The IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor as a deliberate metaphor in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media

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Abstract

Applying MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010) to the corpus of media articles about the European migrant crisis in the period from August 2015 until March 2016 in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, this paper analyzes the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor within the framework of the deliberate metaphor theory by considering the three dimensions of this metaphor, namely, the linguistic dimension of (in)directness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of (non)deliberateness. Specifically, the paper examines the use of the ANIMALS metaphor as a deliberate metaphor in the immigration discourse in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The paper aims to determine to what extent and in which situations the authors of the texts tend to divert the addressee's attention to viewing immigrants in terms of animals. Using the IDeM protocol for the identification of deliberate metaphor (Krennmayr, 2011), the paper also focuses on the rhetorical potential and the effects of the use of deliberate metaphors in the media discourse. Such metaphors are often used in the media discourse to dehumanize immigrants and consequently reduce the addressee's empathy for them.

Keywords: the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor; MIPVU; IDeM; deliberate metaphor theory; deliberate metaphor; immigration discourse; media discourse.

1. Introduction

In the spring of 2015, the European Union was faced with a *flood* of immigrants from the Middle East and Africa knocking on the *door* of *the fortress of Europe* in search of a better life. The reasons for mass migrations, the peak of which was recorded between the beginning of August 2015 and the end of March 2016, were various, from economic despair to political prosecution and war these people faced in their countries. The attitudes towards immigrants among European countries, especially members of the European Union, also varied. They ranged from welcoming immigrants to their countries,

granting them a free pass to the EU to erecting barbed-wire fences on the state borders to stop immigrants from entering. Apart from producing various political, economic, and social consequences, the European migrant crisis also left its mark on the language used in the media discourse. Immigrants are often metaphorically conceptualized in terms of the source domains such as ANIMALS, DANGEROUS WATER, ILLNESS, to name just a few. During the peak of the migrant crisis, newspaper articles discussed *a wave or flood of immigrants,* and *swarms or hordes of immigrants* in English and *priliv migranata* 'inflow of immigrants' and *rojevi imigranata* 'swarms of immigrants' in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian.[1]

The conceptual metaphor has been the subject of many studies investigating the conceptualization of immigration in the UK media discourse (Charteris-Black, 2006; El Refaie, 2001; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Greenslade, 2005; Hart, 2010; Howarth and Ibrahim, 2014; Ibrahim and Howarth, 2015; Kitis and Milapides, 1997; Musolff, 2006, 2011, 2015, 2016). Metaphor in immigrant discourse in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian has been discussed in Gradečak-Erdeljić et al. (2016), Jurčić Katunar (2018), Mujagić (2018), and Silaški and Đurović (2019). As the European migrant crisis progresses, the number of studies tends to increase. What these and other studies on metaphor in immigration discourse find is that immigrants are often metaphorically represented negatively. Most often, metaphors dehumanize and depersonalize immigrants. The conceptualization of immigrant relationships is essential because metaphorical thinking influences social action (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011; Musolff, 2004, 2012; Santa Ana, 2002). This contrastive study attempts to reveal the similarities in both the conceptualization of and attitudes towards immigration between British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian societies, even though the two speech communities have different experiences with this social phenomenon.

Applying MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010) to the corpus of media articles about the European migrant crisis in the period from August 2015 until March 2016 in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, this paper analyzes the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor within the framework of the deliberate metaphor theory by considering the three dimensions of this metaphor, namely, the linguistic dimension of (in)directness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of (non)deliberateness. Specifically, the paper examines the use of the ANIMALS metaphor as a deliberate metaphor in the immigration discourse in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The paper aims to determine to what extent and in which situations the authors of the texts tend to divert the addressee's attention to viewing immigrants in terms of animals. Using the IDeM protocol for

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[1] See Mujagić (2019).

the identification of deliberate metaphor (Krennmayr, 2011), the paper also focuses on the rhetorical potential and the effects of the use of deliberate metaphors in the media discourse. Such metaphors are often used in the media discourse to dehumanize immigrants and consequently reduce the addressee's empathy for them.

2. Deliberate Metaphor Theory

Over the past decade, Gerard Steen has presented his deliberate metaphor theory (henceforth DMT) through a series of studies (Steen, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011a, 2011b, 2015, 2016). He has based the theory on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of cross-domain mapping (Steen, 2014: 219), within which a conceptual metaphor is presented as a partial mapping of elements of the source domain to a specific target domain. Another study cited by Steen (2008, 2017: 18) as a source of his inspiration for DMT is Glucksberg's study (2008) on categorization.[2] The use of DMT in metaphor research involves identifying deliberate metaphors in the discourse, i.e., the use of metaphors *as* metaphors between a speaker and a recipient (Steen, 2011b, 2017). In addition to viewing metaphor as a cross-domain mapping, Steen (2017) believes that metaphor is also a matter of communication, not just language and thought. In this regard, the theory of the three dimensions of language use[3] served as the basis for a three-dimensional metaphor analysis model, as DMT is also called. Steen's three-dimensional model (Steen, 2008, 2011b) implies three levels of metaphor analysis, namely linguistic, conceptual, and communicative levels.

At the linguistic level, metaphors are classified into indirect, direct, and implicit metaphors. 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 effect of indirect metaphors in the human cognitive system is covert – unlike the direct use of language, where the use of signals for the direct metaphor is apparent. The distinction between indirect and direct metaphor in Steen's theory is based on the claim that cross-domain mapping can also be achieved through direct

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[2] Glucksberg's (2008) study on categorization is relevant for Steen's claims about direct metaphor because he differentiates between indirect and direct metaphors at the linguistic level of metaphor analysis, where there are two different types of metaphorical processing: categorization and comparison (Steen, 2007).

[3] Steen's (2017: 4) definition of communication – as he presents it within the third level of the three-dimensional model – is complementary to the term 'communication' used by the proponents of the relevance theory. For the relevance theory, see Sperber and Wilson (2008); on combining the relevance theory and DMT see Stöver (2010); for Steen's discussion on how the relevance theory views metaphor, see Steen (2008: 233).

language use (Steen, 2007: 10-11). Steen (2007: 10-11) argues that such direct use of language is also considered metaphorical because it involves subsequent conceptual analysis to determine the meaning in the background of cross-domain mapping. Unlike indirect language use, direct language use also implies the direct use of lexical units functioning as signals of cross-domain mapping in the background of lexical units and constructions. In this way, "the words are related to concepts which are directly connected to the intended referents in the text world" (Steen, 2007: 11). Direct metaphors refer to the use of overt lexical units, which nevertheless activate cross-domain mapping. This can be a change of topic from one domain to another. From a linguistic point of view, a direct metaphor has the form of comparison. It most often[4] consists of a main verb used metaphorically and another part that is not necessarily used metaphorically but participates in the cross-domain mapping. Another type of direct metaphor involves a particular topic change, where the digression is present, e.g., from the domain of computers to the domain of medicine (see Steen, 2010a: 55). However, precisely such a conceptual structure expressed in a direct language requires textual integration into a comprehensive target domain, although it is "an autonomous conceptual domain which has been separately represented as such in the situation model" (Steen, 2010a: 55). In his more recent research, Steen (2010a) seeks to point out the possibility of using another mechanism that can be classified as a direct metaphor, which is an allusion to a metaphor. Steen (2010a: 61) believes that the focus on metaphor can be activated by previous awareness of a metaphor. The implicit metaphor implies the existence of a specific cohesive connection (grammatical and/or semantic) in discourse that refers back to linguistic metaphors. Steen et al. (2010: 15) offer an example: "Naturally, to embark on such a *step* is not necessarily to succeed immediately in realising *it*, "and explain that *step* should be annotated as metaphor-related expression, and *it* receives a code for implicit metaphor.

