

The MIGRATION AS AN INVASION and THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE metaphors in media discourse

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Abstract

The article discusses figurative use of expressions from the domains of INVASION and HOUSE in media discourse on the European migrant crisis. The conceptual metaphors MIGRATION AS AN INVASION and the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE, which are inextricably related in the segments of the real discourse on migration, have strong rhetorical power and serve as a means of promoting antimigrant ideologies. The aim of this paper is to identify the instances of deliberate use of the aforementioned metaphors in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian papers and describe their use in the media with the aim of changing addressees' perspectives on an important issue such as migration.

Key words: Deliberate Metaphor Theory; deliberate metaphor; the MIGRATION AS AN INVASION; THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE; media discourse; immigrant discourse.

1. Introduction

Extensive cognitive-linguistic research reveals that derogative expressions about migration dominate public discourse (cf. Santa Ana, 2002; Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2015, 2011; El Razaie, 2001; Hart, 2013; Mujagić, 2020), where migrants are conceptualized as invaders (Santa Ana, 2002), enemies threatening the safety of the host country (Parker, 2015; Hart, 2010), gangs of illegals (Cunningham-Parmeter, 2011; Hart, 2011a), and a number of other negative determinants (O'Brian, 2003; Cisneros, 2008; Musolff, 2014). These determinants create a metaphorical framework in which migrants are seen as invaders (thus, THE MIGRATION IS AN INVASION metaphor) of a country conceptualized as a house (thus THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE metaphor), creating fertile ground for the emergence of an antimigrant ideology.

In media discourse about the European migrant crisis, the metaphor MIGRATION IS AN INVASION is inextricably linked to the metaphor of the COM-

MON EUROPEAN HOUSE facing this metaphorical invasion. In this regard, the insistence on the use of the metaphor of control and defense is evident in the segments of real discourse. Migrants are presented as antagonists, while the government is presented as a heroic fighter against the amorphous, dangerous mass of creatures which attack the country and are already so successful that it is almost impossible to stop them (Musolff, 2011: 12). This automatically justifies the restrictive migration policy introduced by groups in positions of power. Because of the fear of large numbers of migrants entering the country, citizens become hostile to foreigners, and victims of discrimination become responsible for prejudices against themselves (Wodak, 2001: 75; Hart, 2010: 136). Different groups of foreigners pose a threat not only to 'group identity' (the threat expressed e.g. through the use of 'fertility metaphors', cf. Cunnungham-Parmeter, 2011: 1584), but also to 'group-effectiveness' because of the prevailing stereotypical view that the ideal nation is made up of people of the same race, culture, language and values (Goatly, 2007: 192). Thus, the conceptualization of defense against migrants implies the defense of a culture threatened by destruction through migration (Hart, 2010: 146).

Through the continuous use of the metaphor MIGRATION IS AN INVASION, other aspects of socio-economic reality are ignored, such as the fact that the motives for migration are mostly existential: job search, escape of individuals from aggressors, desire to provide better living conditions and greater opportunities to one's own children, etc. That is why Santa Ana (2002: 70) believes that MIGRATION IS AN INVASION is the least obscure anti-immigrant metaphor in general use due to openly ignoring the previously mentioned real facts and motives.

Relying on Steen's Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT), the paper describes the inextricable use of a metaphorical framework in which migrants are presented as a threat to European stability and unity. The aim is to point out the deliberate use of such figurative language dominating the media and its consequences on the general readership. DMT investigates "how metaphor in language, thought, and communication are related to each other in specific situations of use" (Steen, 2010b: 95), focusing on different aspects of deliberate metaphor use in the discourse, such as the addressee'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). Given that deliberate metaphors carry a strong communicative function of changing the addressee's perspective on an issue, they are often conveniently used in media discourse to promote and emphasize certain derogatory aspects of concepts such as invasion and the Common European House. These strongly influence and shape public atti-

tudes on important social issues such as migration, and have real consequences in terms of our response to migration.

2. Deliberate Metaphor Theory

Deliberate Metaphor Theory founded by Steen (2015, 2010a, 2008) is a theory about the properties of metaphor in language use, which gives us more insight into “moments 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). The general assumption in DMT is that “in any situation of language use, utterances (language) are produced or received by cognizing people (thought) who are jointly aligning in their exchange (communication), whether face to face or across vast amounts of space and time” (Steen, 2017: 4). DMT is seen as an innovative approach to metaphor in terms that “DMT primarily wants to make a contribution: the level where words (in a surface text) activate concepts (in a text base) that may or may not turn into source-domain referents (in a situation model) that are used as perspective changers in a context model” (Steen, 2017: 9).

Thus, Steen (2008: 230) distinguishes three different representations of metaphor: metaphor in language, metaphor in thought, and metaphor in communication. He argues that metaphors in discourse perform the following functions: linguistic, conceptual, and communicative. Accordingly, he (2007, 2008, 2011b) provides the three-dimensional model of metaphor analysis, which implies three levels of metaphor analysis, namely linguistic, conceptual, and communicative levels.

At the linguistic level, DMT investigates linguistic metaphors, i.e. metaphorical linguistic expressions, which are further 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. Indirect metaphors are established by comparing and contrasting the basic and contextual meanings of potentially metaphorical linguistic expressions, whereby analysts rely on dictionaries for the sake of objectivity and reliability. Steen et al. (2010: 45) provide the following example of indirect metaphor use: “Professional religious education teachers like Marjorie B Clark (Points of View, today) are doing *valuable* work in many secondary schools (...)”. 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). Steen (2007: 10–11) argues that 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. One example of direct metaphor use is: "For many years Thompson lived in New York in his apartment at the Chelsea Hotel. From there, *like a buzzard in its eyrie*, he would make forays round the US and abroad (...)" (Steen et al., 2010: 57). Implicit metaphor is "due to the underlying cohesive link (grammatical and/or semantic) in the discourse which points to recoverable metaphorical material" (Steen et al., 2010: 15), as in the case of *it* in "Naturally, to embark on such a *step* is not necessarily to succeed immediately in realising *it*" (Steen et al., 2010: 15) and *should* in "If we agree that in that case women should be *embraced* by the liberty principle then so *should* children" (Herrmann, 2013: 162).

When it comes to the criterion of conventionality, Kövecses (2010: 35) describes it in the form of a graded scale, where there are two opposite extremes on the scale of conventional–novel and different levels of conventionality in the sense that some metaphorical linguistic expressions are evidently clichéd through frequent use. 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.

At the communicative level, DMT focuses on the intentional use of a metaphor *as* a metaphor, i.e. on its deliberate use, and distinguishes between deliberate and (non)deliberate metaphors is made. Steen (2008: 224) sees a deliberate metaphor as "a distinct rhetorical strategy that senders utilize to achieve a specific discourse function by means of a metaphorical comparison", and 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" (Steen, 2008: 222).

DMT relies on a set of protocols for identifying metaphors at the three aforementioned levels of analysis. Steen et al. (2010) developed MIPVU protocol for identifying linguistic metaphors, which then served as a basis for the analysis at a conceptual level, i.e. we determined the conceptual domains these linguistic metaphors belong to. By analyzing metaphor according to the three-dimensional model, we gain knowledge about different features of deliberate metaphor in real discourse, such as using figurative language for addressees' perspective-changing and persuasion in media discourse (Mujagić, 2018; Mujagić & Berberović, 2019), as well as the way deliberate metaphors participate in building different aspects of ideological discourse because they draw attention to the original domain (Steen, 2017: 7). Consideration of the inherent characteristics of deliberate metaphor, such as changing

the addressee's perspective and drawing attention to the original domain, may be characterized as "a novel distinction in metaphor studies, capturing at least some insights in classical rhetoric about differences between classes of metaphor" (Steen, 2017: 7).

