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Figurative Conceptualizations of Nations, Countries, and Institutions in Newspaper Articles on Migration

Abstract: The paper discusses figurative conceptualizations of nations, countries, and institutions as either A CONTAINER, A PERSON, A SINKING SHIP, A FABRIC, or HELL in media discourse on the European migrant crisis. Applying Steen et al.'s (2010) three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis, we analyze a specific set of metaphorical linguistic expressions, which are inextricably related in the segments of the real discourse on migration, to discuss their rhetorical power and communicative function. The aim of this paper is to describe and identify cases when these are used as perspective-changing devices to influence readers' opinion on an important issue such as migration.

Keywords: Deliberate Metaphor Theory, deliberate metaphor, media discourse, migration discourse

1. Introduction

A conceptual metaphor is a cognitive device where the more concrete, or physical, domain (the source domain) is used to comprehend the more abstract one (the target domain). Kövecses (2010, 23) lists the concepts SOCIETY and NATION among the most common target domains, which are "abstract, diffuse, and lack clear delineation; as a result, they "cry out" for metaphorical conceptualization". He (2010, 23) points out that, due to their complexity, these concepts call for metaphorical understanding in terms that they are comprehended using more familiar and simpler concepts. Thus, nation is commonly construed figuratively as A PERSON, THE HUMAN BODY, A CONTAINER, FABRIC, A SINKING SHIP, A HEAVEN/HELL, etc. The choice of these source domains that we have at our disposal depends on which aspect(s) of the target domain NATION we want to highlight.[1] Different source domains are, however,

exploited to highlight different aspects of nation as to suit our rhetorical goals. For instance, Grady (1997a, 54) points out that a feature of fabric which maps onto societies is

> the tight, multidirectional *interdependence* of the many parts which make up its structure. To say that a society is *unraveling* is to say that the many parts of which it is composed (people and subgroups) are no longer organized in the same way or to the same degree. These changing relations are more difficult to describe using the SOCIETY IS A BUILDING compound, since erect physical structures do not embody the same principles of symmetrical interdependence.

The conceptual metaphors NATION AS A PERSON, NATION AS THE HUMAN BODY, NATION AS A CONTAINER, NATION AS FABRIC, NATION AS A SINKING SHIP, and NATION AS HEAVEN/HELL may be more or less clichéd, more or less frequent, but the fact is they serve to help comprehend different aspects of the concept of NATION. Kövecses (2010, 24), for instance, provides a set of examples of NATION being conceptualized as a person (*neighboring* countries, a *friendly* nation) and the human body[2] (the *ills* of society), where human qualities are assigned to things that are not human. In other words, COUNTRY/SOCIETY/NATION is personified in terms that we are selecting different aspects of a person, human interaction, ways of looking at a person, etc. to comprehend this target domain. Such conceptualizations "allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms – terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 34).

Musolff (2010) claims that the exploitation of STATE IS A BODY/A PERSON metaphors by the contemporary media is "linked to culture-specific theories or ideologies." Thus nations are attributed the undesirable human properties and behaviors in order to build more convincing arguments that support our ideological worldviews. The countries are sometimes described as 'cooperating on good terms' or acting 'selfishly' to protect themselves amidst the crisis. They may employ the social unity against 'the others' as a form of defensive mechanism from migration.

Social unity may also be metaphorically referred to as a fabric of a society (cf. Charteris-Black 2011; Grady 1997a; 1997b; Bošnjak 2020). Patterns of relationships among social groups, i.e. social networking, is seen in terms of a textile with often complex warps and weaves, which evokes wholeness (Santa Ana 2002, 316). The issues may arise when this conceptualization of a society as a fabric implies social exclusion (the insider/outsider entailment). Some groups may be depicted as a threat to social unity due to the ideological claim that different groups of foreigners pose a threat not only to group identity conceptualized as closeness (using the concept of FABRIC), but also to the so-called 'group effectiveness' because the prevailing stereotype is that the ideal nation is made up of people of the same race, culture, language, and values (Goatly 2007, 192).[3] As people feel that these national

determinants are endangered by the mass migration and multiculturalism, and that the social fabric of their community is fraying (cf. Papademetriou 2012, 1), the countries enforce more rigid policies and the backlash against migration.

The country constantly exposed to new arrivals of 'others' is often conceptualized as a pressurized container (cf. the 'container metaphors' in Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 29–31) with distinct boundaries that delineate those on the outside from those inside. This is a basis for segregation of migrants as outsiders that want to enter the container with a limited capacity. The increase in the number of migrants is actually the increase of the pressure inside to bursting point (cf. 'space-container' scenario in Musolff 2015, 45). This is the case with all the European countries, but what is specific for the UK is that "Britain's geographical status as an island encourages perceptions of it as a container: in right-wing political communication its walls are represented as ideally strong and rigid but as under constant threat of perforation and rupture - and therefore in need of continuous support and reinforcement" (Charteris-Black 2006, 575).

