political cartoons

- Examine the conceptual integration employed in the selected cartoons.

The object of the study is represented by the editorial cartoons framing the impeachment process of the US President Donald Trump. **The subject of the study** are the cognitive mechanisms used to create the given political cartoons.

The supporting material of the study is selected from the Daryl Cagle's cartoonist index and thematic gallery (<http://cagle.com/>). Totally, 120 cartoons were chosen between the dates of July, 1, 2019 and February, 1, 2020.

The novelty of the research is ensured by the fact that this is the first attempt to analyze the cartoons related to Trump's impeachment process. Also, it is the only research to complete a complex analysis of multiple cognitive mechanisms employed in the cartoons with the set of 120 samples. As a result of the analysis, main sources of intertextuality in the cartoons were identified. In addition, the conceptual blends were categorized according to the frames they appear within. Main metaphors were distinguished and classified according to the repeating source/target component.

The practical value of the work infers the possibility of its use for further research on political cartoons as well as the use of the results of the research for the analysis of a different sample set framing a different political event.

The work comprises introduction, 3 chapters, conclusions, the list of references (82 items), list of illustrative materials (61 items). Totally, the work consists of 114 pages where 92 pages comprise the main text.

The first chapter analyzes political cartoon as a unique genre, its history, functions and peculiarities as well as it provides an overview of major cognitive mechanisms employed in editorial cartoons. Political cartoons are multimodal creolized texts as they combine both verbal and visual modes in them. From a cognitive point of view, cartoonists use their imagination to create a new mental reality. Political cartoons provide the ideal site for 'creativity' as innovation and

recontextualization involve the interaction of various cognitive mechanisms, for example, such as metaphor and blending.

The second chapter examined the use of references and allusions in political cartoons as well as the ways in which humor is constructed in them. After the analysis of the given cartoon dataset, three major types of cartoons can be distinguished based on the interaction of different modes in the cartoon and the degree to which these modes are used in the humor constructions process. The cartoons are, thus, subdivided into cartoons based on visual humor, cartoons based on verbal humor and cartoons based on interaction of both modes. As for the means of humor employed in the cartoons, the most common are the perspective of incongruity, exaggeration, pun and irony. Political cartoons are designed to convey a message within limited space with the help of verbal and visual modalities. Thus, these elements are heavily loaded with sense and connotations. Quite often cartoonists use allusions to some other phenomena in order to bring more perspective into the cartoon. Intertextuality is one of the important means of constructing the cartoon scenario. Having analyzed the dataset of cartoons framing Trump's impeachment scandal, we have identified major sources of intertextuality listed as follows: Christian scriptures (e.g. allusions to God and religion), famous American literature (e.g. themes, characters, etc. from novels, poetry, etc.), historical events and characters (apart from the ones actually participating in the present events), holidays and other important celebrations, movies and television shows (title, characters and posters), proverbs and clichéd sayings, including quotations from famous songs, symbols and symbolic characters. Furthermore, we have distinguished that the most common source of intertextuality are famous movies and books while the least common one is the religious references.

The third chapter of the work provides an overview of conceptual metaphors as well as conceptual blends employed in editorial cartoons under analysis. The conceptual metaphors employed in the cartoons under analysis fall into 3 major categories divided by the target domains at use. These categories are metaphors about Trump, metaphors

about the Republican party and metaphors about impeachment in general. In general, the cartoonists depict all of these phenomena from a negative perspective, most probably because of the fact that such metaphors provoke greater audience-response both from those who agree with such representations and those who do not. As far as the conceptual blending is concerned, a frame theory has been applied to the cartoons to facilitate the analysis. In general, the cartoons were divided into 6 major frames and the most distinctive cases of conceptual integration within each frame were analyzed. These key frames are: conflict frame, trial frame, performance frame, media frame, morality frame, movement frame and US values frame, the firstly named frame being the most common one within our language data. Generally, the blended space only integrates the qualities of the input domains, however, there were several cases where a surprisingly different mental space was created. Occasionally, the conceptual blending partially coincides with the conceptual metaphors in terms of the implied connotations and mental spaces used for their creation.

In general, the identification and interpretation of these cognitive mechanisms are not the easiest tasks as they require solid background knowledge of the US history and culture, as well as strong knowledge of the main event depicted in the cartoons, i.e. Trump's impeachment process. It also takes more time than a few seconds to distinguish all the fine details and senses the cartoonist has put into his piece of work. cartoons have very powerful and efficient messages hidden inside of them. What seems a simple funny picture is often subconsciously memorized and then decoded at least to a certain degree which is usually enough to manipulate opinion of any given individual or shape public opinion according to expectations of the others.