

Dangerous Waters Metaphor in News Discourse on Refugee Crisis

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Abstract

Employing Steen's three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis (2008; 2011), the paper examines DANGEROUS WATERS metaphors used in the US, British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian news discourse on Refugee crisis. The study reveals that there are no significant differences in metaphorization of migrants in news broadcasts by BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera Balkans, which means that MIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS is frequent and used in order to promote certain viewpoints and express rhetorical goals in discourse. Thus, critical analysis of the use of DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor points to certain ideological qualities of conceptualization of migrants in the media in the UK, USA and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mit Hilfe des dreidimensionalen Modells der Metapheranalyse von Steen (2008, 2011) wird die Metapher GEFÄHRLICHE GEWÄSSER analysiert, die in den USA, in den britischen und in den bosnisch-herzegowinischen Medien zur Flüchtlingskrise verwendet wird. Die Studie zeigt, dass es keinen signifikanten Unterschied in der Metaphorisierung von Migranten in BBC, CNN oder Al Jazeera Balkans gibt. Das bedeutet, dass die Metapher MIGRATION ALS GEFÄHRLICHE GEWÄSSER häufig verwendet wird, um bestimmte Standpunkte und rhetorische Ziele im Diskurs auszudrücken. Die kritische Analyse des Einsatzes der GEFÄHRLICHE GEWÄSSER Metapher deutet auf bestimmte ideologische Merkmale der Konzeptualisierung von Migranten in den Medien in Großbritannien, den Vereinigten Staaten und Bosnien-Herzegowina hin.

1. Introduction

Numerous studies examining metaphors in the U.S. and British public discourse on migration have been published (e. g. Santa Ana 2002; Cunningham-Parmer 2011; Charteris-Black 2006; Hart 2010; Musolff 2011). A substantial number of studies deals specifically with migration metaphors in news discourse (Charteris-Black 2006; Gabrielatos i Baker 2008; Greenslade 2005; Hart 2010, 2011b; Ibrahim i Howarth 2015; Howarth i Ibrahim 2014; Kitis i Milapides 1997; Musolff 2006, 2011, 2016; Parker 2015). DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor is considered, for instance, in Santa Ana (2002, 1997), Cunningham-Parmer (2011) and Musolff (2011). All of these studies, however, reveal how DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor is used to instill fear because migrants are presented as a (natural, dangerous, uncontrollable) force destroying the country in which they come.

Hart (2010: 146) believes that metaphorical conceptualization of Britain fighting against migration leaves real consequences in terms of the nature of the response to the enemy, as „we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 158). In this regard, the use of certain linguistic metaphors (e. g. *floodgate*, *dam*) in order to insist on stopping or decreasing the number of migrants serves a single aim of justifying legislative acts, procedures and possibly more aggressive actions towards migrants.

This paper aims to analyze DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor used in Bosnian-Herzegovinian, British and American news discourse on Refugee crisis. The central intent is to show to what extent the analyzed metaphors reflect different positions of migrants in the three countries. Developed countries have made a significant progress when it comes to human rights and righteous treatment of all social groups, whereas the position of some groups of population (e. g. persons with disabilities) is still very difficult in third-world and developing countries, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina (see Imamović 2015). On the other hand, a part of Bosnian-Herzegovinian population underwent migration due to war from 1992-1995. In this respect, we believed the public would be more sympathetic towards migrants and thus media rhetoric would be (at least slightly) less negative. Our findings reveal that there are no significant differences in metaphorization of migrants in news broadcasts by the BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera Balkans in the period from September 2015 until March 2016. This means that certain metaphorical framework is pervasive and used in public discourse to support a desirable worldview and dominant ideologies. Mass media present migration as an important issue with serious social consequences. We explore how these three influential media employ metaphorical linguistic expressions such as *flow*, *tide*, *wave*, *engulf*, *flood* to instil fear and uncertainty by presenting migrants as a destructive force. The first aim of the paper is a contrastive analysis of metaphorical linguistic expressions from WATER domain in Bosnian-Herzegovinian, American and British media, and the second is a three-dimensional analysis of conceptual metaphors: linguistic, conceptual and communicative levels (Steen 2007, 2008; Steen et. al. 2010). Migration metaphors in news discourse can have serious consequences on the policies designed to respond to migration and can impact on actions towards migrants

in real life. Our critical analysis focuses on the use of DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor as we aim to describe its ideological background.

The following section will present the corpora and discuss methodological approaches. The results of the analysis of metaphors identified in news from CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera Balkans will be presented in the third section. The findings of this quantitative analysis will be discussed in section four.

2. Methodology

The corpus in this study includes articles about Refugee crisis retrieved from official websites of three news channels: BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera Balkans. It is comparable in type (news on migrants and migration), time frame (all published from September 2015 until March 2016), and size (American English: 24 898 words; British English: 25 668 words; Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian:¹ 25 751 words).

Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), formed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), is the methodological basis of this study. It involves „determining whether or not each lexical unit in the discourse is used metaphorically in a particular context“, which is done „by comparing the contextual and the basic meaning of the word, referring to contemporary dictionaries in order to avoid bias and reliance on intuition of native speakers and individual analysts“ (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). We employed an improved version of the linguistic metaphor identification procedure (MIPVU), developed by a group of metaphor analysts from Vrije University Amsterdam.² MIPVU consists of several precisely defined steps presented in Steen et al. (2010: 25-26).

¹ Henceforth B/C/S languages.

² After developing MIP with the Pragglejaz Group (2007) and improving it into MIPVU with a group of associates (Steen et al., 2010), Steen has published extensively on the methodology of metaphor identification referring to MIPVU as a whole (2007, 2008), as well as focusing on the individual segments of the procedure. Regarding this part related to the logical reconstruction of the analytical process, Steen has written on several occasions (1999, 2002, 2009b). See also Herrmann (2013) for metaphor in academic discourse, Kaal (2012) for metaphor in conversation; the most significant for our paper is Krennmayr's study (2011) on the application of MIPVU procedure for metaphor identification in newspaper discourse.

Pragglejaz group (2007) advocates a bottom-up approach in metaphor analysis without presupposing certain conceptual metaphors.³ We comply with the bottom-up approach and derive conceptual metaphors from metaphorical linguistic expressions that have been previously identified. Steen et al. (2010: 8) advocate this method of analysing metaphors in use, and introduce so-called methodological separation between the identification of the linguistic forms of metaphor and determining its conceptual structure. In other words, the identification of linguistic metaphors using MIPVU serves as the basis for determining the conceptual metaphors using the Five-step method.⁴ This methodological separation is advocated in other studies, e. g. Krennmayr (2011) exploring metaphor in news discourse.

