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**MIGRATION METAPHOR IN MEDIA DISCOURSE: A CROSS-
LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE**

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INTRODUCTION

Traditional and cognitive understanding of metaphor is a fairly recent topic of the discussion among linguists around the world. Metaphor, for generations considered to be a literary device now is also seen as a part of our everyday discourse and is closely related to how the brain processes language. This idea has been mentioned in various books and articles, e.g. Lakoff's and Johnson's monumental book 'Metaphors We Live By' (1980, p. 4) where they suggest that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). This means that we constantly use conceptual metaphor in order to understand the world around us. Metaphor in cognitive understanding is the metaphor this research is based around.

Media discourse that will be covered in this research is an important aspect when it comes to conceptual metaphor. There is an author behind each article so by making words into sentences it is possible to create a certain meaning with an intention behind it. Mass media is a powerful tool which communicates different opinions on topical issues. Van Dijk (1988, p. 81) puts forward an argument about the choice of specific lexis that "may signal the degree of formality, the relationship between the speech partners, the group-based or institutional embedding of discourse, and especially the attitudes and hence ideologies of the speaker". Choice of words, conscious or unconscious, can influence the thoughts of the reader. Van Dijk (1988, p. 82) argues about the persuasive aim of the transmitted message as the reader is initiated to "believe our assertion, perform the actions requested, and execute our commands". Thus, it is important to see the general outlook on the opinion about migration that prevails in the Lithuanian as well as British media that is being transmitted to its readers.

The **subject** of this BA thesis is linguistic migration metaphor in Lithuanian and British online newspapers. Metaphor in migration discourse always conveys a specific meaning and implies something that is not expressly stated, thus it is important to know how it affects us when such metaphor appears in the media texts. The critical situation of the refugees in Europe and overall situation in the world at the moment makes this topic important to consider. Thus, by taking the context of both Lithuanian and British media discourse we are able to see migration metaphor from different perspectives. More than 20 articles in English and Lithuanian are to be collected and analyzed for this research. Online media sources such as BBC, The Guardian, 15min. and others are

used to compile the needed data starting from the year 2015 when migration and refugees were the keywords for most of the news articles out there.

The **aim** of the research is to determine what kinds of migration metaphor prevail in Lithuanian and British media discourse.

In order to fulfil the aim the following **objectives** have been set:

1. To identify the frequency and intensity of linguistic metaphors in the collected data;
2. To reconstruct linguistic metaphors into MIGRATION conceptual metaphor;
3. To determine the implied ideological meaning of the MIGRATION metaphor.

This paper is divided into several parts. First, there is an introduction provided with the general overview of the thesis. Second, there is a theoretical part where the most important view points regarding discourse, CDA and migration metaphor are presented. In the following part, methods applied in the research and the collected data are discussed. Then, the research findings including all the most common cases of conceptual metaphor in English and British media sources are overviewed with possible implications. The last sections of this paper consist of list of references, data sources, conclusions according to the objectives set in the introductory part of the paper followed by the summary in Lithuanian language.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW: A CLOSER LOOK AT MIGRATION METAPHORS

The following section deals with the theoretical background of discourse analysis and CDAs, as well as media discourse and the theory of conceptual metaphor. Also, it provides more details about media migration discourse which will be analyzed further in the paper. Moreover, this literature review contains information about the previous studies on this topic which will be used as theoretical guidelines for the empirical analysis.

1.1. Discourse analysis

To understand the concept of metaphor in migration discourse in its fullest it is important to start with the basics. Discourse in itself is a complex notion that was discussed by many well-known academics around the world. Studies by such scholars as Van Dijk (2008), Fairclough (1992) and others made a significant impact on the development of scientific thought and empirical investigations of discourse analysis. Here some of their major viewpoints will be outlined in order to clarify the key concepts and underlying ideas that will be implemented in the current study.

One of the pioneers of discourse analysis as a separate scientific discipline Fairclough (1992, p.3) gives a concise and neat introduction to the topic of discourse analysis in the following way: “Discourse is a difficult concept, largely because there are so many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints”.