The most common metaphorical portrayal of a nation endangered by migration is to conceptualize it either pressurized or flooded by the arrival of migrants (cf. Santa Ana 2002; Mujagić 2018). According to Santa Ana (1997, 321), the concept of a sinking ship is assigned to the domain of DANGEROUS WATERS, i.e. the conceptual metaphor MIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATERS, within which the factors of volume, movement, and control influence migration process and "the crush of illegal immigrants" into the country, which is then likened to "overloading the lifeboats of a sinking ship". It is only logical that the image of a country as a sinking ship is terrifying in the eyes of its citizens, but securing the place at that metaphorical lifeboat is possibly the only chance for migrants to reach the desired location, which they consider their safe haven. That safe place, i.e. a country that migrants want to reach, is often conceptualized as HEAVEN. Opposed to that, migrant camps on migrant routes are conceptualized as HELL.[4]

The described set of metaphors indicates that there is a powerful rhetorical link between the concepts which we have at our disposal to metaphorically portray a nation or a country facing migration crisis and institutions responding to the crisis. This framework evokes powerful emotions, such as fear and the desire for protection. Previous research, however, does not strictly focus on the rhetorical effects these metaphors have regarding a more specific discourse topic. As geopolitical and social situation changes, it is necessary to discuss how nations, countries, and institutions are structured by metaphor in the context of recent social phenomena, such as the European migrant crisis. Indeed, migration discourse has been a subject of numerous books and linguistic papers in recent years, but this paper investigates a specific set of metaphorical linguistic expressions excerpted from newspaper articles on migration. It is studied through the lens of newly devised theory (the Deliberate Metaphor Theory, henceforth, the DMT) and refined, objective methodological framework (the three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis. Moreover,

we give insight into the ways the authors frame the migration process itself, as well as how they write about what are supposed to be 'countries of transit' (such as Greece) and 'countries of destination' (the UK). On the other hand, we gain insight into how recipients perceive the topic, as well as how metaphors are used as per-spective-changing devices. To our knowledge, the concepts of nations, countries, and institutions affected by migration have not been the main focus of previous studies of metaphor in migration discourse to which this particular methodological framework is applied.

In section that follows, an overview of applied methodology is given. Sub-sequently, examples extracted from the analyzed newspaper articles are grouped according to the source domains they belong to and presented in different sections (hence a CONTAINER metaphor, a PERSON metaphor, A SINKING SHIP metaphor, a FABRIC metaphor, and HELL metaphor). This analysis is followed by the concluding remarks in section 8.

2. Research methodology

In order to analyze metaphors in segments of real discourse, we rely on one of the most objective, reliable and detailed models of metaphor analysis proposed by Steen (2010; 2015). His three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis distinguishes three dimensions of metaphor: the linguistic dimension of (in)directness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of (non)deliberateness. Each of these dimensions serves as the basis for analysis of metaphor at the next level (thus linguistic, conceptual, and communicative levels of analysis). Potentially metaphorical expressions are identified by applying the MIPVU procedure devised by Steen et al. (2010). The MIPVU, the six-step procedure for identifying metaphorical linguistic expressions (i.e. linguistic metaphors at the first level of the aforementioned Steen's three-dimensional model) is explained in detail in Steen et al. (2010, 25-26). The MIPVU instructs an analyst to determine the basic and contextual meanings of an expression by consulting dictionaries. For instance, in the sentence "Small shops help to maintain *the fabric of neighbourhood life*." (*Macmillan*), the expression *fabric* is identified as potentially metaphorical and is looked up in dictionaries. The basic meaning of *fabric* is "cloth, especially when it is used for making things such as clothes or curtains" (*Macmillan*), while its contextual meaning is "the basic structure of a society or organization" (*Macmillan*). These meanings are compared and contrasted in order to determine the level of similarity and distinctness between the two.[5] Therefore, MIPVU procedure is a reliable tool to confirm whether the expression is indeed metaphorical, and serves as the basis for further analysis at the linguistic level.

After establishing that the identified expression is indeed metaphorical, an analyst proceeds to determine whether it is indirect, direct, or implicit metaphor.

The guidelines to determining the type of metaphor at the linguistic level are given in Steen et al. (2010, 33; 38–40) and Krennmayr (2011, 51-52; 58–60). Indirect metaphors imply the indirect use of language when one speaks about one concept in terms of another, i.e. when one tries to conceptualize one phenomenon in terms of another. The metaphorical linguistic expression *fabric* identified in the sentence above is an example of indirect metaphor use – where a concrete concept is used to comprehend more abstract concept of social unity. On the other hand, direct metaphors refer to the use of overt lexical units, which nevertheless activate cross-domain mapping. Direct metaphors are identified as local referent and topic shift, or the incongruous expressions integrated within the overall referential and/or topical framework through comparison (Steen et al. 2010, 38). Also, certain lexical signals, i.e. signals of potential cross-domain mappings (cf. Steen et al. 2010, 40) may point to metaphorical use of language (e.g. *like*, *as*, *as if* are metaphor signals). One such example of direct metaphor provided by Steen et al. (2010, 93) is: "He's *like a favourite old coat*" – where a cross-domain comparison between a person and a coat is expressed directly at the level of linguistic form (signaled by *like*). Apart from A IS (LIKE) B type of direct metaphor, Steen (2007b; 2008; 2009a) describes another type of direct metaphor, the so-called *extended metaphor*, which includes creative instances of figurative language use. When it comes to implicit metaphor, Steen et al. (2010, 39) point out that it "does not have words that clearly stand out as coming from an alien domain. It comes in two forms, implicit metaphor by substitution and implicit metaphor by ellipsis." They (2010, 39) provide the following examples:

> 'Naturally, to embark on such a step is not necessarily to succeed immediately in realising *it*.' Here *step* is related to metaphor, and *it* is a substitution for the notion of 'step' and hence receives a code for implicit metaphor.
> When a text displays ellipsis and still conveys a direct or indirect meaning that may be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning or referent than the contextual meaning recoverable from the presumably understood lexical units, insert a code for implicit metaphor ('implicit'). An example is *but he is,* which may be read as *but he is [an ignorant pig]*, when that expression is taken as a description of a male colleague discussed before. The verb *is* may be coded as a place filler by the code <MRW, impl>.