In line with the paper topic, we accounted for WATER metaphors related to migrants, migration, as well as countries that receive migrants. The first step involves the collection of news texts, which are downloaded from the Internet; the second step includes isolation of full sentences containing expressions from WATER domain but which are related to migration; MIPVU is applied to the excerpted sentences, which then become the primary material for further study of metaphor on a conceptual level. Thus, we only departed from the MIP and MIPVU procedure in that we did not include for the analysis each metaphor found in the corpora as prescribed by the procedure, but selected only metaphorical linguistic expressions belonging to WATER domain. During the corpus annotation, the following dictionaries have been consulted: *MacMillan Online Dictionary*, *Collins Cobuild Online Dictionary*, *Rječnik bosanskoga jezika* in volumes (Jahić 2010), *Rječnik bosanskoga jezika* (Halilović/Palić/Šehović 2010).

3. Research results

Quantitative analysis in this study is twofold. First, the identified metaphoric linguistic metaphors from WATER domain were examined in terms of parts of speech (see 3. 1). Second, the identified linguistic metaphors were classified

³ For the difference between the top-down and bottom-up approaches see Krennmayr (2011: 25). More on the bottom-up approach in Krennmayr (2008: 4). Also, Herrmann (2013: 73-74) considers the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches.

⁴ For the steps of Five-step method see Steen (2007, 2009b: 94). Steen (2011: 97) examines the connection between the five-step method and the three dimensions of metaphor in discourse.

according to Steen's three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis (Steen 2008; 2011), whereby we provided detailed comments on statistical findings and what these indicate (see 3. 2).

3.1 Word classes

Previous studies⁵ of metaphor in discourse examine metaphorical linguistic expressions in terms of word classes.⁶ It has been established that the percentage of a certain word class depends on the communicative purpose of a particular register (e. g. the purpose of news is to inform and evaluate; Herrmann 2013: 12). One peculiarity of our research to bear in mind is that we do not annotate the entire news collected as we hear/read it, but specific segments of news discourse i. e. those related to one particular topic (migration), which means that our results do not apply to this particular type of discourse (i. e. news) in general.

In the corpus of 50566 English words in total, we identified 80 linguistic metaphors belonging to WATER domain (0,158%). Out of 25751 words in B/C/S language, 65 expressions from WATER domain are used metaphorically (0,252%).

The most numerous metaphoric linguistic expressions in English are *flow* (21 example) and *influx* (22 examples), while *wave* (*val*) and *flow* (*priliv, priljev*) are the most common in B/C/S (31 and 29 examples respectively).

The news from Al Jazeera Balkans contain more linguistic metaphors (65 in total) than those from CNN (46) and BBC (34), but the linguistic metaphors in English are more diverse than those in B/C/S languages. Furthermore, metaphorically used expressions in English are richer regarding their morphological properties: nouns take up inflectional and/or derivational endings (*influxes, inflows, trickling, outpouring, poured*), nouns are combined to form compounds (*bottleneck, flood-tide*).

⁵ E. g. Herrmann (2013) for academic discourse, Cameron (2003) for education discourse, Dorst (2011) for metaphors in prose, Kaal (2012) for spoken discourse.

⁶ For statistical data of Metaphor-related words Within Each Word Class in Each Register see Herrmann (2013: 137). For the three-way interaction between metaphor, register and word class see Steen et al. (2010: 194-218).

Nouns make up 94,2% of English corpus. These are followed by verbs (2,9%) and pronouns (2,9%). When it comes to B/C/S, nouns are also dominant word class (96,92%) and are followed by verbs (1,54) and adjectives (1,54).⁷

Furthermore, it is determined that 46% of nouns in the corpus is premodified by an adjective. If one has in mind that the purpose of the use of adjectives in informational registers is „to further elaborate nominal information [...], since they pack information in relatively few words and structures“ (see Herrmann 2013: 152), then it can be claimed that adjectives in news discourse on Refugee crisis intensify fear that is awakened in recipients by using metaphorical nouns from the semantic field of natural disaster (flood, in this particular paper). The use of adjectives is further elaborated in the section 4.

3.2 The three-dimensional metaphor analysis

According to the three-dimensional model (Steen 2008, 2011), there are three levels of metaphor analysis (linguistic, conceptual and communicative). On linguistic level, metaphors are classified as indirect, direct and implicit metaphors. On conceptual level, we distinguish between conventional and novel metaphors,⁸ and deliberate and nondeliberate metaphors on communicative level. Our research focuses on the communicative level of analysis, considering *MIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS* as a nondeliberate conventional metaphor aimed at promoting antimigrant ideologies. However, it was necessary to conduct a quantitative analysis at all three levels of three-dimensional model because all novel metaphors are deliberate metaphors, and all direct metaphors are actually deliberate metaphors.⁹

3.2.1 Linguistic level of analysis

The identified linguistic metaphors in news articles about Refugee crisis are classified as the indirect, direct or implicit metaphors. Indirect metaphors are

⁷ See Appendix 2.

⁸ More on conventional and novel metaphors see in Kovecses (2010). The criterion of conventionality is discussed in Lakoff (1993), Steen (2007), Charteris-Black (2011, 2004), Semino (2008).

⁹ On the interconnectedness of the three parameters (indirectness, conventionality and deliberateness) see Steen (2008, 2010), Steen (2009: 191).

analysed following guidelines in Krennmayr (2011: 51-52). Previous studies have shown that indirect metaphors make up 98% of all the metaphors in natural discourse (Steen et al. 2010; Steen 2009a: 185). Our research has also confirmed that the mapping between domains is most often manifested in the form of indirect metaphor. Statistically speaking, the corpus contains 143 indirect metaphors (98,62%) and 2 implicit metaphors (1.38%).¹⁰ Direct metaphors, which are defined as „direct expressions (other forms of metaphor such as simile, analogy, and so on)“ (Steen et al. 2010: 21), are not identified in the corpus.

When it comes to implicit metaphors, defined as „implicit expressions (by substitution and ellipsis)“ (Steen et al. 2010: 21), this form of potential cross-domain mapping is described in detail in Steen et al. (2010: 39-40) and Krennmayr (2011: 59-60). The corpus in B/C/S does not contain implicit metaphors, while two implicit metaphors have been identified in English. In the following sentences, pronouns *it* refer to metaphorical expressions *bottleneck* and *influx*.

- (1) To get an idea of what a *bottleneck* could do as the human *tide* crashes into *it*: Last week alone, before the measures were announced, 7,286 refugees crossed from Greece into Macedonia, the International Organization for Migration said. (CNN1)¹¹
- (2) Last year a record 1.1 million people sought asylum in Germany - and while politicians have been busy arguing over how best to deal with the *influx* of migrants, others have been making money out of *it*. (BBC1)

3.2.2 Conceptual level of analysis

This segment of the analysis refers to establishing conventionality of linguistic metaphors. In this respect, we checked whether collected metaphorical linguistic expressions entered dictionaries. If these expressions have not been verified in at least one dictionary, they are marked as unconventional (i. e. novel) linguistic metaphors, since these participate in the creation of new mappings between conceptual domains. Therefore, conventional metaphors are based on conventional mappings between conceptual domains, while

¹⁰ See Appendix 3.

