Migrants are not welcome

Metaphorical framing of fled people in Hungarian online media, 2015–2018

Réka Benczes and Bence Ságvári

Corvinus University of Budapest | Centre for Social Sciences

Figurative framing, in the form of metaphorical expressions, is especially effective in carrying conceptual content on an issue and affecting public opinion. One topic that has been heavily debated in contemporary Hungarian media is migration. Framing starts with the label that journalists select to refer to fled people: *bevándorló* ("immigrant"), *migráns* ("migrant") or *menekült* ("refugee"). Depending on the label, different associations emerge, resting upon differing (metaphorical) conceptualizations evoked by the labels. We analysed metaphorical compounds based on the keywords in a media corpus of approx. 15 million words. Our results indicate that while all three keywords evoke predominantly negative frames and evaluations that build on stock metaphorical conceptualizations of fled people as also identified in the international literature – such as FLOOD, OBJECT, BUSINESS, WAR and CRIME –, the distribution of these metaphors does vary, depending on a) the selected keyword; and b) the political agenda of the media source.

Keywords: framing, metaphor, migrant, Hungary, media, immigrant, asylum seeker, migration

1.   Introduction

One of the central notions in media theory is framing (Entman 1993, 52). Journalists – when sifting through masses of information – rely on framing to "package the information for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin 1980, 7). How do journalists highlight some aspects of an event and downplay others in order to promote a certain interpretation of a news item? The answer resides in language; by selecting one word or expression over another, alternate understandings of a particular situation can be activated. Figurative language use, in the form of

metaphorical expressions, is especially effective in carrying conceptual content on a particular issue and thus affecting public opinion (Burgers et al. 2016).

One such issue that has been subject to much public debate – and figurative framing – is migration, and there has been a plethora of studies in the past years on how media discourses influence and manipulate public opinion on migration via the use of media frames (e.g., Baker et al. 2008; Bennett et al. 2013; Bos et al. 2016; Eberl et al. 2018; Harris and Gruenewald 2020; Schemer 2012; van Gorp 2005; Viola and Musolff 2019). The general consensus in the academic literature is that journalists rely on a stock collection of predominantly negative frames (Farris and Mohamed 2018; Balch and Balabonova 2016). The result is a simplified story-telling that focuses on either the number of fled people[1] or the economic impact of migration, feeding into nationalist and/or ethnocentric rhetoric (Eberl et al. 2018, 212; Balabanova and Balch 2020).

The consequences of this biased narrative are reflected in the results of cross-national comparative surveys measuring attitudes towards migrants and migration in the European Union, according to which Hungary has been displaying the highest level of rejection towards migrants coming from poorer countries outside Europe (Messing and Ságvári 2019). Radical change in opinion that placed Hungary at the top of the charts started in 2015 (ibid.), the year the "migration crisis" unfolded. Since then, the topic has been constantly kept high on the political agenda by the government.

Recently, a number of studies have emerged on how Hungarian media discourse influences public opinion on migration via the use of media frames (e.g., Bernáth and Messing 2015; Tóth et al. 2018; Egres 2018). What these studies have demonstrated is that framing essentially starts with the label that journalists select to refer to fled people: *bevándorló* ("immigrant"), *menekült* ("refugee") or *migráns* ("migrant"). While the first two are official (and legal) terms to refer to specific categories of people, *migráns* is a relative newcomer; it entered public discourse in the wake of the 2015 events and is a borrowing from the English original. It is not an official term as compared to the other two labels, nor has it been a particularly conventionalized expression of Hungarian before 2015. Despite the fact that *migráns* appeared in the language only a few years ago, it was swiftly adopted by pro-government media sources (Bernáth and Messing 2015) and rapidly acquired negative connotations (McNeil and Karstens 2018). The construction of *migráns* has run in parallel with the deconstruction of *menekült* ("refugee"), which, on the one hand, has been intentionally repressed in pro-government sources, and, on the other hand, has been conflated with *illegális*

---

1. Following Kotzur et al. (2017), we will use the more neutral expression "fled people" in the paper to refer to social groups routinely labelled as *migrants, asylum seekers*, etc.

bevándorló ("illegal immigrant") or *megélhetési bevándorló* ("welfare immigrant"), foregrounding the illegal and economic aspects of migration, respectively (Bocskor 2018, 558). The effects are far-reaching: initial solidarity towards refugees (i.e., those labelled as *menekült*) as opposed to immigrants (i.e., *bevándorló*) have now diminished (Janky 2019).

Existing research implies that all three labels now evoke predominantly negative frames and evaluations – which is in line with the results of KhosraviNik (2017) on the labels for fled people used in the British media, or Greussing and Boomgaarden's (2017) observations on the increasingly uniform coverage of fled people in Austrian newspapers. Nevertheless, not much is known with regard to the development of the frames used with the three keywords: in other words, how has the framing of *migráns* evolved with respect to the other two keywords. Furthermore, while the available literature does emphasize the potential influence of the media source's political leaning on the framing of fled people (Vicsek et al. 2008; McNeil and Karstens 2018; Griebel and Volkmann 2019; Balabanova and Balch 2020), no systematic and in-depth research has been carried out to date on a suitably large corpus to analyse the relationship between political agenda and frame selection.

The aim of the present paper is to fill these substantial gaps in research by adopting a unique method of mapping the *metaphorical* framing of the keywords *bevándorló* ("immigrant"), *migráns* ("migrant") and *menekült* ("refugee") from the very start of the "migration crisis" in January 2015 and track the development and use of the metaphors that were used in both pro-government (PG) and non pro-government (NPG) media with these terms until April 2018, by investigating the metaphorical basis of the *compound words* that the three keywords appeared in as modifying elements.[2] For example, *menekültáradat*, which is a compound word that contains the modifying element *menekült* ("refugee") and the head word *áradat* ("deluge", i.e., the compound as a whole can be translated literally as "refugee deluge"), is based upon the metaphorical conceptualization of refugees as FLOOD. The justification for investigating compounds that the keywords appear in rests on the idea that whenever we are faced with the challenge of a new concept for which a novel lexical item needs to be coined, compounding is the most common strategy in Hungarian (Cs. Nagy 1995, 272). A compound word is a conceptual "package", motivated by the components that it is constituted by (Benczes 2006). By focusing on compounds that are based upon either one of the keywords in the modifier position, we can track the metaphorical expressions – and hence

---

2. By "modifying element" we refer to the first constituent of a compound word, such as *apple* in *apple tree*.

the metaphorical source domains – that are associated with the respective key-words.[3]

Our selected time frame (January 2015 – April 2018) was a rather tumultuous period in Hungarian politics with regard to the topic of migration. The first articles of the corpus, dating to January 2015, covered the official statement related to immigration into Hungary: Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's speech in Paris after the commemoration ceremony for the victims of the Charlie Hebdo terror attack, declaring that Hungary refuses economic migration and does not provide asylum for economic migrants. This signalled the beginning of an intensifying discourse on migration in the media, which lasted until the 2018 national elections, marking the closing date of the articles we collected. Between 2015 and 2018, the government launched several anti-migration initiatives (national consultation, referendum, legislation, billboard campaigns), all of which enjoyed intensive media coverage.