After the linguistic level analysis is completed, we proceed with metaphor analysis at the conceptual level, which involves the conceptual parameter of conventionality, i.e. establishing whether the identified metaphorical linguistic expression is conventional or novel, and whether it belongs to a conventional or novel conceptual metaphor. This means that the parameter of conventionality refers to linguistic expressions as well as to conceptual domains. For example, a metaphorically used expression *pig* (as in, e.g. *ignorant pig* above) has the basic meaning "a pink or

black animal with short legs and not much hair on its skin" (*Collins*), and the contextual meaning "If you call someone a pig, you think that they are unpleasant in some way, especially that they are greedy or unkind." (*Collins*). The fact that this contextual meaning has entered dictionaries means that it is entrenched, clichéd way of describing certain type(s) of people. This means that the metaphorical linguistic expression *pig* is conventional. Furthermore, it belongs to the conventional conceptual metaphor HUMAN AS ANIMAL.[6] The same applies to the expression *fabric* mentioned above: it is conventional metaphorical linguistic expression belonging to the conventional conceptual metaphor. On the other hand, novel metaphors are metaphorical linguistic expressions whose contextual meanings are not listed in dictionaries. As an example, Kövecses (2010, 36) cites the song 'The Road Not Taken', in which Robert Frost uses the conventional metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY in an unconventional way. In other words, conceptual metaphor is conventional, but metaphorical linguistic expressions are not. In contrast, it is difficult (but not impossible) to find conventional linguistic expressions for an unconventional conceptual metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 139) give a new, unconventional conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART, but they do not cite any conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions to substantiate their example. However, Kövecses (2010, 36) does give LIFE IS A MIRROR as an example of a novel conceptual metaphor: "Life is a mirror. If you smile, it smiles back at you; if you frown, it frowns back."

The linguistic and conceptual levels of metaphor analysis serve as a firm basis and meet the challenge of identifying a deliberate metaphor in communication (Steen 2007a; 2008; 2011a; 2011b; Steen et al. 2010). At the communicative level of metaphor analysis, the cases "when language users attempt to take voluntary control over the way they use metaphor for highlighting and hiding in expression, conceptualization, and communication" (Steen 2017, 2) are identified. Those are the cases when language users provide an alien perspective on the topic of utterance, and "the addressee has to move away their attention momentarily from the target domain of utterance or even phrase to the source domain that is evoked by the metaphor-related expression" (Steen 2015, 68). At this level, the IDeM protocol (Krennmayr 2011, 154-155) is used to identify instances of deliberate metaphor use. We determine "whether the metaphorical expression that has been identified by MIP/MIPVU is meant to change the recipient's perspective on the topic of the text" (Krennmayr 2011, 154). Deliberate metaphors imply the use of certain types of signals (quotation marks, direct metaphor signals) or innovative language (novel metaphors, and extended metaphors).[7]

> Using different types of signals for deliberate metaphor leaves room for the manipulation of concepts and signals, using different discourse strategies to achieve the desired rhetorical effect. By deciding what to emphasize with signals or what concepts to elaborate on creatively, the author manipulates the addressee in a certain way, influences their reasoning and change of perspective (Mujagić and Berberović 2019, 31).

In the example sentence above, metaphorical linguistic expression *fabric* is neither signaled nor in the A IS (LIKE) B form; it is not novel, and does not participate in a wordplay. Thus, it is an example of non-deliberate metaphor use (according to the IDeM protocol criteria). On the other hand, *He is an ignorant pig* and *like a favourite old coat* are direct metaphors and automatically considered to be instances of deliberate metaphor use.

The corpus in this paper[8] is analyzed in accordance with the model elaborated above. The examples are retrieved from newspaper articles and columns about the European migrant crisis, published by *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Express* in the period from the beginning of August 2015 until the end of March 2016. The dictionaries used to annotate the texts from the British newspapers were *Macmillan Dictionary*, *Collins Cobuild Online*, *Oxford Dictionary Online,* and *Cambridge Dictionary Online*. After the three-level analysis, the metaphors identified in the corpus were quantified, taking into account the number of metaphorical linguistic expressions to obtain a statistical overview presented below:

Table 1. Source domains

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical linguistic expressions	Total
A NATION / COUNTRY / INSTITUTION	PERSON	*suicide* (19), *architect* (1), *social worker* (1), *shoulder* (4), *good shape* (1), *coalition* (2), *damned duty* (1), *nervous crisis* (1)	30
	CONTAINER	*pressure* (1), *full* (2), *pressurised* (1), *pressure cooker* (1)	5
	FABRIC	*fabric* (7), *patchwork* (1) *sharper knife* (1)	9
	SHIP	*rearranging the deck chairs on Titanic* (1)	1
	HEAVEN	*living hell* (1)	1
			46