The studies to date have shown that indirect metaphors account for 98% of all metaphors in natural discourse (Steen 2009a: 185; Steen et al. 2010).[5] The more recent studies of metaphors within DMT (Steen, 2009b, 2010a, 2011a, 2011b) tend to focus on direct metaphors because they are (most often) more creative and automatically deliberate. However, this does not mean that the indirect metaphor is irrelevant and does not reveal specific features of the human cognitive system, i.e., that it does not help us under-

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[4] It is said here *most often* because there is also a less common form of comparison called nominal similes, an example of which Steen (2010a: 56) finds in Neil Young's song: *Every junkie's like a setting sun*.

[5] This research has also confirmed that cross-domain mapping is most often manifested as an indirect metaphor (94.6% of indirect metaphors in the corpus).

stand the metaphor in thought and the way humans experience the world around us. Indirect and direct metaphors in discourse are determined according to exactly prescribed steps of the MIPVU protocol (Steen et al., 2010), the procedure for metaphor identification, which will be discussed subsequently.

At the conceptual level, Steen (2007, 2008, 2009a, 2011b) retains the traditional cognitive-linguistic classification of conceptual metaphors into conventional and novel metaphors and further expands research by linking them to the linguistic and communicative levels of the three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis. The 'conventional/novel' criterion can be applied to both the conceptual and linguistic levels. Such metaphors are called conventional conceptual metaphors at the conceptual level, while metaphors at the linguistic level are referred to as conventional linguistic expressions. Furthermore, conventional conceptual metaphors can be realized with both conventional and novel lexical units. On the other hand, novel conceptual metaphors can also be realized with both novel and conventional linguistic metaphors. Within DMT, Steen (2009a: 191) leaves room for the revitalization of well-known linguistic metaphors, which could eventually result in a novel metaphor in thought, which could be marked as deliberate. In practice, however, there is a noticeable lack of examples of novel conceptual metaphors realized by conventional expressions. DMT argues that the use of conventional metaphors can be striking and deliberate as well.[6] Corpus research (Cameron, 2003: 101, 2008: 202; Krennmayr, 2011: 156-157;) explores the functions of deliberate metaphor, which can be both conventional and novel metaphor. Deignan (2005: 40), Krennmayr (2011: 35), and Steen (2008: 220) argue that novel conceptual metaphors are less prevalent in newspapers, which leads to the conclusion that people prefer conventional metaphors, i.e., they tend to use direct metaphors less frequently.

At the communicative level, DMT distinguishes between deliberate and non-deliberate metaphors. Steen (2008: 222) points out that deliberate use of metaphor in discourse implies a deliberate change of "the addressee's perspective on the referent or topic that is the target of the metaphor, by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space." As an example, Steen offers a line *Juliet is the sun* from Shakespeare's sonnet XVIII, in which the poet deliberately asks himself a metaphorical question "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?" and the rest of the sonnet is metaphorical contemplation. Opposed to deliberate metaphors are non-deliberate metaphors, which "do not draw addressees' conscious attention to other conceptual domains "(Steen, 2008: 226). Steen (2008: 226) has found that the clearest

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[6] See, e.g., Steen's (2007: 10) example *Sam is a gorilla*. In linguistic terms, it is a direct metaphor; at the conceptual level, it is conventional (its figurative meaning is listed in dictionaries), and it is deliberate at the communicative level.

examples of non-deliberate metaphor are unsignaled metaphorical expressions that are not part of *A is B* construction, nor are they surrounded by metaphorical expressions from the same domain – but have conventional figurative meanings.

On the other hand, deliberate use implies that the speakers use metaphor *as* metaphor, i.e., they deliberately use one thing when referring to something else (Steen, 2009a: 181). Deliberate metaphor can be used for various purposes, have different levels of conventionality, and take different forms (Krennmayr, 2011: 155). Deliberate, direct metaphor can be structured as follows:

a) *A is B* metaphor: *Love is blindness*; *Love is the drug* (Steen, 2008: 225);
b) *A is like B* metaphor: *Every junkie's like the setting sun*. (Steen, 2008: 225);
c) Extended metaphor: *Time is a jet plane, it moves too fast; You are like a hurricane, there's calm in your eye, and I'm getting blown away* (Steen, 2008: 225); *Aston Martin DB9, that's not a race car, that's pornography; this air conditioning feels like there's an asthmatic sat on my dash-board, coughing at me* (Steen, 2009a: 182).

Steen (2009a: 191) further claims that deliberate metaphors can be

> … extended metaphorical comparisons within or between paragraphs or speech turns for purposes of explanation and instruction, encompassing metaphorical models expressed in such conventionalized text forms as fairy tales, allegories, parables, and myths: all are diverging forms of deliberate metaphor, in which the sender asks the addressee to change perspective and intentionally look at something in terms of something else.

Steen's three-dimensional model is characterized by the interrelatedness of the three levels of metaphor analysis, i.e., the interaction of the communicative dimension of deliberateness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the linguistic form of metaphor. Krennmayr (2011: 156) discusses two types of the interrelatedness of these parameters: the interrelatedness of deliberateness and conventionality, and the interrelatedness of deliberateness and form of metaphor. The interplay of deliberateness and conventionality refers to determining whether a metaphor is novel or conventional. Unless its contextual meaning is recorded in a dictionary, it is a novel metaphor; if the contextual meaning is recorded in a dictionary, the metaphor is conventional, but that does not make it any less deliberate. Steen (2008: 225) believes that "formally inconspicuous conventional metaphors of different construction types also may be used extremely deliberately." Illustrating the differences between sentences *We hit Amsterdam in the early evening,* and *We hit Amsterdam like a bulldozer*, Steen (2008: 229) offers a classic example by which the relationship between linguistic, conceptual and communicative dimensions can be presented. The interplay of deliberateness and form of

metaphor refers to determining whether it is an indirect or direct use of metaphorical lexical units. In the case of direct metaphor, the use of a metaphor signal, most often a lexical marker *like*, is evident, which Krennmayr (2011: 157) argues is probably the most explicit form of deliberate metaphor, while another form of deliberate metaphor is a topic change. In other words, the use of a signal most often indicates the deliberate use of a metaphor, but, on the other hand, a deliberate metaphor may not always be preceded by a signal (see Krennmayr, 2011: 157). In short, a deliberate metaphor can be conventional or novel. However, conventional metaphorical lexical units may or may not be deliberate, while novel metaphorical lexical units are always deliberate (Krennmayr, 2011: 160).

DMT seeks to shed light on "how metaphor in language, thought, and communication are related to each other in specific situations of use" (Steen, 2010b: 95), and provides grounded insights into the different characteristics of deliberate metaphors in the discourse, such as recipient's perspective-changing, persuasiveness, and the construction of different aspects of ideological discourse because of its property to draw attention to a source domain (Steen, 2017: 7).[7]

3. Research methodology

The methodological basis of this paper is the metaphor identification procedure (MIP), designed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). This method for identifying linguistic metaphors was subsequently elaborated to meet the challenge of identifying a deliberate metaphor in communication (Steen 2007, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Steen et al. 2010). The paper makes use of an improved version of the MIP procedure – MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010: 25) – which is the basis of Steen's (2010a: 59) three-dimensional metaphor analysis model. The introduction of the MIPVU procedure was a significant milestone in metaphor analysis because an objective and reliable protocol gave us "novel empirical findings about patterns of metaphor use in relation to registers and

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[7] DTM has been gradually developing, so a number of studies offering critical reviews of the theory has been published. Gibbs (2015a, 2015b) finds certain features of DMT especially troubling. The correspondence between Steen and Gibbs is frequent (see, e.g., Steen, 2011a, 2017), and other metaphor researchers (Deignan, 2011; Müller, 2011) have joined their constructive discussions. Some essays in journals are even titled as "Author's response "(e. g. Gibbs, 2011b) or by a name "A response to Gibbs" (Deignan, 2011), "A reply to Xu, Zhang and Wu 2016" (Gibbs and Chen, 2017). In his responses to critics, Steen (2017) addresses several aspects of his theory, often criticized by the abovementioned scholars. It is, first and foremost, a complex issue of metaphor processing, definition and precise determination of the terms deliberate and communication, misuse and misunderstanding of the terms deliberate and conscious metaphor use, the uses of metaphor (Steen, 2011a, 2011b), misinterpretation of one level of the three-dimensional model as a completely separate phenomenon (Steen, 2017: 4).

word classes" (Steen, 2017: 8). The procedure also offers more knowledge of 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) in spheres such as education, science, media, health, and others. MIPVU distinguishes three dimensions of metaphor: the linguistic dimension of (in)directness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of (non)deliberateness. The corpus in this paper is analyzed at three levels: the linguistic, conceptual, and communicative levels.

