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EXPLORATORY OBSERVATIONS ON METAPHORICAL CONVERGENCE IN MEDIA DISCOURSE: ENGLISH-INFLUENCED METAPHORICAL EXPRESSION PATTERNS IN GERMAN AND SLOVENIAN

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ABSTRACT

This article examines whether English-influenced metaphorical expression patterns can be identified in German and Slovenian journalistic texts and whether they indicate metaphorical convergence in media discourse. The study is based on a qualitative contrastive analysis of eleven selected English–German–Slovenian examples identified through Event Registry and checked against relevant online dictionaries. Van den Broeck's descriptive model of metaphor translation is used heuristically to distinguish between image retention, substitution, paraphrase, borrowing, and conventionalization. The analysis shows that English influence is visible in both languages, but that many German forms are already lexicographically documented or discursively established, whereas the corresponding Slovenian forms more often appear as less conventionalized image-faithful reproductions.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, metaphorical convergence, English influence, German, Slovenian

OSSERVAZIONI ESPLORATIVE SULLA CONVERGENZA METAFORICA NEL DISCORSO MEDIATICO: MODELLI DI ESPRESSIONE METAFORICA INFLUENZATI DALL'INGLESE IN TEDESCO E SLOVENO

SINTESI

Il presente articolo esamina la possibilità di identificare nei testi giornalistici tedeschi e sloveni modelli di espressione metaforica derivati dall'influsso dell'inglese, valutando se tali modelli indichino una convergenza metaforica nel discorso mediatico. Lo studio si basa su un'analisi contrastiva qualitativa di undici esempi selezionati in inglese, tedesco e sloveno, individuati tramite Event Registry e verificati mediante il ricorso a dizionari online. Il modello descrittivo di van den Broeck sulla traduzione delle metafore viene applicato in chiave euristica per distinguere tra conservazione dell'immagine, sostituzione, parafrasi, prestito e convenzionalizzazione. L'analisi evidenzia come l'influsso dell'inglese sia visibile in entrambi gli idiomi, ma che numerose forme tedesche risultano già attestate nei repertori lessicografici o consolidate nel discorso, mentre le corrispondenti forme slovene si configurano perlopiù come riproduzioni fedeli, ma meno convenzionalizzate, dell'immagine.

Parole chiave: metafora concettuale, convergenza metaforica, influsso dell'inglese, tedesco, sloveno

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEM STATEMENT, RESEARCH QUESTION, AND PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE

This article's starting point is the conceptual metaphor premise that metaphors are based on cognitive and cultural experiences and can therefore take on both universal and culture-specific forms. In news journalism, however, it can be assumed that metaphorical patterns no longer emerge and are transmitted exclusively within individual linguistic and cultural spheres but increasingly circulate through global processes of production and translation.[1]

Conceptual metaphor theory has demonstrated that metaphors are not merely rhetorical devices, but fundamental cognitive structural principles through which abstract concepts are understood in terms of more concrete domains of experience. At the same time, it has been repeatedly emphasized that, although metaphorical concepts may be grounded in universal cognitive and embodied experiences, their linguistic realization varies across languages and cultures. It is precisely this tension between cognitive universality and cultural specificity that makes conceptual metaphors particularly relevant for cross-linguistic studies (Makulkina, 2013, 39–45).

In news journalism, however, an additional dynamic comes into play: news regarding international events often originates in English before being translated into other languages. In the digital media landscape, this transfer is frequently carried out by machines first, with editorial processing taking place only later. This raises the question of whether metaphorical concepts and their linguistic realizations from English-language discourse may be finding their way into other language areas. Although conceptual metaphor research generally acknowledges cultural variation, the extent to which automated translation processes contribute to the adoption, stabilization, or hybridization of such metaphors in journalistic news texts remains insufficiently investigated.

This article therefore addresses the following research question: To what extent can selected English-influenced metaphorical expression patterns be identified in German and Slovenian journalistic texts, and to what extent may they be interpreted as preliminary indications of metaphorical convergence at the level of linguistic expression? The aim is not to provide broad quantitative conclusions about metaphorical convergence in German and Slovenian media discourse, but to offer exploratory qualitative observations on selected examples and to point to a phenomenon that merits further corpus-based and diachronic research.

Against this backdrop, the article examines metaphorical patterns in German and Slovenian journalistic texts – particularly in news reports and political commentaries – from a contrastive perspective. The focus is on whether, and in what form, English–influenced metaphorical patterns are adopted into German and Slovenian media, replicated through close translation, or editorially adapted.

The specific starting point of this study is the observation that, when reading and listening to current news and political commentary in German and Slovenian, there is a growing influence of English patterns of expression and interpretation on the metaphorical language of both languages. This is particularly evident in reporting on topics closely linked to the English-speaking political and media sphere, such as those related to the United States or international conflicts.

The question of how such metaphorical patterns find their way into German and Slovenian media discourse cannot be conclusively answered within the scope of this article. However, several possible explanations can be identified. On the one hand, the adoption of certain patterns of expression may be thematically driven: when reporting on political actors, conflicts, or events from the English-speaking world, journalistic phrasing is often modeled after established interpretive and linguistic patterns there. This is particularly true for correspondents and commentators that report directly from these contexts and are thus more strongly influenced by the local political and media language. On the other hand, a key factor is likely to lie in the news production process itself: international news is often first written in English, then machine-translated, and only afterward edited. It is precisely in this interplay of English-language source material, machine translation, and journalistic editing that metaphorical patterns may be transferred to other languages, only partially adapted to the conventions of the target language, or gradually stabilized in media discourse.

CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS FROM THE COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

One of the most important findings of modern metaphor research is that metaphors not only serve linguistic communication but also function as cognitive tools that structure people's thinking (Bratož, 2010, 9).

From a broad perspective, approaches to metaphor theory can be classified into two basic categories: non-constructivist and constructivist. Non-constructivist

1 This article was written within the framework of the research programme "Slovenian Language – Basic, Contrastive and Applied Research" (No. P6-0215), funded from public funds by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

perspectives view metaphors primarily as rhetorical and stylistic embellishments of speech, whereas constructivist approaches understand them as the result of mental construction processes (Begonja & Rončević, 2015, 328). It was not until the late twentieth century, in connection with the development of cognitive science, that the understanding of metaphors was systematically expanded to include a cognitive dimension. This constructivist-cognitive perspective draws its key theoretical foundation from Lakoff and Johnson's cognitive theory of metaphor, which they developed in their 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By*. Lakoff and Johnson challenged the traditional view that metaphors primarily belong to literary, poetic, or ornamental language. Rather, they showed that metaphors fundamentally shape everyday life and permeate not only language but also thinking and actions: The everyday conceptual system through which people organize, understand, and act in the world is thus fundamentally structured by metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 3). Metaphors are therefore not peripheral linguistic phenomena, but rather basic cognitive patterns that organize the understanding of the world. A theoretically groundbreaking assumption in this context is that cognitive processes themselves are organized metaphorically and that this metaphorical structure is reflected in linguistic expression.[2] Metaphor thus takes center stage in cognitive linguistics, which, as a subfield of cognitive science, is interdisciplinary in nature and draws on insights from disciplines such as neurology, psychology, philosophy, computer science, and sociology.

