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Multimodal Metaphors and Metonymies in Editorial Cartoons about Türkiye in *Kathimerini*

ABSTRACT

Political cartoon is a multimodal genre that mainly relies on metaphors and metonymies. The main characteristics of political cartooning are, first, to expose the negative; second, to condense multidimensional complexities down into simplified depictions. *Kathimerini*, one of the oldest newspapers in the Greek press, interprets the news with editorial cartoons, which it publishes regularly. In this study, editorial cartoons in *Kathimerini*'s online English edition and those related to Türkiye were studied from the perspective of conceptual mapping theory. Interculturally recognizable scenarios function as ready-to-use metaphorical conceptualizations in the cartoons. The involved parties are represented via predefined metonymic relations in such drawings. In other words, the selected properties of the source domain are projected onto the target domain by metonymy. In general, the messages in the cartoons are transmitted through metonymic relations more frequently than other strategies. Thus, formulaic multimodal expressions based on metonymy are produced as a result of the images to cooccur in regular patterns in various contexts.

KEYWORDS: editorial cartoon, *Kathimerini*, Türkiye, metaphor, metonymy

STRESZCZENIE

Multimodalne metafory i metonimie w redakcyjnych karykaturach w „Kathimerini" o Turcji

Polityczna kreskówka to multimodalny gatunek, który opiera się przede wszystkim na metaforach i metonimiach. Główne cechy karykatur politycznych to, po pierwsze, wyeksponowanie negatywu; po drugie, skondensowanie wielowymiarowych zawiłości w uproszczone przedstawienia. „Kathimerini", jedna z najstarszych gazet w greckiej prasie, interpretuje wiadomości za pomocą komiksów redakcyjnych, które regularnie publikuje. W niniejszym badaniu karykatury redakcyjne w internetowym wydaniu angielskim „Kathimerini" oraz te związane z Turcją były badane z perspektywy teorii mapowania

pojęciowego. Scenariusze rozpoznawalne międzykulturowo funkcjonują jako gotowe do użycia konceptualizacje metaforyczne w kreskówkach. Zaangażowane strony są reprezentowane na tych rysunkach za pomocą predefiniowanych relacji metonimicznych. Innymi słowy, wybrane właściwości domeny źródłowej są rzutowane na domenę docelową przez metonimię. Ogólnie rzecz biorąc, przekazy w kreskówkach są przekazywane za pośrednictwem relacji metonimicznych częściej niż inne strategie. W wyniku współwystępowania obrazów w regularnych wzorcach w różnych kontekstach powstają więc formułowane wyrażenia multimodalne oparte na metonimii.

S Ł O W A   K L U C Z E : karykatura redakcyjna, „Kathimerini", Turcja, metafora, metonimia

Introduction

Editorial cartoons are intellectual works that reflect the editorial policy of the newspapers in which they are printed. *Kathimerini*, one of the oldest newspapers in Greece[1] since its foundation in 1919, politically places itself as center-right represented by the New Democracy (Néa Dimokratía – ND) (Kostopoulos, 2020, p. 164), currently led by Kyriakos Mitsotakis. *Kathimerini*'s political position and historically close bounds with the ND are also discernible on the cartoon pages.[2] To give an idea of this, until 2019 July when the ND gained the majority of the Greek parliament, editorial cartoons functioned as a means of strong opposition against Alexis Tsipras, the former PM and leader of the left liberal Syriza Party.

Three cartoonists, among them the chief cartoonist Ilias Makris, regularly draw for *Kathimerini*. In addition to the daily cartoons of Makris, Dimitris Hantzopoulos' drawings appear weekly, and Andreas Petroulakis' works can also be seen from time to time on those pages. Some of the cartoons that contain dialogs or sentence-length verbal notes are only published on the Greek edition of the newspaper.

Makris, whose signature style is vivid colors with energetic lines, mainly draws about daily politics. Almost all of his works appear in both Greek and English editions of the newspaper and he has been working for *Kathimerini* since 1988. With his almost abstract and timeless drawings, Hantzopoulos focuses on both domestic and external politics. His unique and bold drawing style is characterized by deep colors and black facial silhouettes that perfectly capture the corresponding public figure. Some of

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1   Kathimerini's information page is found at https://www.ekathimerini.com/about-us/

2   The cartoon page of the English edition is https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/, and the Greek version is https://www.kathimerini.gr/opinion/sketches/

the cartoons by Hantzopoulos that depend on verbal message are only published in the Greek edition of the newspaper. The third cartoonist of *Kathimerini*, a self-taught artist Petroulakis' makes traditional black and white cartoons. His drawings rarely appear in the English edition, even when they do, they do not contain the verbal elements.