Table 2. Overview of metaphors according to the three-dimensional model

Linguistic level – Linguistic metaphor	Expressions in the corpus	total
Indirect metaphor	*good economic shape* (1), *pressure* (1), *immigration pressure cooker* (1), *fabric* (7), *sharper knife* (1), *pressurized* (1), *shoulder* (4), *full* (2), *suicide* (19), *coalition* (2), *damned duty* (1), *nervous crisis* (1)	41
Direct metaphor	Examples of A IS B type: London is a *patchwork* of ghettos, „*Living hell*", *architect*, *social worker*; Creative: *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic*	5

Implicit metaphor		0
Conceptual level- Conceptual metaphor		
Conventional metaphor	*shoulder* (4), *good economic shape*, *pressure* (1), *immigration pressure cooker*, *full* (2), *fabric* (7), *patchwork*, *sharper knife*, *pressurized*, *architect*, *suicide* (19), *coalition* (2), *damned duty* (1), *nervous crisis* (1), *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic*; *living hell*	45
Novel metaphor	*social worker*	1
Communicative level		
Deliberate metaphor	*rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic* (creative), „*living hell*" (direct, quotation marks included=signaled), *patchwork* (a is b type), *social worker*, (a is b type, novel), *architect* (a is b type), '*coalition*' (2), '*damned duty*' (1), (signaled)	8
Non-deliberate metaphor	*shoulder* (4), *good economic shape*, *pressure* (1), *full* (2), *fabric* (7), *sharper knife*, *pressurised*, *suicide* (19), *nervous crisis* (1), *pressure cooker*	38

We focus on a specific set of metaphorical linguistic expressions[9] used in newspaper articles to talk in figurative terms about nations, countries, and institutions involved in the European migrant crisis. These are then conceptualized as either A PERSON, A CONTAINER, A SINKING SHIP, A FABRIC, OR HELL. However, the paper approaches their description in terms of their communicative function in newspaper texts, whereby the rhetorical effects of their (non-)deliberate use in migration discourse are considered.

3. The CONTAINER metaphor

As mentioned above, the country to which migrants come is often conceptualized as a container – which is already full and still under the pressure of invasive forces from both the outside and inside. According to Kövecses (2010, 22), force may take many forms in the physical world (waves, wind, storm, fire, and agents pushing, pulling, driving, or sending another thing) and effect various changes on things it acts on in various ways. In this regard, it may be said that migrants are represented as a different spectrum of forces to show their harmful effects. The first thing that is under the direct action of force (or forces) is a state border (i.e. the edges of a container). The constant arrival of migrants creates pressure on the borders of the country they come to, which is then presented as a pressurized container on which the force acts in two ways. First, the force acts from the inside because a significant number of migrants has already entered the country. Second, the force acts from the outside because a large number of migrants is waiting at the borders to enter the already overcrowded country (the full container). Given

the encyclopedic knowledge that a container bursts when a force acts on its edges and/or surface, the recipient expects the European borders to burst at some point as well. Facing such a difficult situation, the EU and its members are conceptualized as pressurized containers using, for instance, conventional metaphorical linguistic expression *pressure cooker*:

(1) The piecemeal unilateral moves being taken across Europe – this week alone Hungary, Belgium, and Austria announced solo moves on immigration curbs – are adding to the sense of chaos and impotence in the EU and are turning Greece into Europe's *immigration pressure cooker*. ("Europe braces for major 'humanitarian crisis' in Greece after row over refugees", *The Guardian*, February 25, 2016)

The basic meaning of *pressure cooker* is "a deep cooking pan with a tight lid that allows the pressure of steam to cook food quickly" (*Macmillan*). The following descriptors related to the basic meaning of *pressure cooker* are found in the dictionaries: 'quickly' (*Oxford, Collins, Cambridge*), 'under steam pressure' (*Oxford*), 'using steam at high pressure' (*Collins*), 'above the normal boiling point of water' (*Collins*). Its contextual meaning refers to "a highly stressful situation or assignment" (*Oxford*), i.e. "a difficult situation in which people have to work very hard or experience a lot of strong emotions" (*Macmillan*). This is an example of indirect metaphor at the linguistic level of analysis. Furthermore, we checked the use of *pressure cooker* on Google and found that it is used not only in the context of the European migrant crisis, but also in media discourse on migration in e.g. 1998, 1999, 2013, and 2017. Thus, the metaphorical expression *immigration pressure cooker* in example (1) is marked as a conventional, or established way of talking about migration. Metaphorically speaking, if a container (usually a country, but in our example, the EU – a political and economic union consisting of 27 member states) is left unattended (lacks control of the number of migrants), its edges (the union borders) may burst, which results in its destruction (a complete cessation of its functioning). In (1), 'countries of destination' (Hungary, Belgium, and Austria) are announcing stricter policies as they believe the force (migrants) acts from outside to pressurize the container. On the other hand, 'country of transit' (Greece) is metaphorically presented as an already full container.

According to the IDeM protocol, this is an example of non-deliberate metaphor. But this does not mean its effects are harmless. The effect of indirect metaphors in our cognitive system is covert – unlike the direct use of language, where the use of signals for direct metaphor is overt.

4. The PERSON metaphor

The metaphorical linguistic expressions from PERSON domain that are identified in the corpus refer either to body parts (e.g. *shoulder*) or physical and mental actions taken by humans (*willingness*, *duty*, and *suicide*), as well as mental states (a *nervous* crisis).