The structure of the paper is the following: in the second section we review earlier results on the metaphorical framing of fled people. The third section on data and method summarizes the basic characteristics of the corpus and the filtered database of compound words. In section four, the first part of the analysis and discussion includes results on source domains occurring with the keywords, while the second part considers the distribution across time periods and media sources, with a special focus on the political leaning of the media source. The main findings and conclusions are summarized in the fifth section.

2.   The metaphorical framing of fled people

We constantly interpret (and reinterpret) the world around us, allowing for alternative understandings, depending on what our own interests and patterns of experience are. This process is guided by what has been referred to as "frames" or "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman 1974/1986, 21). While the exact definition of what a frame is differs across disciplines, the fundamental characteristic of a frame as a means of organizing the world around us via stable cognitive representations can be regarded as a common feature. Frames are typically linked with specific lexical choices and are thus embedded in language use (Semino et al. 2018). This latter feature of frames is all the more relevant in news reporting, where, by selecting one word or expression over another, journalists can provoke alternate understandings of a particular situation (Gamson and Lasch 1983). Fig-

---

3. We considered an expression as a compound (and hence part of the corpus) if the expression was written as a single word or with a hyphen between the two constituents.

urative language use, in the form of metaphorical expressions, is especially effec-
tive in carrying conceptual content on a particular issue and thus affecting public
opinion (Burgers et al. 2016; Thibodeau et al. 2017; Fausey and Matlock 2011).

In the past two decades there has been a plethora of studies on how migration
is framed in the media and/or public discourse. Regardless of which language
and/or country is under scrutiny, the metaphors show little variability and seem
to build on a stock collection of metaphoric frames (Arcimaviciene and Baglama
2018; Baker and McEnery 2005; Charteris-Black 2006; Cisneros 2008; Dervinytė
2009; El Rafaie 2001; Ellis and Wright 1998; Hart 2021; Santa Ana 1999). Accord-
ingly, fled people are commonly depicted as a large body of water or uncontrolled
natural force;[4] as criminals; as an army of invaders; as animals or pests; and
as objects or commodities. The conventionality of these negative frames have
far-reaching ideological significance in that they foreground the "otherness" of
migrants (Baider and Kopytowska 2017) and promote a strong us-against-them
attitude.

There have been a number of attempts within Hungary to examine how
migration has been framed in the wake of the 2015 events; these have taken nearly
exclusively a sociological point of view (Bernáth and Messing 2015; Bocskor 2018;
Janky 2019; Kiss 2016; Kenyeres and Szabó 2016; Sik and Simonovits 2018; Szalai
and Gőbl 2015). These studies have highlighted the application of the securi-
tization frame in both Hungarian government rhetoric and public discourse,
which foregrounds the need to protect the European continent from an uncon-
trolled mass of immigrants. As for the metaphorical framing of migration within
a Hungarian context, the most comprehensive account to date is Tóth et al.'s
(2018) study, which analysed the metaphorical linguistic expressions occurring
with the word *migráns* within the time frame of 2014–15 and identified six major
source domains, these being FLOOD, WAR, OBJECT, PRESSURE/BURDEN, ANIMAL
and BUILDING. Similarly to previous results in the international literature (see
above), Tóth et al.'s study also underlined the predominantly negative attitude
towards fled people, who are seen either as a danger and threat (via the FLOOD or
WAR metaphorical framing) or as an undifferentiated and/or objectified mass (via
the OBJECT or ANIMAL metaphors).

While Tóth et al.'s (2018) analysis is the most exhaustive and reliable study on
the metaphorical conceptualization of the label *migráns*, it is concerned with only
one such label. Hungarian has two further conventionalized labels in public dis-
course for fled people: *bevándorló* ("immigrant") and *menekült* ("refugee"), both
of which refer (legally) to different categories of people (Bernáth and Messing

---

4. Note, however, that water (or liquid) metaphors might convey a positive attitude as well –
see Salahshour's (2016) study on a New Zealand newspaper corpus.

2015, 8). *Bevándorló* ("immigrant") is used for people who wish to enter the country for economic reasons; *menekült* ("refugee") is the official category for those who need to flee their homeland and seek international protection. *Migráns* ("migrant") is a relative newcomer in the sense that it was not part of everyday language before the events of 2015.

What exactly, however, does *migráns* mean? Kálmán (2015) considered the latter "neutral" in the sense that it does not convey the motivation of the people referred to as such. The neutrality of the term has also been emphasized by Kiss (2016), whose analysis of the label usage of Hungarian media outlets indicates that in 2015, the terms *migráns, bevándorló, menekült* and *menedékkérő* ("asylum seeker") were mostly used interchangeably. In Kiss' view, it was due to government rhetoric that "the originally neutral term 'migrant' has been filled with derogatory connotations" (p.59). The role of government rhetoric in meaning construction has also been emphasized by Bocskor (2018, 558), who claims that due to the foregrounding of the "illegal" and "economic" aspects of immigration, via the labelling of fled people as *illegális bevándorló* ("illegal immigrants") or *megélhetési bevándorló* ("welfare immigrant") on the one hand, and avoiding the term *menekült* (refugee") on the other hand, government rhetoric intentionally conflated the meanings of the terms.

Summing up the available literature on the Hungarian terms *menekült, bevándorló* and *migráns*, the general consensus is that all three investigated keywords evoke predominantly negative frames and evaluations. This is, however, an oversimplification of the issue. Given the fact that the meaning of *migráns* had to be actively constructed (as it was nonexistent in Hungarian prior to 2015), it can be assumed that the metaphorical framing of the term had to be built up from scratch – which is not the case with either of the other two labels, *menekült* or *bevándorló*, which have been in use prior to 2015 as well (and see Baker et al. 2008 on differences in evaluations for the various labels for fled people). Accordingly, we hypothesize the following:

– H1: While all three keywords draw on a stock collection of migration metaphors, *migráns*, as a newcomer, shows more variability and diversity in the metaphorical frames that it activates;
– H2: As more conventionalized terms, *menekült* and *bevándorló* show more stability and less variability in the metaphorical imagery that they activate; and
– H3: The political leaning of a media source affects both keyword and metaphor preference.