Despite the complexity of an issue, Fairclough (1992, p. 63) defines discourse as language that serves more than one purpose. He insists that the term ‘discourse’ in the context of language use is rather a particular kind of social practice than an activity of one individual or a reaction caused by any situation. He suggests that it might have some implications. Hence, it can be deduced that discourse as a mode of action can influence people’s behaviour, and at the same time it is a mode or representation. In this view, Fairclough discusses more pragmatic and philosophical aspects of discourse. According to the scholar (ibid., p. 64),- “Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning”.

In this particular manner, as outlined by Fairclough (1992), language analysis and social theory are combined together and this makes discourse analysis three-dimensional. More specifically, in this case we can consider discourse in both linguistic and social terms. “Any discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). Thus, when the ‘text’ is a part of language analysis, the ‘discursive practice’ focuses on text creation and interpretation Fairclough

(ibid.) explains the nature of linguistics focus by providing examples of various types of discourse and how they can be combined together; whereas their ‘social practice’ is discussed in terms of the circumstances of the event, which are simultaneously related to the social analysis and how it influences discourse production.

Moreover, the scholar views discourse analysis from an analytical point of view. This is how he describes the importance of taking into consideration macro and micro levels of social practice realised through discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p.73):

- “These are the tradition of close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macrosociological tradition of analyzing social practice in relation to social structures, and the interpretive or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures”

The three-dimensional concept of discourse suggested by Fairclough (1992) is presented in Figure 1 below.

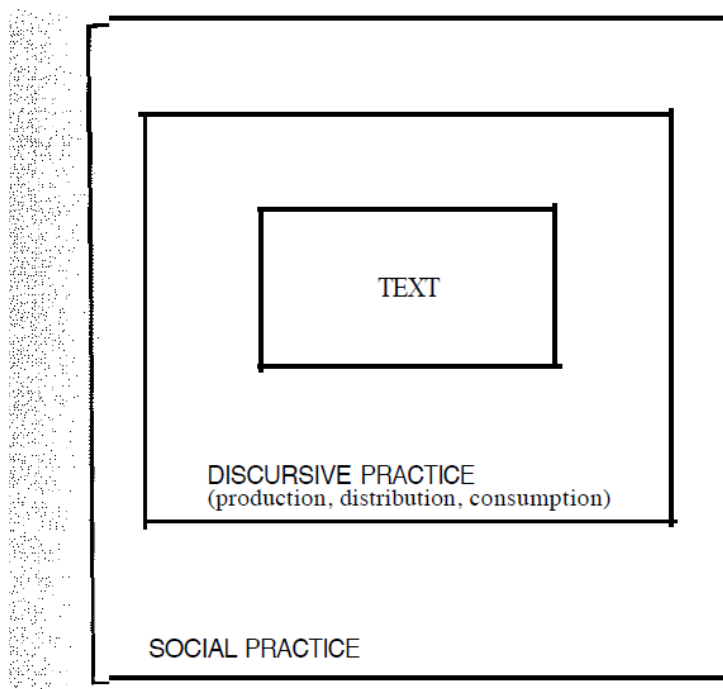


Figure 1. Three-dimensional Fairclough’s representation of discourse

As displayed above, discursive practice includes text production, consumption and distribution, so they differ according to the contexts and the ways they are being used in. For instance, a newspaper article is complete only after several steps that involve members of the team in various tasks: “Accessing sources, such as press agency reports, transforming these sources

(often themselves already texts) into a draft report, deciding where to place the report in the newspaper, and editing the report” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84).

Some scholars suggest that discourse analysis and pragmatics have a lot in common. According to Joan Cutting (2002), both pragmatics and discourse analysis are concerned with the meaning of words in various contexts and how they can be explained in an utterance with the help of social factors which make an impact on our communication processes. For Cutting, what matters for both discourse analysis and pragmatics is the function, i.e. the purpose of the utterances of various lengths. He also (2002, p. 2) admits the importance of critical discourse analysis for the research of meaningful communication. Cutting supports the ideas of Coulthard (1986) and points out that basically discourse analysis is concerned with a process in which we learn “how large chunks of language beyond the sentence level are organised, how the social transaction imposes a framework on discourse” (Coulthard, 1986, as cited in Cutting, 2002).