Lakoff and Johnson define metaphors differently from traditional metaphor research. When they speak of metaphors, they are primarily referring to conceptual metaphors (or metaphorical concepts), which must be distinguished from concrete, explicit linguistic formulations, or metaphorical expressions. Conceptual metaphors thus arise at the level of thought and are fundamental to the perception and structuring of people's knowledge of the world. Because they are anchored in human thought, they become visible only through the metaphorical expressions that stem from them on the linguistic surface. Metaphorical expressions should therefore not be considered in isolation, but rather as linguistic realizations of the conceptual metaphors underlying them: "[m]etaphorical language is a surface manifestation of conceptual metaphor" (Lakoff, 1993, 244).

Metaphorical expressions appear in concrete linguistic forms – namely at the level of words, phrases, sentences, or texts – but their meaning cannot be explained by these linguistic forms alone. Rather, the underlying cognitive approach is decisive: metaphorical concepts are often not consciously accessible to people, yet they are reflected in linguistic expression and can be empirically studied precisely because of this. Or, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 3) put it: "Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like." This distinction is important for the present study because not all metaphorical patterns circulate across languages in the same way. As Massey and Ehrensberger-Dow (2017, 174–175) point out, complex conceptual metaphors are often subject to culture-specific variation. Their cross-linguistic circulation is therefore especially relevant for contrastive analysis, since it may reveal both shared conceptual structures and language- or culture-specific forms of metaphorical realization.

Despite its fundamental importance, conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is not without conceptual problems. It has been pointed out, in particular, that Lakoff and Johnson use the term *metaphor* ambiguously (Makulkina, 2013, 32); in CMT, linguistic and cognitive processes are equated, and metaphors as linguistic constructions are not clearly distinguished from concepts as mental entities; the term *conceptual metaphor* is characterized by "confusing vagueness" (Schwarz-Friesel, 2015, 145–147).

Lakoff and Johnson's thesis on the cognitive nature of metaphor gives rise to another central assumption of conceptual metaphor theory, the "ubiquity thesis"; namely, the ubiquity of metaphor (Jäkel, 2003, 40). This states that metaphors should not be understood as exceptional phenomena or mere stylistic devices, but rather as ubiquitous in language use. The idea of the ubiquity and communicative indispensability of metaphors is not entirely new, however, it can already be found in semantic interaction theory as well as in discursive approaches to metaphor research. It was Lakoff and Johnson, however, that emphasized with particular clarity that metaphors are not limited to literature, poetry, or rhetorically marked language, but also fulfill an important function in technical expert discourse,[3] as well as in nearly all areas of everyday and public communication.

2 Lakoff and Johnson later put it even more succinctly: "Metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action and only secondarily a matter of language" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 153). And further: "Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 7). This shifts the functional principle of the metaphor from the linguistic to the conceptual level – that is, to the level of cognition.

3 Veronesi (2011, 92) notes that legal scholars' contemporary views on metaphors have changed significantly. Whereas metaphors were often viewed with skepticism in the past, some thinkers within modern legal scholarship and philosophy are increasingly recognizing their importance. Metaphors are no longer seen merely as a stylistic device or a potential threat to conceptual precision, but are also recognized as an important tool in the development of legal theory.

METAPHORS IN MEDIA DISCOURSE: METAPHORS AS DISCURSIVE TOOLS FOR SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION

The creation of metaphors is considered an expression of cognitive and linguistic creativity. Metaphors arise as a result of semantic-conceptual processes motivated by the need to make areas of experience that are difficult to visualize or abstract more accessible. They make it possible to grasp and describe complex or difficult-to-illustrate aspects of experience with the help of concrete and familiar concepts. In this process, metaphorization is based on the conceptualization of one cognitive or psychological domain through another domain. Metaphors therefore occur particularly where new or elusive areas of experience (e.g., cognitive and social processes, emotions, technical innovations, and ideologies) must be linguistically articulated and no established terms exist yet – as already emphasized – not only in literature and poetry, but also in scholarly discourse (Schwarz & Chur, 2007, 107–108; Schwarz-Friesel, 2015, 143).

In addition to these referential and insight-promoting functions, metaphors also serve persuasive – and at times manipulative – purposes in both everyday and mass media discourse. It is precisely because of their persuasive function that the mass media frequently resort to metaphors. "The persuasive power of metaphors lies in the fact that they aim at persuasion rather than conviction and appeal to the listener's emotional and behavioral components." Furthermore, metaphors "transform facts and models of thought into general truths and thus elude rational argumentation" (Makulkina, 2013, 63). In this sense, metaphors can be understood as a form of pseudo-argumentation in which positive or negative associations are transferred to the subject matter being described. As such pseudo-arguments, they are an effective tool in journalistic presentation because they suggest evaluations without having to explicitly justify them.

Metaphorical expressions highlight certain aspects of a situation while pushing others into the background; their impact is based largely on the inferences and mental models they trigger in the audience, which can influence collective processes of perception, evaluation, and opinion formation in mass media discourse (Schwarz-Friesel, 2015, 144; Korošec, 1998, 21). As Begonja and Rončević (2015, 331) point out, metaphors also have an evocative function: they activate emotions and bodily affects, which gives them a particular force in political and media discourse.

The concept of linguistic actualization is closely linked to the persuasive function of metaphors. According to Korošec (1998, 17), actualization should not be understood as mere formal rhetorical embellishment, but rather as a deviation from the direct designation of the subject matter. Through it, the text producer intervenes in the reality that has already been recognized and linguistically reformulated while at the same time seeking a path to the addressee by drawing on the addressee's world of experience and attempting to trigger both his rational and emotional responses.

Because the language system allows for a choice between options that are expressively similar but connotatively different, the decision to use a particular linguistic device is not neutral. Rather, it is tied to the communicative situation, the communicative intent, the text type, and the relationship to the audience. In journalistic news texts, therefore, "actualisms" (i.e., stylistically marked linguistic means) do not primarily appear as ornamental stylistic devices, but rather as means of evaluation and guiding interpretation. Their connotative value is of great importance for assessing persuasive effects because they can help shape recipients' understanding of the content presented (Udovič & Kalin Golob, 2019, 592). In this context, metaphors can also serve as a means of actualization (Korošec, 1998, 21): they not only name facts differently but also frame them from a particular perspective, activate certain areas of experience, and thereby enable specific interpretations.