Our study attempts to test these hypotheses by investigating the metaphorical frames of *all* three labels used for fled people, namely *menekült, bevándorló* and

migráns. We thus propose that all three keywords rely on a stock collection of (predominantly negative) migration metaphors, but the distribution of these metaphors will vary, depending on (a) the selected keyword; and (b) the political agenda of the media source.

3.   Methodology

Our corpus is comprised of 8 major Hungarian online news portals, containing 31,121 news articles, covering the period of 07 January 2015 to 14 April 2018 in seven non-consecutive sections (see Appendix A for further details). These time sections include articles (both news items and op-eds) from the aftermath of the most major international or domestic events related to migration (see Introduction for a brief summary). The preliminary selection of the articles was based on the occurrence of certain keywords linked to the broadly defined topic of migration.[5] This method ensured that our corpus was relatively monothematic (as it mostly dealt with migration), which is a key component of any corpus for identifying metaphorical target domain vocabulary (Stefanowitsch 2006, 3). Relying on our own expertise and confirmed by Bene and Szabó (2019), media sources were categorized as PG and NPG, on the basis of their relationship to the Hungarian government.[6] One of our sources (origo.hu) changed ownership in late 2015 and changed its tone from left/neutral to right-wing pro-government. Therefore, we split the corpus of this source into two groups, using the date of the change in the editor-in-chief's position (i.e., 21 March 2016) as the dividing line. Following tokenization, the total number of words was roughly 15 million ($n = 14,768,392$). The total number of news items in the PG and NPG sources was 19,443 (62%) and 11,678 (38%), respectively.

As a first step in filtering and cleaning the data, we searched for words that contained any of the three keywords (*bevándorló, menekült, migráns*). The total number of hits containing a keyword in any form was 138,539, originating from 2,256 unique form of words (i.e., types) – see the figures under "Corpus" in *Table 1*. As a next step, we extracted all the compound words from this dataset,

---

5. Articles relevant to the broadly defined topic of migration were defined by the occurrence of any of the following keywords: "menekül*" (refugee), "bevándor*" (immigrant), "migrác*" (migration), "migrán*" (migrant), "betelepít*" (relocation). The keywords were searched in the title, subtitle, abstract, body or tag part of the articles. The original web-scraping was carried out by Precognox, a Hungarian text analytics company.

6. PG: magyaridok.hu, 888.hu, pestisracok.hu, origio.hu (from March 2016). NPG: 24.hu, 444.hu, index.hu, nepszava.hu, nol.hu, origo.hu (until March 2016).

either with or without a hyphen. We were able to identify 5,733 compound words – see the figures under "Compounds" in *Table 1*.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of tokens identified in the corpus

	Corpus		Compounds		Metaphorical compounds			
Keyword	No. of words (tokens)	No. of types	No. of words (tokens)	No. of types	No. of compounds (tokens, in %)	No. of metaphorical compound types (n)	Specific occurrences for each type (mean)	Ratio of metaphorical compounds (%)
menekült (refugee)	79,914 (57.6%)	1,208 (53.5%)	30,066 (82.1%)	351 (45.0%)	4,353 (75.9%)	92 (47.6%)	98.6	14.5%
bevándorló (immigrant)	23,259 (16.8%)	270 (12.0%)	1,614 (4.4%)	96 (12.3%)	104 (1.8%)	19 (9.8%)	17.3	6.4%
migráns (migrant)	35,366 (25.5%)	778 (34.5%)	4,945 (13.5%)	288 (36.9%)	1,276 (22.3%)	82 (42.5%)	18.7	25.8%
Total	**138,539** (100%)	**2,256** (100%)	**36,625** (100%)	**780** (100%)	**5,733** (100%)	**193** (100%)	**55.7**	**15.6%**

The final compound type lists for *bevándorló, menekült* and *migráns* were then categorized on the basis of what source concepts (or metaphorical source domains) the respective head words evoked, and thus what metaphor the compounds were instantiations of. Our final list of unique metaphorical compounds included 193 types – see the figures under "Metaphorical compounds" in *Table 1*.

For example, *migránsáradat* ("migrant" + "deluge") was identified as an instance of the FLOOD metaphor, based on the metaphorical linguistic expression *áradat* ("deluge").[7] Since all our types are decontextualized examples, categorization was done via a so-called "top-down" approach of metaphor analysis. This means that the identification of metaphorical expressions is based upon pre-existing (or predetermined) conceptual metaphors (Krennmayr 2013). We are aware of the limitations of the approach – the method cannot provide a full account of *all* metaphors in the corpus, since it is biased toward already identified/discussed metaphorical conceptualizations. Nevertheless, this limitation is counterweighed by the sheer amount of data that we can thus effectively analyse. We based the metaphors primarily, but not exclusively, on those that have been already identified and discussed in Tóth et al. (2018) and Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018) – these two studies being the most thorough to date in the identifi-

---

7. As laid out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in what has become known as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), abstract concepts can only be understood or made sense of by relying on more concrete concepts. These conceptual metaphors are manifested in language, in linguistic metaphorical expressions.

cation of metaphorical frames in migration discourse. The major source domains that emerged in the two studies showed nearly full overlap; these being FLOOD, WAR, CRIME, DISEASE, OBJECT, PRESSURE/BURDEN, ANIMAL and BUILDING (which formed the basis of our own categorization).

It needs to be mentioned at this point that the present research focuses purely on metaphorical framing. This implies that compounds which are not considered as metaphorical fall outside of our analysis, even though framing can be achieved via nonmetaphorical language as well. For example, *bevándorlóközösség* ("immigrant" + "community") evokes a sense of belonging and group identity that might counteract or even mitigate the general opinion that has been identified as one of the hallmarks of public discourse on fled people (see above). Since the focus of the paper is on *metaphorical* framing, frames that cannot be unequivocally identified as metaphorical (but have been mentioned in the literature as framing strategies for fled people and migration in general) have also been ignored in our analysis, such as security threat (Greussing and Boomgaarden 2017; Kurkut et al. 2020) or crisis (Krzyżanowski et al. 2018).