Türkiye-related issues are among the frequent subjects of the editorial cartoon pages of *Kathimerini*. The encounters between Greece and Türkiye take place in the context of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) in the Aegean and Mediterranean, the migrant crisis along with the war in Syria, and similar current regional and global affairs. Broadly speaking, these encounters have the potential for conflict rather than cooperation, as mutual past is burdened especially by the Greco-Turkish wars at the beginning of the 20th century, along with the other confrontations (Ertuna & Ökse, 1975). Naturally, tensions between the two countries were a recurring topic of the editorial cartoons of the time (Ölçekçi, 2021, pp. 380–381).

In order to provide an example of the current perspective on the relations between Türkiye and Greece from *Kathimerini*, I am quoting an opinion piece that was published very recently. The concluding sentence of the article says: "…Thus we get to the point of ignoring our top minds, which are exploited by our neighbor" (Papachelas, 2022). It is explained how the neighbour (Türkiye) "exploited Greece's top minds" in a couple of paragraphs above:

> …Selcuk Bayraktar was introduced to this technology [unmanned aerial vehicles – …] by a Greek professor who teaches at a famous US university and is considered a "guru". Bayraktar holds a senior position in the Turkish war industry and is considered the man who set up the research and production program for unmanned aerial vehicles.
>
> Obviously, I am not writing this to accuse a brilliant Greek scientist who cooperated with a Turkish student 17 years ago. But I am writing this because it seems stupid and suicidal to me that the Greek state has not found him and other such scientists who have excelled, and has not already founded such an excellent production program in Greece (Papachelas, 2022).

Unexpectedly, a couple of cartoons related to Türkiye that appeared in *Kathimerini* seem presenting equity or even admiration.[3] However, I might be reading these particular cartoons more optimistically than they

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[3] The two paneled cartoon illustrates that Türkiye's participation in the Berlin Conference on Libya on 19th January 2020, was due to the Türkiye-Libya memorandum (UNTC 56119, see *References*). It was relevant for Greece because Greece had not been invited to the conference. https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/1162376/cartoon-by-ilias-makris-04-06-2021/

imply; after all the cartoon is a genre that the message is stated implicitly. On the other hand, if these works are not negative in terms of Türkiye, it should be negative from the perspective of Greece, because

> A general convention of cartooning, in contrast to advertising, is that the goal is generally to expose something bad or shameful rather than to highlight the positive (El Refaie, 2009, s. 176).

In the first section, which follows this introduction section, the scope of my study is presented in terms of topics and numbers of the respective editorial cartoons. In the second section there can be found a brief theoretical characterization on metaphorical and metonymical relations as a cognitive process and their multimodal representations in cartoons. The next section describes my findings in detail with schematized analysis on selected cartoons. Lastly there is a conclusion part where I interpreted my findings.

Cartoons on Türkiye

The first cartoons on the *Kathimerini*'s online English edition date back to June 2015. Since then, almost everyday at least one or two editorial cartoons have been published on those pages. The first cartoon about Türkiye bears the date of 13 October 2015. In total, 135 or 138 cartoons (three of which I am not sure whether are about Türkiye or not) are found mentioning Türkiye one way or another. 123 of the 138 cartoons were drawn by Makris, one by Petroulakis, and the rest are the works of Hantzopoulos. There are more cartoons related to Türkiye in the Greek edition of the newspaper that are not included in this article.

The topics of the cartoons referring to Türkiye can be categorized mainly in three 3 areas: (1) Türkiye-Greece relations, (2) domestic politics, and (3) Türkiye's position in global issues and conflicts. The subgroups that I listed below are the distinguishable contexts within the generic areas.

(1) Türkiye-Greece relations:
a. Mediterranean: EEZ, Turkish survey activities, Libyan conflict, refugees,
b. Cyprus: Disputes on the southern Greek and northern Turkish parts of Cyprus,
c. The Aegean Sea (also called as "The Sea of Islands"): territorial waters, air-spaces,
d. Diplomatic talks and negotiations between the two countries' governments.