Thus, discourse analysis helps us understand the structure of an utterance up to its meaning level in a particular context involved. It is thusly significant to refer to discourse as ‘social practice’ that is a multi-layered production experience.

In the following section, the concept of Critical Discourse Analysis in relation to the media will be overviewed in greater detail.

1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis and the media

Stepping away from the more general sense of the term ‘discourse analysis’, we now move further towards Critical Discourse Analysis. The current study deals with a more specific type of discourse – media discourse. This type of discourse will be examined in the methodological framework of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis). Teun A. van Dijk (2008) emphasizes the importance of critical thinking in Critical Analysis of Discourse. The scholar (2008, pp. 352-371) dedicated an entire chapter in his book to explain the concept of critical discourse analysis, also referred to as CDA.

According to Van Dijk (2008, p. 352),

“Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”

Thus, CDA addresses social issues like inequality and seeks to fully understand them in the social and political world surrounding us.

Since the main focus of the current study is media discourse, CDA can help us explain how certain discourse structures, in this case, metaphors are applied in the reproduction of social dominance. Both Van Dijk and Fairclough claim that there are several levels at which linguistic analysis can be carried out: macro and micro. In Van Dijk's view (2008, p. 354), "Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the microlevel of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macrolevel of analysis". As proposed by the scholar, these two forms of analysis, as well as all that is in between, form one complex unit of production evoked in our everyday communication. This is well-illustrated by the racist speech in parliament, which " <...> is a discourse at the microlevel of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macrolevel" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 354).

Fairclough also discusses this "macro" and "micro" division of text analysis. The scholar suggests that "micro-analysis" is the explication of " <...> precisely how participants produce and interpret texts on the basis of their members' resources. But this must be complemented with macro-analysis in order to know the nature of the members' resources (including orders of discourse) that is being drawn upon in order to produce and interpret texts, and whether it is being drawn upon in normative or creative ways" (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 85-86). Fairclough also draws our attention to the fact that micro-analysis helps us to find the evidence for macro-analysis. It is their interconnection, or interrelationship that contributes to his earlier mentioned three-dimensional concept. Macro- and micro-analysis "can mediate the relationship between the dimensions of social practice and text: it is the nature of the social practice that determines the macro-processes of discursive practice, and it is the micro-processes that shape the text" (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 85-86).

The significance of media texts as a type of discourse in reproducing power relations and creating the discourse of power is particularly emphasized by Van Dijk (2008). No surprisingly, this has inspired many studies in such disciplines as semiotics, pragmatics or discourse studies. Conventional studies have shown that there are biased, stereotypical, racist or sexist imagery in texts of media. Van Dijk (2008, 359) notes that earlier studies focused more on what is more visible, more observable.

By comparison, Van Dijk's insistence on a deeper perception of discourse helps to bridge the gap between what is more and what is less visible in the production of a text type. According to the scholar (1988, p.30), "a complete empirical account of discourse also requires a description of cognitive processes of discourse production and understanding and of social interactions in sociocultural situations". Thus, it can be argued that discourse analysis is concerned about both text and context. This specifically refers to the study of mass-communication source that requires not only the description of a text in the news but also "a description of the production and reception processes of news discourse in communicative situations and sociocultural contexts" (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 30).

Whenever the context is considered, the style and rhetoric of discourse might have sociocultural implications. Van Dijk (1988, p. 81) puts forward an argument about the choice of specific lexis that "may signal the degree of formality, the relationship between the speech partners, the group-based or institutional embedding of discourse, and especially the attitudes and hence ideologies of the speaker". Thus, the speaker's choice of the opinion-controlled words implies some kind of meaning. Similarly, rhetorical devices are intended to make the message more effective. Both stylistic and rhetorical means assist in building writer's representation and a situational model. In addition, Van Dijk (1988, p. 82) argues about the persuasive aim of the transmitted message as the reader is initiated to "believe our assertion, perform the actions requested, and execute our commands".