A number of interesting observations can be drawn from *Table 1*. First of all, *menekült* occurs with the highest number of both types and tokens, averaging 98.6 specific occurrences for each type. This indicates that *menekült* is highly embedded and conventionalized in everyday language use, allowing for a large diversity of compound expressions (patterns) with high average frequencies. *Bevándorló* has the lowest type and token numbers, with an average frequency of 17.3 tokens for each type. *Migráns* – although a relative newcomer in Hungarian – has a quite high type and token number, with an average token frequency of 18.7. Nevertheless, linguistic productivity rests upon type – and not token – frequency; according to Bybee (2001, 119), "[t]he number of existing items that a pattern applies to bears a direct relation to the probability that it will affect new items." That is, it is more probable that *migráns*, with its higher type frequency, will be used for the creation of novel structures than, for instance, *bevándorló* (which has a lower type frequency). The reason for this phenomenon mainly rests upon the fact that higher type frequency correlates with greater analysability – i.e., language users are able to identify and generalize patterns more easily.

The productivity patterns as discussed above do not correlate exactly with the number of metaphorical compounds we have identified. Thus, the second observation that can be drawn from *Table 1* is that the ratio of metaphorical compounds is the highest with *migráns* (25.8%), as opposed to *bevándorló* (6.4%) and even *menekült* (14.5%). The high metaphoricity of *migráns* (with respect to the other two keywords) partially justifies our first hypothesis: since the meaning of *migráns* was not conventionalized before in Hungarian, thus rendering it as an "unknown" concept, it was open to multiple metaphorical conceptualiza-

tions – which entailed greater metaphoricity and accordingly higher numbers of metaphorical compounds, as opposed to the other two keywords.

4.   Analysis and discussion

4.1   Source domains occurring with the keywords

Turning to the metaphorical conceptualizations of the compound words, our analysis indicates that the source domains that occur in the compound expressions with all three keywords do not show much differentiation and are based upon stock migration metaphors identified in the literature, such as FLOOD, OBJECT, BUSINESS, WAR and CRIME. The data might create the impression that the keywords are interchangeable, as they activate similar metaphorical imagery, but on closer inspection it can be seen that *migráns* exhibits the greatest versatility in terms of metaphorical source domains, corroborating our first hypothesis. The other two keywords show less variability, thus supporting our second hypothesis; *menekült* is used with only two source domains (FLOOD and OBJECT), while *bevándorló* also activates the CRIME and WAR frames. In the following we will analyse each major metaphorical source domain in detail.

Table 2 includes two metrics for each metaphorical compound and keyword combinations. The first column is a simple proportion of the ten metaphorical compounds by keyword, calculated for each period separately. This one-dimensional measure can be extended by weighted log odds ratios (wlo) (Monroe et al. 2017), to provide complementary evidence for the source domains occurring with the keywords. The higher the log odds ratio, the more specific the keyword is to a source domain, as compared to the others. A negative log odds ratio means that a keyword is less likely to appear with a given source domain. The weighted log-odds were calculated by using the Tidylo package in R (Silge et al. 2020), by taking into account the varying number of articles in the corpus in the respective periods.

The FLOOD metaphor constituted more than 70% of metaphorical compounds in all three keywords (*menekült*: 74.5%; *bevándorló*: 65.4%; *migráns*: 58.2%). These figures corroborate Tóth et al.'s (2018) study, in which the FLOOD metaphor also appeared as the most prominent conceptualization. Yet the metaphorical imagery of flood to describe fled people is not peculiar in any way to Hungarian; Musolff (2016, 82) describes it as a "standard scenario" in migration and immigration discourses – both in the public and the scientific sphere (Kryżanowski et al. 2018). Commonly occurring headwords in our corpus, identified as manifestations of the FLOOD metaphor, include *áramlat* ("current"),

Table 2. Occurrence of identified source domains in compounds with *bevándorló / menekült / migráns* as modifiers (in % and log odds ratios)

	Source domains appearing in the compounds	*bevándorló* ("immigrant")		*migráns* ("migrant")		*menekült* ("refugee")		Total
		%	wlo	%	wlo	%	wlo	%
1	Flood	65.4	+4.58	58.2	−8.25	74.5	+3.80	70.7
2	Object	15.4	+0.75	15.2	−2.54	23.1	+1.49	21.2
3	Business	0	–	8.4	+8.23	0.8	−0.69	2.5
4	Crime	8.7	+0.779	8.5	+5.20	0.3	−5.15	2.3
5	War	5.8	+0.236	6.2	+3.72	0.7	−3.39	2.0
6	Animal	2.9	+0.944	1.3	+1.69	0.1	−2.13	0.5
7	Pressure	0	–	0.7	+1.97	0.3	+0.78	0.4
8	Building	0	–	0.8	+2.37	0.1	+0.01	0.3
9	Misc (*monster /natural force/ horror/game*)	1.9	+0.527	0.6	+0.71	0.1	−0.99	0.2
10	Disease	0	–	0.2	+2.04	0	*NA*	0.1
	Total (%)	100%		100%		100%		100%
		n = 104		*n = 1,276*		*n = 4,353*		*n = 5,733*

áramlás ("stream"), *cunami* ("tsunami"), *hullám* ("wave"), *özön* ("deluge"), *tenger* ("sea"), *zsilip* ("floodgate"), etc. Feeding into the fear that we have towards unpredictable natural forces (Arcimaviciene and Baglama 2018, 9), the metaphor fits into "the wider conceptual complex of a *mass movement*" (Tóth et al. 2018, 183; emphasis as in original), according to which fled people are the participants and the countries that receive them function as the containers.

Our second most frequent source domain was OBJECT, accounting for 21% of the compounds with all investigated keywords. Commonly occurring headwords in our corpus, identified as manifestations of the OBJECT metaphor, include *átvételi* ("receipt"), *elosztás* or *szétosztás* ("distribution"), *csomag* ("package"), *gyártás* ("production"), *ipar* ("industry"), *osztogatás* ("dispensation"), *szám* ("number"), etc. Once again, this finding is not in any way surprising – it fits into both Tóth et al.'s (2018) results (where it occurred as the fourth most frequent source domain) and also resonates with international (im)migration discourse. The dehumanizing aspect of the OBJECT metaphor is all the more striking in light of the fact that it occurred with *menekült* (i.e., "refugee") the most frequently, although – at least in Bernáth and Messing's (2015, 9) view, the word *menekült* in Hungarian evokes solidarity and empathy. Our results definitely challenge this

idea and emphasize a distancing effect: by conceptualizing refugees as objects, social responsibility towards refugees is lifted.