(2) Domestic politics:

a. Türkiye: Economy, political situation, the conversion of Hagia Sofia back into a mosque in July 2020, other historically disputed issues,

b. Greece: Alexis Tsipras and Syriza critique, Greece's internal problems like heavy snow or the COVID-19 pandemic, etc.

(3) Türkiye's position in global issues and conflicts:

a. Türkiye's position in the Ukraine-Russia war,

b. Türkiye-EU relations; with various actors like Germany, France, Spain, EU Commission, etc.

c. Türkiye-US relations; during D. Trump's and J. Biden's presidencies,

d. Türkiye-Arab countries relations; Palestine,

e. Türkiye-Russia relations; V. Putin, S-400 missile defense systems deal, Syria,

f. The migrant crisis.

Those topics that I listed above do not appear entirely isolated from one another in the cartoons, i.e., there are cartoons that touch one or two topics at the same time. For example, the air defense system deal between Russia and Türkiye appears in a cartoon that illustrates J. Biden during a NATO meeting shaking hands with R.T. Erdoğan, who carries S-400 missiles on his back;[4] or the cartoons mentioning Mediterranean issues, bring D. Trump and R.T. Erdoğan, or A. Merkel and the Turkish Oruçreis survey ship together in the same picture.[5]

The nature of political cartoons requires the artists to follow the daily news. Hence, the numbers of the Türkiye related cartoons in *Kathimerini* rise and fall according to the intensity of the relations between the two countries. As is seen in Table 1, in 2020 the cartoons on the Mediterranean are at their highest on account of Türkiye's declaration its EEZ at the end of 2019, which is another issue of dispute between the two countries (Bektaş, 2020; Ροζάκης, 2018; Πουλής & Κωνσταντίνου 2020). On the other hand, according to the editorial cartoon pages, the hottest issue between Türkiye and Greece in 2019 was the international migrant crisis due to refugees fleeing from Syria.

The white digits on the color blocks in Table1 are the count of the cartoons on the related topic.

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4   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/1162792/cartoon-by-ilias-makris-14-06-2021/

5   Erdoğan bending from Muğla (south-western coast of Türkiye) over the waters of the Mediterranean sees his reflection as D. Trump: https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/253511/cartoon-112/; Merkel, the then Chancellor of Germany, is portrayed as the mermaid figurehead of the Oruçreis frigate: https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/260050/cartoon-1019/

Table 1: Editorial cartoons related to Türkiye published in Kathimerini's online English edition, topics by year between June 2015 and April 2022.
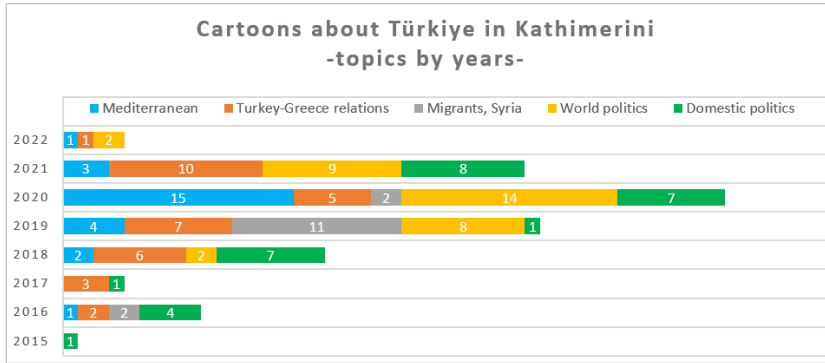
Especially between 2019 and February 2022, Türkiye was the most frequently mentioned foreign country in the editorial cartoons of *Kathimerini*. In addition to that, the most portrayed foreign politician by far was the President of Türkiye, R.T. Erdoğan. In fact, some political figures such as A. Merkel, J. Biden, D. Trump, V. Putin, and E. Macron appeared on these pages between 2019 and 2021 in relation with Türkiye.[6]

A brief theoretical characterization

Studies on the editorial cartoon genre constitute a large area of research that varies in terms of methodology and/or motivation with respect to the relevant discipline. Editorial cartoons are analyzed from the political discourse point of view (Talalay, 2012; Gil, 2018) and their functioning as a mass communicative tool (Sani et al., 2012; Sabawala, 2013). More theoretical approaches are also adopted based on semiotics and conceptual theories (Abdel-raheem, 2016; Ölçekçi, 2021; Zhang & Forceville, 2020) in order to reveal what is behind a cartoon.