The central point of metaphor analysis within DMT is the communicative level, where metaphor is explored in communication. The aim is to reveal "how metaphor in language, thought and communication are related to each other in specific situations of use" (Steen, 2010b: 95). This is exactly the case with our study on the use of the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE and INVASION metaphors in media discourse. This paper is based on DMT because we believe that the model used will give a better interpretation of the results available in the corpus of metaphors about the European migrant crisis.

3. Research methodology

The paper analyses the use of metaphorical linguistic expressions from the INVASION and HOUSE domains in the media discourse on the European Migrant Crisis in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers.¹ We excerpted the articles and columns from British² and Bosnian-Herzegovinian³ newspapers written between August 2015 and March 2016. We applied the MIPVU method (Steen et al. 2010) to the corpus of 247 912 words in total and identified metaphorical linguistic expressions by contrasting their basic and contextual meanings. In order to determine basic and contextual meanings, dictionaries of English⁴ and Bosnian/Croatian⁵ were used. By following the MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010) protocol, the linguistic metaphors, i.e. metaphorical linguistic expressions which belong to the domains of INVASION and HOUSE were first identified. These expressions and their corresponding conceptual domains in both English and B/C/S corpora are outlined in the tables below:

¹ According to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are three official languages of the country - Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian (henceforth, B/C/S). Consequently, the analysis includes texts from several different newspapers published across the country. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a complex media space, where clear and explicit territorial boundaries cannot be drawn regarding the use of one of the three official languages, i.e. it is impossible to determine the area where only one language is explicitly spoken and written. Thus, this paper analyses articles from several newspapers from all around the country.

² *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Express* (126 010 words in total).

³ *Faktor*, *Oslobođenje*, *Dnevni avaz*, *Buka*, *Nezavisne novine*, *Dnevni list*, *BH Dani*, *Večernji list*, *BH Magazin* and *Glas Srpske* (121 902 words in total).

⁴ *Macmillan Dictionary*, *Collins Cobuild Online*, *Oxford Dictionary Online*, and *Cambridge Dictionary Online*

⁵ *Rječnik bosanskog jezika* (Jahić, 2010/2012), *Rječnik bosanskog jezika* (Halilović et al., 2010; Čedić et al. 2007), and the online database www.hjp.znanje.hr.

Table 1: Conceptual domains and the corresponding metaphorical expressions in British newspapers

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical linguistic expressions	Total
MIGRANTS	INVADERS	army (2), marching (1), frontline (1), outpost (1), war zone (1), war-torn (5), launchpad (1), siege (1), invasion (1), explode (1), time bomb (1), fortress (4), brigade (3)	23
A STATE IN WHICH MIGRANTS COME	HOUSE	break into (1), collapse (1), fall apart (1), build (1), doorstep (4), house (1), gates (2), open-door (31), fortress (4), door (1), entering (2)	49
			72

Table 2: Conceptual domains and the corresponding metaphorical expressions in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical linguistic expressions	Total
MIGRANTS	INVADERS	nalet (1), navala (1), Aleksandrova vojska (1), blok (5), udar (1), front (1), odbrana (1), tampon zona (6), borba (1), boriti (1), spavači (2), invazija (2), barbari (1)	24
A STATE IN WHICH MIGRANTS COME	HOUSE	vrata (10), predvorje (1), prag (1), otirač (1), temelji (1), tvrđava (1)	15
			39

We describe⁶ the examples identified in the corpus regarding the criteria of indirectness, conventionality and deliberateness (the so-called Steen's three-dimensional model). At the communicative level of analysis, we applied the IdeM protocol outlined in Krennmayr (2011) in order to determine the instances of deliberate metaphor use.

The sections that follow present the three-dimensional analysis of the identified metaphors at the linguistic, conceptual, and communicative levels. In other words, examples of indirect, direct, and implicit metaphor use are determined. This linguistic-level analysis serves as the basis to determine conventional and novel metaphors from INVASION and HOUSE domains at the conceptual level. Subsequently, we distinguish between deliberate and non-

⁶ For the sake of brevity of this paper, not all identified examples are described individually in the paper, but are included in the statistical overview (Tables 1-8) as to provide accurate data on representation of certain expressions and forms in the corpus.

deliberate metaphor use at the communicative level. The corpus analysis section is followed by the discussion of the issue of metaphor deliberateness, and particularly the deliberate use of the examples from MIGRATION AS INVASION and COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE metaphors from the corpus. A description of the rhetorical potential of these conceptual metaphors and their role in the selected newspaper articles and columns is provided.

4. The corpus analysis

4.1. The linguistic level

At the linguistic level, we present examples of indirect, direct and implicit metaphors identified in the corpus. These are classified following the steps given in Krennmayr (2011: 51–52, 58–60). The tables below provide an overview of linguistic metaphors in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers:

Table 3: An overview of linguistic metaphors in British newspapers

Linguistic level	Examples from British newspapers	Total
Indirect metaphor	collapse (1), falling apart (1), build, doorstep (4), house (1), gates (1), open-door (31), open gates (1), door (1), fortress (4), brigade (3), army (1), „invasion“ (1), marching (1), frontline (1), outpost (1), explode (1), time bomb (1), break into (1), war-torn (5), siege (1), entering (2)	65
Direct metaphor	„looking like an army“; like a war zone	2
Implicit metaphor	<i>it</i> (=a war zone)	1

Table 4: An overview of linguistic metaphors in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers

Linguistic level	Examples from Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspaper	Total
Indirect	„otirač,“ udar, vrata (10), prag, temelj, tvrđava, punkt, borba, bori, pogoditi, blok (5), invazija (2), navala, nalet, front, „spavači“ (2), „(naša) dvorišta“, (<i>Aleksandrova</i>) vojska, odbrana; barbari (1)	35
Direct	kao nekakvo <i>predvorje</i> , čistilište pred „EU rajem“;	1
Implicit		0

Examples (1)–(10) are indirect metaphors at the linguistic level of analysis.⁷ The first step of MIPVU involves determining the contextual meaning of

⁷ For the sake of clarity, other levels of analysis will not be mentioned in this section. E.g. when discussing linguistic level of analysis (that *invasion* in examples 4 and 5 is indirect metaphor),

a given lexical unit. In the context of examples (2) and (3), the expression *gate* refers to “an opening to allow passage into or out of an enclosed place” (*Collins*), and *break into* (1) refers to “enter (a house, etc.) illegally, esp by force” (*Collins*). In the context of the European migrant crisis, the use of *break into* implies a forcible entry into the country, in our case, to the UK. The second step involves checking the basic meaning in dictionaries. The basic meaning of the expression *gate* is “a door in a fence or wall that you go through to enter or leave a place” (*Macmillan*). The basic meaning of *to break into* is “to force your way into sth” (*Cambridge*), and the *Oxford Dictionary* emphasises that someone breaks in “forcibly, especially for the purposes of theft”. The European countries to which migrants come are conceptualized as a house, i.e. Europe is conceptualized as a common home (cf. Musolff, 2000; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993) that migrants – figuratively speaking – try to break into. In this regard, we talk about the so-called *home invasion* in terms of violating security and privacy.