The corpus[8] consists of newspaper articles and columns about the European migrant crisis written in English and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (henceforth B/C/S) in the period from the beginning of August 2015 until the end of March 2016. According to the statistics of the European Parliament, this period was the peak of the so-called European migrant crisis. The subcorpus in English includes articles and columns from *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Express*. The subcorpus in B/C/ S includes the following newspaper sources: *Faktor*, *Oslobođenje*, *Dnevni avaz*, *Buka*, *Nezavisne novine*, *Dnevni list*, *BH Dani*, *Večernji list*, *BH Magazin* and *Glas Srpske*. Table 1 below contains information about the number of words retrieved from each of the abovementioned sources.

The primary dictionary used to annotate the English subcorpus was the *Macmillan Dictionary*, but the *Collins Cobuild Online*, *Oxford Dictionary Online,* and *Cambridge Dictionary Online* were consulted as well. In the annotation of B/C/S texts, Jahić's *Rječnik bosanskog jezika* (volumes 1-5), Anić's (2003) *Veliki rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*, Vujanić's (2007) *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* were used, as well as a few dictionaries of groups of authors Halilović et al. 2010; Čedić et al. 2007; Anić et al. 1998, as well as Internet sources such as *Hrvatski jezični portal*.

Following the six-step method of MIPVU[9], the first step in the analysis of the entire corpus involved collecting and skimming texts word by word to

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[8] This corpus is part of a comprehensive study presented in Mujagić (2019).

[9] The six-step procedure is explained in detail in Steen et al. (2010: 25-26): "1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis. 2. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW). 3. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct). 4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit). 5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may

find metaphors at the linguistic level. Then metaphor-related expressions were marked (in italics), and these portions of the texts then became the primary material for further study of metaphors at the conceptual level. The identified lexical units were first classified according to Steen's three-dimensional model and analyzed in detail at the linguistic, conceptual, and communicative levels. All the metaphorical expressions identified in the corpus using MIPVU were subjected to this analysis. After the analysis at all three levels, the metaphors in the corpus were quantified, taking into account the number of metaphorical lexical units to obtain a statistical overview.[10]

Table 1: The corpus of newspaper articles used in the study with word numbers.

Source	The number of words retrieved
The Guardian	82,303
The Daily Mail	12,562
The Daily Express	31,145
The total number of words in the English subcorpus	126,010
Faktor	6,185
Oslobođenje	61,540
Buka	22,662
Nezavisne novine	3,084
Dnevni avaz	778
Dnevni list	5,502
BH Dani	2,575
Večernji list	5,096
BH Magazin	11,753
Glas Srpske	2,727
The total number of words in the B/C/S subcorpus	121,902
The total number of words in the corpus	**247,912**

The fact is that the corpus contains a significant number of metaphor-related expressions from the ANIMAL domain in the corpus, 69 in the English subcorpus and 25 in the B/C/S subcorpus. However, the paper does not approach its description merely as a dominant metaphor in terms of its

be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (MFlag). 6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5."

[10] In the corpus, a total of 686 metaphorical lexical units were identified in both English and B/C/S, out of which 94.9% were classified as indirect metaphors, 3.2% were classified as direct metaphors, and only 1.9% were classified as implicit metaphors.

quantitative representation in the corpus. Due to the striking use of signals for the deliberate metaphor, which were found with these expressions, the ANIMAL metaphor is analyzed as a deliberate metaphor, whereby the rhetorical effects of its deliberate use in discourse are actually considered. The analysis also relies on the IDeM protocol for the identification of deliberate metaphor, which is the focus of the recent cognitive-linguistic studies (Krennmayr 2011; Kaal 2012; Steen, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2011b). A decision on the deliberate use of a metaphor is reached by determining "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). The IDeM protocol contains several clearly defined steps[11], which are used in the analysis as well.

The research focuses on the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor, which is singled out for analysis as a deliberate metaphor. However, apart from the ANIMAL metaphor, which is the most striking, sporadic examples of the deliberate use of other metaphors were also identified. Nevertheless, examples of the use of all types of signals were found in both languages, quotation marks, direct metaphor signals, novel metaphors, and extended metaphors with the ANIMAL metaphor only. In addition, a great variety of metaphor-related expressions from this domain was found. It was singled out for a more thorough analysis. The fact that the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor was deliberately used in both languages encouraged the decision to conduct the analysis in this particular way. 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.

4. Research findings: Immigrants are not animals, are they?

As already mentioned, the analysis focuses on the metaphorical lexical units from the ANIMAL source domain found in the corpus. In the corpus, the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS is realized through multiple metaphorical lexical units in English and B/C/S, such as *cockroaches*, *ants*,

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[11] "Is the metaphorical unit signaled (e.g. by a simile or other signaling device)? Is the metaphorical unit in the form of A = B? Is the metaphorical unit expressed directly? Is the metaphorical unit novel? Is the metaphorical unit surrounded by metaphorical expressions from compatible semantic fields, which are somehow connected? Is the metaphorical sense of the unit particularly salient through, for example, alluding to the topic of the text? Does the metaphorical unit participate in word play? Does the metaphorical unit elicit rhetorical effects such as, for example, persuasion or humor?" (Krennmayr, 2011: 154-155)

ljudski zečevi 'human hares', *bubašvabe* 'cockroaches', and using multiple types of signals for deliberate metaphor, such as quotation marks, direct metaphor signals, novel metaphors, and extended metaphors. These metaphorical lexical units are analyzed in terms of their deliberate use in media discourse aimed at achieving specific rhetorical effects.

The examples analyzed belong to the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMAL, which is a part of THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (Lakoff and Turner, 1989) – a metaphorical system that explains how things in the world are conceptualized metaphorically, as well as their hierarchical relationship. HUMAN BEINGS, characterized by superior attributes and behaviors, are at the highest level and are followed by ANIMALS, characterized by instinctive behavior. These are then followed by the levels of PLANTS, COMPLEX OBJECTS, and NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS (see Kövecses 2010: 154). The conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS via which immigrants are conceptualized as animals is analyzed, bearing in mind that one level of the chain is used for the understanding of another level.

In the example (1), human beings (immigrants) are conceptualized as animals (*guinea pigs*), which is the lower level of THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING.