This paper analyzes the use of multimodal metaphors and metonymies in editorial cartoons of which topics are Türkiye published on *Kathimerini*'s English online edition between June 2015 and March 2022. As is seen in the cartoon pages, Türkiye poses a vivid political issue with various actual and historical dimensions from the Greek perspective.

Metaphors help us to understand one information (target/topic/tenor) in terms of other (source/vehicle/base) (Forceville, 2009, p. 21). Thus, metaphors are based on two different domains and explain the target domain

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6   For example: https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/248844/cartoon-245/

referring to a shared knowledge domain. For example, in a metaphor like "LOVE (target) is FIRE (source)" two distinct knowledges are placed in a shared domain which is PAIN. Metonymy, on the other hand, is realized in the same domain, such as LOVER for LOVE, e.g., YOU are my LOVE: "emotion" for the "cause of emotion" (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 56). Metaphors and metonymies as two different cognitive mechanisms are found usually integrated in fact. According to Paradis,

> in its capacity of being a construal of salience, metonymization is a prerequisite for metaphorization. Reanalysis is the motivating factor for metonymization, while metaphorization is driven by comparison and analogy. Analogy presupposes reanalysis, while the reverse is not the case (Paradis, 2011, p. 9).

Metaphors and metonymies that traditionally have been scrutinized from the cognitive linguistics point of view are represented multimodally in the cartoons. I refer to the "conceptual blending (or binding) theory" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003) to analyze the selected works from *Kathimerini*. The blending theory is useful for analyzing multimodal metaphors since it schematizes the conceptual mapping mechanism. The theory offers four domains that function in such a cognitive process: the generic space is the shared reference domain of the two input domains and in the blended space selected feature(s) from input 1 are projected onto input 2 (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003, p. 59). Nevertheless, I should add that the blending theory is criticized due to the vagueness of so-called spaces (Ritchie, 2004).

To avoid deepening in the theoretical details, and for the sake of practicality, I take the generic space as a "shared knowledge domain where input domains intersect", such as the "event (act, state)" in a simile. Two input domains are the "target" and "source" domains. And lastly, the blended space is the domain where the selected properties of the source are mapped onto the target. The mechanism works as El Refaie explains: "Once both target and source have been identified, the reader is invited to map properties of a prototypical A onto B" (2009, p. 178). The process will count as success if the reader accepts (or is inspired by) the artist's projection onto the new domain, i.e., idiosyncratic mapping becomes conceptual for the reader as well. The proposed connections, that is, the binding of selected properties, may not seem relatable due to either their being too complex or rather too simple; in such a case the mapping fails, and the blended space does not occur for the reader.

In the next section, I analyze the cartoons from the theoretical perspective that I have explained here.

Findings

As "a multimodal genre that draws heavily on metaphors and metony-mies" editorial cartoons have "strong evaluative and ethical dimensions are excellent instruments to discuss ideology" (Forceville, 2017, p. 38). Cartoonists often refer to culturally recognizable and widely known sce-narios, like fairy tales, mythology, folktales, and popular culture, as they provide ready-to-use metaphorical conceptualizations. The involved par-ties are represented via metonymic relations in such drawings. In other words, selected properties of the source are projected onto the target domain through metonymy, which functions as a part of the metaphorical conceptualization.

I analyze a selected group of cartoons schematically in order to dem-onstrate how the metaphorical mapping mechanism serves for the artist to state their case and for the reader to grasp the message that was given covertly. Not being too obvious in the cartoons is especially intriguing since humans by nature enjoy solving puzzles.

Two of Makris' cartoons that are based on the same metaphor can be formed into a scheme as follows:[7]

Generic domain: Harassment	
Source domain: the harasser/man/Türkiye harasses the victim/woman/Greece/EU	Target domain: Greece/EU – Türkiye relations
Blended domain (*selected properties*): Greece/EU is *shocked* and *vulnerable* in front of Türkiye's *aggression*	

Metonymic relations which reveal the actors:
CATEGORY for PROPERTY (WOMAN for VULNERABILITY; MAN for AGGRESSION) (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 54)
FLAG for COUNTRY/UNION (Turkish, Greek, EU flags)
PERSON for COUNTRY/UNION (old /middle age lady for EU/Greece; man for Türkiye)
PHYSICAL FEATURES for IDENTITY (white/blonde hair, light complexion, slim body for European/Greek; dark hair, dark complexion, big, fat body for Turk)
OUTFIT for IDENTITY (fez for Turk)
OBJECT for POLICY (oil tower for EEZ policy)