- (1) *Conservative MP Philip Hollobone said: “Instead of being stopped in the first EU country they enter, illegal migrants are being allowed to wander through the Schengen area until they regroup at Calais ready to try to break into Britain. (The Daily Express, March 23, 2016)*
- (2) *The men pulling down the gate want to enter Europe’s house. (The Guardian, March 3, 2016)*
- (3) *The imagery the headlines evoke is of primitive, uncontrolled brutes – of the barbarians at the gates, as they try to gain entry to the UK. (The Guardian, March 7, 2016)*

When annotating the noun *invasion* (4), the first step of the protocol for the identification of an indirect metaphor involves determining the contextual meaning of a given lexical unit: “(...) a situation in which a large number of people or things come to a place at the same time, especially in an annoying way” (*Macmillan*). The second step involves checking the basic meaning in relevant dictionaries. The basic meaning of *invasion* is “an occasion when one country’s army goes into another country to take control of it by force” (*Macmillan*). The third step requires us to determine whether the basic meaning of a lexical unit is sufficiently different from the contextual meaning. The basic meaning of *invasion* indicates that it is a noun from the domain of WAR – it is part of military terminology and represents a hostile intrusion/ invasion of an army into another country. The contextual meaning does not necessarily imply a literal war environment, but the unwanted arrival of a

the conceptual and communicative levels will not be discussed (*invasion* is conventional at the conceptual and deliberate metaphor at the communicative level). These levels will be described in the subsequent sections. This information will jointly be addressed in the section 'Discussion', though.

group of people in general, and in this sense differs from the basic one. However, in order for an expression to be labeled as metaphorical, the contextual meaning of the lexical unit must be related to the basic meaning by some similarity (the fourth step of the protocol). In our example, what the contextual and basic meanings have in common is that both meanings refer to: 1. a group of people with the same goal – the army with the goal of performing a military task and migrants with the goal of reaching the desired location; 2. a large group of people coming to a place that belongs to somebody else and staying there; 3. occupying the property and homes of the residents in that place; and 4. possible ruthlessness in their actions.

Seen from the perspective of a population from the country ‘under attack’, both the invasion by war and the arrival of migrants are two undesired acts. This is indicated by the phrase *in an annoying way* found in the definition of the contextual meaning, as well as the phrase *by force* within the basic meaning. Given this, we determine that the expression *invasion* belongs to the domain of WAR rather than the HOUSE, first of all, because the compound *home invasion* as such was not identified in the corpus.⁸ Therefore, we analyse the metaphors of MIGRATION AS AN INVASION and the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE as separate but inextricable metaphors interwoven in newspaper texts. The HOUSE metaphor implies that there is a sovereign owner – which in our case of the conceptualization of Europe as a house, means that its inhabitants, who are residents by birth, are ‘sovereign owners’, and that the unauthorized and unwanted arrival of others (in our case, migrants) who do not have citizenship status is considered an invasion of the HOUSE.

- (4) *The declaration produced after the meeting yesterday branded the refugee crisis an illegal migration issue, cynically ignoring the suffering of hundreds of thousand of people escaping war. Consider for a minute the “invasion” these leaders are moving against. Figures show 34% of refugees are children, thousands of them unaccompanied. Another 20% are women. The vast majority of these people are families fleeing conflict. (The Guardian, March 25, 2016)*
- (5) *Konzervativcima u Poljskoj antimigrantski stavovi također donose popularnost, a na takvo razmišljanje svojih sunarodnjaka računa i slovački premijer Robert Fico, koji je, između ostalog, izjavio da oni ne žele Arape u Slovačkoj. Nacionalistički Nacionalni front u Francuskoj također iz ove situacije očekuje korist, na osnovu stavova poput onih kao kod njihove liderke Marine Le Pen, da je priliv izbjeglica u Evropu “invazija barbara”. Ovakva “antiizbjeglička”*

⁸ Macmillan defines *home invasion* as “the crime of entering a dwelling and committing or with intent to commit a crime (as assault) while armed and while another is lawfully present”, and the same meaning is provided by Collins and Oxford. Thus, *invasion* is not analysed as part of the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE, but MIGRATION AS INVASION framework, which includes many other expressions from war terminology (see Tables 1 and 2).

retorika, ali i poduzete mjere, donosi rezultat i u Austriji, Holandiji, Danskoj i Švedskoj... (Faktor, March 15, 2016)

‘Conservatives in Poland are also gaining popularity with anti-immigrant views, and Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico is counting on such thinking of his compatriots, saying, among other things, that they do not want Arabs in Slovakia. The nationalist National Front in France also expects to benefit from this situation, based on views such as those of their leader, Marine Le Pen, that the *influx* of refugees into Europe is an “*invasion of barbarians*”. Such “anti-refugee” rhetoric, but also the measures taken, bring results in Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden...’

The COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE metaphor is used in the context of migration discourse when talking about the relationship between ‘householders’ and ‘newcomers/outsideers.’ In this regard, there is a conceptualization of the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE (*Europe’s house* in example 2) with barbarians (5) at its door (*gates* in 2 and 3). Furthermore, Europe is spoken of as a common house, i.e. the home of its inhabitants, through the use of metaphorical linguistic expressions *door* (9), *house* (2), *gates* (2, 3), *vrata* (6, 10), *kućni prag* (7), *krhki temelji* (14), and *otirač* (13).

- (6) *Orepić je kazao da Makedoniji, koja predstavlja trenutno “vrata Europe”, treba pomoći u procesu profilacije migranata.* (Dnevni list)
‘Orepić said Macedonia, which is currently the “*gateway* to Europe”, needs help in the process of profiling migrants.’
- (7) *U direktnom TV prenosu sveopšte kataklizme utapanja u moru, gušenja u kamionima, pa onda bodljikave žice, šok-bombe, dimne bombe, pendreci, jauci, iscrpljena djeca... To šokirana, nemoćna i sluđena Evropa dočekuje stotine hiljada izbjeglica. Jer, dok se Evropa bavila Grčkom i Sirizom, Sirija i Levant su joj stigli do kućnog praga.* (Glas Srpske, September 17, 2015)
‘In live TV broadcast, there are general cataclysms of drowning in the sea, suffocation in trucks, and then barbed wires, shock bombs, smoke bombs, batons, moans, exhausted children... It is how shocked, helpless and mad Europe welcomes hundreds of thousands of refugees. Because, while Europe was dealing with Greece and Syriza, Syria and the Levant reached her *doorstep*.’

This metaphorical attack is already underway, i.e. an army of migrants (*a vast army* in the example below) is already entering Europe.