In *Approaches to Media Texts*, Wodak and Busch (2004) explain the attitude towards media discourse in terms of how it is perceived by sociolinguists and modern society as a whole. They emphasize the importance of a media text being dialogic, i.e. forming a connection, so "the readings depend on the receivers and on the settings" (Wodak and Busch, 2004). Hence, texts interact with the readers, and more importantly, each text relates to the other texts represented by the media as well. The authors contribute to the idea of discourse being a social practice, claiming that "discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned—it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" (Wodak & Busch, 2004, p. 108). They also contemplate that discursive practices have major ideological influence, basing their statement by Wodak's earlier works with Fairclough: "they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people" (Wodak & Busch, 2004, p. 109). Garrett and Bell (1998) mentioned in

this chapter were referred to when speaking about the media, - If we look at critical media studies, they view discourse as “interactive, as negotiated between producers and audience, as a process in construction. Text is the (oral, visual, or written) manifestation of this” (Wodak & Busch, 2004, p. 109). Their proposed view supports and provides more details about the linguistic and social complexity of the produced text.

One of the prominent features as a part of persuasion strategy in media texts is the representation of the Other. Extensive research is devoted to the representation of diversity in culture, of xenophobia and racism as Otherness in media sources. Thus, discrimination and racism in media reporting have become noticeable in terms of their social influence and polarisation.

To summarise, the influence of media on the production and reproduction of beliefs, opinions, stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies have been determined by critical discourse analysts. The social problems that can arise through representation of the Other in media texts should not be underestimated. This study attempts to address this kind of representation in media texts through a specific linguistic representation — metaphor.

In the following section, the notion of metaphor in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory will be discussed in greater detail.

1.3. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The metaphors that prevail in media discourse or in any other domain are a part of our everyday communication. Metaphors are used widely in speech and writing, hence the word ‘metaphor’ can be understood differently. Thus, to avoid any kind of methodological problems, the difference between two kinds of theoretical understandings, of what metaphor is and how it operates, should be drawn: traditional and cognitive.

Classical older theories would suggest that it is a matter of language and not of the thought processes of a human being. Poetic, literary metaphors were largely discussed for centuries and were not thought of as something out of the literary boundaries. These linguistic ‘theories’ were considered the truth; therefore this concept of metaphor became more like a definition rather than just a point of view. As Lakoff (1993, p. 203) suggests, these generalizations made by the previous generations of writers and linguists no longer exist, as we can see that everything that was thought about metaphors before can be applied now- to everyday language. This has led to a new, contemporary theory that “metaphor is primarily conceptual, conventional, and part of the ordinary

system of thought and language” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 203). Thus, traditionally metaphor is viewed as only a matter of language, while in the cognitive sense it is understood as a matter of thought. The major reason for that is the framework of cognitive science it is argued that people live by metaphors.

The understanding of our lives is essentially based on metaphors. The interesting point that Lakoff (1993, p. 212) makes is that we get this realization that “many of the most basic concepts in our conceptual systems are also normally comprehended via metaphor- concepts like time, quantity, state, change, action, cause, purpose, means, modality, and even the concept of a category”. We can conduct that through metaphors we are capable of understanding abstract concepts of life and thus perform reasoning. He claims that fundamentally, metaphor is conceptual and not linguistic. The structure of metaphor can be explained by the idea of ‘mapping’,- he suggests that “metaphors are mappings across conceptual domains” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 203). Therefore, mappings appear to be not arbitrary, but they are grounded in the body as well as in knowledge and everyday experience.

This idea of a *metaphor* being not only a literary device is also stressed in Lakoff’s and Johnson’s monumental book ‘Metaphors We Live By’ (1980, p. 4) where they argue that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). Lakoff and Johnson provide an example of the ‘time is money’ metaphor, which is frequently realised in everyday language, e.g.:

(1) *You need to budget your time.*

(2) *I’ve invested a lot of time in her.*

The use of metaphor shows that people perceive time in terms of a valuable resource, i.e. the one that it is limited to them. This is how Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 9) explain the conceptual nature of this metaphor:

“Corresponding to the fact that we act as if time is a valuable commodity—a limited resource, even money—we conceive of time that way. Thus we understand and experience time as the kind of thing that can be spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved, or squandered”.