Similar dehumanization occurs with the BUSINESS metaphor, which construes fled people as commodities in a business transaction. Thus, this particular metaphor can be considered as a more specific instantiation of the OBJECT metaphor, whereby fled people are objects of trade between countries and governments. Headwords occurring in the compounds that we identified as belonging to the BUSINESS metaphor include *adó* ("tax"), *biznisz* ("business"), *bónusz* ("bonus"), *export* ("export"), *import* ("import"), *szerződés* ("contract"), etc. The metaphor was noteworthy only with *migráns* corroborated by the high weighted log odds ratio (but it did not occur at all with *bevándorló* and reached only 1% with *menekült*). Within this metaphor, fled people do not have either feelings or rights (Arcimaviciene and Baglama 2018, 9); thus, it is the role of governments to decide how they (as commodities in a business transfer) should be usefully allocated and dealt with.

Two related metaphors that featured prominently with *migráns* and *bevándorló* (but not with *menekült*) were WAR (wlo: +3.72, +0.23) and CRIME (wlo: +5.20, +0.779), respectively. The former metaphor – manifested in our corpus via headwords such as *horda* ("horde"), *csata* ("battle"), *ellenség* ("enemy"), *front* ("front"), *invázió* ("invasion"), *roham* ("charge"), *sereg* ("army"), etc. – conceptualizes fled people as invaders of an army who wish to conquer Hungary. The CRIME metaphor also builds upon fear and insecurity (necessarily activating the securitization frame of (im)migration discourse), and exacerbates feelings of fear and hatred (Arcimaviciene and Baglama 2018, 11).

The ANIMAL metaphor – which also dehumanizes fled people – was quite prevalent (3%, wlo: +0.94) with *bevándorló* (where it was the sixth most frequent metaphorical conceptualization), but very rare or literally non-existent with the other two keywords (*migráns*: 1.3%, wlo:+1.69; *menekült*: 0%, wlo:-). Words that evoke the ANIMAL metaphor with all three keywords are primarily *vadász* ("hunter") and *vadászat* ("hunting"), thus conceptualizing fled people as prey. The ANIMAL metaphor further distances fled people by placing them on a lower level of existence in the hierarchical structure of the Great Chain of Being (Arcimaviciene and Baglama 2018; Lakoff and Turner 1989).

We also identified a handful of metaphorical source domains that had very low frequencies (token numbers) in our corpus, these being PRESSURE/BURDEN, BUILDING and DISEASE. The latter showed up only in compounds with *migráns* as the modifying element, manifested in headwords such as *fertőzött* ("infected"), *góc* ("centre of infection") and *láz* ("fever"). The very low frequencies of these source domains do not allow us to draw firm conclusions.

4.2   Distribution of source domains across time periods

As it was demonstrated in the above section, only a smaller fraction of compound words could be linked to one of the source domains covered by our analysis. However, based on how their occurrences changed over various time periods, several interesting observations can be made. Identified source domains with *menekült* are mostly FLOOD and OBJECT (see *Table 3*). During the first two periods (basically in 2015), FLOOD was the primary source domain, resting on mostly the frequency of the compounds *menekültáradat* ("refugee deluge") and *menekülthullám* ("refugee wave"). From late 2015, however, the OBJECT metaphor became more and more prevalent in media discourse. The rapid growth of the latter is most probably a consequence of the policy-related term *menekültkvóta* ("refugee quota"), which was heavily debated in the media.

Compound words with *migráns* show more diverse patterns across the seven investigated time periods, justifying our first hypothesis. It is clearly visible from *Table 3* that the relative incidence of FLOOD compared to other metaphors shows a decreasing trend; however, the odds ratios indicate that its presence in absolute terms did not change throughout the investigated time periods. In 2015 (Period 2) – similarly to *refugee* – *migránsáradat* ("migrant deluge") and *migránshullám* ("migrant wave") were the most prevalent. This might be accountable by the fact that August–September 2015 saw the highest number of fled people entering the country within our investigated periods. Use of the word *migránskvóta* ("migrant quote") is responsible for most of the OBJECT metaphors. During Period 4, a new and frequently used compound word, *migránsbiznisz* ("migrant business", wlo: 14.9), appeared – mostly in the PG sources. But, as quickly as it appeared, it went "out of fashion" and did not occur in large numbers in the subsequent periods. The two "newcomer" source domains with significant shares were CRIME and WAR, with notably high wlo values in the last period. With regard to the former, the most frequent compounds that manifested this source domain were *migránsbanda* ("migrant gang"), *migránsbűnözés* ("migrant crime"), *migránserőszak* ("migrant violence"), *miránscsempész* ("migrant smuggler") and *migránsbűnöző* ("migrant criminal"). Notably, in the articles of the PG origo.hu news portal, almost one-third of all identified source domain words with the headword *migráns* were linked to CRIME. Metaphorical compounds with WAR were reflected by *migránsinvázió* ("migrant invasion") and *migránstámadás* ("migrant attack"). It is important to note that these compounds were also present in earlier periods, but simply because of the large number of other source domains (mostly FLOOD and OBJECT), their overall proportion stayed at a steadily low level.

Identified source domains with *bevándorló* are somewhat special as compared to *migráns* and *menekült*, because of their very low number. Statistically, only

Table 3. *Selected i*dentified source domains with *menekült* ("refugee") and *migráns* ("migrant") by time periods[*]

Keyword	Source domain		Period 1–2 (2015)	Period 3 (Oct-Nov 2016)	Period 4 (Mar-Apr 2017)	Period 5 (Nov-Dec 2017)	Period 6 (Jan-Feb 2018)	Period 7 (Mar-Apr 2018)
menekült (refugee)	flood	%	78.3%	56.6%	47.9%	40.3%	52.4%	45.7%
		wlo	21.60	6.57	6.45	6.57	6.47	6.58
	object	%	20.0%	41.7%	45.3%	58.1%	42.9%	52.9%
		wlo	8.44	5.16	4.52	4.36	3.97	4.34
	business	%	0.6%	0.4%	6.0%	1.6%	4.8%	1.4%
		wlo	3.65	5.89	6.68	6.20	6.35	6.18
	war	%	0.7%	1.3%	0.9%	0%	0%	0%
		wlo	3.46	5.11	5.02	NA	NA	NA
	crime	%	0.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		wlo	3.85	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Total	**(%)**	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		(n)	3,786	228	117	62	63	70
migráns (migrant)	flood	%	89.4%	66.7%	29.5%	37.5%	17.1%	20.5%
		wlo	5.40	7.01	6.35	6.56	6.14	5.24
	object	%	6.7%	19.3%	9.8%	50.0%	48.8%	22.1%
		wlo	−0.23	3.73	3.46	4.07	4.35	3.69
	business	%	1.1%	0%	54.9%	0%	3.7%	1.6%
		wlo	5.13	NA	14.85	NA	6.35	6.11
	war	%	2.5%	10.5%	4.0%	8.3%	3.7%	17.4%
		wlo	5.22	6.99	5.62	5.50	5.20	7.94
	crime	%	0.4%	3.5%	1.7%	4.2%	26.8%	38.4%
		wlo	5.57	7.29	7.04	7.06	9.11	13.91
	Total	(%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		(n)	566	171	173	48	82	190

[*] Due to insufficient numbers for bevándorló ("immigrant"), no data is indicated for this keyword. Period 1 and 2 have been merged due to the low token numbers of Period 1.