- (8) *But as the Barci case shows we now have a vast army of foreign freeloaders who have never paid a penny in taxes to Britain.* (The Daily Express, May 23, 2016)

Due to the constant insistence on the scenario of Europe being under the onslaught of barbarians, the so-called closed-door policy is promoted to

preserve cultural hegemony, economy, national interests, etc. The lenient migration policies are criticized, as well as the decisions of (more liberal) politicians in power:

- (9) *The state of Bavaria is threatening to challenge Angela Merkel's open door refugee policy in Germany's highest court, its leader said on Friday, at the same time as he announced a four-year plan to integrate the tens of thousands who are already in the state. Horst Seehofer of the Christian Social Union, the Bavarian sister party of Merkel's Christian Democrats, said he was prepared to take his case before the constitutional court in Karlsruhe if the chancellor failed to limit the number of refugees **entering** Germany.* (The Guardian, October 9, 2015)
- (10) *Liberalna levica je zgrožena nad činjenicom da Evropa dopušta da hiljade izbeglica završavaju kao utopljenici u Mediteranu: Evropa, smatraju oni, treba da pokaže solidarnost i širom **otvori vrata**.* (BH Magazin)
'The Liberal Left is appalled by the fact that Europe allows thousands of refugees to end up drowned in the Mediterranean: Europe, they believe, should show solidarity and **open its doors** wide.'

The contextual meaning of *open-door* is "free and unrestricted admission" (Collins), or more precisely, "allowing people and goods to come freely into a place or country" (Cambridge), while its basic meaning is more related to the basic meaning of the noun *door*, i.e. the separate dictionary entry "A door is the space in a wall when a door is open" (Collins), referring to the literal position of the door creating an open space for entering/leaving a room or a house. In the context of our texts on migration, it is perceived as an example of the metaphorical use of the expression from HOUSE domain.

The same conceptual framework is identified in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspaper, where the identification of indirect metaphors is conducted in the same way as with (the abovementioned) expressions from British texts.⁹ For example, in (6) and (10) we contrasted the basic and contextual meaning of *vrata* (English: door), which – in the context of migration discourse – symbolizes a place or point at the border where migrants could be allowed or denied entry into Europe, which is conceptualized as a COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE.

All the examples provided so far are indirect metaphors. Previous studies have shown that indirect metaphors make up 98% of all metaphors in natural discourse (Steen et al. 2010, Steen 2009a: 185). Our research showed that indirect metaphors are the most numerous in our corpus (94.9%). Still, recent metaphor research within DMT (Steen, 2011a, 2011b, 2010a, 2009b) most often focuses on direct metaphors because they are (most often) more crea-

⁹ For more details on applying MIPVU in Serbian see Bogetić et al. (2019), and for B/C/S see Mujagić (2022).

tive and automatically deliberate. This does not mean, however, that indirect metaphor is irrelevant and does not reveal certain features of our cognitive system or that it does not help us understand metaphor in thought and the way we experience the world around us. Indirect metaphors imply the indirect use of language when we talk about one concept using another, i.e. when we try to conceptualize one phenomenon using another. 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.

In direct metaphors, the mapping between domains is manifested through the direct use of metaphorical linguistic expressions. The protocol for the identification of direct metaphors, listed in Krennmayr (2011: 58–59), was applied to the examples from the corpus, and the use of different signals for direct metaphors was noted. The lexical marker *like*, which is mentioned in the literature as the most common signal for direct metaphors (Steen et al., 2010: 40–41, Krennmayr, 2011: 60–61), is also the most frequent signal in our corpus in English:

- (11) *Hungary's prime minister Viktor Orban has described the refugees entering Europe as "looking like an army" as he defended his hardline stance against migrants. Speaking at a gathering in Madrid of conservative parties from across the continent, Orban said: "What he [sic] have been facing is not a refugee crisis. This is a migratory movement composed of economic migrants, refugees and also foreign fighters. This is an uncontrolled and unregulated process," he told the European People's party congress. (The Guardian, October 22, 2015)*

Although indirect metaphor is more frequent in the language in use, direct metaphor attracts the attention of an addressee primarily because it is preceded by a signal for the direct use of metaphorical language. The function of the direct metaphor signal is to draw the addressee's attention to the mappings between domains. As shown in (11) and (12), these signals draw the addressee's attention to negatively connoted metaphorical linguistic expressions about migrants and migration in general.

Example (12) in which the pronoun *it* refers to the metaphorically used compound *war zone* is an interesting combination of the use of direct and implicit metaphor in the same sentence; *like a war zone* is a direct metaphor of *A is like B* structure, while *it* (highlighted in the example below) refers to the metaphorical expression *war zone* and is an example of implicit metaphor:

- (12) *The driver said he had been in a queue of traffic moving into the port when men on the road started throwing stones at all the lorries. "You feel very angry, helpless, and disappointed with the situation but cannot do anything about this. I have never seen as many immigrants on the roads before, trying to cause trouble. This will not end any time soon, it's like a war zone and*

needs the army in to help control it. I do not want to be using the Calais port when heading back into the UK.” (The Guardian, December 18, 2015)

In the electronic version of the texts, we searched for pronouns (*they, them, themselves, it, its, etc.*) and determined whether they semantically refer to the metaphorically used words that we identified in a sentence or paragraph. In other words, the first step was to determine whether a particular functional word (belonging to a closed word class, e.g. the pronoun *it*) is used as a cohesive device in a text, semantically referring to a full lexical word in that segment of discourse. The second step of the analysis is to determine whether this lexical word is metaphorical. If we get an affirmative answer, we label *it* as an implicit metaphor. Implicit metaphors (in our case the pronoun *it*) are marked as metaphorical because of the semantic connection with linguistic expressions that were previously marked as metaphorical (in our example, a direct metaphor *like a war zone*).

After analyzing the three types of linguistic metaphor, it is apparent that the most frequent are indirect metaphors, which shape our perception of an issue in a covert but not harmless manner. Direct metaphors, on the other hand, are overt and more striking. Implicit metaphors are a result of textual cohesion and as it turns out, are quite rare – we identified only 1 implicit metaphor in British (12), and none in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers.

4.2. The conceptual level

The table below gives an overview of the conventional and novel metaphorical linguistic expressions from the domains of HOUSE and INVASION in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers, respectively:

Table 5: An overview of conceptual metaphors in British newspapers

Conceptual level	Examples from British newspapers	Total
Conventional metaphor	collapse, falling apart, build, doorstep (4), house, gates, open-door (31), open gates, door, fortress (4), brigade (3), army (2), “invasion”, marching, front-line, outpost, explode, time bomb, break into, war-torn (5), siege, war zone, entering (2)	67
Novel metaphor		0

Table 6: An overview of conceptual metaphors in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers

Conceptual level	Examples from Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers	Total
Conventional metaphor	udar, vrata (10), prag, temelj, tvrđava, punkt, borba, bori, pogoditi, blok (5), invazija (2), navala, nalet, front, „spavači“ (2), „(naša) dvorišta“, (Aleksandrova) vojska, odbrana, barbari (1) tretirajući izbeglice kao vrele krompire	35
Novel metaphor	„otirač“; kao nekakvo predvorje, čistilište pred EU rajem;	2

The conceptual level of the three-dimensional analysis refers to identifying conventional and novel metaphors in discourse. We identified metaphorical linguistic expressions which belong to the conventional conceptual metaphor COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE that are clichéd through frequent use, such as *vrata* ‘door’ in our examples (6), (10), *prag* ‘doorstep’ (7), and *temelj* ‘foundation’ (14) – unlike the novel metaphorical linguistic expression *otirač* ‘doormat’ (13):

- (13) *Ravnatelj slovenske obavještajne službe SOVA Zoran Klemenčič zaniijekao je međutim tvrdnje oporbenih članova odbora kako se Europi približava skoro 400 000 novih izbjeglica i migranata koji će proći kroz malu Sloveniju koja postaje "otirač EU-a".* (Oslobođenje)

‘However, Zoran Klemenčič, the director of the Slovenian intelligence service SOVA, denied the opposing committee members’ claims that almost 400,000 new refugees and migrants are approaching Europe, and will pass through the small country of Slovenia, which is becoming an "EU doormat".’