The conceptual nature of metaphors is explained by the act that they are based on our everyday experience.

Besides, the scholars offer a distinction of metaphors into structural, orientational and ontological (1980, pp. 11-28).

To begin with, there are *structural metaphors* that refer to “cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another” (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980/2003, p. 15). The example of the TIME IS MONEY metaphor discussed above illustrates a structural metaphor. Another variety of conceptual metaphor is *orientational* referring to the “one that does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 15). To clarify, most of them are related to spatial orientation, e.g. up-down, in-out. With orientation metaphors, bodily experience is particularly relevant, as an example of the HAPPY IS UP metaphor. According to the scholars (ibid., p. 15), the fact that the concept HAPPY is oriented *up* leads to English expressions like ‘I’m feeling *up* today’”. Finally, there is an ontological variety so-called personification. *Ontological metaphor* is one of the most frequently realised metaphors in language, as this is exactly how people perceive the world, through their own selves. As Lakoff and Johnson (ibid., p. 34) explain it, “the physical object is further specified as being a person. This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities”. e.g.:

(3) *Inflation is eating up our profits.*

(4) *This fact argues against the standard theories.*

In short, Lakoff and Johnson’s contribution is immense in understanding the conceptual nature of metaphor. Their ideas gave rise to metaphor research in many discourse types that only strengthened the cognitive view to metaphor.

One of those linguists who grounded his research in Lakoff and Johnson’s ideas is Zoltan Kövecses (2010, p. 37), where he argues that “conceptual metaphors can be classified according to the cognitive functions that they perform. On this basis, three general kinds of conceptual metaphor have been distinguished: structural, ontological, and orientational”. In addition, the scholar (2010) discusses a major breakthrough in linguistic research initiated by ‘the neural theory of language’. In his view (ibid., p. 87), “the theory continues the extension of metaphor from language (linguistic metaphors) to mind (conceptual metaphors) to body (bodily basis of metaphor) and to brain” This results in the motivation factor, whereby conceptual metaphors are motivated (depend on human factors, e.g. experience), and therefore cannot be predicted. In neural linguistics, it is explained how human brain is operating. Certain groups formed by neurons get connected to the brain by the

means of neural circuitry, and this is exactly how metaphors are created. As argued by Kövecses (2010, p. 88), “when two groups of neurons get connected by a mapping circuit, we have to do with conceptual metaphors”. Thus, conceptual metaphor is primarily physical, created in human, thus conceptual, and linguistic, when realised through language.

Another psychological view to metaphor is proposed by Raymond W. Gibbs, based on the concept of embodiment and compliments Lakoff’s views by referring to the metaphor theory as embodied and conceptual. Gibbs (2005) claims that metaphors represent the foundation for conceptual processing of the world for humans and overviews the concept of mappings by emphasizing their embodied nature. According to the scholar (2005, p. 122), “abstract concepts would not exist in the ways that they do in ordinary cognition without body-based metaphor”. Moreover, it is proposed that human conceptual processing is directly connected to the embodied metaphor, and in fact, is also related to “abstract understandings of experience” (Gibbs, 2005, p. 122). By this, it is meant that when the brain processes information, it works together with our nerve system as well as the body to picture certain events, and metaphors play a major role in this. Neurons forming a map in the brain and consequently becoming a metaphor are referred to as ‘topographic mappings’ (Gibbs, 2005, p. 118).

Thus, cognitive linguistics and conceptual metaphor theory are connected by the idea that language is secondary to thought, and that metaphors as cognitive tools are primarily created in neuron circuitries and closely related to bodily experiences. Thus, the understanding of our lives is closely related to conceptual metaphors that we use on a daily basis. Metaphors and their analysis allow us to see how human brain operates and what kinds of experiences are projected through metaphor use. This study aims to analyse how migration is metaphorically represented in the media.

The following section will discuss migration metaphors utilised in the media in greater detail.