(1) *Frayha, the refugees travelling with him to Greece and the smugglers sending them on their way all knew they were **guinea pigs** for a new era*. (The Guardian, March 20, 2016)

Following MIPVU, the basic meaning of *guinea pig* is "a small animal with fur, short ears, and no tail. It is often kept as a pet" (Macmillan), while its contextual meaning is "someone who is used in an experiment" (Macmillan). However, Collins Dictionary notes: "If someone is used as a guinea pig in an experiment, something is tested on them that has not been tested on people before." This means that the conceptualization of immigrants as *guinea pigs* implies they are not human beings at all.[12] Kövecses (2010: 152) argues that ANIMAL expressions gained their metaphorical meanings because "animals were personified first, and then the 'human-based animal characteristics' were used to understand human behavior." Thus, from the generic metaphor HUMAN BEINGS ARE ANIMALS, the specific metaphors IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS, and HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR are derived. In that sense, any undesirable and condemning behavior of a person, in the case of immigrants, is conceptualized as animal behavior, that is, the movement of animals as in the following example:

(2) "*Such is the hardship here that it gave them some sort of hope,*" said Babar Baloch, a spokesman for the United Nations refugee agency at the camp. "*If all*

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[12] *Oxford Dictionary Online* defines *guinea pig* as "a tailless South American rodent of the cavy family". For the concept of RODENT, see Goatly (2007: 151), for "rodent" in immigration discourse, see Goytisolo (2004).

> *legal routes are blocked, as they are with the closure of borders, it allows other elements to exploit the situation and thrive," he said, referring to people smugglers promising alternative routes to freedom who have* **flocked** *to Idomeni.* (The Guardian, March 15, 2018)

The contextual meaning of *flock* is "move or go together in a crowd" (Oxford). The word *crowd* "implies that it is a large number of persons who (obviously) have some common interest in joining a group." Trying to cross borders and enter the EU is a common goal of immigrants. The basic meaning of the expression *flock* is "congregate in a flock" (Oxford), i.e., gather in "a group of sheep, goats, or birds" (Cambridge). The metaphors *guinea pigs* and *flocked* are indirect conventional metaphors that are not signaled, but still used deliberately.[13]

In the corpus, the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS is realized through the use of the metaphorical lexical units such as *stampede, cockroaches, swarm, flock, Jungle, herd, horde,*[14] *guinea pigs, locusts, ant, trap* in the English subcorpus, and the expressions such as *stampedo* 'stampede', *roj* 'swarm', *zečevi* 'hares', *žabe* 'frogs', *životinje* 'animals', *džungla* 'jungle', *bubašvabe* 'coackroaches', *crvi* 'worms', *najezda* 'infestation', in the B/C/S subcorpus. As these findings show, various aspects of the ANIMAL domain are used to portray immigrants and emphasize the aspect that is consistent with the rhetorical purpose of the intended message. Rhetorical goals that the authors desire to achieve are the reasons why different aspects of the ANIMAL domain are used in the cross-domain mapping. Furthermore, considering the vast knowledge humans possess about animals in general, as well as knowledge about specific animals and their behavior, the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor has been manipulated and adjusted to meet the different rhetorical goals the authors want to achieve. Thus, by exploiting different aspects of the source domain and the background knowledge, the authors use this metaphor to present their stances and influence the addressees.

This metaphor can be characterized as having great rhetorical potential, and each of these aspects of the ANIMAL domain utilized in cross-domain mappings to highlight certain aspects of the IMMIGRANT domain can be analyzed in detail. For instance, recent studies of metaphor in the immigration

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[13] See also Steen's arguments for the deliberate use of indirect metaphor (Steen, 2009a: 183 and 186-187, 2010a).

[14] Although Macmillan, Cambridge, and Oxford dictionaries give only one meaning of the expression *horde* (the meaning related to humans), it has been marked as metaphorical following Collins Cobuild Online, which lists several meanings of this expression. The basic meaning of *horde* is "a large moving mass of animals, especially insects," and the contextual meaning is "a vast crowd; throng; mob". The basic meaning refers to animals, and the contextual meaning refers to humans, in this case, immigrants.

discourse investigate only the spatial metaphor[15] of JUNGLE (Howarth and Ibrahim, 2014; Ibrahim and Howarth, 2014, 2015). This deliberate metaphor is often signaled by quotation marks, the metaphorical lexical unit itself is capitalized, and the definite article *the* is used in the English subcorpus:

(3) *Over time, the media's use of this terminology has changed. First it was, "the migrant camps, known by some as 'the **Jungle'**"; then "the so-called '**Jungle'**"; before simply becoming the **Jungle**, without quotation marks. It's not just the rightwing tabloids that use the term: all parts of the media have adopted it – including the Independent, the BBC and the Guardian (although last week the Guardian issued new guidance to limit its usage, and ensure it always appears in quotation marks).* (The Guardian, March 7, 2016)

(4) *These dramatic pictures show how a vast swathe of the notorious "**Jungle**" migrant camp in Calais has been razed to the ground.* (The Daily Express, March 27, 2016)

(5) *The revelations come as charities revealed how ever increasing numbers of migrants are getting involved in a rush for the British border after France flattened half of the crime-ridden **Jungle** camp last month.* (The Daily Express, March 26, 2016)

The basic meaning of *Jungle* is "an equatorial forest area with luxuriant vegetation, often almost impenetrable"(Collins), and the contextual meaning is "a place of intense competition or ruthless struggle for survival" (Collins). It is a place characterized by selfishness, "a place or situation that is unpleasant because people are trying to achieve things for themselves and are not helping each other" (Macmillan) and brutality, "a situation or place of bewildering complexity or brutal competitiveness" (Oxford). This meaning is also evidenced by the use of expressions such as *the notorious* in (4) and *the crime-ridden* in (5). The expression *Jungle/Džungla* is tied to a real refugee camp in France, so the JUNGLE metaphor is specific to the conceptualization of immigrants, who are the main actors of the European migrant crisis. Its peculiar adaptation is described in (3), where it is pointed out that the expression was first used with quotation marks, thus signaled, and later without quotation marks. This example reveals how this indirect metaphor is

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[15] In the discourse on the European migrant crisis, three spatial metaphors were identified in both English and B/C/S: the JUNGLE metaphor, the FORTRESS OF EUROPE metaphor, and the so-called BOTTLENECK metaphor. Using these spatial constructions, newspapers become "cartographers of the imagined community" who create "the discursive, metaphorical and visual construction of the nation state", as well as insert "imagined boundaries, defining inclusion and by marking out the "Other" (Ibrahim and Howarth, 2015: 2). For ideological implications of the JUNGLE metaphor, the predominance of specific social practices, the issues of the boundary, belonging/inclusion/exclusion, Otherness ("we/they" dichotomy), see Ibrahim and Howarth (2015).

deliberately exploited in discourse. The same conceptual framework was identified in B/C/S, as in the following example:

(6) *U Caleu, na francuskoj obali, mjestu poznatom po iskrcavanju savezničkih trupa u završnici Drugog svjetskog rata, živi oko pet hiljada afričkih izbjeglica. CNN i BBC, dvije najuglednije televizijske kompanije na svijetu, nazivaju njihovo naselje "džunglom"?!* (Oslobođenje, August 27, 2015)

'Around five thousand African refugees live in Calais, on the French coast, a place known for the landing of Allied troops at the end of World War II. CNN and the BBC, the two most prominent television companies in the world, call their settlement a *"jungle"*?!'

The contextual meaning of *džungla* 'jungle' is "mjesto nereda" 'a place of disorder/mess' (Anić et al.), a place not governed by rules or laws. The expression *zakon džungle* 'the law of the jungle' implies "that those who are strong and apply ruthless self-interest will be most successful" (Oxford). The conventional metaphor *džungla* 'jungle' is an indirect metaphor used deliberately to imply the absence of order, i.e., the existence of some other rules. Bearing in mind examples (4) and (5), the main implication of this metaphor involves a messy and crime-ridden life. Apparently, the jungle is a community where individual destinies merge and lose themselves in a mass. One could argue that this is the case in every society. However, in the context of the European migrant crisis, one specificity has to be noted, namely, the negative actions of individuals are metonymically attributed to the immigrants in general, all of whom are consequently denied a welcome. This is not surprising given that the media insist on the claim that immigrants come in swarms in (7) and (8).