- (14) *Migrantska kriza već ozbiljno potresa krhke temelje Europske unije, a čini se da će i zemlje kandidate za članstvo sve više navoditi na razmišljanje o tome vrijedi li uopće postati član takvog kluba.* (Nezavisne novine, August 24, 2015)

‘The migrant crisis is already seriously shaking the *fragile foundations* of the European Union, and it seems that it will make the candidate countries increasingly think about whether it is worth becoming a member of such a club at all.’

Consider the basic meaning of *temelj* ‘foundation’ “donji dio građevine koji prenosi opterećenja na tlo” (Hrvatski jezični portal)¹⁰ ‘lower part of the building that transfers the structural load to the ground’ from example (13), and the basic meaning of *vrata* ‘door’ “otvor u zidu, zgrade, odaje, na odaji

¹⁰ Henceforth HJP.

kroz koji se prolazi" (Čedić et al., 2007) 'opening in the wall, buildings, chambers, in the room through which one can pass through' from (6) and (10), as well as their contextual meanings ("ono što je bitno, ono na čemu se nešto zasniva, ono na čemu se dalje gradi, na čemu sve počiva" (HJP) 'something important, something that sth is based on, something that sth is further built on, something on which everything rests', i.e. "passage, either which way in or out" (Collins). Given that both the basic and contextual meanings of these expressions are listed in dictionaries, these are marked as conventional. For the expression *otirač* 'doormat', on the other hand, we have identified only the basic meaning "komad čvrste prostirke ispred vrata" (Čedić et al., 2007) 'a piece of solid rug in front of a door', which means that the expression is unconventional in the context of use in migration discourse. Thus, aspects of the HOUSE domain that are not usually exploited in metaphorical mappings serve as a particular conceptual material that contributes to the creation of new, innovative metaphorical expressions. There is a controversy in the media about whether migrants coming to Europe should be welcomed, i.e. if the doors to the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE should be open to them, which is evident from the context of (9) and (10). The metaphorical expression *vrata* in the aforementioned examples is conventional and therefore clichéd, while *otirač* (13) is a new metaphorical expression in terms of its use within the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE in the context of migration discourse.

Therefore, conventional metaphors are "deeply entrenched ways of thinking about or understanding an abstract domain, while conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions are well worn, clichéd ways of talking about abstract domains" (Kövecses, 2010: 34). On the other hand, novel metaphorical linguistic expressions are those whose contextual meanings are not listed in dictionaries. These are innovative and unconventional. In the case of our example (13), the expression *otirač* 'doormat' is unconventional, but its corresponding conceptual domain (HOUSE) is conventional.

Please note that we distinguish between conventional and novel metaphorical linguistic expressions (linguistic metaphors) on the one hand, and conventional and novel exploitation of domains (conceptual metaphors) on the other. Consequently, the criterion of conventionality is applied at both linguistic and conceptual levels of the three-dimensional model of analysis. Thus, we have the division into conventional and novel linguistic expressions and conventional and novel domains. The Tables 5 and 6 offer an overview of conventional and novel linguistic expressions which belong to the conventional conceptual metaphors MIGRATION AS AN INVASION and the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE.

4.3. The communicative level

The table below gives an overview of (non-)deliberately used metaphorical linguistic expressions from the domains of HOUSE and INVASION in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers, respectively:

Table 7. An overview of (non-)deliberate metaphors in British newspapers

Communicative level	Examples from British newspapers	Total
deliberate metaphor	“open door”, „fortress Europe” (1), “looking like an army”; „invasion”; like a war zone	8
non-deliberate metaphor	collapse, falling apart, build, doorstep (4), house, gates, open-door (30), open gates, door, brigade (3), army, marching, frontline, outpost, explode, time bomb, break into, entering (2)	59

Table 8: An overview of (non-)deliberate metaphors in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers

Communicative level	Examples from Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers	Total
deliberate	A) quotation marks (9 examples) „invazija barbara”; „spavači” (2), „(naša) dvorišta”, „otirač”; “vrata” (3), „barbari” (1) B) Signals for direct metaphor (1 example) kao nekakvo <i>predvorje</i> , čistilište pred „EU rajem”;	10
non-deliberate	udar, prag, temelj, vrata (7), tvrđava, punkt, borba, bori, pogoditi, blok (5), invazija, navala, nalet, front, (<i>Aleksandrova</i>) vojska, odbrana,	26

When analyzing metaphor at a communicative level, we consider the (non)existence of a signal for the deliberate use of metaphor in discourse. Deliberate metaphors are identified using the IDeM protocol (Krennmayr, 2011: 154–155), which implies the existence of certain signals for a metaphor to be marked as deliberate (cf. Steen, 2006, 2009b; Krennmayr, 2011; Musolff, 2011). The examples of deliberate metaphor use identified in the corpus were classified into two groups according to the type of signal for deliberate metaphor: quotation marks, and signals for direct metaphor.

4.3.1. Quotation marks as signals for deliberate metaphor

Quotation marks as signals for deliberate metaphor are discussed in Herrmann (2013), and it may be said that they are arguably the most frequent signal of deliberate metaphor use recorded in our corpus. The exam-

ples of deliberate metaphor use signaled in quotation marks are (15–19). Having in mind the conceptualization of Europe under siege, i.e. the presentation of migrants as invaders, Europe (i.e. the countries to which migrants come) is presented as a fortress to be defended:

- (15) *Unless “fortress Europe” offers more legal channels for non-citizens to move here, they say, people have no alternative but to try their luck illegally.* (The Guardian, January 18, 2016)

The basic meaning of *fortress* is “a large fort or fortified town” (Collins), i.e. “a strong well-protected building used for defending a place” (Macmillan), while its contextual meaning is related to „a place or source of refuge or support” (Collins). Therefore, both *fortress* in English (15) and *tovrdava* in B/C/S (18) are used figuratively, but only (15) is an example of deliberate metaphor signaled with quotation marks.

Metaphorical linguistic expressions that are also used deliberately (signaled with quotation marks) are: *invasion* (4), *invazija Barbara* (5), *vrata* (6, 16, 17), *otirač* (13), *berlinski zid* (18), and *spavač* (26, 27).

- (16) *Nakon dramatičnih scena na makedonsko-grčkoj granici, koja je postala neprobojna bodljikava žica za migrante sa Bliskog istoka i posle intervencije međunarodne zajednice, koja je zatražila od makedonskih vlasti da otvori svoja “vrata” za unesrećene, Srbiju je tokom vikenda zapljusnuo najveći do sada talas izbeglica.* (Oslobođenje, August 25, 2015)

‘After dramatic scenes on the Macedonian-Greek border, which became an *impenetrable barbed wire* for migrants from the Middle East, and after the intervention of the International Community, which asked the Macedonian authorities to *open* their “doors” to the misfortunates, Serbia was *hit* by the biggest *wave* of refugees so far.’