Korošec (1998, 20) also includes phraseological units or idioms among the ways through which authors can express their stance or stylistically enliven the text. It is therefore necessary at this point to briefly clarify the relationship between idioms and conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors primarily belong to the cognitive level; they structure abstract realms of experience by drawing on more concrete domains. Idioms, in contrast, are phraseologically fixed linguistic units whose meaning cannot always be fully deduced from their individual components. However, the two levels can overlap because many idioms are based on metaphorical conceptualizations and can thus be understood as linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors. For example, the conceptual metaphor LEBEN IST EIN WEG 'LIFE IS A JOURNEY' manifests itself in various linguistic forms, such as in the compound *Lebensweg* 'life path' (personal life journey), in the collocation *seinen Weg machen* 'to make one's way' (to get ahead in life, assert oneself, be successful), or in more idiomatic expressions such as *vom Weg abkommen* 'to stray from the path' (to lose focus, lose sight of the goal, deviate from one's previous standards and principles, fail). This shows that metaphors and idioms are not the same thing: metaphors primarily refer to a conceptual organizing principle, whereas idioms refer to a fixed phraseological form of expression that may or may not be metaphorically motivated (Kispál, 2020, 443–444).

MASS MEDIA AND MEDIA REALITY

Since the present study focuses on metaphorical expression patterns in journalistic texts, the following section discusses how mass media contribute to the construction of media reality and how linguistic means, including metaphors, help shape the interpretation of public events.

Niklas Luhmann emphasizes the fundamental importance of the mass media for understanding society and the world:

> *What we know about our society – indeed, about the world in which we live – we know through the mass media. This applies not only to our knowledge of society and history, but also to our knowledge of nature. What we know about the stratosphere is akin to what Plato knows about Atlantis: we've heard about it.* […] *On the other hand, we know so much about the mass media that we cannot trust these sources. We defend ourselves by suspecting manipulation, but this leads to no significant consequences because the knowledge derived from the mass media naturally coalesces into a self-reinforcing structure. We label all knowledge as suspect – and yet we must still build upon it and rely on it.* (Luhmann, 1996, 9–10)

Communication is generally based on the exchange of signs between at least two participants. Public communication, on the other hand, is characterized by the fact that it is generally accessible to the public and generates a shared body of knowledge that can be assumed to be common knowledge within society. Mass communication is a specific form of such public communication. It allows organized communicators to reach a geographically dispersed and potentially unlimited audience, whereby the possibilities for immediate feedback remain comparatively limited (Vowe, 2021, 607). Mass communication is made possible by mass media; these include the press, radio, television, and the internet, as well as, in a broader sense, other technical dissemination media through which information, entertainment, and cultural content are conveyed to a wide audience in written, audio, and visual form. "With each new medium, an ever-larger audience is drawn into public communication" (Vowe, 2021, 607).

Media systems are shaped by historical, cultural, and political factors and therefore differ in their structures and developmental trajectories. However, transnational developments such as globalization, economic interdependence, European integration, and digital platformization have a homogenizing effect. Platform providers operating on a global scale, in particular, are fundamentally transforming traditional media systems because they no longer merely provide technical communication spaces but are increasingly gaining journalistic and political relevance, thereby influencing forms of public communication, the distribution of media power, and the formation of public opinion (Vowe, 2021, 608).

The media play an extremely important role in shaping society's perceptions of reality because they do not convey information about events, actors, and contexts in a neutral manner; rather, they select, organize, weigh, and interpret it. This mediating function is particularly significant in foreign news coverage because audiences are usually unable to directly verify the facts presented. "Media reports serve, so to speak, as a 'window to the world,' complementing people's own experiences or, not least, compensating for the lack of direct contact with other cultures" (Makulkina, 2013, 59).

Another important aspect is that not all events become public knowledge; rather, only those that "possess certain qualities that make them newsworthy" and are able to overcome the so-called "news barrier" do so (Crudopf, 2000, 20). These selection criteria are referred to as "event factors" or "news factors" and encompass those characteristics of events that increase their newsworthiness, such as timeliness, novelty, drama, conflict, or social relevance (Crudopf, 2000, 20). In this way, the media help determine "what becomes a public issue, what relevance it is accorded, and how it is reported" (Makulkina, 2013, 58). Thus, the media do not merely reflect public opinion but actively help shape it. This process of selection and presentation gives rise to a specific media reality. Through media attention and repeated coverage, events become what are known as "discursive events", which "generate a strong media response and thus become the subject of discourse" (Makulkina, 2013, 58). Collective perceptions of reality emerge from them. This can lead to entrenched stereotypes, preconceived notions, or distorted perceptions, particularly when foreign countries and cultures are portrayed. Makulkina (2013, 59) emphasizes that the media use the same "filters" not only when reporting on foreign countries but also on domestic issues. Thus, reality as such is not reflected; rather, a new media reality is created.

However, media reality is not created solely by the selection of newsworthy events and the placement of topics, but also by the specific linguistic and visual presentation of journalistic texts. Therefore, the following section provides a brief overview of the characteristics that define the news style and the linguistic and visual means used to convey explicit – and, in particular, implicit – evaluations in news texts.

Journalistic texts are required to present complex issues in a concise, understandable form that is accessible to a wide audience. The news style, in particular, therefore calls for linguistic conciseness: information must be distilled, organized, and phrased in such a way that it can be grasped quickly.

The news style is characterized by simple word choice, short sentences, and clear sentence structure. In addition, it draws on collective symbols and linguistic stereotypes of everyday awareness. Such standardization is consistent with the principles of linguistic economy and linguistic conciseness (Lüger, 1995, 23).[4]

In addition, journalists have other tools at their disposal when crafting press releases that contain an evaluative component and can thus implicitly convey personal or editorial judgments. A distinction must be made between explicit evaluations, which are stated outright, and implicit evaluations. Implicit evaluations do not appear as overt value judgments but are embedded in the news text or can be introduced into it through certain linguistic and visual means. Precisely because they are difficult for readers to recognize as evaluations, they can be particularly effective at the suggestive and emotional level of the audience's perception. This creates the impression that readers have arrived at the given assessment on their own. Linguistically, implicit evaluations may be achieved through more lexically complex means, such as metaphors, implicit stereotypes, symbols, rhetorical devices, phraseological units, and syntactic structures. They may also be conveyed visually through layout, photographs, images, caricatures, graphics, or the placement of a news item (Makulkina, 2013, 63).