¹¹ For news text sources and abbreviations see Appendix 4.

original mappings between two domains are the basis of novel metaphors (Steen 2008: 215). MIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS is a conventional conceptual metaphor and is realized through the use of conventional metaphoric linguistic expressions, i. e. conventional linguistic metaphors.

3.2.3 Communicative level of analysis

On communicative level, we distinguish between deliberate and non-deliberate metaphors. Deliberate metaphors are found in several linguistic forms and conceptual structures, serving several communicative functions (see Steen 2009a: 183). We highlight the fact that all of these „diverging forms of deliberate metaphor“ (Steen 2009a: 183) have a crucial property of a sender asking the addressee „to change perspective and intentionally look at something in terms of something else“ (ibid.). Deliberate metaphors are typically novel and direct, but they can also be conventional and indirect (Steen 2010: 17). Deliberate metaphors are identified using the protocol for deliberate metaphor identification (IDEM) proposed by Krennmayr (2011: 154-155).¹²

Non-deliberate metaphors are neither direct nor novel (Steen 2011: 40). We remind that our main claim is that DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor is indirect, conventional and nondeliberate metaphor. Metaphoric expressions in the corpus are not novel, expressed directly, nor signalled either by a simile or any other signalling device (e. g. quotation marks; see Herrmann 2013: 67-68; Semino 2008; Darian 2000: 181). Yet, there are other features that make the recipient aware of the intended metaphorical usage of an expression: metaphorical expressions from WATER domain all appear close together in the individual articles and elicit rhetorical effect of persuasion in media discourse.

Apart from metaphorical linguistic expressions, migration discourse abounds with lexemes from the same semantic field, i. e. a single sentence (and a paragraph, in particular) contains several metaphorical linguistic expressions from WATER domain as well as non-metaphorical expressions from the semantic field of water. In the following sentence, *surging* and *flowing* are used non-figuratively to describe an actual river:

¹² In their recent studies, metaphor analysts are working on a systematic and reliable procedure for the identification of deliberate metaphor, see Reijnierse (2015).

- (3) Two weeks ago, hundreds of people were stopped by Macedonian troops after crossing a surging river on the border. Bypassing the regular crossing, they tried to wade through the swift-flowing water, clinging to a rope strung between the banks.¹³

The same article, however, contains linguistic expressions from WATER domain, which are used figuratively, e. g. *wave*:

- (4) The *wave* of new arrivals appeared to be triggered by a rumour that international journalists and Red Cross officials would help them force their way across the fence into Macedonia, a young Syrian refugee told the Athens News Agency.¹⁴

When a metaphorical expression is surrounded with expressions from the same semantic field, a stimulating context is created and the expressions used elicit rhetorical effects (notably persuasion). Kainz and Petersson (2016: 5) explain how „[I]nfluential metaphors can often lie dormant to be triggered into more active use when contextual factors prompt them to.“ In the following section, we discuss how migration-related metaphorical expressions are used for ideological purposes in media discourse, their strength lying in the repetition of certain implicit associations, which then intensifies the ideological content.

4. Discussion

Having in mind the nature of metaphor (its inherent properties such as partial mappings, highlighting and hiding; see Lakoff and Johnson 1980), it is a perfect tool for „prompting people to think in a desired way“ (Kainz and Petersson 2016: 4) since it „acts as a filter that lets through or even reinforces information, which is congruous with the metaphor and hinders discrepant information“ (ibid.). Our claim is that disregard of facts reinforces certain worldviews and attitudes, which then turn into common sense through a persistent use of naturalized metaphors, which present migration in a negative light.

¹³ „Refugees rush back to Greek camp amid rumours of open border“, *The Guardian*, 27 March 2016.

¹⁴ „Refugees rush back to Greek camp amid rumours of open border“, *The Guardian*, 27 March 2016.

As our research showed, MIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS is neither direct nor novel, i. e. it is neither actively signalled nor conspicuous, and thus is taken for granted. The fact that MIGRATION AS DANGEROUS WATERS metaphor is realized as indirect and conventional indicates that it is naturalized to the extent that it usually passes unnoticed as in the following examples:

- (5) But it was along this highway linking Budapest to Vienna that the *flow* of humanity saw a flood of compassion. (CNN2)
- (6) The video defies explanation. A Hungarian camerawoman, documenting the *wave* of desperate migrants sprinting from a holding camp, sees a man running with a child in his arms. (CNN3)

These messages (the flow of humanity; the wave of desperate migrants) sound as they are aimed at awakening recipients' compassion, but the metaphoric linguistic expressions from WATER domain (in this particular case, *wave*, *flow* and *flood*) operate ideologically in migration discourse. Kainz and Petersson (2016: 1) remind us that Reynolds' study (2015) revealed newspaper articles seemingly use metaphors in neutral terms but in ways in which their connotations still may be negative and imply danger or harm to the depicted groups.

Furthermore, Hart (2011b: 271) detected naturalized ideological patterns in migration discourse, where text-producers choose certain structural properties „as to convey a particular conceptualization of a scene“, which means there are linguistic structures in a text that „reflect the text-producer's own conception of reality (or at least one they wish to promote in order to effect ideological discursive strategies).“ His study is based on force-dynamic system, which „concerns the way in which objects are conceived to interact with respect to the exertion of force, resistance to force, the overcoming of such resistance, barriers to the exertion of force and the removal of such barriers“ (id.: 273). Hart (2011b: 274) claims that „any force-dynamic representation in discourse on immigration is therefore inherently ideological“.

Certain findings from Hart's (2011b) study have been used in this paper in order to point to similar patterns in our corpus. Since our research combines Critical Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Metaphor Theory, this analytical

framework is used to point to certain ideological qualities of conceptualization of migrants in news discourse.

The analysis revealed that 4,5% of nouns in the corpus are in their plural form:

- (7) In addition, the U.S. tolerance of the divisive Nuri al-Maliki government allowed the poison to spread into Iraq, and Iraqis are now joining the *flows* of Syrian refugees in the hundreds of thousands. (CNN4)
- (8) Of course, in the current crisis, we are protected by geography from the huge *inflows* of refugees arriving directly to the neighboring countries and to Europe to seek asylum. (CNN4)
- (9) We can at least manage a fraction of that for Syrians and Iraqis -- to say nothing of the continuing refugee *outflows* from Afghanistan -- who are among the largest groups seeking asylum in Europe. (CNN4)
- (10) „Nismo zemlja koja u datom trenutku ne može biti solidarna ali u ovom trenutku tražimo od njih da zaustave *priljeve* koji se događaju u zemljama koje ovo dopuštaju“, izjavio je novinarima u subotu Ostojić na željezničkom kolodvoru u Tovarniku. [„We are not a country that can not be in solidarity at the given moment, but at this point we are asking them to stop inflows happening in countries that allow this,“ Ostojić told reporters on Saturday at Tovarnik railway station.] (Al Jazeera1)
- (11) Pritom je upozorio da se mogu očekivati novi *valovi* izbjeglica, zbog čega treba naći zajedničko rješenje situacije na razini Europske unije. [At the same time, he warned that new waves of refugees could be expected, which is why a common solution of the situation should be found at EU level.] (Al Jazeera1)

Thus, there is a constant reminder that refugees come in large numbers and/or groups. This revives the fear in public, as a country which receives migrants is presented metaphorically as a pressurized container. Migrants are presented as a force (in our case, as a natural force i. e. water) which endangers the country which receives migrants. There is an inner pressure from large numbers that 'pour' into the country, as well as an outer pressure to an already full container. This leads to instinctive opposition to new arrivals. The ideological implications of container metaphor are presented in Hart (2011a: 183), among others.