(2) And yet the alleged inability to provide adequate care to asylum seekers landing in Kent, or locked up in Yarl's Wood, masks what is perhaps a much deeper ethical lapse: the failure to resettle significant numbers of refugees directly from the Middle East, and the expectation that Middle Eastern countries should instead *shoulder* the refugee burden themselves. ("The shame of the migrant shed masks a deeper scandal," *The Guardian*, March 8, 2016)

(3) In mid-February, the German government confidently presented a plan in which a "*coalition of the willing*" – including Austria, Germany, Sweden and the Benelux trio – would take 300,000 refugees from Turkey a year. ("EU-Turkey summit to focus on stemming flow of migrants to Europe," *The Guardian*, March 6, 2016)

(4) It has been clear for some time that the appetite for redistribution quotas in Europe was minimal, he said. "The so-called '*coalition of the willing*' involving France that German politicians talked about for a while has turned out to be practically non-existent." ("EU-Turkey summit to focus on stemming flow of migrants to Europe," *The Guardian*, March 6, 2016)

(5) Even last week, she said in an interview on German television that it was her "*damned duty*" for Europe to find a common path. Asked if she had a plan B for the Brussels summit, Merkel responded with a passionate: "No, I don't." ("EU-Turkey summit to focus on stemming flow of migrants to Europe," *The Guardian*, March 6, 2016)

(6) "Europe is in the midst of a *nervous* crisis, primarily for reasons of political weakness," the prime minister told top cadres in his Syriza party on Sunday. ("Refugee bottleneck in Greece leads to warning of humanitarian crisis," *The Guardian*, March 6, 2016)

(7) Behind all the manipulative propaganda about the plight of the refugees the reality is that the open-door approach amounts to a form of *suicide* for Europe. ("Mass immigration will destroy the European Union," *The Daily Express*, September 24, 2015)

Moreover, the conventional metaphorical linguistic expression *to be in a good shape* in the example below makes manifest the conventional conceptual metaphor STATE AS A PERSON. In this particular case, the author refers to several countries having something in common (the Netherlands, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, thus the use of 'they'):

(8) What are the problems in the Netherlands that help build these rightwing populist movements? It is one of the richest countries in the world – the same with Austria, Denmark, Norway and the same now with Sweden and Finland. Perhaps it is the idea that because they are in *good economic shape*, you might be in danger of losing something. I do not fully understand it. ("EU may have to limit migrant benefits like UK, says Hamburg mayor", *The Guardian*, March 1, 2016)

The basic meaning of (*good*) *shape* is "good physical condition" (*Oxford*), i.e. "how healthy or fit someone is" (*Macmillan*), and its contextual meaning is "the condition of something, especially in relation to its ability to be effective or successful" (*Macmillan*). It is a conceptual metaphor within which the country's economic status is metaphorically presented as health condition of a person (the so-called 'economic metaphors'), i.e. economic systems and/or economic institutions are conceptualized as human beings. According to Kövecses (2010: 68-69), it is "possible to think of neighboring countries as 'neighbors,' who can be friendly or hostile, strong or weak, and healthy or sick. Strength corresponds here to military strength and health to economic wealth. This metaphor has certain implications for foreign politics. A country can be identified as strong and another as weak."

The metaphorical linguistic expression *architect* identified in (9) is conventional at the conceptual level, but it is direct metaphor of A IS B type at the linguistic level and thus classified as deliberate metaphor at the communicative level.

(9) The march towards a federal superstate was meant to usher in a new era of prosperity and solidarity. Instead it has brought only division, fear, wreckage and despair. What we are now facing is suicidal destruction masquerading as compassion. The European Union is the chief *architect* of the present migrant crisis. With wilful contempt for the people of Europe, Brussels promoted the idea that nationhood is a danger and patriotism a vice, while the removal of frontiers has been seen as a central task on the way to the creation of the superstate. ("Opening national borders has been an abject failure", *The Daily Express*, September 3, 2015)

Macmillan provides the following basic meaning of *architect* – "someone whose job is to design buildings", and the contextual meaning as follows "the person who has the idea for something such as a plan or policy and makes it happen". In the context of the European migrant crisis, *architect* implies that the EU is the creator of the current situation, i.e. that the migrant crisis is a construct of the EU. Using this metaphorical expression, the author of the article implies that the EU has caused this situation in some way – it has created its migration policy and now (as an architect) it should have a valid action plan and strategy for its realization.

In (10), the metaphorical linguistic expression *social worker* is a direct metaphor of A IS B type at the linguistic level, a novel metaphor (the conceptual level), and a deliberate metaphor at the communicative level.

(10) Furthermore the EU's obsession with free movement has totally emasculated the forces that should be protecting European societies, such as the police and army. Once they were our guardians. Now they act as ferry services and tour guides for the migrants. With its usual grandiosity, the EU has also encouraged the theory that we are the world's *social worker*, bearing responsibility for the planet's suffering masses. How many does the EU think we should allow to settle here? All 120 million of the world's displaced people? All two billion of those who, according to the United Nations, are living under oppression? We are always told by the ideologues about the joys of mass immigration, how much it boosts our economy and enriches our society. ("Opening national borders has been an abject failure", *The Daily Express*, September 3, 2015)

Macmillan lists only one dictionary entry, i.e. only the basic meaning of *social worker* – "someone who is trained to give help and advice to people who have severe social problems". The absence of a semantic entry in the dictionary means that this contextual meaning is not conventionalized, i.e. that the metaphorical expression *social worker* in (10) is novel. It is, therefore, novel (at the conventional level).