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7   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/227665/cartoon-55/,   https://www.ekathime-rini.com/opinion/cartoon/241749/cartoon-1028/

A universally recognized concept is used in a drawing by Hantzopoulos:[8]

Generic domain: Chinese water torture, i.e., dripping water onto the scalp	
Source domain: Immigrants dripping onto K. Mitsotakis' scalp, *or*, Greece is being tortured	Target domain: Greece's hardships due to the refugees
Blended domain (*selected properties*): Immigrants fleeing to Greece is a *hardship* caused by Türkiye	

Metonymies used to explain who is who in the cartoon are:

FLAG for COUNTRY (Türkiye) – Turkish flag attached to the "immigrant" dripping faucet points the torturer

LEADER for COUNTRY (K. Mitsotakis for Greece) – the victim is the Greek Prime Minister (Greece) who is sitting on a chair with his hands tied with a rope on his back.

Similar composition related to the same topic appears in one of the Makris' works:[9]

Generic domain: Cannons bombarding city walls (*or*) the enemy at the gates	
Source domain: EU borders are being bombarded with "human" cannon balls	Target domain: The migrant crisis at the gates of EU/Greece
Blended domain (*selected properties*): Immigrants fleeing to EU/Greece is an *attack* from Türkiye	

Metonymic relations:

WALLS for BORDERS

FLAG for COUNTRY (Türkiye) – On the attacker side there is the Turkish flag

FLAG for COUNTRY/UNION (Greece / EU) – Greece and EU flags are on the attacked side

The only cartoon that I found on *Kathimerini*'s English edition related to Türkiye by Petroulakis is again about the refugee crisis:[10]

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8   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245672/cartoon-620/

9   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/250234/cartoon-836/ A similar cartoon about Belarus: https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/1171648/cartoon-by-ilias-makris -12-11-2021/

10   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/250444/cartoon-715/

Generic domain: The tale of the Pied Piper (*or* Rat-Catcher) of Hamelin	
Source domain: "Pied Piper" leading the refugees to some place	Target domain: Türkiye's refugee policy
Blended domain (*selected properties*): Türkiye *drives* the migrant crisis *according to its own interests*	

Metonymic relations:
    PERSON for COUNTRY (Turkish President R.T. Erdoğan for Türkiye)

Another cartoon on the refugee crisis is a reference to the "statement of cooperation" between EU states and the Turkish Government, which was signed in March 2016 (International Rescue Committee, 2022):[11]

Generic domain: Gambling game	
Source domain: Gambler (Türkiye) who wins in either case	Target domain: The terms and conditions of the deal
Blended domain (*selected properties*): Türkiye *wins* and EU *loses* from the agreement	

Metonymic relations:
    LEADER for COUNTRY (President R.T. Erdoğan for Türkiye)
    PERSON for UNION (white-haired old lady for EU)
    MONEY for FINANCE

Natural gas and hydrocarbon reserves in the Mediterranean, and hence EEZ issues are among the hot topics between Greece and Türkiye. Türkiye's discovery of natural gas reserves in the Black Sea in August 2020 is illustrated by a reference to the Greek mythology:[12]

Generic domain: Aeolus' bag (Something that looks valuable but is dangerous in fact)	
Source domain: Finding Aeolus' bag of storms	Target domain: Türkiye's discovery of natural gas reserves in the Black Sea
Blended domain (*selected properties*): The discovery of natural gas reserves in the Black Sea *will cause a disaster* for Türkiye	

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11   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245886/cartoon-17/

12   https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/255712/cartoon-1075/

Metonymies involved:

> VESSEL for COUNTRY: Turkish drilling ship represents Türkiye (or Türkiye's EEZ policies)

The examples above show that the metonymic relations appear in the cartoons as means of metaphorical conceptualization. Thus, it is safe to say that metonymy is a more fundamental mechanism for cartoonists to apply in order to convey their messages. Indeed, recurrent metonymies seem typical especially in Makris' work. Creating novel metaphorical conceptualization, as well as applying conventional ones to actual news, requires to work on distinct domains of knowledge, that is something too source-consuming to do every day. Consequently, formulaic multimodal expressions that are specific to editorial cartoons are produced via concatenating images in regular patterns repeatedly.