Analysis of the use of adjectives reveals that migration is presented as either repetitive or permanent threat by water. In the following examples, the threat by water is constant:

- (12) We can at least manage a fraction of that for Syrians and Iraqis -- to say nothing of the continuing refugee *outflows* from Afghanistan -- who are among the largest groups seeking asylum in Europe. (CNN4)
- (13) He added: „We know clearly that after the Cologne incidents that with the continuous *flow*, not only to Germany but the countries of Northern Europe, Austria, the Balkans are confronted with this *influx*, that's why we need to find practical solutions for our borders.“ (BBC2)

There is seldom only one wave, as evident from the use of *new, second, another, first*:

- (14) Odgovarajući članovima Odbora za vanjsku politiku na pitanje kako će Slovenija reagirati u slučaju dolaska novog *vala* izbjeglica na njene granice, Erjavec je rekao da je to njegovo privatno mišljenje, a ne službeni stav Vlade. [Responding to the members of the Foreign Policy Committee on how Slovenia will react if a new wave of refugees arrives at its borders, Erjavec said that this was his private opinion, not the official position of the government.] (Al Jazeera2)
- (15) O mogućem drugom izbjegličkom *valu* u utorak je bilo riječi i na Vijeću za nacionalnu odbranu, koje je sazvao premijer Miro Cerar, a zaključeno je da se nastavi s pripremama na eventualni dolazak većeg broja izbjeglica i migranata u Sloveniju koji bi bili samo u tranzitu, zbog čega je sagrađen izbjeglički kamp u Šentilju, uz granicu s Austrijom. [Another possible refugee wave was discussed on Tuesday at the National Defense Council, which was summoned by Prime Minister Miro Cerar, and it was decided to continue preparations for the possible arrival of a larger number of refugees and migrants in Slovenia – who would only be in transit, because of which a refugee camp in Šentilj, along the border with Austria, was built.] (Al Jazeera2)
- (16) Bivši slovenski premijer Janez Janša je rekao kako je prvi izbjeglički *val* kroz Sloveniju krajem oktobra pokazao da država nije bila spremna na takvu situaciju. [Former Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Jansa said that the first wave of refugees across Slovenia at the end of October showed that the state was not ready for such a situation.] (Al Jazeera2)

Further analysis reveals that adjectives are also used to indicate large quantity and massiveness (a massive wave or influx; a(n) big/the biggest/massive/increased inflow):

- (17) The massive *wave* of people is already starting to back up at the Greek border. (CNN1)
- (18) Europe is struggling to respond to the massive *influx* of migrants. (CNN5)
- (19) Uprkos pritisku koji je uzrokovao tako veliki *priliv*, Švedska je uspjela obraditi zahtjeve većeg broja izbjeglica po glavi stanovnika nego bilo koja druga država u Evropi - više u dvosedmičnom periodu nego što je Velika Britanija pristala primiti u narednih pet godina. [Despite the pressure caused by such a large inflow, Sweden has managed to process the demands of a larger number of refugees per capita than any other country in Europe - more in the two-year period than the United Kingdom agreed to receive in the next five years.] (Al Jazeera3)
- (20) Vlada Slovenije je o scenariju povećanog *priliva* izbjeglica raspravljala u ponedjeljak navečer na vanrednoj sjednici, prije koje je ministar vanjskih poslova Karl Erjavec upozorio na velik izbjeglički *val* od približno 30.000 ljudi, koji se kreće iz Grčke. [The Slovenian government discussed the scenario of increased refugee inflow on Monday evening at an emergency session, before which Foreign Minister Karl Erjavec warned of a large refugee wave of approximately 30,000 people moving from Greece.] (Al Jazeera4)

New arrivals pose a threat to a society, as the incoming water force is metaphorically portrayed as fatal, haphazardous, dangerous:

- (21) This fatal *flood-tide* of human *jetsam*, *surging* haphazardly across the Mediterranean, has not suddenly materialized out of nowhere. (CNN6)
- (22) Critics warned the move -- which flies in the face of calls for a united European approach to the migrant crisis, with all countries sharing the burden -- would create a dangerous *bottleneck* in Greece, as the *flow* of migrants there from Turkey continued unabated. (CNN7)

Those arrivals increase both in number and speed:

- (23) The move has created a rapidly growing *bottleneck* of migrants in Greece, a country facing severe financial hardships, as the *flow* of people there from Turkey continues unabated. (CNN8)
- (24) A migrant *bottleneck* has built up on the Greece-Macedonia border since Macedonia put up a razor-wire fence at the Gevgelija-Idomeni border crossing. (BBC3)
- (25) A *bottleneck* of migrants has been rapidly building in Greece as countries along the main land route into Europe have all but closed their doors, but the *stream* of people through neighboring Turkey has continued unabated. (CNN9)

Often, we witness statements about the futility in combating the coming water (the flow is unabated):

- (26) The move has created a rapidly growing *bottleneck* of migrants in Greece, a country facing severe financial hardships, as the *flow* of people there from Turkey continues unabated. (CNN5)
- (27) Critics warned the move -- which flies in the face of calls for a united European approach to the migrant crisis, with all countries sharing the burden -- would create a dangerous *bottleneck* in Greece, as the *flow* of migrants there from Turkey continued unabated. (CNN7)

Adjectives in the corpus reveal that news producers present migration as unsystematic and disorderly phenomenon:

- (28) U nacrtu piše kako će lideri EU-a navesti da se „neregularan *priliv* migranata duž zapadnobalkanske rute bliži kraju - ta ruta je sada zatvorena“. [The draft states that EU leaders would point out that „irregular influx of migrants along the Western Balkan route is nearing completion - that route is now closed“.] (Al Jazeera5)
- (29) „Ograde će biti postavljene zbog usmjeravanja ljudi na granicama. Ponavljam - Slovenija ne zatvara granice, ali želimo zaustaviti nekontrolirani *priliv* izbjeglica u našu zemlju“, kazao je. [„The fences will be set for directing the people on the borders. I repeat - Slovenia does not close the borders, but we want to stop the uncontrolled inflow of refugees into our country,“ he said.] (Al Jazeera4)