5. The SINKING SHIP metaphor

The expression *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic* identified in (11) is used metaphorically in the sense "engaged in futile or ineffective actions" (*Collins*), i.e. "used for saying that someone is wasting time dealing with things that are not important, and is ignoring much more serious problem" (*Cambridge*). It is an example of indirect, conventional metaphor.

(11) It is not just women. Men across Europe are also and understandably getting angry but it might just be the female vote that pulls us out of the EU. The Prime Minister is often accused of ignoring women's issues and he certainly seems to be now, *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic* while doing nothing to protect the half of the population with XX chromosomes. When those migrants in Germany gain the right to settle there they will also gain the right to move here. If Mr Cameron can't do something about that then referendum or no, the European project is over. It may already be too late. ("Assaults on women will bring down EU, says Virginia Blackburn", *The Express*, February 17, 2016)

This idiomatic expression is analyzed following Steen et al.'s (2010, 135, 170) instructions for annotation of polywords and included in the corpus as a single unit. First, because it cannot be interpreted word-for-word without a loss in (idiomatic) meaning; second, because this multiword item is included as a single unit in a dictionary (cf. *Collins*, *Cambridge*, *Macmillan*). The metaphorical linguistic expression *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic* makes manifest the conventional conceptual metaphor NATION AS A SHIP – in this particular example, the UK is conceptualized as a sinking ship. In (11), this metaphorical expression was used humorously to emphasize the futility of an individual's actions (namely, the actions of the Prime Minister Cameron) in a failing system.

6. The FABRIC metaphor

The country to which migrants come is also conceptualized using the conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions *fabric* and *sharper knife* – which belong to the domain of FABRIC. The basic meaning of *fabric* is "cloth, especially when it is used for making things such as clothes or curtains" (*Macmillan*), and the contextual "the fabric of a society or system is its basic structure, with all the customs and beliefs that make it work successfully" (*Collins*). The adjective *sharper*, whose basic meaning is "having a thin cutting edge or a fine point; well-adapted for cutting or piercing", is metaphorically used in (12) in the sense "acute and penetrating".[10]

(12) This is a country with a history of accepting refugees in great numbers. Now its reputation for tolerance seems irrevocably lost. Is there *a sharper knife* that tears at the *fabric* of society than the threat of physical violence on the basis of ethnicity, nationality, gender or political affiliation? The recent images of young men, wearing hoods and dressed in black, roaming the streets of central Stockholm looking for "north African street children" to "punish" for their mere existence reminded Sweden and the world of the worst elements of European history. ("Sweden's anti-refugee vigilantism has revealed its dark side", *The Guardian*, February 1, 2016)

In example below, a locality within a country (in this case, London) is conceptualized as *a patchwork of ghettos*. The basic meaning of *patchwork* is "needlework in which small pieces of cloth in different designs, colours, or textures are sewn together" (*Oxford*), while its contextual meaning refers to "a mixture of different things" (*Cambridge*), whether one talks about "a pattern that things make when you look at them from a long way away" (*Macmillan*) or "something that consists of many different and often confusing parts" (*Macmillan*). In (13), *patchwork* refers to a mixture of religions, cultures, and nationalities.

(13) Another migrant comments: 'The English are dying. They are declining fast.'
     He recalls in the street markets, there used to be only English voices shouting
     out, 'advertising their wares in the Cockney accent. But they've gone now'.
     A Met policeman, who was born in Nigeria, says: 'The English are van-
     ishing. London is no longer an English city at all... London is a *patchwork*
     of ghettos.' Between 1971 and 2011, the white British share of London's
     population slumped from 86 per cent to 45 per cent, overwhelmingly the old
     Cockney working-class. Cockney, in fact, is predicted to die out in 15 years.
     ("How Labour turned London into a foreign city: Fewer than half the capital's
     population are white British, gangsters from Somalia terrorise the suburbs and
     even the tramps are immigrants, reveals astonishing new book", *The Daily
     Mail*, January 22, 2016)

These metaphorical linguistic expressions are marked conventional because
their meanings are listed in dictionaries. They, however, differ at the linguistic level
of analysis: *fabric* and *sharper knife* are indirect metaphors, while 'London is *a
patchwork of ghettos*' is a direct metaphor with A IS B structure. It is automatically
marked deliberate at the communicative level, which means it is an overtly used
perspective-changing cognitive device.

7. The HELL metaphor

As mentioned above, we sometimes witness a figurative construal of certain
localities within a country. In (14), the makeshift camp of Calais (also known as
'the Calais Jungle') is conceptualized as hell. This metaphorical hell is obviously
the place where migrants have to stay until they reach the desired location in the
EU. The metaphor of HELL is identified in a paragraph below:

(14) If the Calais camp is a "*living hell*" then there are no words to describe Dunkirk,
     where I spent a day. In Calais, aid has been allowed in and the refugees' efforts
     to build an infrastructure have been tolerated. Not so in Dunkirk. Police don't
     allow any materials that might be used to build shelters or pathways, so people
     live in tents and tracks of mud. Vehicles are not allowed in, so everything
     must be carried on foot. ("There's nascent hope in the Calais 'Jungle' camp.
     So why destroy it?", *The Guardian*, February 18, 2016)

The identified metaphorical linguistic expression belongs to the conventional
conceptual metaphor BAD SITUATIONS ARE HELL (cf. Witczak-Plisiecka 2009, 336).
At the linguistic level of analysis, this is an example of direct metaphor – which
makes it deliberate at the communicative level. In this case, the author opted for
a deliberate metaphor as a more prominent vehicle for evaluation (Calais as an

extremely unpleasant place) and persuasion attempt (emphasis on a place that causes great suffering) towards more empathetic view of migration conditions.