- (17) *Turska čini sve što može da suzbije migracije u Evropu, ali će da zadrži politiku “otvorenih vrata” za izbjeglice koje bježe od građanskog rata u Siriji, rekao je premijer Turske Ahmet Davutoglu.* (Oslobođenje)

‘Turkey is doing everything it can to curb migrations to Europe, but will maintain an “*open door*” policy for refugees fleeing Syria civil war, Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu said.’

The border described in (16) is represented as an impenetrable barbed wire. In the context of this example, the expression *granica* ‘border’ is not used metaphorically because the basic and contextual meanings are the same, i.e. these do not differ: “*crta koja obilježava dokle se prostire jedna, a počinje druga državna, upravna ili administrativna jedinica [državna granica; granica lovišta]; međa*” (HJP) ‘a line marking the extent of one state and the beginning of another state or administrative unit [state border; hunting border]’. However, this actual boundary is conceptualized using the expression *žica* ‘wire’, which is figurative in (16). Its basic meaning is “*istanjena ili kao nit upredena kovina [čelična žica; bakrena žica]*” (HJP) ‘thinned or

thread-like twisted metal [steel wire; copper wire])', while the contextual meaning refers precisely to the border that is not easily crossed, i.e., without great formalities and difficulties. The phrase *bodljikava žica* 'barbed wire' is listed in the dictionary as "žica s bodljama koja se upotrebljava za ograde, za utvrđivanje položaja u ratu i za osiguravanje važnih objekata" (HJP) 'barbed wire used for fencing, to determine the position in war and to secure important facilities.' Such a border, conceptualized as an impenetrable barbed wire, should protect a state conceptualized as a HOUSE from the threat of mass migration (*najveći do sada talas izbjeglica*, example 16), i.e., from the invasion of 'primitive, uncontrolled brutes – of the *barbarians* at the *gates*', as noted in (3).

Example (18) includes the metaphorical linguistic expressions *tvrđava* 'fortress' and *berlinski zid* 'the Berlin Wall', with only *berlinski zid* being signaled by quotation marks and thus used deliberately. The basic meaning of *zid* 'wall' is "zidana ograda (od kamena, opeke)" (HJP) 'masonry fence (of stone, brick)', and the contextual meaning is "pregrada, zapreka, nepremostiva teškoća" (HJP) 'barrier, obstacle, insurmountable difficulty'. The Berlin Wall is a symbol of the Cold War and the great divisions in European history – the barrier that separated East and West Berlin for about 28 years. Just as the Berlin Wall was perceived as a dam against capitalism, the barbed wire is perceived as a dam against migrants:

- (18) *Niko nije slutio da će tri godine kasnije Evropa početi da se pretoara u tvrđavu, ograđenu najčvršćom bodljikavom žicom i da će početi pokazivati svoje ksenofobično, nacionalističko lice, kako na ulicama velikih gradova, tako i kroz usta pojedinih državnika. Mađarska se od izbjeglica brani 170 kilometara dugim "berlinskim zidom" podignutim na granici sa Srbijom, ista ona Mađarska koja je u sovjetskoj komunističkoj imperiji čeznula za demokracijom, ljudskim slobodama i svijetom bez ikakvih zidova.* (Oslobođenje, August 27, 2015)

'No one imagined that, three years later, Europe would begin to turn into a *fortress*, surrounded by the strongest barbed wire and begin to show its xenophobic, nationalist face, both on the streets of big cities and through the mouths of individual statesmen. Hungary is defending itself from refugees with a 170-kilometer-long "*Berlin Wall*" erected on the border with Serbia, the same Hungary that longed for democracy, human freedoms and a world without any walls in the Soviet communist empire.'

All the examples presented in this section contain quotation marks as signals of deliberate metaphor, which draw the addressee's attention to marked expressions in written discourse. These expressions are usually negatively connoted. Bearing in mind the persuasive power of metaphor (cf. Charteris-Black, 2011) and its extensive exploitation in the media discourse

(cf. Parker, 2015; Cisneros, 2008; Hart, 2011b, 2013; Ibrahim and Howarth, 2015, 2014; Koller, 2004, 2005; Musolff, 2011; Mujagić, 2018, 2019) promoting and repeating structures from a particular conceptual framework within which migrants are conceptualized using negative determinants results in negative public attitudes toward migrants.

4.3.2. Signals for direct metaphor as signals of deliberate metaphor

The second group of deliberate metaphor signals in our corpus includes signals for direct metaphor (simile-type comparison, A is B structure, direct use of language), which are listed within the IDeM protocol as a criterion for deliberate metaphor identification. We have already described direct metaphors in section 4.1. (see examples 11 and 12). Direct metaphor is linguistically and communicatively different from indirect metaphor and is therefore considered a deliberate metaphor (Steen, 2010a: 57).

5. Discussion

The previous section describes different types of metaphors regarding the criteria of indirectness, conventionality, and deliberateness. These criteria do not necessarily exclude one another, and thus we witness a variety of combinations of figurative language use, e.g. metaphors may be: 1. indirect, conventional, and non-deliberate; 2. indirect, novel, and deliberate; 3. direct, conventional, and deliberate; and 4. direct, novel, and deliberate. This is outlined in the tables below:¹¹

Table 9: Conventional and novel metaphor

	Conventional metaphor	Novel metaphor
Deliberate metaphor	+	+
(Non)deliberate metaphor	+	-

Table 10. Indirect and direct metaphor

	Indirect metaphor	Direct metaphor
Deliberate metaphor	+	+
(Non)deliberate metaphor	+	-

In addition, we witness the combination of metaphors from different domains. In other words, metaphorical linguistic expressions have been identified in close proximity within one segment of discourse, but do not

¹¹ For additional theoretical explanations see also Krennmayr (2011: 160).

belong to the same conceptual framework.¹² One such example is (16), where the expression *vrata* 'door' from the domain of HOUSE is combined with *zapljusnuo* ('swept' as in 'a wave swept the shore') and *talas* 'wave' from the domain of WATER. Although these expressions are identified, they are not discussed in this paper. We focus on the use of expressions from the HOUSE and INVASION domains, as well as the extensiveness of their use; e.g. in (11), indirect, conventional, and non-deliberate metaphor *entering* is used in close proximity with the direct, conventional, and deliberate metaphor *looking like an army*. By employing different patterns of figurative language, journalists build their argumentation creatively and cunningly and influence readers' perception in a variety of ways. This combination of metaphorical linguistic expressions in media discourse serves to establish the existing conceptual framework on migration as plausibly as possible.

Apart from being conceptualized as an attack in general terms, migration in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers is described as a specific type of an attack – *nalet* 'a rush' "brz i nezaustavljiv napad" (Čedić et al. 2007: 411) 'a quick and unstoppable attack', and *navala* "napadački poduhvat; nastupanje mnoštva ljudi" (Čedić et al. 2007: 431) 'invasive venture; act of a crowd of people', as in the following examples:

(19) *Angela Merkel mora potpuno jasno reći kako ona zamišlja da zaustavi navalu izbjeglica - poruka je sa kojom šef Hrišćansko-socijalne unije (CSU), konzervativni i uticajni Bavarac Horst Zehofer odlazi večeras u Berlin na sastanak sa kancelarkom.* (Oslobođenje)

'Angela Merkel must make it absolutely clear how she intends to stop the *onslaught* of refugees - is the message with which the head of the Christian Social Union (CSU), conservative and influential Bavarian Horst Zehofer is going to Berlin tonight for a meeting with the chancellor.'