Period 2 provides enough cases for comparison. Not surprisingly, *bevándorlóára-dat* ("immigrant deluge") and *bevándorlóhullám* ("immigrant wave") were the most relevant metaphorical expressions here. In Period 6 the words related to CRIME showed similar trends to that of *migráns*, with *bevándorlóbűnöző / beván-dorlóbűnözés* ("immigrant criminal" / "immigrant crime") appearing frequently.

4.3   The effect of political leaning on the use of keywords and source domains

The Hungarian media landscape went through drastic changes after 2014, with a well-identifiable section of news sources providing uncritical visibility for the government's migration narrative. This is also reflected in how the topic of migration in general was presented between 2015 and 2018. *Table 4* demonstrates that there is significant association between the use of keywords with identified source domains in PG and NPG media sources ($X^2(2, N = 5140) = 442.3, p < .01 \ \phi_C = .293$). Based on the weighted log odds ratios, the use of *migráns* was more likely in PG media, while *menekült* was more expected to appear in NPG sources, partially supporting our third hypothesis. These results corroborate Bernáth and Messing's (2015) data as well, who, in their analysis of governmental and non-governmental communication on migration in 2015, found that PG sources were quick to adopt the term *migráns*, and only very few media sources (7% of their total corpus) showed any inclination to use and differentiate between the terms *bevándorló* and *menekült*.

Table 4. Use of identified source domains by keywords in PG and NPG media sources

Media source		Bevándorló *(immigrant)*	Menekült *(refugee)*	Migráns *(migrant)*	
			Keyword		
PG	%	2.6%	61.8%	35.6%	100%
	wlo	+15.23	−53.75	+34.17	
NPG	%	1.2%	87.0%	11.8%	100%
	wlo	−13.61	+51.58	−30.17	

The selection of keywords used either with compound and non-compound words affects the emotional attachment of the reader and contributes to the strengthening of opposite narratives. The use of source domains might also have similar effects. Contrary to the notable differences in keyword use (as seen in *Table 4*), there seems to be less variance in the relative occurrence of source domains in PG and NPG media sources based on percentage and weighted log odds ratios. Nevertheless, results in *Table 5* imply that minor – yet nontrivial – differences between the metaphorical conceptualizations of the keywords do exist, thus highlighting alternative conceptualizations. Thus, FLOOD is the primary source domain in both groups, but it was more prevalent in NPG sources compared to PG sources. Additionally, more negative source domains, such as BUSINESS, WAR, CRIME and OBJECT all have positive wlo values for PG sources and

negative values for NPG sources, implying that the former was more likely to use averse source domains linked to the keywords *bevándorló, menekült* and *migráns*.

Table 5. Use of identified source domains by keywords in PG and NPG media sources

Source domain	Media source			
	Pro-government		Non pro-government	
	% (n)	wlo	% (n)	wlo
flood	66.1% (1466)	−3.73	73.6% (2585)	3.49
object	21.6% (479)	0.24	20.9% (735)	−0.22
business	3.8% (85)	1.75	1.7% (58)	−1.65
war	2.4% (54)	1.21	1.2% (42)	−1.13
crime	4.9% (108)	3.47	0.6% (22)	−3.43
animal	0.5% (10)	−0.86	1.1% (37)	0.75
pressure	0.4% (9)	0.13	0.3% (12)	−0.12
building	0.1% (3)	−0.52	0.3% (12)	0.45
misc	0.1% (2)	−0.55	0.3% (10)	0.47

5.   Conclusions

The primary objective of this paper was to map the metaphorical framing of *bevándorló* ("immigrant"), *menekült* ("refugee") and *migráns* ("migrant") from the very start of the "migration crisis" in January 2015, and track the development and use of the metaphors that were used in the media until April 2018. The novelty of our research was the focus on metaphorical compound words, as a means to analyse the way the three keywords appeared in language use. We based our idea on the assumption that compounding seems to be the most common strategy whenever we are faced with the challenge of a new concept for which a novel lexical item needs to be coined.

Our results indicate that while all three keywords evoke predominantly negative frames and evaluations that build on stock metaphorical conceptualizations of fled people as also identified in the international literature – such as FLOOD, OBJECT, BUSINESS, WAR and CRIME –, the distribution of these metaphors does vary, depending on (a) the selected keyword; and (b) the political agenda of the media source. We have found that *migráns* ("migrant") exhibited the greatest versatility in terms of metaphorical source domains, clearly indicating a very active

meaning construction process (as the meaning of this label had to be built up from scratch).

We have also identified significant differences in the use of keywords depending on the political leaning of the media sources. PG sources were more likely to use *migráns* ("migrant") compared to NPG media, while the latter gave more preference to *menekült* ("refugee"). Furthermore, BUSINESS, WAR, CRIME and OBJECT all showed positive wlo values for PG sources and negative values for NPG sources, implying that the former was more likely to use more averse source domains. Our study thus suggests that minor – yet nontrivial – differences do exist between the metaphorical conceptualizations of the three investigated keywords, highlighting alternative conceptualizations and alternative narratives along the PG *versus* NPG divide.