(7) *Cameron has form on this. Last summer, during the height of the refugee crisis, he talked of a "**swarm** of people", reducing those fleeing to the level of insects, as if speaking of **an infestation of pests**. That metaphor too has an unhappy history, one that is especially pertinent on this day of all days.* (The Guardian, January 27, 2016)

(8) *Dejvid Kameron govori o „**rojevima" (skakavaca?)** koji **nadiru** na Britaniju.* (BH Magazin)
'David Cameron talks about *"swarms" (of locusts?) invading* Britain.'

The basic meaning of *swarm* is: "a swarm of bees or other insects is a large group of them flying together" (Collins). In B/C/S, the expression *roj* 'swarm' refers to „gomila, formacija kukaca, obično u letu", (Hrvatski jezični portal) 'a crowd, insect formation, usually in flight.' Its contextual meaning is "a large group of people all moving together" (Cambridge). What characterizes a swarm is "moving in turmoil" (Collins) and "large numbers" (Collins). The conventional indirect metaphor *swarm* is signaled by quotation marks in (7) and (8) and thus used deliberately. This deliberate metaphor implies the abundance and invasion of insects, as well as the inability to

control such occurrence. In (7), the author warns the addressee about the consequences of insects' reproduction, which could arise shortly and threaten the cultural hegemony of UK citizens. It is essential to mention here the so-called *The Conservative Moral Hierarchy* (Lakoff, 1996) in which the Western culture is positioned above other cultures. A set of pejorative metaphorical expressions like *swarms of refugees*, *cockroaches*, a *swarm of people* was also used by Hitler, who conceptualized Aryans using the terms referring to higher-level animals and Jews using the terms referring to lower-level animals. [16] According to Charteris-Black (2006: 565), such expressions are aimed at promoting the anti-immigrant ideology and the political myth of cultural-historical fear of an invasion of "others."

An insect that moves precisely in these *swarms* (in B/C/S *rojevi*) is a *locust* 'skakavac', used metaphorically in example (8) but not signaled. The quotation marks are used to quote David Cameron's statement and not to signal the expression. In English, however, there is a deliberate use of conventional metaphor-related words from the ANIMAL domain in (9)-(11). The expressions *cockroach* in (9) and (10) and a *plague of locusts* in (11) are signaled by lexical markers *like* and *as*, i.e., direct metaphor signals, which means that they seek to draw the addressee's attention to the cross-domain mappings between the source and target domains.

(9) *Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, the UN high commissioner for human rights, described Europe's response to the crisis as amnesiac and "bewildering". Although he did not mention any British politicians by name, he said the use of terms such as "swarms of refugees" were deeply regrettable. In July, the UK prime minister, David Cameron, referred to migrants in Calais as a "**swarm of people**". (...) He said he had felt compelled to criticise the Sun newspaper this year, after its columnist Katie Hopkins described migrants as "**cockroaches**" because the word was "straight out of the language of [Nazi publisher] Julius Streicher in the 1920s – and of course, Radio [Télévision Libre des] Mille Collines in Rwanda in 1994".* (The Guardian, October 14, 2015)

(10) *These people are living lives that the majority of British residents will find it difficult to imagine. Reading about them might make us more likely to support liberal immigration policies – but then again, it might provoke us to dismiss them as "**cockroaches**", or a "swarm of people", as David Cameron did today.* (The Guardian, July 30, 2015)

(11) *The streets of Cologne were flooded with migrants and asylum seekers, predominantly young Muslim men from North Africa and the Middle East, and they descended on western women **like a plague of locusts**. There were multiple sexual assaults, robberies, alleged rapes and verbal abuse of the worst kind.* (The Daily Express, January 16, 2016)

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[16] For Nazi metaphors, see Musolff (2014a, 2014b).

The basic meaning of *plague* is "any serious disease that spreads quickly to a lot of people and usually ends in death" (Macmillan). In contrast, its contextual meaning refers to "something that is very common and harmful" (Macmillan). The basic meaning of *locust* is "a type of grasshopper that flies over wide areas in very large groups called swarms, often destroying crops" (Macmillan), and the contextual is "any overly abundant and destructive or annoying entity" (www.urbandictionary.com). This expression attempts to change the addressee's perspective on immigrants. By conceptualizing them as locusts, the author tends to emphasize that this insect is "usually solitary, but from time to time there is a population explosion and it migrates in vast swarms which cause extensive damage to vegetation" (Oxford). This means that the author emphasizes that immigrants will inevitably produce some harm. Such metaphors are often used to dehumanize immigrants and conse-quently reduce the addressee's empathy for them.[17] Immigrants are dehu-manized by being conceptualized as lower creatures through the use of met-aphorical lexical units such as the *infestation of pests* in example (7). This con-ventional expression is also signaled with the lexical marker *as if*. All of these examples represent just a few examples found in the corpus that are sig-naled. Such examples belong to the deliberately used metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS.

Immigrants are often presented as a *herd, horde,* or *swarm*, that is, as a group or "a sum of animals" that has its delineated path, metaphorically represented as "*ant road*".

(12) *Effectively one of the world's busiest transport routes is being held to ran-som by a **horde** of aggressive foreigners who have no right even to be in Europe.* (The Daily Express, July 31, 2015)

(13) *To maintain Germany's fundamentally ethical and humane openness to genuine refugees, Merkel has supported a plan that is both ethically and le-gally problematic: **herd** refugees into camps in Greece and then make a "one for one" swap with Syrian refugees in Turkey.* (The Guardian, March 17, 2016)

(14) *Rima and her children joined the **stream** of refugees on what has become known as the "**ant road**", from Turkey to Western Europe.* (The Guardi-an, December 19, 2015)

Furthermore, metaphorical lexical units from different domains are com-bined in (14): *stream* from the WATER domain (used non-deliberately) and *ant road* from the ANIMAL domain. Note that the linguistic expression *stream* is

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[17] See Howarth and Ibrahim (2014: 1) who show how media "deliberately employ techniques to dehumanise and depersonalise news stories in order to cultivate distance between the reader and human subject in newspaper accounts". Dehumanization and depersonalization is dis-cussed by Charteris-Black (2006: 568) as well.

metaphorical, but it is not signaled, and thus, it is not a deliberate metaphor. On the other hand, metaphorical lexical unit *ant road* is signaled with quotation marks and marked as a deliberate metaphor. The phrase *ant road* is conventional in terms that it has already been used in media discourse, for example, to describe traffic jams figuratively. The conceptualization of immigrants as ants emphasizes that they come in large numbers and an organized manner, "in large and highly organized social groups" (Cambridge), as well as that there are no obstacles in their path: the more numerous they are, the faster they arrive. Keeping in mind the path made by ants, the addressee activates a mental image of a column of ants, i.e., their encyclopedic knowledge of the colonies of ants. Other ants always follow the ants that came first, using the same path in the column. Immigration is conceptualized as a long-term process, with an obvious beginning but without a visible end.