(20) *Pred naletom izbjeglica s Bliskoga istoka, na granicama ujedinjene Europe pojavljuje se bodljikava žica koja podsjeća na zlosretna vremena Drugoga svjetskog rata.* (Večernji list, November 11, 2015)

'Ahead of the *rush* of refugees from the Middle East, barbed wire reminiscent of the unfortunate times of World War II appears on the borders of the united Europe.'

The metaphorical linguistic expressions *navala* and *nalet* are examples of indirect, conventional and non-deliberate use of metaphor. On the other hand, the expression *army* in (11) is conventional but it is signalled with *like* and thus marked as a direct metaphor. Given that all direct metaphors are automatically marked as deliberate, *looking like an army* in (11) is considered as a deliberate metaphor at the communicative level.

¹² For the combination of metaphors see Kimmel (2010) and Koller (2003).

Although the EU is a (relatively) long-formed *bloc* (22)¹³, Eurosceptics believe that it is not protected effectively. Thus, it is not surprising that the border areas of Europe are conceptualized as combat areas (e.g. *frontline*). The basic meaning of *frontline* is “the place where two opposing armies are facing each other and where fighting is going on” (*Collins*), and the contextual meaning is “the most advanced, exposed or conspicuous element in any activity or situation” (*Collins*). In our example, we are talking about the peripheral areas of Europe that are geographically closest to the enemies (migrants):

- (21) *Like the crises that have overlapped in the country on the **frontline** of Europe’s two great dramas, history is being played out in **waves**.* (The Guardian, March 12, 2016)

Given this conceptualization of migrants as enemies, there are 'understandable' efforts to prevent their arrival at all costs – by setting up physical barriers (raising barbed wires and walls at borders), or paying others to keep migrants on their territory:

- (22) *Borders have shut across Europe’s main **bloc** in recent months in a bid to **stem** the **flow** of over 1m migrants coming from Africa and **war torn** Syria.* (The Daily Express, March 18, 2016)
- (23) *Finally, the Germans want to pour cash into the camps in Jordan and Lebanon to keep the Syrian refugees from **marching** westward.* (The Guardian, March 7, 2016)

In addition to the fact that migrants are conceptualized as an invading army, the entire migration process is conceptualized as something that leaves the same consequences as an explosion or a ticking time bomb:

- (24) *Turkey has also been persuaded to stop the maritime flow in the south, creating a highly **pressurised bottleneck** of 42,000 migrants that regularly threatens to **explode**.* (The Daily Mail, March 31, 2016)
- (25) *People are coming to Germany with fake IDs or no papers at all, saying they are refugees. We have no idea who they really are. Many Germans feel it’s a **ticking time bomb**.* (The Daily Mail, January 22, 2016)

The addressee’s reasoning (as, for instance, implied by the phrase ‘Many Germans feel’ in 25) is also influenced by the constant use of lexemes such as ‘regularly’ (24) because these leave the impression that the threat and fear are constant. These expressions (*explode* and *time bomb*) are used figuratively to describe a situation that will have a negative effect on a person or situation especially if it is difficult to control, i.e. it will cause damage if not resolved in time.

¹³ “Savez koji sklupa više država” (Čedić et al., 2007: 40) ‘alliance of several states’

The metaphorical conceptualization of Great Britain fighting migration leaves real consequences in terms of the nature of the response to the enemy (cf. Hart, 2010: 146) since “we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 158). In this regard, the use of concepts from the domain of INVASION in the migration discourse creates a kind of justification for possible more aggressive actions towards a particular group. Metaphorical linguistic expressions belonging to the conceptual metaphor MIGRANTS AS INVADERS are used in media discourse to build firmer and more creative arguments against migration.¹⁴

As we see in (25), the media insist on the propaganda of 'weakened borders' in the sense that migrants enter the territory of the EU without documents or under a false identity, and such a lack of border control means an open door for terrorists. Thus, the metaphor MIGRANTS AS INVADERS may be used to promote stereotypes by insisting on the representation of migrants as terrorist criminals (which is precisely the case in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian press).

In addition to the use of conventional expressions from the semantic field of 'warfare' in B/C/S, the expression *spavač* was also identified. The translation equivalent of this expression in English is *sleeper terrorist*, which *Collins Online Dictionary* defines as “a terrorist who is not currently active but assumes a guise in order to be in position, unsuspected, for future terrorist activities”¹⁵. Through the figurative use of this expression in media discourse, migrants are equated with (or at least connected to) terrorists in the eyes of addressees.¹⁶ It is an indirect, conventional metaphor signaled by quotation marks and thus deliberate:

(26) *Nije taj dan bio zgodan samo zbog toga što je pao na Dan neovisnosti Republike Hrvatske. Istog tog 8. listopada u Sarajevu je, recimo, u organizaciji Misije OESS-a u BiH i Centra za sigurnosnu suradnju Jugoistočne Europe RACVIAC održana međunarodna konferencija „Strani teroristi – izazovi za Jugoistočnu Europu“, na kojoj je zaključeno kako se među izbjeglicama vrlo vjerojatno nalaze i ubačeni „spavači“, teroristi s „idejom, vizijom i strategijom“.* (Buka, November 17, 2015)

‘That day was not convenient just because it fell on the Independence Day of the Republic of Croatia. On October 8, for instance, an international conference "Foreign Terrorist Fighters - Challenges for South-

¹⁴ Please note the use of, for instance, *stav/stavova* ('attitude/attitudes') in example (5).

¹⁵ Source: <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/sleeper-terrorist>; retrieved on June 10, 2022

¹⁶ The expression *spavač* already prevails in Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspaper articles about terrorism, jihad, Wahhabism, etc. See e.g. <http://depo.ba/clanak/130310/invazija-bradatih-ljudi-u-kratkim-hlacama-vehabije-spavaci-okupirale-mostar>; Last visited on June 10, 2022

east Europe" was held in Sarajevo, organized by the OSCE Mission to BiH and the RACVIAC – Centre for Security Cooperation in Southeast Europe, where it was concluded that "sleepers", terrorists with "idea, vision and strategy" are very likely infiltrated among refugees.'

- (27) *Toga, eto, 8. listopada – istog dakle dana kad su na sarajevskoj konferenciji upozoravali na „spavače“ među izbjeglicama, a talijanska policija pokazivala fotografiju jednog takvog - u izbjegličkom kampu u Opatovcu, s putovnicom koju će pet tjedana kasnije brižljivo ostaviti na krvavoj gomili mesa pred stadionom, upisan je i Ahmed al-Muhamed.* (Buka, November 17, 2015)

'On that October 8 – the same day when the Sarajevo conference warned of "sleepers" among refugees, and the Italian police showed a photo of one of them – Ahmed al-Muhammad was registered in the refugee camp in Opatovac, with a passport that will be carefully left on a bloody pile of meat in front of the stadium five weeks later.'

The communicative function of this deliberate metaphor in media discourse is to draw the addressee's attention to the expression used figuratively (to draw attention to the source domain INVADER/ TERRORIST/ SLEEPER and the target domain MIGRANTS) in order to influence public opinion about migrants, especially if we take into account that newspaper articles often create shocking mental images ('na krvavoj gomili mesa' in 27, which translates as 'on a bloody pile of meat').