METAPHORS IN CROSS-LINGUISTIC TRANSFER

Cognitive metaphor theory is relevant not only to the analysis of metaphorical expressions within individual languages, but also to translation studies because it focuses on the conceptual foundations of metaphorical meaning-making. From this perspective, it is possible to examine how metaphorical expressions are handled in the relationship between the source and target texts during translation, and what consequences the resulting translation decisions may have for the text, its reception, and further discursive developments (Schäffner, 2004).

Massey and Ehrensberger-Dow (2017, 174) emphasize that conceptual asymmetries between languages pose a particular challenge in interlingual transfer, since they require not only comprehension of the source expression but also problem awareness, problem identification, problem solving, and the formulation of functionally analogous target-language concepts. This is particularly relevant for metaphorical expressions, which function as linguistic realizations of underlying conceptual mappings and may therefore differ not only lexically, but also in terms of the metaphorical images they activate.

In a professional context, translating metaphorical expressions is generally a deliberate decision-making process. Whether the metaphorical image or expression is retained in the target text, replaced by another metaphorical image, or "resolved" – that is, paraphrased in non-metaphorical terms – depends on linguistic, cultural, text-type–specific, and functional factors. Whereas professional translators generally reflect consciously on metaphorical structures and weigh their rendering in the target text based on the factors mentioned above, the situation is different for machine translations or ad hoc translations produced in the journalistic workflow.

The question of whether metaphorical expressions are retained, replaced, or paraphrased in cross-linguistic transfer provides a useful descriptive point of departure for the present analysis, even though the examples examined here are not treated as direct translations in the strict sense. Accordingly, the question of how metaphorical expressions are transferred across languages is approached not from a normative, but from a descriptive perspective. Van den Broeck's (1981) framework is thus particularly relevant because this article does not examine idealized or normatively evaluated translations, but rather actual metaphorical patterns in media discourse. It makes it possible to identify observable forms of image-faithful borrowing, metaphorical substitution, or non-metaphorical paraphrase without simultaneously having to evaluate them as appropriate or inappropriate translation solutions.[5]

Within a descriptive framework, van den Broeck (1981, 77) distinguishes three basic approaches to the translation of metaphors: translation in the strict sense (translation 'sensu stricto'), substitution, and paraphrase:

4 According to Lüger (1995, 26), German news writing exhibits a clear tendency toward concision at the syntactic level: sentence length is shortened, noun phrases occur more frequently, and the use of functional verb constructions such as *einen Versuch unternehmen* 'make an attempt' leads to semantic weakening or bleaching of the verbs. These developments can be explained in particular by the conditions under which news texts are produced; namely, as much information as possible must be conveyed within a limited space, often by summarizing or incorporating multiple news agency reports and other sources. The need for a concise yet precise presentation therefore favors linguistic complexity in the form of nominal style, block structure, and compound words.

5 In contrast to van den Broeck's (1981) descriptive framework, Newmark's (1981, 87–91) approach to metaphor translation is more prescriptive and aims to provide practical principles, rules, and guidelines for translation and translator training. For this reason, it is less suitable for the present study.

Table 1: Modes of metaphor translation according to van den Broeck (1981).

SL metaphor	TL expression	Matching pattern	Transl. mode
La nuit tombe	Die Nacht fällt ein*	corresponding T corresponding V	Translation 'sensu stricto'
Le jour tombe	Der Tag fällt	corresponding T corresponding V	
Le jour tombe	Die Nacht bricht (her)ein**	corresponding T different V	Substitution
Le jour tombe	Es wird Abend	corresponding sense	Paraphrase

* '[T]o start suddenly, to begin, to set in suddenly' (*der Winter, dichter Nebel fiel ein* 'winter, thick fog set in') (DUDEN, 2026).
** [D]*ie Nacht kommt, bricht an* 'night falls' (DUDEN, 2026).

Van den Broeck (1981, 78) points out that his three modes can also be given other names. Within translation 'sensu stricto', a more precise distinction is made between literal translation and onomasiological translation:

In a literal translation,[6] both the meaning (tenor) and the figurative element / metaphorical image (*vehicle*) are rendered in the target language in a way that is largely equivalent: French *La nuit tombe* – German *Die Nacht fällt ein*. The meaning – the onset of night – is preserved, as is the metaphorical image, in which night is conceived as an event that descends or falls.

In an onomasiological translation[7] within translation 'sensu stricto', the source language's metaphorical image is transferred to the target text, even if the target language would normally use a different image to convey the same meaning. Precisely for this reason, such a transfer can seem unusual in the target text: according to van den Broeck, when the metaphorical images in the source and target languages differ, the resulting metaphor in the target text can appear either as a semantic anomaly or as a bold innovation; for example, English *to feel it in one's bones*, German *es in den Knochen spüren*, Slovenian *čutiti v kosteh*. In these cases, the source expression for 'bones' is carried over into the target languages, even though, depending on the register, other expressions would be more appropriate in German and Slovenian; for example, general and less idiomatic expressions such as German *etwas im Gefühl haben* 'to have a hunch about something' or Slovenian *imeti občutek* 'to have a feeling' or *slutiti* 'to sense', or colloquial but idiomatic expressions such as German *etwas im Urin haben* 'to have something in one's urine' or Slovenian *čutiti na vodi* 'feel in one's water', in which *voda* 'water' can be used euphemistically to refer to urine.[8] It is precisely such vivid, image-based renderings that can therefore come across as calqued or translated metaphorical expressions if they are not – or are only weakly – conventionalized in the target language.

Van den Broeck alternatively refers to substitution as semasiological translation. In this process, the underlying meaning is preserved, but the metaphorical image is replaced by a different, more common, or idiomatic image in the target language.[9] One first analyzes the meaning of the source-language metaphor (i.e., its tenor) and then searches for a different metaphorical image in the target language with approximately the same meaning. Thus, the foreign image is not adopted; rather, the meaning is recognized and metaphorically re-realized through a more appropriate image in the target language. An example would be English *to earn one's living* versus German *sein Brot verdienen* (literally, 'to earn one's bread'), Slovenian *služiti kruh* (literally, 'to earn bread'). The meaning 'to earn one's living' is retained, while the English image is not adopted literally as **sein Leben verdienen* or **zaslužiti življenje*, but instead replaced by the more idiomatic image of bread in German and Slovenian.