- (30) „Kako namjeravaju zaštititi naše granice od nekontroliranog *priljeva* tisuća ljudi koji, u tom slučaju, neće imati gdje dalje ići? Moja dužnost je štititi stabilnost države i brinuti o nacionalnoj sigurnosti. Voljela bih da izbjegnemo gradnju ograde, međutim, u budućnosti ja ne vidim kako se drugačije zaštititi“, zaključila je ona. [„How do they intend to protect our borders from the uncontrolled influx of thousands of people who, in that case, will not have where to go any further? My duty is to protect the stability of the state and to take care of national security. I would like to avoid building the fence, however, in the future I do not see how to protect it differently,“ she concluded.] (Al Jazeera2)

Obviously, inability to secure national borders would fail to ensure control over social change:

- (31) But at the same time Germany has been quietly undergoing a radical transformation with another *influx* of people from closer to home. (BBC5)

Migration poses a threat to an orderly society and brings negative social consequences, such as sparking tensions, creating division, inspiring sharp public exchanges and causing serious incidents:

- (32) Correspondents say the *influx* has contributed to the popularity of the far right in Austria, sparking tensions in the governing coalition. (BBC4)
- (33) More than a million migrants and refugees crossed into Europe in 2015, sparking a crisis as countries struggle to cope with the *influx*, and creating division in the EU over how best to deal with resettling people. (BBC6)
- (34) The *bottleneck* in Greece, caused by border restrictions further north in the Balkans, has already provoked some sharp public exchanges. Thousands of refugees and migrants are stranded. (BBC3)
- (35) Dodao je i da se, ukoliko se želi zaustaviti migrantski *val*, treba dogovoriti jedinstvena europska politika jer svaka jednostrana odluka može izazvati ozbiljne incidente. [He also added that, if the wave of migration is to be halted, a single European policy should be agreed, since any one-sided decision can cause serious incidents.] (Al Jazeera6)

Tensions increase under the impact of racist political comments, as well:

- (36) The conservative Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has said Europe's Christian heritage is under threat because most of the migrants are Muslims. He accused Germany of encouraging the *influx* by welcoming so many migrants. (BBC3)

As negative implications of waves of refugees prevail in newspaper discourse, individuals try to take matters in their own hands:

- (37) While Europe's politicians flounder in the face of an unprecedented *wave* of refugees and migrants seeking shelter -- many of them from war-torn Syria -- some individuals have decided to take matters into their own hands. (CNN10)

The following is an example of media blaming authorities for non-prevention:

- (38) Last year migrants *poured* into Austria from Hungary, en route to southern Germany. The authorities did not push them back. (BBC3)

Obviously, WATER metaphors „tend to legitimize restrictive political actions“ (Kainz and Petersson 2016: 17) and because of the announcement of a large refugee wave, additional measures to control the refugee stream are acceptable:

- (39) Vlada je saopćila da su, zbog najave velikog izbjegličkog *vala*, koji bi do Slovenije mogao doći sredinom sedmice, prihvaćene dodatne mjere za kontrolu izbjegličkog *toka* i zaštitu južne šengenske granice, a koje se, prema potrebi, mogu odmah aktivirati. [The government stated that, due to the announcement of a large-scale refugee wave, which could reach Slovenia by mid-week, additional measures to control refugee flows and the protection of the southern Schengen border were adopted and can be activated immediately.] (Al Jazeera4)

Thus, Bosnian-Herzegovinian media report that the EU countries even sacrifice common interests in order to protect national interests:

- (40) Zbog velikog *priljeva* izbjeglica europske su se zemlje našle pod golemim pritiskom i, u nedostatku zajedničkog rješenja, počele su donositi individualne mjere koje su ozbiljno uzdrmale šengenski prostor, jedno od najvećih europskih postignuća. [Due to the large influx of refugees, European countries found themselves under enormous pressure and, failing a common solution, they began to adopt individual measures that have

seriously shaken the Schengen area, one of the biggest European achievements.] (Al Jazeera7)

By employing WATER metaphor (a metaphorical linguistic expression often intensified by a descriptive adjective), the focus is often removed from migrants' countries of origin, whilst a crisis in Europe is emphasized:

- (41) Most of the estimated 1.1 million migrants who reached the EU last year – a record *influx* – fled the fighting in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. (BBC7)
- (42) Of course, in the current crisis, we are protected by geography from the huge *inflows* of refugees arriving directly to the neighboring countries and to Europe to seek asylum. (CNN4)
- (43) Davutoğlu je rekao da će se *priliv* izbjeglica smanjiti ukoliko se održi primirje u Siriji, ali je naglasio da se ne može očekivati da Turska i Grčka same nose teret izbjegličke krize. [Davutoğlu has said that refugee influx will be reduced if the truce in Syria is maintained, but stressed that Turkey and Greece cannot be expected to bear the burden of a refugee crisis.] (Al Jazeera8)

Presented this way, it can be concluded that migration brings division, i. e. it leaves negative effects upon social unity:

- (44) The sheer numbers *flooding* across the Mediterranean, the harrowing images of children drowned at sea and of desperate families scrambling to board trains, have divided people and governments in Europe, young and old (though not always how one might expect) and east from west. (CNN11)
- (45) EU se muči pronaći zajednički pristup rješavanju *vala* migranata i izbjeglica koji bježe od sukoba i siromaštva na Bliskom istoku, u Africi i Aziji. [The EU is struggling to find a common approach to solving the wave of migrants and refugees fleeing conflict and poverty in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.] (Al Jazeera9)

Although it is emphasized that WATER metaphor implies that people are „powerless in the face of nature’s whims“ (Kainz and Petersson 2016: 17), the concept of prevention is integral to anti-immigration discourse (see Hart 2011b: 278), and thus expressions like *block* and *stop* are used. In migration discourse, mechanisms to combat migration are conceptualized as stopping, reducing and/or diverting massive water flows. We have identified the following expressions related to the control of migration. Not all of these are used metaphorically, however.

a) stop

(46) Hungary followed close behind with 1,508 per 100,000, despite having closed its border with Croatia in an attempt to stop the *flow* in October. (BBC6)

(47) But Dr Haber emphasised that, to be effective, all EU partners needed to work together to stop the *flow* of people to Europe. (BBC8)

b) control

(48) EU countries hope Turkey will help to control the *flow* of migrants reaching the EU from Syria and other conflict zones. (BBC7)

c) slow

(49) Greece is trying to slow the *flow* to its northern border, to prevent a build-up of people there. (BBC10)

(50) The flashpoint comes just days after a meeting in Vienna last week at which ministers from countries along the main Balkan migration through Europe -- Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia -- agreed to tighten border controls to slow arrivals to a *trickle*. (CNN7)

d) limit

(51) Denmark has also faced criticism this week after approving legislation to seize the valuables of refugees in the hope of limiting the *influx* of migrants. (BBC11)