8. Conclusion

In British media discourse on the European migrant crisis, the countries, nations and institutions are conceptualized either as A PERSON (e.g. *in a good economic shape*, *architect*, *social worker*), CONTAINER (e.g. *pressure*, *immigration pressure cooker*), A SINKING SHIP (e.g. *rearranging the decks on the Titanic*), a fabric (e.g. *sharper knife, fabric, patchwork*), or HELL (e.g. *living hell*). Our choice of metaphors from what we have at our disposal (serving as source domains to comprehend the target domain) depends on which aspect of a target concept we want to highlight or hide. Conceptual metaphors are described as an amazing ability of the mind to filter correspondences between different entities in order to better understand one in terms of another (Dolić 2021, 52). This ability to filter is precisely what enables us to control the shape of the message, and gives media the power to manipulate public opinion.

The corpus analysis has revealed that most of the identified metaphorical linguistic expressions are indirect (at the linguistic level), conventional (at the conceptual level), and non-deliberate (at the communicative level). The 'insistence' on indirect metaphor use means that the metaphorical message is covert (unlike direct metaphor, which draws attention to the mappings between the two domains). Our analysis of metaphors at the conceptual level has shown that novel conceptual metaphors are less represented in newspaper reporting – as is also claimed by Deignan (2005, 40), Krennmayr (2011, 35), and Steen (2008, 220). This leads to the conclusion that people prefer conventional metaphors, i.e. they rarely resort to innovative metaphors to achieve figurative use of language. Conventional conceptual metaphors that have novel metaphorical linguistic expressions are more often used because "by manipulating familiar concepts (...) a creative, recognizable, effective and easy-to-remember language is created, and recipients have no greater difficulties in processing it because it is based on established concepts" (Berberović and Delibegović-Džanić 2014, 22). We did identify an example of a novel linguistic expression (*social worker*), but it belongs to the conventional conceptual metaphor (A PERSON metaphor). This ratio between conventional and novel metaphorical linguistic expressions gives us an insight into the extent to which some metaphors are naturalized (even clichéd), and yet with a clear rhetorical message they leave a significant effect on the recipient in communication.

Since novel metaphors are based on original mappings between two domains of experience, these are automatically considered deliberate at the communicative level. However, it needs to be pointed out that there are conventional metaphorical expressions identified in this corpus which are used deliberately, either as a part of

A IS B structure (e.g. *a patchwork of ghettos*) or as extended metaphors (i.e. creative stretches of figurative language). Apart from the fact that the extended metaphors may vary in structure (cf. Steen 2009a, 191), both novel and conventional expressions may undergo the creative stretching. Obviously, a metaphor is rhetorically more effective if it is used in a more striking way, and the rhetorical message conveyed by the innovative (i.e. novel) expression gains strength. However, the importance of creative elaboration of conventional metaphor lies in the fact that "the creative stretching of a conventional metaphor produces greater cognitive effects but at the same time remains understandable to the members of the discourse community" (Berberović 2013, 317). A good example of this is the metaphorical linguistic expression *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic* in (11), where the person responsible (the prime minister) obviously does not deal with essential but banal (decorative) things, while the country affected by migration (a sinking ship) in a serious situation. This metaphor not only warns of the seriousness of the situation, but also criticizes a person of authority with a dose of sarcasm.

It is worth pointing out that metaphors are not inherently good or bad (cf. Lakoff 1992), but rather depend on the context.[11] Previous research (cf. Santa Ana 2002; Musolff 2015, 46; Bošnjak 2020, 63-64) points to the existence of positive aspects of the analyzed metaphors that are underexploited. Santa Ana (2002, 299–301) offers examples such as "Immigration is the *lifeblood* of the California economy." and "This country was built on the *backs of immigrants*." that put into focus the 'gain' from migration. Thus, using more positive aspects of a person, a ship, or a fabric is possible. This, however, implies the shift from resorting to negatively connoted expressions from these domains, and the authors turning to neutral or positive reporting about the topic. Rather, some authors tend to use figurative language in a derogatory manner to fit their (ideological) viewpoints (e.g. to express concerns on how migrants would fit into the fabric of a society).