The paraphrase can be understood as discursive translation because the metaphor is not rendered metaphorically, but rather explained or paraphrased through its intended meaning,[10] such as English

6 Van den Broeck (1981, 78): "If the 'vehicles' in SL and TL correspond, the resulting TL metaphor will be idiomatic."
7 Van den Broeck (1981, 78): "If the 'vehicles' in SL and TL differ, the resulting TL metaphor may be either a semantic anomaly or a daring innovation."
8 Although the English, German, and Slovenian phrases *to feel it in one's bones*, *etwas im Urin haben*, and *čutiti na vodi* are different metaphorical expressions, each drawing on a different source of imagery, all three can be traced back to the same underlying concept or conceptual metaphor: INTUITION IS A DEEP PHYSICAL SENSATION.
9 Van den Broeck (1981, 77): "cases where the SL 'vehicle' is replaced by a different TL 'vehicle' with more or less the same 'tenor'."
10 Van den Broeck (1981, 77): "An SL metaphor […] is rendered by a non-metaphorical expression in the TL."

(*something/all options are*) *on/off the table*, which can be rendered non-metaphorically as German *etwas steht bzw. steht nicht zur Verhandlung* 'something is up for or not up for negotiation' and Slovenian *nekaj je/ni predmet pogajanj* 'something is / is not subject to negotiation'. In this case, the meaning is retained but the metaphorical image of options as objects on a table is abandoned.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND MATERIAL BASIS

For this study, English, German, and Slovenian news items from Event Registry were used. Event Registry is a multilingual media platform that aggregates large quantities of news articles from international, national, and local sources daily and groups them thematically or by event. For the present analysis, the platform was not used as a quantitative corpus in the strict sense, but rather as a search and indexing tool for identifying comparable media items.

The evidence is not treated as direct translations in the strict sense. Rather, the focus is on whether and how comparable metaphorical patterns of expression appear in English, German, and Slovenian media discourse. Where cross-linguistic event clusters provide relevant clues, potential translation or localization connections can be considered; however, they are not a prerequisite for the analysis.

The examples were selected because the author repeatedly encountered these expressions in English, German, and Slovenian media discourse. They are therefore not presented as statistically representative items, but as salient and recurrent examples suitable for a contrastive qualitative analysis. The selection is exploratory rather than representative: the aim was not to establish a frequency-based inventory of metaphorical expressions, but to examine analytically productive cases that illustrate different degrees of formal, metaphorical, and lexicographical alignment across the three languages.

More specifically, the examples had to be identifiable in English, German, and Slovenian media contexts, contain a recognizable metaphorical image, and allow for cross-linguistic analysis. In addition, the selection was designed to include different types of cross-linguistic alignment, ranging from lexicographically documented or discursively established equivalents to close image-based reproductions, lexical borrowings, collocation-influenced patterns, and borderline cases. The examples were identified through targeted searches for relevant English metaphorical expressions and their German and Slovenian counterparts. English expressions such as *the elephant in the room* were compared with German and Slovenian figurative equivalents such as *der Elefant im Raum* and *slon v sobi*. The event-related and cross-linguistic grouping of the articles made it possible to examine the expressions both within similar thematic contexts and across different media contexts.

The method has its limitations. Searching for metaphorical expressions captures only selected word combinations and does not allow for quantitative statements about frequency, distribution, or diachronic development. Furthermore, automated semantic grouping methods can only partially capture metaphorical uses, newly emerging loan translations, or culture-specific nuances of meaning. The results were therefore reviewed qualitatively and manually.

RESULTS OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

The following analysis is based on eleven selected English–German–Slovenian examples of metaphorical expression patterns in media discourse, which serve to address the research question of the article: To what extent can selected English-influenced metaphorical expression patterns be identified in German and Slovenian journalistic texts, and to what extent may they be interpreted as preliminary indications of metaphorical convergence at the level of linguistic expression? The categorization of the examples is heuristically based on van den Broeck's model, without treating the examples as direct translations in the strict sense.

The analysis of the selected examples shows that English-language metaphorical expression patterns in German and Slovenian media discourse cannot be categorized into a uniform model of adoption. Rather, a spectrum of different forms of adaptation emerges, ranging from figurative, already conventionalized equivalents to calqued figurative imitations, and borderline cases between metaphorical imitation and lexical borrowing.

Particularly striking is the asymmetrical distribution between German and Slovenian. In German, several of the expressions examined are already lexicographically documented or discursively established, such as *der Elefant im Raum* 'the elephant in the room', *auf dem Radar* 'on the radar', *tief hängende Früchte* 'low-hanging fruit', *alle Eier in einen Korb legen* 'to put all your eggs in one basket', *Gamechanger* 'game changer', or *am Ende des Tages* 'at the end of the day'. These cases demonstrate that a formal or figurative correspondence with English should not automatically be interpreted as a recent borrowing or direct translation. In Slovenian, however, no reliable lexicographical entries as fixed collocations can be found for several corresponding forms – such as *slon v sobi* 'the elephant in the

room', *na radarju* 'on the radar', *nizko viseče sadje* 'low-hanging fruit', *dati vsa jajca v eno košaro* 'to put all your eggs in one basket', *razmišljati izven škatle* 'to think out of/outside the box', *ni moja skodelica čaja* 'it's not my cup of tea', *pošiljati mešane signale* 'to send mixed signals', or *na koncu dneva* 'at the end of the day'. They should therefore be cautiously described as English-influenced onomasiological borrowings or figurative imitations. Some of the Slovenian expressions discussed here are attested in contemporary Slovenian usage and may also be found in corpus data. However, corpus attestation alone does not imply full lexicalization or phraseological conventionalization. The crucial question for the present analysis is therefore not only whether a form occurs, but whether it is established as an idiomatic Slovenian expression or whether it still appears as a close image-based rendering of an English metaphorical pattern.

Based on the examples, three groups can be distinguished. The first group consists of asymmetrical cases in which German and Slovenian do not show the same degree of conventionalization: whereas the German forms are already lexicographically documented or discursively established, the Slovenian equivalents appear more as image-faithful reproductions of English patterns.These include *the elephant in the room* (German *der Elefant im Raum*, Slovenian *slon v sobi*), *on the radar* (German *auf dem Radar*, Slovenian *na radarju*), *low-hanging fruit* (German *tief hängende Früchte*, Slovenian *nizko viseče sadje*), *to put all your eggs in one basket* (German *alle Eier in einen Korb legen*, Slovenian *dati vsa jajca v eno košaro*), and *at the end of the day* (German *am Ende des Tages*, Slovenian *na koncu dneva*).

The second group comprises pronounced cases of onomasiological adoption or close imitation of the image with a calqued character. Here, the English image is closely replicated using target-language vocabulary, even though more common or idiomatic expressions exist. This is particularly evident in *(something/all options are) on/off the table* (German *etwas/alle Optionen liegen/sind auf dem Tisch*, Slovenian *nekaj/vse možnosti so na mizi*),[11] in *not my cup of tea* (German *nicht meine Tasse Tee*, Slovenian *ni moja skodelica čaja*) and in *to think outside the box* (German *außerhalb der Box denken*, Slovenian *razmišljati izven škatle*). In these cases, the English image structure is preserved; they are therefore particularly significant for the thesis of metaphorical convergence at the level of expression.