(52) On Wednesday, representatives from 10 Balkan states attended talks in Austria and agreed to co-ordinate action to limit the *flow* of migrants. (BBC12)

e) stem

(53) Winter has not stemmed the *flow* of people - with 54,518 people reaching Europe by sea since the start of 2016. (BBC6)

(54) Historic tension between Greece and Turkey makes the Aegean operation to stem the migrant *flow* difficult - as does Turkey's long, zig-zagging coastline. (BBC3)

(55) This year, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Hungary and other countries put temporary border controls in place to stem the *influx* of refugees who have *streamed* across the Mediterranean. (CNN12)

f) curb

(56) Germany is expanding its list of safe countries of return, hoping to curb the *influx*. (BBC13)

(57) On 3 February the EU approved an extra €3bn to help Turkey improve conditions for refugees and curb the *flow* to the EU. (BBC14)

g) stymie

(58) Hungary, a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention aimed at protecting refugees, has come under criticism for its handling of migrants and for erecting a razor-wire fence to stymie the *flow*. (CNN3)

h) dent

(59) This may have led to greater apprehension of smugglers -- but it's done nothing to dent the *tide* of people heading north. (CNN11)

When it comes to B/C/S languages, there are no significant variations in the conceptualization of mechanisms for coping with migration. The fact is, though, that English expressions are more diverse than these in B/C/S:

a) zaustaviti (English equivalent: stop)

(60) Na tom su susretu Unija i Turska postigli sporazum o akcijskom planu, prema kojem će Turska dobiti financijsku pomoć od tri milijarde eura, a zauzvrat će pomoći zaustavljanju izbjegličkog *vala* prema Europi. [At that meeting, the EU and Turkey have reached an agreement on the action plan, according to which Turkey will receive financial aid of three billion euros, and in turn, it will help to stop the refugee wave towards Europe.] (Al Jazeera7)

(61) Dodao je i da se, ukoliko se želi zaustaviti migrantski *val*, treba dogovoriti jedinstvena europska politika jer svaka jednostrana odluka može izazvati ozbiljne incidente. [He also added that, if the wave of migration is to be stopped, a single European policy should be agreed, since any one-sided decision can cause serious incidents.] (Al Jazeera6)

(62) Većina političara sa Zapada Orbana je osudila i izolirala, a tek rijetki su bili iskreni poput Guntera Verheugena, nekadašnjeg potpredsjednika Europske komisije i utjecajnoga njemačkog socijaldemokrata, koji je priznao da „Orban obavlja prljav

posao“ za Europu, odnosno prije svega za Njemačku, te da on radi ono što se od njega tražilo – da zaustavi *val* izbjeglica koji se *slijeva* u Njemačku. [Most Western politicians condemned and isolated Orban, and few were honest like Gunter Verheugen, former vice president of the European Commission and influential German Social Democrat, who admitted that „Orban was doing a dirty job“ for Europe and, above all, for Germany, and that he is doing what he was asked to do - to stop a wave of refugees pouring into Germany.] (Al Jazeera10)

b) smanjiti (English equivalent: decrease)

(63) Ministrima policije i pravde su se kasnije pridružili ministri vanjskih poslova i delegacije balkanskih zemalja, Turske, Jordana i Libana, radi razgovora o smanjenju *priliva* izbjeglica koji je podijelio članice EU oko pitanja kako osigurati vanjske granice Unije i podijeliti teret prihvata izbjeglica. [Foreign ministers and delegations of the Balkan countries, Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon later joined and Justice ministers and Ministers of the Interior to discuss the decrease of refugee inflows that divided the EU members on issues of how to secure the Union's external borders and share the burden of refugee acceptance.] (Al Jazeera11)

(64) Prethodno je Austrija uvela detaljniju kontrolu na granici nastojeći smanjiti *priliv* izbjeglica na svoj teritorij, istovremeno jasno stavljajući do znanja da one neće biti vraćane natrag u Mađarsku. [Previously, Austria introduced more thorough border control, trying to decrease the influx of refugees into its territory, while clearly pointing out that they will not be returned to Hungary.] (Al Jazeera12)

c) usporiti (to slow down)

(65) Lideri EU-a će na sastanku u Briselu nastojati i da povećaju pomoć Grčkoj, a pokušat će i uvjeriti turskog premijera da uspori *priliv* sirijskih izbjeglica i prihvati hiljade onih koji ne ispunjavaju uvjete za dobijanje azila, javila je agencija AP, pozivajući se na nacrt saopćenja u koji je imala uvid. [EU leaders will also seek to increase assistance to Greece at a Brussels summit and will try to persuade the Turkish prime minister to slow down the influx of Syrian refugees and accept the thousands of those who are not eligible for asylum, AP stated relying on the announcement draft in which they had insight.] (Al Jazeera5)

(66) Njegovi suradnici govore o tome kako se oni pridržavaju politike kancelarke Merkel, ali za razliku od Mađara, nad kojima se oficijelna politika u Njemačkoj snobiva, ali koji ostvaruju njemačke interese, hrvatska politika ne radi svoj dio posla u „usporavanju“ izbjegličkog *vala*. [His associates talk about how they adhere to Chancellor Merkel's policies, but unlike the Hungarians over which German official politics is offended, but who exercise German interests, Croatian politics does not do its part in slowing down the refugee wave.] (Al Jazeera10)

d) kontrolisati (to control)

(67) Muzalas je rekao da se njegova država našla pod „intenzivnim pritiskom nekih država članica Evropske unije koje pogrešno vjeruju da *priliv* izbjeglica može da bude kontroliran iz Grčke“, prenio je AP. [Muzalas said his country was „under the intense pressure from some European Union member states which misbelieve that refugee inflow could be controlled from Greece,“ AP reported.] (Al Jazeera13)

(68) „Stoga, ukoliko *priliv* (izbjeglica) ne bude kontroliran u Turskoj, sa obale Turske, nemoguće je kontrolirati *priliv* iz Grčke ili bilo koje druge članice EU-a“, dodao je Muzalas. [„Therefore, if the inflow (of refugee) is not controlled in Turkey, from the coast of Turkey, it is impossible to control inflow from Greece or any other EU member,“ Muzalas added.] (Al Jazeera13)

e) (pre)usmjeriti (English Equivalent: (re)direct)

(69) „Veoma humano, ali zašto se to usmjerava prema Bugarskoj? Koji su razlozi za to? Da li je to zato što se izbjeglički *val* još uvijek ne preusmjerava na pravac Turska - Bugarska - Rumunija i dalje, ili je zbog toga da Centar mora na neki način opravdati svoje postojanje?“, rekao je Kazakov. [„It is very humane, but why is it directed towards Bulgaria? What are the reasons for that? Is it because the refugee wave is still not redirected to the Turkey-Bulgaria-Romania-onwards route, or is it because the Center has to justify its existence in a way?“ said Kazakov.] (Al Jazeera14)