1.4. Migration Metaphors

Recently the issue of migration has become a topic of current interest in the news and analytical media. By analysing the underlying conceptual metaphors, the dominant opinion about migration can be discerned. In the meantime, various academics dedicate their work to metaphors in the news, and this subdivision of the literature review will discuss what kind of migration metaphors have been deduced so far.

Up to this point we have learned that media discourse may be a well-used manipulative, ideological and influential tool. Metaphors is a great language device to transmit such kinds of opinion-forming tools. In one of his works on metaphors, Musolff (2011, p. 7) explains why migration seems suitable for metaphor users, and is “due to its rich potential for polemical and emotional language as well as its socio political and historical significance”. It is a vivid language indeed and most of the time it is possible to find at least a few metaphorical expressions in an article related to migration. Musolff (ibid., p. 7) provides examples of “figurative categorizations of immigration as *a flood* or some kind of *natural disaster*, or as a military *invasion*, and of the “host” nation’s response as *containment* or *defence*”.

Charteris-Black (2006) contributes to the topic of migration metaphors by explaining that such metaphors evoke certain reactions to migration and migrants respectively. It is discussed how migration and politics are interrelated, when such metaphors as ‘flood’ or ‘crisis’ are put next to such words as ‘immigrants’, which leads to an interesting output, as observed by Charteris-Black (2006, p. 18):

“physical change (in terms of movement of peoples) is typically associated with social phenomena such as rising crime, terrorism, social anarchy and chaos, the breakdown of orderly civil society. It is perhaps not surprising that other disaster-related terms are combined with specifically flood related disaster metaphors”.

A similar idea is developed by Lena Kainz (2016), who explains that nowadays the news headlines related to migration always include such metaphors of immigrants as “streaming and pouring into Europe, flooding the continent’s frontiers as well as bursting through national borders”. Such metaphors have a strong effect on the readers: it causes panic and it is dehumanizing. It is further explained how various magazines have articles and photos of the events related to immigration, and how it is not only in the habit of countries that actually have sea borders to insert such titles, but even the other countries without sea borders use such terminology in their headlines as “the New York Post reports that the UN expects thousands of refugees to flood Europe. The Wall Street Journal points out that a financially strapped Greece struggles with a flood of refugees. According to the Times of India, refugees continue to stream into Europe... Al Jazeera’s headline that thousands of refugees flow into Austria from Hungary” (ibid.). Kainz (2016, February 8) suggests that metaphors exist in our everyday language and that leads to metaphors having the power of implying and persuading. It is observed that “due to their frequent emergence in headlines on migration news, water metaphors pervasively shape readers’ understanding of events” (ibid.,

February 8) In short, Kainz (2016, February 8) proposes the idea that metaphors “convey the notion of danger and the urgency of action”, which makes people believe that migrants are someone who represent an existential threat.

Furthermore, people can be overwhelmed by the amounts of information they get to process every day, which means that someone may try to simplify this process of side-taking and influencing their views. As Charteris-Black (2006, p. 19) cites Mio (1997, p. 130) in his work:

“Because of information-processing demands, people cannot pay attention to all aspects of political evidence. Therefore, something is needed to simplify decision making, and metaphor and other shortcut devices (e.g. cognitive heuristics) address this need”.

Thus, migration metaphors may imply changes and movements, which can actually explain the use of ‘flood’ i.e. liquid. Whether it is received positively or negatively depends on the usage of the language in a particular article. This is due to the fact that metaphor analysis focuses not only on the meaning behind the expressions, but also on the emotional neuro-activity in the brain, i.e. the experience that can be evoked by it. In the case (2006) of the context of the UK parties and immigrants, Charteris-Black observes (2016) metaphors can be associated with negative evaluation due to the more glorious past, thus with arrival of immigrants is associated with a change for the worse.