This analysis revealed that this set of metaphors is exploited for ideological purposes. The FABRIC metaphor draws on the idea of social unity, thus implying social exclusion of 'others', which results in their social marginalization. By drawing on the scenario of pressurized borders and countries exceeding their full capacity, the container metaphor fosters the implications of harmful effects of migration and potentially hostile behavior of migrants. It also reveals the relations among the EU countries amidst the crisis. Distinctions are made between the 'countries of transit' and the 'countries of destination (e.g. Greece is seen *as a pressurized immigration cooker*, Middle Eastern countries as the ones *shouldering* the crisis, while the UK is metaphorically presented as a sinking ship). The SINKING SHIP metaphor, which is made manifest by the use of metaphorical expression *rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic*, is used to criticize the UK Prime minister's lenient migration policy-making. The PERSON metaphor is the dominant one in the corpus taken the number of the identified metaphorical expressions from this domain. These range from clichéd, conventional expressions (e.g. *shoulder*)

to extremely negative expressions (e.g. *suicide*). In our view, this difference in the use of metaphorical expressions (ranging from more to less negatively connoted) may be viewed in terms of the political orientation of newspapers in whose articles these have been identified. For instance, the metaphorical expressions *damned duty, nervous crisis*, and *suicide* are used to metaphorically describe Europe. The first two expressions are identified in The Guardian (center-left orientation, harboring the ideas of social democracy, social justice, and multiculturalism), while the latter expression is identified in Daily Express (right-wing-oriented, typically favor socially traditional ideas). Furthermore, Daily Mail (right-wing-orientated newspaper) uses *the patchwork of ghettos*, while The Guardian uses *sharper knife* and *fabric*. In other words, both newspapers exploit conventional metaphorical expressions from the same source domain (fabric). While The Guardian author used an indirect, non-deliberate metaphor, the Daily Mail author opted for a direct, deliberate metaphor, i.e. resorted to the overt use of metaphor as a perspective-changing device. Of course, extensive research is necessary to make any further claims or draw final conclusions about this. We suggest future research to focus on the potential cases when authors merely want to be critical of migration policy-making, and when they aim to promote anti-immigrant ideologies. Steering the public towards a certain viewpoint influences the recipients' perception and leads them to draw on the same ideologies in making sense of the topic at hand.

Another issue arises from the fact that the corpus does not include examples of the use of alternative metaphors. We highlight the need to promote the use of the so-called sanitized discourse (cf. Santa Ana 2002, 362), which would shift the established conceptual framework. While doing research and reading previous articles on this topic, we did witness examples of metaphors which try to put emphasis on 'benefits' that migration brings to the society (e.g. the phrases such as 'migrants are the backbone of economy'), where fully integrated migrants are seen as a positive force strengthening the national fabric (cf. Bošnjak 2020, 63), and skilled workers and academics as benefits to the economy (cf. Musolff 2015). Such an approach, however, results in creating an image of 'deserving' as opposed to 'undeserving' migrants (cf. Flores Morales and Farago 2021). Musolff (2019, 348) strongly suggests reconceptualization of the existing metaphorical framework "to counter well-established, nationalist bias of nation as body metaphor" for instance, and points to the need of "creative discourses that breathe new life into critical and emancipatory aspects of those metaphorical concepts that are our heritage." This analysis shows the range of cognitive devices we have at our disposal to make an effort in changing the established conceptual framework of metaphors used to conceptualize the nations, countries, and institutions deemed to be the actors of the European migrant crisis.

Notes

1   For metaphorical utilization, highlighting, and hiding see Kövecses (2010, 91).
2   The bodily basis of metaphors in our mind is described by Johnson (1987) and Santa Ana (1997, 327).
3   On the representation of migrants as less valuable beings than citizens see Cunningham-Parmeter (2011) and Santa Ana (2002, 87-88; 94-95).
4   Cf. Tamcke (2017, 806–813), who writes about America as a paradise of hope and freedom, and Iraq as a paradise lost.
5   For the role of similarity and sufficient distinctness see Steen et al. (2010, 37) and for contrast and comparison see Steen et al. (2010, 54).
6   Cf. Goatly (2007) for HUMAN AS ANIMAL metaphor, which belongs to the great chain of being – a metaphorical system that explains how things in the world are conceptualized metaphorically, as well as their hierarchical relationship.
7   For deliberate metaphor signaling see Steen (2009a; 2009b; 2010), Krennmayr (2011), Musolff (2011), and Herrmann (2013).
8   This corpus is part of a comprehensive study presented in Mujagić (2022a), the book which analyzes the corpus of 247,912 words (126,010 words from newspapers written in English, and 121,902 words written in Bosnian/ Croatian/Serbian) and mainly focuses on ANIMAL and DANGEROUS WATERS metaphors. This corpus was annotated by the book author, after which the the agreement is reached with the two book reviewers. The analysts followed Steen et al.'s (2010, 109–112) instructions about "including rather than excluding borderline cases of metaphoricity" and adopting "a general view on metaphor, which means that we assume a general reader". From this broad corpus of metaphorical expressions, the specific set of metaphorical linguistic expressions is selected for discussion. In the book (Mujagić 2022a), these have only been identified as occasional metaphors, as they appear sporadically in the analyzed newspaper articles and "do not seem to be associated with other more commonly used semantic source domains" (cf. Santa Ana 2002, 71). After identifying these 46 English expressions as metaphorical, we now attempt to shed light on their role in migration discourse.
9   Our examples contain other expressions that are metaphorical but are outside the focus of this study. Those are, for instance, *burden* in (2), *flow* in (3, 4, 5), *bottleneck* (6), *open-door* (7), *Jungle* (14). More about these metaphorical expressions may be found in focused studies by Mujagić (2022b; 2019; 2018).
10 https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/sharp; retrieved on January 26, 2022
11 For the contextual factors, context and metaphorical creativity, and the conceptual context of linguistic humor see Kövecses (2015).

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