(70) Cerar je nakon summita u Bruxellesu izjavio da će i Slovenija morati poduzeti odgovarajuće mjere ako Mađarska zatvori granicu s Hrvatskom za migrante, što bi dovelo do usmjeravanja migrantskog *vala* prema Sloveniji. [After the summit in Brussels, Cerar said that Slovenia would also need to take the appropriate measures if Hungary closes the border with Croatia for

migrants, which would result in redirection of migration wave towards Slovenia.] (Al Jazeera15)

f) regulirati (to regulate)

(71) „Ne radi se o obilježavanju granice nego reguliranju migracijskog *toka*, o čemu smo obavijestili arbitražni sud i sve ostale“, kazao je također Šefic, prenosi Slovenska tiskovna agencija STA. [„It is not about marking the border but regulating the migration flow, of which we have informed the arbitral tribunal and all the others,“ Šefic also said, according to the Slovenian news agency STA.] (Al Jazeera4)

g) skrenuti (to curb)

(72) Iako je izrazio neodobravanje za Orbanovu politiku prema izbjeglicama, Cerar je kazao da će Slovenija, ako Mađarska zatvori granicu s Hrvatskom, što može izbjeglički *val* skrenuti prema Sloveniji, morati reagirati kao i prošlog mjeseca, kad je kroz nju prema Austriji i Njemačkoj iz Hrvatske u tranzitu prošlo skoro 4.000 ljudi. [Although he expressed disapproval of Orban's policy towards refugees, Cerar said that - if Hungary closes the border with Croatia, which could curb a refugee wave towards Slovenia - Slovenia would have to react like last month, when almost 4,000 people passed through it towards Austria and Germany from Croatia.] (Al Jazeera15)

For overlap and equivalency between the use of these mechanisms in English and B/C/S see Appendix 1. When it comes to migration prevention, the word 'zaustaviti' ('to stop', 'to stem') is the most common expression in B/C/S. According to Hart (2011b: 278), the verbs 'block' and 'stop' indicate a physical force encounter between the two entities, which actually is not only a discourse strategy if one keeps in mind that barbed wires are used as obstacles in real life:

(73) „Kako namjeravaju zaštititi naše granice od nekontroliranog *priljeva* tisuća ljudi, koji, u tom slučaju, neće imati gdje dalje ići? Moja dužnost je štititi stabilnost države i brinuti o nacionalnoj sigurnosti. Voljela bih da izbjegnemo gradnju ograde, međutim, u budućnosti ja ne vidim kako se drugačije zaštititi“, zaključila je ona. [„How do you intend to protect our borders from the uncontrolled influx of thousands of people, who in that case will not have where to go anymore? My duty is to protect the stability of the state and to take care of national security. I would like to avoid building the fence, however, I do not see how to

protect oneself in any other way in the future," she concluded.] (Al Jazeera16)

(74) „Ograde će biti postavljene zbog usmjeravanja ljudi na granicama. Ponavljam – Slovenija ne zatvara granice, ali želimo zaustaviti nekontrolirani *priliv* izbjeglica u našu zemlju“, kazao je. [“The fences will be set for directing people at the borders. I repeat - Slovenia is not closing the borders, but we want to stop the uncontrolled influx of refugees into our country,” he said.] (Al Jazeera4)

This leads to a conclusion that metaphor use is not just a matter of rhetorics, but that this particular word choice actually depicts a reality where migrants are prevented from entering countries they come to by physical obstacles.

At the Balkans, the Refugee Crisis is perceived to be one of the three key problems that the EU faces (Drašković et al. 2016: 20) – the other two being terrorism and Brexit, which are again often discussed within migration discourse, as well. It is worth noting that Bosnian-Herzegovinian media write about unequal relationship between European countries, when Croatia allegedly tried to force Serbia to re-direct at least a part of the refugee wave towards Hungary:

(75) Naime, nakon preusmjeravanja izbjegličkog *vala*, Mađarska je ponovno otvorila svoje granice sa Srbijom, a Hrvatska je zatvaranjem prometa za Srbiju sa svog teritorija pokušala primorati tu državu da ponovno preusmjeri barem dio tog izbjegličkog *vala* prema Mađarskoj. [However, after redirecting the refugee wave, Hungary re-opened its borders with Serbia, and Croatia was trying to oblige Serbia to redirect again at least part of that refugee wave towards Hungary by closing its traffic to Serbia from its territory.] (Al Jazeera17)

What is more important, Bosnian-Herzegovinian media reinforce tensions in domestic politics claiming that migration may negatively affect „fragile social and state institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the already strained entity and inter-ethnic relations“:

(76) Europsku uniju kao da se ne tiče kakve bi posljedice ostavio preusmjereni *val* migracije na fragilne društvene i državne institucije Bosne i Hercegovine te ionako zategnute entitetske i međunacionalne odnose. [It is as if the EU is not concerned by the possible consequences of a sredirected wave of migration to the fragile social and state institutions of Bosnia and

Herzegovina, and the already tense entity and inter-ethnic relations.] (Al Jazeera10)

Reports on Refugee Crisis in Bosnian-Herzegovinian news discourse may be classified within four interpretational frameworks: refugees are dangerous and violent; Arrival of refugees in large numbers threatens the survival of the EU; Refugees are a threat to Angela Merkel's political career; Presenting personal stories of refugees to show their „human face“ (Delić 2016: 332).

As the span of topics in which refugees appear is „limited to difficulties in integrating into society, crime, violence, cultural conflicts, conflicts with the local population, but also those in the family“ (Delić 2016: 335) it is to be expected that the public dissociates from them. Moreover, their improper behavior is often used „to highlight 'our' benevolence and civility“ (ibid.). In this respect, our hypothesis that Bosnian-Herzegovinian society would be more empathetic towards refugees was not confirmed. Although part of Bosnian-Herzegovinian population underwent migration due to war in the country's recent history (1992-1995), we believed the public would be more sympathetic towards refugees and thus media rhetoric would be (at least slightly) less negative. Evidently, the segregation to 'us and our world' and 'them and their world' (as evident in the use of lexemes 'their door' below) is inherent to anti-immigrant discourse (see e.g. Santa Ana 2002: 94).

(77) A *bottleneck* of migrants has been rapidly building in Greece as countries along the main land route into Europe have all but closed their doors, but the *stream* of people through neighboring Turkey has continued unabated. (CNN9)

With reference to the claim that “texts are never nonideological; representation is always representation from a particular point of view“ (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2003: 2), we offer closing remarks that follow.