A special case is *to send mixed signals* (German *gemischte Signale aussenden*, Slovenian *pošiljati mešane signale*). Here, a completely new metaphorical image is not adopted because the signal image is fundamentally available in both German and Slovenian. What is striking, however, is the collocative proximity to English: the phrase *mixed signals* is relatively closely modeled with *gemischte Signale* or *mešani signali*, although more idiomatic formulations such as German *widersprüchliche Signale senden* 'to send conflicting signals' or Slovenian *pošiljati protislovna sporočila/signale* 'to send contradictory messages/signals' would be more natural. This case can therefore be described as a collocation-influenced, image-based imitation.

The third group comprises cases at the intersection of lexical borrowing and metaphorical imitation. *Game changer* combines lexical borrowing and metaphorical imitation: German *Gamechanger* is already lexicographically attested, but it remains recognizable as an English lexeme; Slovenian *game changer* is to be understood as an Anglicism, whereas *spreminjati igro* 'to change the game' imitates the English game imagery with Slovenian vocabulary. *Good cop, bad cop* also belongs to the borderline cases because the expression appears predominantly as an English collocation in German, whereas Slovenian *dobri in slabi policist* 'good and bad policeman' or *strategija dobrega in slabega policista* 'good and bad policeman strategy' can be described as a figurative imitation.

Overall, the examples examined display varying degrees of image faithfulness, imitation, substitution, borrowing, and conventionalization in media discourse. They suggest preliminary evidence of metaphorical convergence, which is particularly evident at the level of concrete metaphorical expressions. Whether such expression-level convergence may, over time, contribute to more stable conceptual convergence remains an open question that would need to be examined through broader corpus-based and diachronic studies.

The following table summarizes the eleven examples, their German and Slovenian counterparts, and the proposed classification of each case.

11 Image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque, but with a connection to a table image already available in German and Slovenian. The expression *etwas auf den Tisch legen* is lexicographically attested in the sense of 'to officially bring something to someone's attention' or 'to submit/present something' (Duden: *etwas auf den Tisch* [des Hauses] *legen (etwas* [offiziell] *zur Kenntnis bringen, vorlegen; wohl eigentlich = dem Parlament* [= dem hohen Haus] *etwas vortragen)*. In Slovenian, the table image is lexicographically attested in connection with talks and negotiations, for example in expressions such as *sesti za konferenčno mizo* or *sesti za zeleno mizo*. However, the specific structure *etwas/alle Optionen liegt bzw. liegen/sind auf dem Tisch* and *nekaj/vse možnosti so na mizi* in the sense of 'something is under discussion or subject to negotiation' cannot be shown to be a fixed, lexicographically codified expression in the same way.

Table 2: Table with English–German–Slovenian examples.

No.	Metaphorical expression: English*	German**	Slovenian***
1	*the elephant in the room*: a major problem or question that everyone in a group knows about but deliberately avoids mentioning, usually because it is awkward, controversial, or easier not to discuss	*der Elefant im Raum*	*slon v sobi*
	German: an identical, conventionalized equivalent. In German, the phrase *der Elefant im Raum* is already attested in dictionaries with this meaning. Other common alternatives include *Tabuthema* 'taboo topic' or *offenes Geheimnis* 'open secret'. **Slovenian: Onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque.** The English-language "elephant" image is reproduced using target-language vocabulary, even though *javna skrivnost* 'open secret' or *pomesti pod preprogo* 'to sweep under the rug' would be more common or idiomatic. This is a striking example because the English figurative structure is reproduced very closely.		
2	*on the radar*: used to say that people's attention is on something	*auf dem Radar*	*biti na radarju*
	German: identical, conventionalized equivalent. The term *Radar-Bild* 'radar image' is already familiar in German in the sense of attention, perception, or focus, and it is attested in lexicographical sources (*auf dem Radar haben 'to have on the radar', auftauchen 'to appear', verschwinden 'to disappear'*). Depending on the context, also *im Blick(feld) haben/behalten/stehen* 'to have/keep/be in one's line of sight', *im Visier haben* 'to have in one's sights', *unter Beobachtung stehen 'to be under observation'.* **Slovenian: onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction. In Slovenian the expression** *biti na radarju* 'to be on the radar' sounds more like an English-influenced imitation of the English phrase *on the radar*. Depending on the context, conventionalized expressions such as *biti pod drobnogledom '*to be *under the microscope'*, *biti pod nadzorom '*to be *under supervision'*, *biti v središču pozornosti* 'to be the center of attention' would be more natural in Slovenian.		
3	*(something/all options are) on/off the table*: (of a plan, suggestion, etc.) offered to people so that they can consider or discuss it	*(etwas/alle Optionen liegen/sind/sind nicht) auf dem Tisch*	*vse/nekaj (načrt, predlog) je/ni na mizi*
	Onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque. The "on the table" idiom is closely reproduced. Depending on the context, possible German equivalents for *on the table* include *zur Diskussion* 'up for discussion', *Debatte* 'debate', *Prüfung* 'testing', *Erwägung stehen* 'to be under consideration', *zur Beratung* 'up for review', *Verhandlung vorliegen* 'to be up for negotiation', *auf der Tagesordnung stehen* 'to be on the agenda', and in Slovenian *biti predmet razprave/obravnave* 'to be the subject of discussion/deliberation', *biti v obravnavi* 'to be under consideration', *biti na dnevnem redu* 'to be on the agenda' are possible. For the expression *all options are on the table*: German *alle Optionen stehen zur Diskussion / werden geprüft / bleiben offen* 'all options are up for discussion / will be tested/remain open', Slovenian *vse možnosti so odprte* 'all options are open'.		
4	*low-hanging fruit*: the things that are easiest to achieve out of a set of tasks or goals	*die tief hängenden Früchte*	*nizko viseče sadje*
	German: identical, conventionalized expression. The image of *tief hängenden Früchte* 'low-hanging fruit' refers to easily attainable goals, obvious opportunities, or measures that can be carried out with comparatively little effort; in German, this meaning is already familiar and can therefore be considered a conventionalized equivalent to English *low-hanging fruit*. **Slovenian: onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction.** Slovenian *nizko viseče sadje* can be described as an onomasiological borrowing / a close imitation of the word. Depending on the context, common Slovenian equivalents would be *na dosegu roke* 'within reach', *lahko dosegljivi cilji '*easily achievable goals', *lahka zmaga '*easy victory'.		
5	*to put all your eggs in one basket*: to rely on one particular course of action for success rather than giving yourself several different possibilities	*alle Eier in einen Korb legen* (DWDS: "im Zusammenhang von Kapitalanlagen, InvestitionenVermögen in mehrere Geldanlagen investieren, breiter streuen, um so Risiken zu minimieren" 'In the context of capital investments, investing assets in several investments, diversifying more broadly to minimize risks')	*dati vsa jajca v eno košaro*
	German: identical, conventionalized expression. The English idiom *put all your eggs in one basket* refers to the risk of making everything dependent on a single possibility, strategy, or course of action. In German, the phrase *alle Eier in einen Korb legen* 'to put all the eggs in one basket' is already lexicographically documented with this meaning, particularly in the context of capital investments, where it denotes a lack of risk diversification. It can therefore be considered a conventionalized equivalent. The German idiom *nicht alles auf ein Pferd / eine Katze / eine Karte setzen* 'to not bet everything on one horse/cat/card' is also common. **Slovenian: onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque.** Slovenian equivalents that are less figurative but more common would vary depending on the context: *ne staviti vsega na eno karto '*to *not bet everything on one card'*, *ne staviti vsega na enega konja 'to not bet everything on one horse'*, *ne zanašati se samo na eno možnost* 'to not rely on just one option', or *razpršiti tveganje 'to spread the risk'.*		