Given that the nature of animals is only partly known to humans (Goatly, 2007: 126), they are often perceived as potentially dangerous, aggressive, and characterized by a lack of reason. However, the basic aspects of the ANIMAL concept that are well-known to humans are exploited in the metaphorical conceptualization of a certain version of reality by emphasizing a particular trait of immigrants and concealing another (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011: 1548). This manipulation of concepts opens the possibility for the use of extended metaphor, as in the examples below:

(15) *Ko bajagi, Hrvatska, BiH i Kosovo ne znaju šta su izbeglice, valjda je reka izbeglica ovde **dotekla** iz svemira i **otekla** na razne strane sveta. Kao da su devedesetih i dvehiljaditih iz **eks-jugoslovenskog pakla** bežali samo Srbi. Valja o ovome na vreme misliti, jer, kaže Marfi, kad jednom **pustiš crve iz konzerve**, nikad ih ne možeš sve vratiti u nju.* (Nezavisne novine, September 16, 2015)

'Supposedly, Croatia, BiH and Kosovo do not know what refugees are, I guess the river of refugees flowed in from the space here and flowed out to various parts of the world. It is as if only Serbs escaped from the ex-Yugoslav hell in the 1990s and 2000s. You should think about this in time, because, Murphy says, once you release *the worms from the can*, you can never put them all back in it.'

The idiom *pustiti crve iz konzerve* 'to let worms out of a can' is creatively elaborated in example (15). The author utilizes the encyclopedic knowledge of fishing: once the worms, which serve as bait, are released from the can – it is challenging to return them to the can. The figurative meaning of this idiom is to attempt to solve a problem, only to complicate it unintentionally. It seems that the worms, in this example, are immigrants. Furthermore, several metaphors have been combined in this example – BAD SITUATIONS ARE HELL, IMMIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATER, and IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS. The ex-

pressions *reka* 'river', *dotekla*' flow in', *otekla* 'flow out', *ex-jugoslovenskog pakla* 'ex-Yugoslav hell' are conventional indirect non-deliberate metaphors. The idiom *pustiti crve iz konzerve* is an indirect metaphor at the linguistic level and a conventional metaphor at the conceptual level. However, it is also an example of the creative use of figurative language. It is marked as a deliberate metaphor at the communicative level.

In this case, the rhetorical purpose of using the ANIMAL metaphor is to construct a convincing argument. Only the desired aspects of WORM concept, which the author finds suitable for presenting his opinion and which substantiate his argument, are mapped onto the target domain. The aspects of WORM that are mapped in the conceptualization of IMMIGRANTS AS WORMS are related to size and habitat. A set of elements from the source domain WORM that are mapped onto the target domain IMMIGRANTS includes the following mappings: being small (on a size scale) is mapped onto being insignificant (on a value scale), being placed at the bottom of the food chain is mapped onto being weak and defenseless and the release of worms from an enclosed space from which they crawl out all around is mapped onto the uncontrollable masses of immigrants. Although in B/C/S worm as an animal has positive connotations, as being industrious, diligent, and persistent, the author creatively uses the negative aspects of releasing worms from the can and combines it with other metaphors to achieve their rhetorical goals.

Apart from the dehumanization and argumentation, the deliberate metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS is also used to naturalize the view of immigrants as lower beings. Through a repetitive use, the linguistic metaphors from the ANIMAL domain become widely accepted, a "normal" and "natural" way of describing immigration and, as such, are exploited by almost all media. If the expression *stampede* in example (16) is considered, it can be noticed that the movement of a large group of immigrants is conceptualized as animal-specific movements. The specific metaphor here is HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. The contextual meaning of *stampede* is "a sudden rapid movement or reaction of a mass of people in response to a particular circumstance or stimulus" (Oxford), and its basic meaning is: "a sudden panicked rush of a number of horses, cattle, or other animals" (Oxford).

(16)   *This single A4 piece of paper caused a killer **stampede** of migrants to cross a swollen river which claimed the life of a pregnant woman.* (The Daily Express, March 16, 2016)

The same conceptual framework is identified in the examples (17) and (18) in B/C/S, where a movement of a large group of people is associated with "a fear that overwhelms a herd or a flock of animals and causes a headless escape" (Hrvatski jezični portal) and cannot be controlled:

(17)   *Zemljama koje su se pod sretnim okolnostima izgradile i demokratizirale namijenjen je **izbjeglički tsunami**. Koja je svrha preseljenja naroda Bliskog*

*istoka i sjeverne Afrike? Što je **prekooceanski redatelj** planirao? Teško je to domisliti! Europa je zbunjena. **Na sceni** je **prvi čin** i početak **zapleta**. Pred nama je proljeće. Pred nama su još masovniji **izbjeglički valovi** – pravi **stampedo**. Čelnici Europske unije pozivaju i spremaju se za alternativne mehanizme **obrane**.* (Večernji list, February 28, 2016)

'A refugee *tsunami* is intended for countries that were built and democratized under better circumstances. What is the purpose of relocating the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa? What was *the overseas director* planning? It's hard to imagine! Europe is confused. The *first act* and *t*he beginning of *the plot* are *on the stage*. Spring is ahead of us. We are facing even more massive *waves of refugees* - a real *stampede*. European Union leaders are calling for and preparing for alternative *defense mechanisms*.

(18) *I dozvoljavajući da je panični strah od ljudskog **stampeda** prema svjetioniku civilizacije, navede na njegovo gašenje. Posljedice koga, međutim, neće biti samo zaustavljanje **izbjegličkog talasa**. Nego efekat "**balkanske krčme**". Osnovni smisao i cilj politike nacističke Njemačke bio je proširenje njemačkog životnog prostora (lebensraum). Osnovni cilj savremene Evrope je zaštita evropskog životnog prostora.* (BH Magazin)

'And allowing the panic fear of the human *stampede* towards the beacon of civilization will lead to its extinguishing. The consequences, however, will not be just stopping *the refugee wave*. But the effect of the *"Balkan tavern"*. The basic point and goal of Nazi Germany's policy was to expand the German living space (lebensraum). The main goal of modern Europe is the protection of European living space.'

Both examples contain a combination of metaphorical lexical units belonging to different conceptual metaphors, producing extended metaphors, which are seen as deliberate metaphors in DMT. In (17), there are several metaphorical lexical units of different conceptual metaphors: *stampedo* 'stampede' of the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor; *zaplet* 'plot', *prvi čin* 'the first act', *scena* 'stage', *redatelj* 'director' of the POLITICS IS THEATRE metaphor[18]; *obrane* 'defence' from the IMMIGRATION IS WAR metaphor; *izbjeglički tsunami* 'immigration tsunami', and *izbjeglički valovi* 'immigrant waves' from the IMMIGRATION IS DANGEROUS WATER metaphor.

Example (18) contains the use of non-deliberate metaphors *stampedo* 'stampede' and *izbjeglički talasi* 'immigration waves' in combination with a deliberate metaphor *balkanska krčma* 'the Balkan tavern', which is signaled with quotation marks. The culture-specific phrase *balkanska krčma* implies "a state of primitive and unsophisticated circumstances in public life" (Hrvat-

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[18] See Stanojević (2009, 2013) and Blackbourn (1987), who describe how theatre is used as a metaphor for contemporary political topics.

ski jezični portal) and is inspired by Krleža's[19] aphorism: "When lights are turned off in the Balkan tavern, then knives glow." In this example, the author fears that Europe, which he considers to be "a beacon of civilization" [20], will become a haunted "Balkan tavern" without morals, rules, order, and peace – just like in Krleža's drunken Balkan tavern. By contrasting these two images of "Europe as a beacon of civilization" and "the Balkan tavern", the author appeals to the addressee's emotions by convincing them that his fear of extinguishing the beacon of civilization, as well as of the immigration process in general, is justified and consequences are inevitable ("the Balkan tavern effect"). Combining metaphorical lexical units from the same source domain into metaphorical chains, as well as combining metaphorical lexical units from different source domains in a single text creates extended metaphors and may serve different rhetorical purposes.