5. Conclusion

The facts that there are no direct metaphors in the corpus and that all linguistic metaphorical expressions are conventional indicate that WATER metaphor is a naturalized nondeliberate metaphor. There are neither original mappings between domains (novel metaphors) nor signalling devices (direct metaphors), which means there is no drawing attention to metaphors as such. Metaphor analysis revealed that B/C/S sub-corpus contains more linguistic metaphors,

but those in English sub-corpus are more diverse. Expressions from the semantic field of WATER create the so-called stimulating context within a text for a metaphor to thrive and become a powerful tool for ideological purposes. Moreover, since the concept of DANGEROUS WATER is not the only possible image to use in formulating the movement of people, the use of DANGEROUS WATER metaphor is seen as an ideological tool in news discourse.

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8. Appendices

Appendix 1: The statistics of metaphoric linguistic expressions from WATER domain

Linguistic metaphors in English	Sources		Linguistic metaphors in B/C/S	Source
	BBC	CNN		Al Jazeera
<i>flow(s)</i>	14	7	<i>tok(ovi), protok</i>	2
				1
<i>influx(es)</i>	14	8	<i>priliv(i), priljev</i>	29
<i>Inflows</i>	0	1		
<i>wave(s)</i>	1	3	<i>val(ovi)</i>	31
<i>surge(s)</i>	1	1		0
<i>Surging</i>	0	1		0
<i>bottleneck</i>	3	3	<i>usko grlo</i>	0
<i>poured</i>	1	1		0
<i>pouring</i>	0	2	<i>slijevati</i>	1
<i>outpouring</i>	0	1	<i>odljev</i>	0
<i>outflows</i>	0	1		
<i>tide</i>	0	3	<i>plima</i>	0
<i>floodtide</i>	0	1		
<i>stream</i>	0	1	<i>bujica</i>	0
<i>streamed</i>	0	2	<i>kretati se kao bujica</i>	0
<i>absorb</i>	0	1	<i>absorbirati</i>	0
<i>trickle</i>	0	3	<i>tanak mlaz</i>	0

<i>trickling</i>	0	1	<i>curenje, kapanje</i>	0
<i>flood</i>	0	1	<i>poplava</i>	0
<i>flooding</i>	0	1	<i>plavljenje</i>	0
<i>jetsam</i>	0	1	<i>teret potonuo ili izbačen iz broda</i>	0
<i>porous</i>	0	0	<i>propusna</i>	1
<i>it</i>	1	1	<i>ono</i>	0
	35	45		65

Appendix 2: The statistics of metaphorical linguistic expressions in the corpus regarding word classes

	BBC	CNN	Al Balkans	Jazeera	
Nouns	32	37	63		132
Verbs	1	8	1		10
Adjectives	0	0	1		1
Pronouns	1	1	0		2
	34	46	65		145

Appendix 3: The statistics of metaphors regarding the three-dimensional model of analysis

	BBC	CNN	AJB	
Indirect metaphors	33	45	65	143
Direct metaphors	0	0	0	0
Implicit metaphors	1	1	0	2
	34	46	65	145

Appendix 4: Expressions related to DANGEROUS WATERS prevention

	ENGLISH		B/C/S
<i>stop</i>	2	<i>zaustaviti</i>	12
<i>stem</i>	5		
<i>control</i>	2	<i>kontrolisati</i>	3
<i>slow</i>	3	<i>usporiti</i>	2
<i>limit</i>	2	<i>ograničiti</i>	0
<i>curb</i>	2	<i>obuzdati</i>	0
<i>stymie</i>	1	<i>spriječiti,</i> <i>osujetiti</i>	0
<i>dent</i>	1	<i>potisnuti</i>	0
<i>decrease</i>	0	<i>smanjiti</i>	5
<i>(re)direct</i>	0	<i>(pre)usmjeriti</i>	4
<i>regulate</i>	0	<i>regulirati</i>	1
<i>divert</i>	0	<i>skrenuti</i>	1

Appendix 5: News sources

Abbreviation	News text Headline
CNN1	Migrants flock to Europe in peak numbers, getting stuck in Greece
CNN2	Finding little welcome in Europe, refugees ask unanswerable questions
CNN3	Refugee crisis: Hungarian camerawoman trips, kicks migrants
CNN4	Why U.S. should do more for refugees
CNN5	Record number of people seek EU asylum
CNN6	Migrant crisis: West reaps what it has sown
CNN7	Clashes in migrant camps in France and Greece as tensions boil over
CNN8	Record number of people seek EU asylum
CNN9	EU chief warns economic migrants: 'Do not come to Europe'
CNN10	Making refugees welcome: Citizens of Germany, Iceland show the way
CNN11	Europeans distraught, divided as migrant crisis worsens
CNN12	Can Europe afford border controls?
BBC1	Migrant crisis: More than 10,000 children 'missing'
BBC2	Migrant crisis: EU at grave risk, warns France PM Valls
BBC3	Migrant crisis: EU and Turkey in Aegean stand-off
BBC4	Migrant crisis: Austria to slash asylum claims
BBC5	Ciao Italia! Germany's other migrant influx
BBC6	Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in graphics
BBC7	Migrant Crisis: French PM Manuel Valls warns EU over influx

BBC8	Germany struggling to cope with migrant influx
BBC9	Migrant crisis: Dozens drown in shipwrecks off Greece
BBC10	Migrant crisis: Thousands stranded in Greece as borders tighten
BBC11	EU migrant crisis: Sweden may reject 80,000 asylum claims
BBC12	The problems are only mounting: analysis by Damian Grammaticas, BBC Europe correspondent, Brussels
BBC13	Migrant crisis: More than 10,000 children 'missing'
BBC14	Migrant crisis: Have EU promises been kept?, BBC
Al Jazeera1	Čelična vrata na hrvatsko-mađarskom prelazu
Al Jazeera2	Grabar-Kitarović: Gradnja ograde je realna opcija
Al Jazeera3	Švedska pred nemogućim izborom
Al Jazeera4	Hrvatska uputila protestnu notu Sloveniji
Al Jazeera5	EU potrebno vrijeme za turski plan o izbjeglicama
Al Jazeera6	Ostojić: Ne zaboravite granicu s BiH
Al Jazeera7	Nakon dogovora s Turskom moguće uklanjanje ograda
Al Jazeera8	Nema dovoljno hrane za hiljade izbjeglica
Al Jazeera9	Slovačka tuži EU zbog izbjegličkih kvota
Al Jazeera10	Europa je zakasnila
Al Jazeera11	EU dogovorila deportaciju dijela izbjeglica
Al Jazeera12	Izbjeglička golgota: Napeta situacija na balkanskim granicama
Al Jazeera13	Suzavac i pucnjava na granici Makedonije
Al Jazeera14	Bugarska pomaže izbjeglice i hapsi ilegalce
Al Jazeera15	Ostojić: Sa Slovenijom nema dogovora o planu 'C'
Al Jazeera16	Grabar-Kitarović: Gradnja ograde je realna opcija
Al Jazeera17	EU treba sankcionirati Milanovića zbog potcjenjivanja Srbije