* The definitions for most of the English metaphorical expressions were taken from the online Oxford Learner's Dictionaries (2026) and Merriam-Webster (2026).
** The German expressions were checked in the online dictionary resources DWDS (2026) and DUDEN (2026).
*** The Slovenian expressions were checked in the online dictionary portal (Fran, 2026).

6	*to think out of/outside the box*: to think about something, or how to do something, in a way that is new, different or shows imagination	*außerhalb der Box denken*	*razmišljati izven škatle*
	Onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque. The English box image is closely reproduced in the literal German and Slovenian forms *außerhalb der Box denken* and *razmišljati izven škatle*. In German, however, *über den Tellerrand blicken/schauen* 'to look beyond one's own horizon' or *um die Ecke denken* 'to think laterally/ unconventionally' would be more common and idiomatic. In Slovenian, the expression *razmišljati zunaj ustaljenih okvirov* 'to think outside established frameworks' is widely used and more natural, although it does not appear to be fully lexicographically documented as a fixed expression. Depending on the context, alternatives such as *gledati širše* 'to look more broadly' or *razmišljati nekonvencionalno* 'to think unconventionally' may also be appropriate.		
7	*game changer*: a person, idea, or event that completely changes the way a situation develops	*Gamechanger* (also *Game-Changer*)	*spreminjati igro / game changer*
	German: identical, conventionalized expression. In German, the English lexeme *game changer* is directly adopted and already lexicographically documented. **Slovenian:** Similarly, the Slovenian form *game changer* can be considered an Anglicism or **lexical borrowing**. In contrast, the Slovenian form *spreminjati igro* 'to change the game' replicates the English game imagery using target-language vocabulary and can therefore be described as **onomasiological borrowing** or image-faithful reproduction. Other conventional German equivalents would be, for example, *Wendepunkt 'turning point'*, *Durchbruch 'breakthrough'*, *entscheidende Veränderung 'decisive change'* or *entscheidender Faktor 'decisive factor'*, in Slovenian *prelomnica 'turning point'*, *preboj 'breakthrough'*, *odločilna sprememba 'decisive change'*, or *odločilen dejavnik 'decisive factor'*. Collocations such as German *die Spielregeln verändern 'to change the rules of the game'* or Slovenian *spremeniti pravila igre* (*idem) are also metaphors based on games, but they describe more the change in the framework conditions and are therefore only suitable as analogies depending on the context*.		
8	*to send mixed signals*: a showing of thoughts or feelings that are very different from each other	*gemischte Signale aussenden*	*pošiljati mešane signale*
	Onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with partial conventionalization. The English signal pattern is closely replicated both formally and semantically. A more appropriate choice in the target language would be German *widersprüchliche Signale senden* 'to send conflicting signals', *uneinheitliche Botschaften vermitteln* 'to convey inconsistent messages', and Slovenian *pošiljati, dajati, posredovati protislovna sporočila* 'to send, give, convey contradictory messages'.		
9	*not somebody's cup of tea*: not what somebody likes, is interested in, or is good at	*nicht meine Tasse Tee*	*ni moja skodelica čaja*
	Onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque. The culture-specific English image of tea is replicated, although in German *nicht mein Ding* 'not my thing' and in Slovenian *ni po mojem okusu* 'it is not to my taste', *ni zame* 'it is not for me', *me ne zanima* 'I'm not interested in it', or *to mi ne leži* 'I don't like that' would be more common or idiomatic. The case is marked because the English image structure is very closely replicated. As a metaphorical substitution one could consider, for example: not my cup of tea → *nicht mein Ding* 'not my thing' / *ni po mojem okusu* 'it is not to my taste'.		
10	*at the end of the day*: *(informal)* used to introduce the most important fact after everything has been considered	*am Ende des Tages* (Duden, DWDS: "Lehnübersetzung zu gleichbedeutend *at the end of the day*" 'Loan translation of *at the end of the day* with the same meaning')	*na koncu dneva*
	German: identical, conventionalized expression. In German, the phrase *am Ende des Tages* in this meaning ('ultimately' or 'when everything is taken into account') is already lexicographically documented, at least with the note "loan translation". Other common alternatives are *unter dem Strich* 'bottom line', *alles in allem* 'all in all', *im Grunde* 'basically'. **Slovenian: Onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction with the character of a calque.** The image structure of *at the end of the day* is replicated; otherwise more commonly *navsezadnje* 'after all', *konec koncev* (idem), *v končni fazi* 'in the final stage'.		
11	*good cop, bad cop*: in a broader political or media context: **a coordinated role distribution in which one actor applies pressure while the other appears more moderate, constructive, or conciliatory**	*Good Cop, Bad Cop / good cop, bad cop / guter Bulle, böser Bulle*	*dober policist, slab policist*
	A borderline case between lexical borrowing and onomasiological borrowing / image-faithful reproduction. The expression *good cop, bad cop* can be found in German media, but it appears there primarily as a lexical borrowing or Anglicism. In political or journalistic contexts, it is used metaphorically to describe a strategy in which two actors assume different roles: one accommodating or mediating, and the other tough or confrontational. In contrast, a literal German rendering such as *guter Polizist, böser Polizist/guter Bulle, böser Bulle* 'good policeman, bad policeman' is less common; depending on the context, more obvious alternatives would be phrases such as *Strategie der harten und weichen Linie* 'hardline and soft-line strategy', *Rollenverteilung zwischen Hardliner und Vermittler* 'role distribution between hardliner and mediator', or *Zuckerbrot-und-Peitsche-Strategie* 'carrot-and-stick (literally, sugar-bread and whip) strategy'. The Slovenian equivalent *dobri in slabi policist* 'good and bad policeman' or *strategija dobrega in slabega policista*, 'good / bad policeman strategy' renders the English police trope of *good cop, bad cop* using target-language terminology. Depending on the context, the Slovenian expression *palica in korenček* 'stick and carrot' may function as an idiomatic alternative.		

CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS

This article investigated the extent to which metaphorical patterns of expression influenced by English-language media discourse can be identified in German and Slovenian journalistic texts, and whether they may be interpreted as preliminary indications of metaphorical convergence at the level of linguistic expressions. The starting point was the assumption that metaphors should be understood not only as rhetorical devices, but also as cognitive and discursive structuring instruments. Particularly in media discourse, they can condense complex issues, suggest evaluations, and activate specific interpretive frameworks. Against the backdrop of globalized news production, English-language source texts, machine translation, and editorial processing, the examples discussed here raise the question of whether metaphorical patterns of expression may increasingly circulate across languages.

The exemplary analysis of eleven English–German–Slovenian examples has shown that the metaphorical patterns examined cannot be categorized into a uniform model of adoption. Rather, a spectrum of different forms of adaptation emerges. In German, several expressions are already lexicographically attested or discursively established, whereas for several corresponding forms in Slovenian no comparably robust lexicographical evidence as fixed collocations can be found. The Slovenian examples therefore often appear as translations or as figurative imitations of English metaphorical patterns.

The study also suggests that metaphorical convergence may manifest itself at different levels. In some cases, there is a figurative, already conventionalized equivalent; in other cases, the English image appears to be reproduced relatively closely using target-language vocabulary. In addition, borderline cases can be observed in which metaphorical reproduction, lexical borrowing, collocative adaptation, and cross-linguistic circulation of media expression patterns seem to intertwine. Examples such as *not my cup of tea*, *(something/all options are) on/off the table*, *to think out of/outside the box*, *game changer*, *good cop, bad cop*, and *to send mixed signals* are particularly revealing because they indicate that English-language metaphorical patterns may enter other media languages not only as individual words, but also as images, role models, or collocative patterns.

Van den Broeck's model proved to be heuristically applicable to the analysis, as it makes it possible to describe different degrees of image faithfulness, substitution, paraphrase, imitation, and borrowing. At the same time, the study shows that the examples examined cannot simply be treated as direct translations of individual source texts. Rather, they were considered as comparable media occurrences that can provide clues to cross-linguistic metaphorical adaptation.

The scope of this study is deliberately limited. It is not a comprehensive corpus-based or diachronic study, but rather an exemplary qualitative analysis of selected examples. Therefore, no quantitative statements can be made about the frequency, dissemination, development, or stabilization of the expressions examined. Likewise, this article cannot definitively clarify how the respective metaphorical patterns entered German and Slovenian media discourse: through direct translation, machine pre-translation, journalistic orientation toward English-language discourse, parallel metaphorical development, or the general internationalization of media expressions.

However, these very boundaries also mark the starting point for further research. A broader study would need to include larger German–Slovenian–English press corpora, systematically search for metaphorical patterns, and examine their development diachronically. In particular, it would be necessary to investigate which expressions appear only sporadically and in marked instances, which become conventionalized over the long term, and whether more stable metaphorical interpretive patterns gradually emerge from repeated image-faithful imitations. Likewise, it would be important to examine the role that machine translation, news agencies, international media platforms, and editorial processing play in the dissemination of such patterns.

To sum up, the examples analyzed suggest metaphorical convergence, which is initially most evident at the level of concrete metaphorical expressions. Whether convergence at the level of concrete metaphorical expressions may, in the long term, also affect conceptual interpretive patterns remains an open question. It can only be answered through broader, corpus-based, and diachronic studies.

METAFORIČNA KONVERGENCA V MEDIJSKEM DISKURZU: PRELIMINARNA OPAŽANJA O VPLIVU ANGLEŠČINE NA VZORCE METAFORIČNEGA IZRAŽANJA V NEMŠČINI IN SLOVENŠČINI

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POVZETEK

V prispevku obravnavamo vpliv angleškega medijskega diskurza na vzorce metaforičnega izražanja v nemških in slovenskih novinarskih besedilih. Izhajamo iz teorije konceptualne metafore in predpostavke, da metafore niso zgolj retorična sredstva, temveč kognitivni in diskurzivni instrumenti, ki strukturirajo interpretacijo, usmerjajo razumevanje kompleksnih vsebin in sodelujejo pri oblikovanju medijske realnosti. V ospredju je vprašanje, ali je v nemškem in slovenskem medijskem diskurzu mogoče prepoznati metaforične vzorce, oblikovane pod vplivom angleščine, ter ali je na podlagi njihove rabe mogoče govoriti o določeni obliki metaforične konvergence. Analiza temelji na enajstih izbranih angleško-nemško-slovenskih primerih metaforičnih izrazov, zaznanih v sodobnem medijskem diskurzu. Gradivo smo poiskali s pomočjo platforme Event Registry, ki omogoča iskanje in primerjanje novinarskih besedil v različnih jezikih. Pri raziskavi zato ni služila kot kvantitativni korpus, temveč kot orodje za izbor primerljivih angleških, nemških in slovenskih medijskih besedil. Izbrane primere smo obravnavali kvalitativno in kontrastivno, jih preverjali v spletnih slovarskih virih ter se pri analizi oprli na van den Broeckov deskriptivni model obravnave metafor v prevodnem kontekstu. Rezultati kažejo, da metaforičnih izraznih vzorcev, oblikovanih pod vplivom angleščine, ni mogoče pojasniti z enim samim modelom prevzemanja, temveč jih je treba razdeliti v več skupin: od že konvencionaliziranih metaforičnih ustreznic prek zvestih slikovnih prenosov do mejnih primerov leksikalnega prevzemanja in posnemanja metaforične podobe. Vpliv angleških metaforičnih vzorcev je razviden v obeh jezikih, vendar so številne nemške oblike že leksikografsko dokumentirane in v rabi ustaljene, slovenske ustreznice pa pogosto še niso primerljivo leksikalizirane oziroma slovarsko potrjene. Metaforična konvergenca se zato kaže predvsem na ravni konkretnih metaforičnih izrazov; vprašanje njenega morebitnega dolgoročnega vpliva na konceptualno raven pa ostaja predmet nadaljnjih korpusnih in diahronih raziskav.

Ključne besede: konceptualna metafora, metaforična konvergenca, vpliv angleškega jezika, nemščina, slovenščina

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