When it comes to the conceptualization of immigrants in the European migrant crisis, metaphorical lexical units like *ant road, stampede, swarm, flock, jungle, herd, horde, guinea pigs, locusts, ant, stampedo* 'stempede', *roj* 'swarm', *životinje* 'animals', *džungla* 'jungle' are conventional, deeply entrenched ways of talking, and thinking, about immigrants. Their rhetorical purpose is to naturalize a worldview in which immigrants are less valuable than humans. On the other hand, the word *bubašvabe* 'cockroaches' identified in (19) is a novel lexical unit in B/C/S, i.e., its contextual meaning is not listed in the dictionaries. As already mentioned, in DMT novel metaphors are seen as deliberate metaphors.

(19)   *Za Katie Hopkins, kolumnistkinju londonskog tabloida Sun, arapsko-afričke izbjeglice su "**bubašvabe** koje se šire kao **smrtonosni virus**". Prema takvim i sličnim stereotipima, ti ljudi "smrde", njihova religija, kultura i običaji su drugačiji, pa je strah od njihovog prisustva opravdan.* (Oslobođenje, August 27, 2015)

'For Katie Hopkins, a columnist for the London tabloid Sun, Arab-African refugees are "*cockroaches* that spread like *a deadly virus*." According to such and similar stereotypes, these people "stink", their religion, culture and customs are different, so the fear of their presence is justified.'

This deliberate metaphor *bubašvabe* entered newspaper articles on the European migrant crisis in B/C/S as a translational equivalent of *cockroaches* used originally by British journalist Katie Hopkins in her column published in the Sun in April 2015. The column itself is included in the English subcorpus

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[19] Miroslav Krleža was a Croatian writer and a prominent figure in the cultural life of Yugoslavia. He has often been proclaimed the greatest Croatian writer of the 20th century and beyond.

[20] Figuratively speaking, the phrase *beacon of civilization* refers to "a person or thing that serves as a guide, inspiration, or warning" (Collins).

used in this paper. The metaphorical use of *cockroach/ bubašvaba* in public discussions was used in texts that condemn as well as those that justify Hopkins's statement in both discourse communities. In addition to *cockroach*, the expression *a swarm of people* was also used in newspaper articles in British newspapers when quoting and referencing a statement by British Prime Minister David Cameron in which he called immigrants „*swarm of people*" in (8).[21] The use of *swarm/ roj* has very similar, if not the same, dehumanizing implications as *cockroaches/bubašvabe*.

Furthermore, the author of the text in (20) extends the ANIMAL metaphor creatively by first introducing the ANIMAL source domain through Aesop's fable "the Hares and the Frogs" in the first part of the text and then moves on to describing the attitudes towards immigrants by extending the metaphorical comparison between the hares and frogs from the fable and the human hares and frogs in the contemporary societies.[22] This deliberate metaphor extends throughout the text, directing the addressee to intentionally think of immigrants in terms of the hares and frogs.

(20) *Prvi impuls prati donekle osavremenjen obrazac skiciran još u Ezopovoj basni o zečevima i žabama. Druge životinje su toliko proganjale zečeve da oni više nisu znali šta da rade. Čim bi primetili da se neka životinja približava, davali su se u beg. Jednog dana pored njih je protrčalo krdo konja i uspaničeni zečevi su pobegli na obližnje jezero, u nameri da se tamo utope, jer im je bilo dosta života u strahu. Kada su se približili obali jezera, uplašene žabe su poskakale u vodu. "Ipak nije sve tako crno kao što izgleda", reče jedan od zečeva. Nema potrebe da se bira smrt umesto života. Naravoučenije Ezopove priče je jednostavno: zadovoljstvo koje je zec osetio bilo je olakšanje, dobrodošao predah od svakodnevnog proganjanja i života u strahu, proizvedeno saznanjem da uvek ima nekoga čiji je život još teži. U našem društvu ima mnogo **zečeva** koje „druge životinje proganjaju", baš kao one iz Ezopove basne; već nekoliko decenija njihov broj raste, reklo bi se nezaustavljivo. Žive u bedi, poniženju i sramoti usred društva koje ih odbacuje, dok se hvali slikama neviđene raskoši i obilja; **životinje** koje proganjaju naše **zečeve** su drugi ljudi, vređaju **ih** po-*

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[21] The allusion to the originally used metaphor, as well as its negotiation and reinterpretation in specific contexts or across contexts, can be characterized, as what Semino et al. (2013) call, recontextualization. For similar studies of figurative creativity in (political) discourse, see Berberović (2013), and Berberović and Delibegović Džanić (2011, 2012). Interestingly no alternative metaphors to these dehumanizing metaphors were found in the corpus. For alternative metaphors, see Kövecses (2010).

[22] This text is an extract from the essay written by Zygmunt Bauman entitled "The Migration Panic and Its (Mis)uses" and published in English on the 17th December 2015 at https://www.socialeurope.eu. The corpus contains its translation into B/C/S but not the original text in English. The translation provided here is not taken from the original English version. However, it is a translation of the B/C/S version because the translator adjusted the text to B/C/S and, along with that, added certain metaphors not present in the original text, e.g., the HELL metaphor.

ricanjem vrednosti i uskraćivanjem poštovanja – a sud sopstvene savesti ih cenzuriše, unižava i ismeva zbog očigledne neposobnosti da dostignu druge. U svetu u kojem se od svakoga očekuje da „stvori sebe", takvi **ljudski zečevi** *kojima su uskraćeni poštovanje, pažnja i priznanje završavaju kao zečevi iz Ezopove basne, bačeni na „dno" pakla – ostavljeni tamo bez nade i obećanja mogućeg iskupljenja ili spasa. Za izopštenike koji slute da su dotakli dno, ot-kriće da postoji još jedan sprat ispod onog na kom su završili pravi je melem za dušu, saznanje koje im vraća ljudsko dostojanstvo i čuva ono malo samo-poštovanja koje im je ostalo. Prispeće nepregledne mase migranata beskućnika kojima su ljudska prava oduzeta ne samo u praksi nego i slovom zakona do-nosi (retku) priliku za takav događaj. Time se mogu objasniti podudaranja perioda masovne migracije i uspona ksenofobije, rasizma i šovinističkog naci-onalizma, kao i zapanjujući istorijski uspesi ksenofobnih, rasističkih, šovinis-tičkih partija i pokreta i njihovih militantnih lidera. […] Imigranti su ono skriveno dno ispod dna koje su tražili – podzemlje ispod podzemlja na koje su domaći „jadnici" osuđeni, prizor koji im pomaže da sopstvenu sudbinu ne doživljavaju više kao apsolutno ponižavajuću, gorku, neprihvatljivu i nepod-nošljivu.* (Buka, January 24, 2016)

'The first impulse follows a somewhat modernized pattern sketched in Aesop's fable about the hares and the frogs. Other animals chased the hares so much that they no longer knew what to do. As soon as they noticed an animal approaching, they fled. One day, a herd of horses ran past them, and the hares in panic fled to a nearby lake, in-tending to drown there because they had had enough of living in fear. As they approached the shore of the lake, the frightened frogs jumped into the water. "It is not as black as it looks, though," said one of the hares. There is no need to choose death instead of life. The moral of Aesop's story is simple: the pleasure the hare felt was a relief, a de-served break from daily persecution, and a life of fear produced by the knowledge that there is always someone whose life is even harder. There are *many hares* in our society that are "chased by *other animals,*" just *like* those in Aesop's fable; their number has been growing for several decades, it could be said, unstoppably. They live in misery, humiliation, and shame in a society that rejects them while boasting of images of unseen opulence and abundance; *the animals* that chase *our hares* are other people, insulting them by denying values and denying *them* respect - and their conscience censors, humiliates and ridicules *them* for their apparent inability to reach others. In a world where eve-ryone is expected to "create themselves," such *human hares* who are denied respect, attention, and recognition end up as hares in Aesop's fable, thrown to the "bottom" of hell — left there without hope and promises of possible redemption or salvation. For outcasts who sus-pect they have reached the bottom, the discovery that there is another

floor below where they ended up is a real balm to the soul, a knowledge that restores their human dignity and preserves what little self-respect they have left. The arrival of endless masses of homeless migrants whose human rights have been taken away not only in practice but also in the letter of the law brings a (rare) opportunity for such an event. This may explain the coincidences of periods of mass migration and the rise of xenophobia, racism, and chauvinist nationalism, as well as the astonishing historical successes of xenophobic, racist, chauvinist parties and movements and their militant leaders. […] Immigrants are the hidden bottom beneath the bottom they sought - the underworld beneath the underworld to which the domestic "poor" are doomed, a sight that helps them no longer perceive their destiny as absolutely humiliating, bitter, unacceptable and unbearable.'