Acknowledgements

References

Arcimaviciene, Liudmila, and Sercan Hamza Baglama. 2018. "Migration, Metaphor and Myth in Media Representations: The Ideological Dichotomy of 'Them' and 'Us'." *SAGE Open* 8 (2): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018768657

Baider, F., and M. Kopytowska. 2017. "Conceptualising the Other: Online Discourses on the Current Refugee Crisis in Cyprus and in Poland." *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 13 (2): 203–233. https://doi.org/10.1515/lpp-2017-0011

Baker, Paul, and Tony McEnery. 2005. "A Corpus-based Approach to Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in UN and Newspaper Texts." *Journal of Language & Politics* 4 (2): 197–226. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.4.2.04bak

Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid KhosraviNik, Michał Krzyżanowski, Tony McEnery, and Ruth Wodak. 2008. "A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press." *Discourse & Society* 19 (3): 273–306. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508088962

Balabanova, Ekaterina, and Alex Balch. 2020. "Norm Destruction, Norm Resilience: The Media and Refugee Protection in the UK and Hungary during Europe's 'Migrant Crisis'." *Journal of Language and Politics* 19 (3): 413–435. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.19055.bal

Balch, Alex, and Ekaterina Balabanova. 2016. "Ethics, Politics and Migration: Public Debates on the Free Movement of Romanians and Bulgarians in the UK, 2006–2013." *Politics* 36 (1): 19–35. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.12082

Benczes, Réka. 2006. *Creative Compounding in English: The Semantics of Metaphorical and Metonymical Noun–Noun Combinations.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/hcp.19

Bene, Márton, and Gabriella Szabó. 2019. "Bonded by Interactions: Polarising Factors and Integrative Capacities of the News Media in Hungary." *Javnost – The Public* 26 (3): 309–329. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2019.1639427

Bennett, Samuel, Jessica ter Wal, Artur Lipiński, Małgorzata Fabiszak, and Michał Krzyżanowski. 2013. "The Representation of Third-country Nationals in European News Discourse." *Journalism Practice* 7 (3): 248–265. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.740239

Bernáth, Gábor, and Vera Messing. 2015. "Bedarálva. A menekültekkel kapcsolatos kormányzati kampány és a tőle független megszólalás terepei [Governmental anti-migrant narratives and the potentials of independent discourses]." *Médiakutató* 16 (4): 7–17.

Bocskor, Ákos. 2018. "Anti-immigration Discourses in Hungary During the 'Crisis' Year: The Orbán Government's 'National Consultation' Campaign. *Sociology* 52 (3): 551–568. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518762081

Bos, Linda, Sophie Lecheler, Moniek Mewafi, and Rens Vliegenthart. 2016. "It's the Frame That Matters: Immigrant Integration and Media Framing Effects in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 55: 97–108. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.10.002

Burgers, Christian, Elly A. Konijn, and Gerard J. Steen. 2016. "Figurative Framing: Shaping Public Discourse through Metaphor, Hyperbole, and Irony." *Communication Theory* 26: 410–430. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12096

Bybee, Joan L. 2001. *Phonology and Language Use.* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511612886

Cs. Nagy, Lajos. 1995. "A szóalkotás módjai [Types of word-formation processes]." In *A magyar nyelv könyve*, ed. by Anna A. Jászó, 272–300. Budapest: Trezor.

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2006. "Britain As a Container: Immigration Metaphors in the 2005 Election Campaign." *Discourse and Society* 17 (6): 563–582. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506066345

Cisneros, David J. 2008. "Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant As Pollutant' in Media Representations of Immigration." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 11 (4): 569–602. https://doi.org/10.1353/rap.0.0068

Dervinytė, Inga. 2009. "Conceptual Emigration and Immigration Metaphors in the Language of the Press: A Contrastive Analysis." *Kalbų studijos / Studies about Languages* 14: 49–55.

Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, Christine E. Meltzer, Tobias Heidenreich, Beatrice Herrero, Nora Theorin, Fabienne Lind, Rosa Berganza, Hajo G. Boomgaarden, Christian Schemer, and Jesper Strömbäck. 2018. "The European Media Discourse on Immigration and Its Effects: A Literature Review." *Annals of the International Communication Association* 42 (3): 207–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2018.1497452

Egres, Dorottya. 2018. "Symbolic and Realistic Threats – Frame Analysis of Political and Media Discourses about Refugees and Migrants." *Society and Economy* 40 (3): 463–477. https://doi.org/10.1556/204.2018.40.3.11

El Rafaie, Elisabeth. 2001. "Metaphors We Discriminate By: Naturalized Themes in Austrian Newspaper Articles about Asylum Seekers." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5 (3): 352–371. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00154

Ellis, Mark, and Richard Wright. 1998. "The Balkanization Metaphor in the Analysis of U.S. Immigration." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (4): 686–698. https://doi.org/10.1111/0004-5608.00118

Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward the Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Farris, Emily M., and Heather Silber Mohamed, H. 2018. "Picturing Immigration: How the Media Criminalizes Immigrants." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6 (4): 814–824. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2018.1484375

Fausey, Caitlin M., and Teeny Matlock. 2011. "Can Grammar Win Elections? Grammar and Elections." *Political Psychology* 32 (4): 563–574. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00802.x

Gamson, William A., and Kathryn E. Lasch. 1983. "The Political Culture of Social Welfare Policy." In *Evaluating the Welfare State: Social and Political Perspectives*, ed. by S. E. Spiro, and E. Yuchtman-Yaar, 397–415. New York: Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-657980-2.50032-2

Gitlin, Todd. 1980. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press.

Goffman, Ervin. 1974/1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Reprint. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Greussing, Esther, and Hajo G. Boomgaarden. 2017. "Shifting the Refugee Narrative? An Automated Frame Analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (11): 1749–1774. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1282813

Griebel, Tim, and Erik Vollmann. 2019. "We Can ('t) Do This: A Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of Migration in Germany." *Journal of Language and Politics* 18 (5): 671–697. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.19006.gri

Harris, Casey T., and Jeff Gruenewald, J. 2020. "News Media Trends in the Framing of Immigration and Crime, 1990–2013." *Social Problems* 67 (3): 452–470.

Hart, Christopher. 2021. "Animals vs. Armies: Resistance to Extreme Metaphors in Anti-immigration Discourse." *Journal of Language and Politics* 20 (2): 226–253. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.20032.har

Janky, Béla. 2019. "Changing Connotations and the Evolution of the Effect of Wording Labelling Asylum Seekers in a Political Campaign." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 31 (4): 714–737. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edy035

Kálmán, László. 2015. "Honnan menekülnek, hova vándorolnak? [Where are they fleeing from and where are they migrating to?]" https://www.nyest.hu/hirek/honnan-menekulnek-hova-vandorolnak (accessed 10 June 2019).

Kenyeres, Attila Zoltán, and József Szabó. 2016. "The Migration Crisis: Representation of a Border Conflict in Hungarian, German and Pan-European Television News Coverage." *Corvinus Journal of Sociology Policy* 7 (1): 71–91. https://doi.org/10.14267/CJSSP.2016.01.04

Kiss, E. 2016. "'The Hungarians Have Decided: They Do Not Want Illegal Migrants': Media Representation of the Hungarian Governmental Anti-immigration Campaign." *Acta Humana – Emberi jogi közlemények* 4 (6): 45–77.