To conclude this section, I shall give a list of metonymies and metaphors that frequently occur referring to the respective cartoons through their web page links.

Metonymic relations that are mostly found in the cartoons are PART for WHOLE type metonymies (Kövecses & Radden, 1998, pp. 48–62). Frequent examples are:

> BODY PART for REGIME (moustache for Hitler regime; hair for Trump regime)
>
> COIN for ECONOMY[13]
>
> FACIAL EXPRESSION for CHARACTER[14] (frowning for aggressiveness; sagging lower lip, spitting for greediness, etc.)
>
> FLAG for COUNTRY
>
> GESTURE for IDEOLOGY (Hitler salute for Fascism)
>
> MISSILES for AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM
>
> MONUMENT for COUNTRY (the Eiffel Tower for France)
>
> OUTFIT for IDENTITY[15] (fez, turban for Turks; cowboy outfit for Americans; foustenalle, tsarouhia for Greeks)
>
> PERSON (man/woman/family) for NATION
>
> PERSON for FORM OF GOVERNMENT (Hitler for dictatorship)
>
> PHYSICAL FEATURES for IDENTITY[16] (white or light hair and complexion, thin lips and noses, slimness for Europeans; dark hair and complexion, thick lips, meatiness for Turks, refuges)

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13 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/1172403/cartoon-by-ilias-makris-24-11-2021/, https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/1168499/cartoon-by-ilias-makris-24-09-2021/

14 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/246075/cartoon-548/

15 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/212509/cartoon-115/

16 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/225874/cartoon-205/

POLITICIAN (president / PM) for COUNTRY/UNION
REFUGEE BOAT/TENT CITY/CROWDS for MIGRANT CRISIS[17]
SOLDIER/VESSELS OF WAR (warship / fighter jet, etc.) for ARMY
VESSEL (survey ship/ warship / fighter jet, etc.) for EEZ POLICY[18]
TABLE for NEGOTIATIONS

The metaphorical conceptualizations based on the metonymic relations listed above:

Generic domain	Source	Target	Blended domain (*selected features*)
Dictatorship	Hitler	Politician	A politician having full authority
Sultanate	Sultan	Politician	A politician having full sovereignty
Free will[19]	1. Puppet master 2. Puppets	1. Politician 2. Supporters	Crowds are easily manipulated by a specific political actor
Good and evil[20]	1. Seagull 2. Crow	1. Greece 2. Türkiye	1. White (good-light) 2. Black (bad-dark)
Key as an opener[21]	Key is swallowed	Solution chances disappeared	Solution is blocked by a specific actor
Football match[22]	1. Footballers 2. Scoring a goal	1. Politicians 2. Winning in negotiations	Rivalry between countries

Conclusion

This paper dealing with the metaphorical and metonymical representations in the editorial cartoons, inevitably witnesses the ideological and

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17 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245203/cartoon-262/, https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245142/cartoon-493/, https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/ 206895/cartoon-797/

18 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/256583/cartoon-896/, https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/1169986/cartoon-by-ilias-makris-18-10-2021/

19 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/258043/cartoon-589/

20 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245291/cartoon-627/, https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245459/cartoon-62/ In a cartoon both Türkiye and Greece are depicted as seagulls, however, the Turkish one is armed: https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/245688/cartoon-1219/

21 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/253660/cartoon-1029/

22 https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/cartoon/256120/cartoon-822/

manipulative role of the images used, as well as the euphemistic and dysphemistic strategies involved. Simplifying overly complex problems into easy-to-swallow bite-size facts is another characteristic of the editorial cartoon genre. Since the focus is on the negativity in editorial cartooning (El Refaie, 2009, p. 176), it is almost customary that stereotypes and systematic metaphors are often used to create a superficial perception of good-evil contrast. There is the potential for all sorts of stereotypes and hostility in the context of Greece and Türkiye relations, in a genre that naturally focuses on negativity, usually in an exaggerated form. Orientalist stereotypes in Ilias Makris' works frequently appear as a statement of a black-and-white world view. Such a cliché, as it is widely encountered in Western media, serves to propagate a fear of "the enemy at the gates," and "Western civilization being under attack" aiming to shape the people's perception towards the targeted out-group (Sabawala, 2013, p. 519).

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