As already mentioned, in the first part of the text, the author invites the addressee to think of the ANIMAL source domain by mentioning Aesop's fable. That part of the text has features of a typical fable, in which the characters have anthropomorphic characteristics, and which illustrates a particular moral lesson. In the fable about "the Hares and the Frogs," the moral is, *However unfortunate we may think we are there is always someone worse off than ourselves*, as the author points out in the text as well. In the second part of the text, the author consciously transfers the focus to the issue of the immigration process by saying, "There are *many hares* in our society that are "chased by *other animals*," just *like* those in Aesop's fable". The author makes the addressee view immigration in terms of animals from the fable, intentionally changing their perspective on the issue of immigration and society in general. This part of the text contains the signals for the deliberate metaphor use, quotation marks, and the lexical signal *like*, which introduces the metaphorical comparison extending throughout the text.

This text metaphorically depicts a particular hierarchy in society. There are "human animals," which are a metaphorical representation of the powerful and elite of a given society, and "hares" representing the oppressed, impoverished, disempowered and unhappy layer of that society. These metaphorical hares live in hell, fear, and misery, oppressed by "other animals." Throughout the text, the author uses the metaphorical lexical units from the ANIMAL source domain and lexical signals, reminding the addressee to think about the society in terms of the characters from Aesop's fable. This vivid metaphorical representation of the society is also reinforced by the use of the HELL metaphor. The metaphorical lexical unit *bačeni na "dno" pakla* 'thrown to the "bottom" of hell' is signaled by quotation marks, which indicates its deliberate use to change the addressee's perspective on the subject. The HELL metaphor is further elaborated through the use of expressions that imply

hell, circles (in this case *floors*) of hell, and *purgatory*. These expressions refer to redemption, doom, outcasts, reaching the bottom beneath the bottom, and an underworld beneath the underworld.

By using this extended, and thus deliberate, metaphor, the author creates a narrative in which dissatisfied citizens (*human hares*) can be comforted when they see immigrants (*frogs*) because things are not as bad as they can be and as they are to others (*frogs*). According to the moral of the fable, there is always someone who is in a more difficult situation, which is always comforting to those one step higher on the social ladder. The author of the article creatively extends and deliberately uses the ANIMAL metaphor to provide a new perspective on different aspects of the topic to the addressees.

5. Conclusion

Using the corpus of media articles in English and B/C/S, this study identifies metaphorical lexical units related to immigrants or immigration in general. The paper focuses on the ANIMAL source domain, as well as three dimensions of metaphor, namely, the linguistic dimension of (in)directness, the conceptual parameter of conventionality, and the communicative dimension of (non)deliberateness. The use of the ANIMAL metaphor as a deliberate metaphor in the immigration is examined in order to determine to what extent and in which situations the authors of the text tend to divert the addressee's attention to viewing immigration in terms of animals and achieve different rhetorical goals.

Following MIPVU, the lexical metaphor is categorized into direct, indirect, and implicit metaphors at the linguistic level. After contrasting the basic and contextual meanings of metaphorical lexical units, they were classified into conventional and novel metaphorical lexical units, which revealed which naturalized and deeply entrenched metaphors the authors tend to use, as well as in which cases they employ novel metaphors. At the communicative level, examples of (non)deliberate use of metaphors in media discourse were identified to determine in which cases and in which way the authors want to deliberately change the addressee's perspective on an important issue such as immigration.

As far as the use of the ANIMAL metaphor as a deliberate metaphor in the immigration discourse is concerned, the findings in our paper show that deliberate metaphor comes in distinct linguistic forms at the linguistic level and conceptual structures at the conceptual level. The analysis reveals that not all expressions from the ANIMAL domain are used deliberately. The examples such as *stampedo* 'stampede', *herd*, *horde*, and *skakavac* 'locust' are the examples of non-deliberate metaphor use. The examples that are signaled as deliberate are evidence of the diversity of metaphors concerning the criteria

of (in)directness, conventionality, and (non)deliberateness. There are also the examples of direct metaphors that are automatically deliberate such as *bubašvabe/ cockroaches and a plague of locusts*, as well as the examples of indirect conventional metaphors signaled with quotation marks such as *jungle/džungla*, *swarm/roj, ant road*. Furthermore, the examples of extended metaphorical comparisons stretching within paragraphs or between them exemplified in the paper is yet another form of the deliberate use of metaphor in immigration discourse. In the media discourse in both English and B/C/S, indirect and conventional metaphors about immigration are used deliberately in two ways: a conventional indirect expression is signaled by quotation marks, or the extended metaphor including a combination of linguistic metaphor from the same or different metaphors is used. Indirect and conventional metaphors can be different linguistic forms or cognitive structures (i.e., these can be more or less extended). They are marked as deliberate metaphors if they perform a specific communicative function of changing the addressee's perspective in discourse. Regardless of the form of deliberate metaphors, by using them, the media support their claims that immigrants do not fit into our world and that immigration, in general, is a negative phenomenon and a problem for our society.

Furthermore, the analysis reveals that the British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian media discourse on the European migrant crisis is dominated by conventional metaphors. This can be attributed to the fact that novel metaphors involve the use of new linguistic expressions at the linguistic level and cognitive structures at the conceptual level, which is inconsistent with the persuasive function of deliberate metaphor in the media discourse on the European migrant crisis. Therefore, most of the linguistic metaphors from the ANIMAL domain are conventional. There is one novel expression in the corpus *bubašvabe/cockroaches*, which is marked as a deliberate metaphor. What is specific about these conventional, and naturalized, metaphors is that they are rarely challenged or attempted to be refuted. This claim is supported by the fact that no form of alternative metaphor from the ANIMAL domain was recorded in the corpus with a total of 247,912 words. Given that Bosnian-Herzegovinian society had a recent experience with displacement and immigration due to the 1992-1995 war, it is surprising that the pejorative metaphor IMMIGRANT AS AN ANIMAL is among the most frequent metaphors in B/C/S subcorpus. However, it turns out that this metaphor is significantly less represented in numbers than in the English subcorpus; there are 25 linguistic metaphors in B/C/S and 69 in English.

As the analysis shows, immigrants are negatively conceptualized via the IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS metaphor and dehumanized through the use of particular aspects of the ANIMAL domain. Thus, the use of this deliberate metaphor in the media discourse has specific implications. As the examples

discussed illustrate, the deliberate metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS has a complex rhetorical function in media discourse. It is used for dehumanizing and depersonalizing immigrants and naturalizing the view of immigrants as inferior beings, for persuasion, as well as for constructing (more) credible argumentation and for supporting certain ideologies. In this regard, the paper described the ideological implications of the ANIMAL metaphor and its persuasive function of achieving the desired rhetorical effect on the addressee in the media discourse about immigration. Given that alternative metaphors, which would oppose the established conceptual framework with negative connotations, were not identified in the corpus, it is believed that the analyzed metaphors in both English and B/C/S serve chiefly as an ideological tool to promote anti-immigrant ideology in media discourse on the European migrant crisis.

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