KhosraviNik, Majid. 2017. "The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis." *Journal of Language and Politics* 9 (1): 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.9.1.01kho

Korkut, Umut, Andrea Terlizzi, and Dániel Gyollai. 2020. "Migration Controls in Italy and Hungary: From Conditionalized to Domesticized Humanitarianism at the EU Borders." *Journal of Language and Politics* 19 (3): 391–412. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.19092.kor

Kotzur, Patrick F., Nora Forsbach, and Ulrich Wagner. 2017. "Choose Your Words Wisely: Stereotypes, Emotions, and Action Tendencies Toward Fled People as a Function of the Group Label." *Social Psychology* 48 (4): 226–241. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000312

Krennmayr, Tina. 2013. "Top-down Versus Bottom-up Approaches to the Identification of Metaphor in Discourse." *metaphorik.de* 24: 7–36.

Kryżanowski, Michał, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Ruth Wodak. 2018. "The Mediatization and the Politicization of the 'Refugee Crisis' in Europe." *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 16 (1–2): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2017.1353189

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Turner. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226470986.001.0001

McGlone, Michael S. 2007. "What is the Explanatory Value of a Conceptual Metaphor?" *Language and Communication* 27 (2): 109–126. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2006.02.016

McNeil, Robert and Eric Kartsens. 2018. "Hogyan tudósít a média a migrációról és a mobilitásról? [How does the media report on migration and mobility?]" *Médiakutató* 19 (3–4): 89–117.

Messing, Vera, and Bence Ságvári. 2019. "Still Divided But More Open: Mapping European Attitudes Towards Migration Before and After the Migration Crisis." Budapest: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/budapest/15322.pdf).

Monroe, Burt, Michael Colaresi, and Kevin Quinn. 2017. "Fightin' Words: Lexical Feature Selection and Evaluation for Identifying the Content of Political Conflict." *Political Analysis* 16 (4): 372–403. https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpn018

Musolff, Andreas. 2016. *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios*. London: Bloomsbury.

Salahshour, Neda. 2016. "Liquid Metaphors As Positive Evaluations: A Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Migrants in a Daily New Zealand Newspaper." *Discourse, Context & Media* 13: 73–81. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2016.07.002

Santa Ana, Otto. 1999. "'Like an Animal I Was Treated': Anti-immigrant Metaphor in US Public Discourse." *Discourse and Society* 10 (2): 191–224. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002004

Schemer, Christian. 2012. "The Influence of News Media on Stereotypic Attitudes Toward Immigrants in a Political Campaign." *Journal of Communication* 62 (5): 739–757. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01672.x

Semino, Elena, Zsófia Demjén, and Jane Demmen. 2018. "An Integrated Approach to Metaphor and Framing in Cognition, Discourse, and Practice, with an Application to Metaphors for Cancer." *Applied Linguistics* 39 (5): 625–645.

Silge, Julia, Alex Hayes, and Tyler Schnoebelen. 2020. tidylo: Weighted Tidy Log Odds Ratio. https://github.com/juliasilge/tidylo

Sik, Endre, and Bori Simonovits. 2018. *The First Results of the Content Analysis of the Media in the Course of Migration Crisis in Hungary*. TÁRKI-CEASEVAL Working Paper No. 35.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2006. "Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy." In *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*, ed. by A. Stefanowitsch and S. Th. Gries, 1–16. Berlin and New York: Mouton.

Szalai, András, and Gabriella Gőbl. 2015. *Securitizing Migration in Contemporary Hungary.* CEU Center for EU Enlargement Studies Working Paper, Budapest.

Thibodeau, Paul H., Rose K. Hendricks, and Lera Boroditsky. 2017. "How Linguistic Metaphor Scaffolds Reasoning." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 21 (11): 852–863. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2017.07.001

Tóth, Máté, Péter Csatár, and Krisztián Majoros. 2018. "Metaphoric Representations of the Migration Crisis in Hungarian Online Newspapers: A First Approximation." *metaphorik.de* 28: 169–199.

van Gorp, Baldwin. 2005. "Where Is the Frame? Victims and Intruders in the Belgian Press Coverage of the Asylum Issue." *European Journal of Communication* 20 (4), 484–507. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323105058253

Vicsek, Lilla, Roland Keszi, and Marcell Márkus. 2008. "Representation of Refugees, Asylum-seekers and Refugee Affairs in Hungarian Dailies." *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 2 (2): 87–107.

Viola, Lorella, and Andreas Musolff (Eds.). 2019. *Migration and Media: Discourses about Identities in Crisis.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.81

Appendix

Length of periods and events defining them
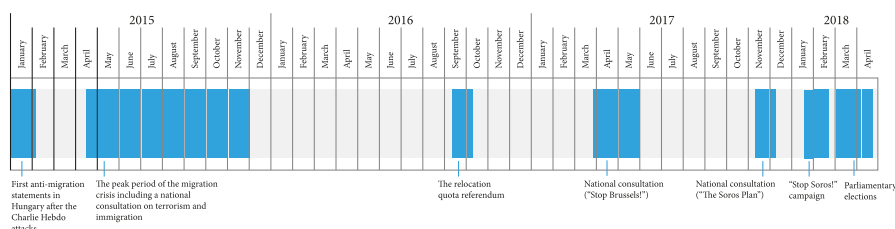
Address for correspondence

Réka Benczes
Institute of Communication and Sociology
Corvinus University of Budapest
Közraktár utca 4-6
H-1093 Budapest
Hungary
reka.benczes@uni-corvinus.hu

Biographical notes

Réka Benczes is Professor of Linguistics at the Institute of Communication and Sociology, Corvinus University of Budapest. She has published dozens of articles on word-formation and linguistic creativity; the language of health and ageing; the social context of metaphorical motivation; and figurative framing in political communication. Her latest monograph, *Rhyme Over Reason: Phonological Motivation in English*, was published in 2019 by Cambridge University Press.

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3481-8279

Bence Ságvári is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Sciences in Budapest and Head of the CSS-Recens Research Group. Currently he is the national coordinator for the European Social Survey (ESS) in Hungary. He received his PhD at Eötvös Loránd University in 2011. In 2014/15, he was Visiting Professor at Indiana University, Bloomington (USA).

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5862-4789

Publication history