The categories 'migrant' and 'terrorist' permeate migration discourse and are eventually equalized in the eyes of the addressees. Studies of metaphor in migration discourse (e.g. Hart, 2010: 140–141) point to the creation of stereotypes – when one subtype of a category is chosen to metonymically denote an entire category. If we assume that a migrant who really is a terrorist is also a specific subcategory of migrants, we must not generalize and consider all migrants to have a tendency for violence and talk about all migrants as terrorists (cf. Hart, 2010: 140).

In addition, the subcategories 'illegal migrant' and 'terrorist' fall into the superordinate category of 'criminals'.¹⁷ For instance, the expression *siege* is described in dictionaries as a military attack that implies the denial of basic necessities (*Oxford, Macmillan*), a defeat (*Cambridge*), and relinquishing control of the site (*Collins*) – and for the benefit of persons who are evidently violent criminals:

¹⁷ Data from the Report by The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford (Henceforth The Report 2013) show that migrants are presented as a problem (2013: 9), and 'illegal' (2013: 2) is used as the most common modifier. This confirms the thesis of portraying migrants as criminals and equating them with delinquents, although The Report shows that – statistically – legal migrants are more numerous in the UK (2013: 24). See also Charteris-Black (2006) for the issue of classifying the categories 'migrants' and 'terrorists' in the same superior category 'criminals'.

- (28) *I'm assuming the father will be an astro-physicist, or a brain surgeon, like all the other highly-qualified migrants tearful TV reporters and professional immigration activists assure us are heading our way. Otherwise, if Pixie's not careful, she could end up with a couple of the knife-wielding thugs currently laying **siege** to Calais. She should also make sure that they really are Syrian – and not Afghan, Iraqi or any of the several dozen other nationalities currently trying to smuggle themselves into Britain.* (The Daily Mail, September 17, 2015)

Such conceptualization of migrants, and migration process in general, provides an excuse for countermeasures and legitimization of actions against perpetrators (and their so-called accomplices). A specific feature of the media discourse on the European migrant crisis is the use of the metaphorical linguistic expression *brigade* to talk about people who support migrants and those who advocate for migration as a positive (or at least not so negative) phenomenon. Metaphorically speaking, it is a brigade of outlaws within our own military corps, which opponents of migration consider some sort of traitors and insult them (see the phrase 'no sense of morality at all' in 30) because they work for the benefit of the enemy (migrants):

- (29) *Far more offensive is the fondness of the pro-immigration **brigade** for invoking a parallel between the policies of Nazi Germany towards the Jewish people and current treatment of migrants, as in the manufactured row over the red doors of asylum seekers' homes in Middlesbrough.* (The Daily Express, February 1, 2016)
- (30) *In fact the pro-immigration **brigade** has no sense of morality at all.* (The Daily Express, February 1, 2016)
- (31) *Yet still the pro-immigration **brigade** refuse to learn any lessons.* (The Daily Express, August 2, 2015)

Another peculiarity in media discourse on the European migrant crisis is the insistence on the conceptualization of Syria as a war-torn country. The expression *war-torn* (which Collins Cobuild assigns to journalistic terminology) describes a place destroyed by war – especially a war between different groups but from the same country (see Macmillan and Cambridge).

- (32) *The pair, aged 17 and 31 told police in Essen, western Germany they had fled **war-torn** Syria after they were arrested on suspicion of stealing the 63-year-old woman's handbag.* (The Daily Mail, January 22, 2016)
- (33) *Turkey, which shares a border with **war-torn** Syria, plays a pivotal role as it is a launchpad for thousands of migrants.* (The Daily Mail, January 22, 2016)

Precisely this metaphorical framework – which depicts the real image of Syria as a troubled country – may help develop empathy for migrants in public and prevent migrants from being dehumanized and discriminated

against. The presented analysis, however, points to the conclusion that the conceptual metaphor *MIGRANTS AS INVADERS* is used to build argumentation (expressing attitudes), promote stereotypes (migrants are criminals and terrorists), and emphasize alleged violent actions (migrants cause direct or indirect conflict).

6. Conclusion

Using MIPVU and Steen's three-dimensional model for metaphor analysis, we analyzed newspaper articles on the European migrant crisis published in the British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspapers and identified metaphorical linguistic expressions from the conceptual metaphors *MIGRATION AS INVASION* and the *COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE*. We then considered the relationship between direct and indirect language use, as well as to what extent and in which cases the authors wanted to draw the addressee's attention to the mappings between domains (which is achieved using direct metaphors). Furthermore, we identified conventional and novel metaphorical linguistic expressions in order to determine which naturalized and deeply entrenched metaphors the authors use, and in which cases they resort to the use of innovative figurative language. We have identified examples of (non-)deliberate use of metaphor in media discourse in order to determine in which cases and in what ways the authors act to change addressee's perspective on an important issue such as migration. The research revealed that deliberate metaphors are signaled with quotation marks or by a lexical marker. Using a direct metaphor, which is signaled by a lexical marker, the author asks the addressee to pay attention to the mappings between the domains. However, indirect metaphors may also be used deliberately, specifically in written discourse through the use of quotation marks as a signal for deliberate metaphor. In other words, indirect metaphors may be deliberate or non-deliberate, but direct metaphors are always deliberate.

In British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian press, indirect conventional metaphors may be used as deliberate metaphors if signaled by quotation marks, and we label them as deliberate because they perform a specific communicative function of changing the addressee's perspective. Indirect conventional deliberate metaphors are used to promote attitudes and support certain ideologies (in our case, e.g., that migrants do not fit culturally and historically into our society), to build more convincing argumentation (e.g. why migration is a negative phenomenon and a problem for our society), to influence reasoning (through a covert and subtle change of the addressee's perspective), persuasion (towards stricter migration policy and regulation because 'the *COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE* is being invaded'), etc. Unlike direct metaphor, which is automatically deliberate and whose use in discourse to

achieve certain rhetorical goals is overt and transparent, indirect metaphors are covert. But the implications of indirect metaphor use in (media) discourse are no less dangerous, especially if they are signaled with quotation marks (i.e. used deliberately).

The British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian newspaper articles on the European migrant crisis are dominated by conventional rather than novel metaphors, which may be attributed to the fact that novel metaphors involve the use of novel linguistic expressions (at the linguistic level) and conceptual domains (at the conceptual level), which is not in line with the persuasive function of deliberate metaphor in the media discourse on the European migrant crisis because „more ambiguous metaphorical terms may cause doubts in readers about which aspects of the source term (vehicle) ought to be transferred to the target term“ (Herrmann, 2013: 162).

The corpus analysis reveals that there is no striking difference in the conceptualization of migrants and migration in the media discourse on the European migrant crisis, despite the fact that British society has historically been dominant – or at least among the dominant countries – while Bosnian-Herzegovinian society has been subjected to the migration process in its recent history (1992–1995). Regardless of this personal experience, migrants who are actors of the European migrant crisis are presented as invaders of the countries they come to. Certain implications that the use of examples of the deliberate metaphor COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE has in media discourse – and that is, for instance, the metaphorization of a country under an attack, cultural differences and the issue of cultural hegemony.

Given that the corpus does not include examples of the use of alternative metaphors that would contradict the established conceptual framework, we highlight the need to promote the use of the so-called sanitized discourse (cf. Santa Ana, 2002: 362), which would oppose derogative metaphors, which prevail in British and Bosnian-Herzegovinian press and serve as an ideological tool in media discourse on European migrant crisis.

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