Migration metaphors are contextualised in Us vs Them ideological opposition, as discussed by both Musolff (2008) and Charteris-Black (2006). This creates a picture in people’s minds of migrants being ‘damaging’, or ‘dangerous’ to them in some way. Again, If we speak about politics, it is common to see the following pattern: “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are fundamental argumentative strategies for legitimation and persuasion by the political right” (Charteris-Black, 2006). To support this idea, Charteris-Black (2006, p 7) refers to Van der Vilke (2003) who offers “argumentative strategies of de-emphasizing negative things about ‘us’ and de-emphasizing positive things about ‘them’” In der Vilke’s view (2003 in Charteris-Black, 2006), “presumed biological–genetic differences in the post-war period are replaced by differences between cultures, nations or religions represented as homogenous entities”. This shows that sometimes conceptual metaphors used by the politicians or writers can be focused on one side and separate it from the ‘others’. In addition, Charteris-Black distinguishes two basic forms of migration metaphors: *metaphors of natural disaster* (the ones that were already discussed in detail) and *container metaphors*. These two varieties are related by the fact that it is likely for people to

create boundaries rather migrants. The former is of a more cognitive nature, while disaster metaphors are more of emotional kind. This is how Charteris-Black (2006, pp. 13-14) discusses them, “there is persuasive subliminal communication because the emotion of fear can be aroused by disaster and containment scenarios through the perforation of a boundary around the container allowing the inflow or outflow of liquids”.

Another important distinction is drawn by Musolff (2011), who refers to *deliberate* and *non-deliberate* metaphors. The scholar (2011, p. 21) argues that there are deliberate migration metaphors such as flood and invasion, as in the following statement, “I would still tend to describe their use of defence against floods/invasions imagery as “deliberate” in the sense that it is intended to achieve a specific communicative purpose”. By contrast, non-deliberate metaphors, are being used unconsciously, i.e. without a strategy as such that is aimed at us for some socio-pragmatic purposes (ibid., p. 15). Therefore, by critically analysing metaphors in discourse, it is possible to comprehend the intentions behind the evoked metaphors.

To conclude, discourse is a complex phenomenon that involves various practices, i.e. linguistic, social, cultural, cognitive etc. Fairclough explains this concept by his three-dimensional theory, whereby discourse is analysed in a particular context but also outside of it. Conceptual metaphor theory foregrounded by Lakoff and others defines metaphor as a cognitive structure realised on a daily basis. Three types of conceptual metaphors can be distinguished, such as *structural*, *orientational* and *ontological* metaphors. The previous research on migration metaphors has shown that there is a trend to use nature and movement source domains in reference to migration. Finally, metaphor analysis help to clarify what kind of opinion prevails in the media at the moment of text production.

In the following section, data and methodology of the current study will be presented in greater detail.

II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Description of the empirical survey and methods applied

Within the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics and cognitive theory, the following data was accumulated and empirically tested: 27 media articles from online mainstream British and Lithuanian media sources were collected in the time period of 2015-2016. Overall, the data set totals 20,104 of words i.e. Lithuanian data set arranges to 10,004 words, while English data consists of 10,100 words. The data set of

The current data was analysed by using qualitative methodology supplemented by general calculations of metaphor frequency and density. The qualitative method consists of two stages: first, metaphorical expressions were located in the text by empirically applying Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) by Pragglejaz Group (2007). According to this procedure, metaphor analysis is carried out by following 4 steps. First, the text has to be read in full for understanding the general meaning. Second, all the lexical units in the text should be determined. Third, the contextual meaning of each lexical unit has to be established by taking into consideration what comes before and after each lexical unit. Finally, contextual meanings of each lexical unit are compared to their basic meanings, and if those meanings differ- but can be understood in comparison with each other, then the lexical unit is regarded as metaphorical. The second stage is to classify metaphorical expressions into conceptual metaphors. This was done by using Lakoff and Johnson (1980) formula TARGET DOMAIN IS- SOURCE DOMAIN (A IS B), where the target domain is associated with a contextual meaning while the source domain is evoked by the basic meaning of the lexical unit.

Furthermore, the overall metaphorical frequency (the number of metaphorical expressions per total number of words) and the average metaphorical density (one metaphorical expression per number of words) were calculated. Finally, the prevalent source and target domains between two data sets were compared.

It should be noted that the current research does not address an issue of genre and gender specifics but rather concentrates on migration metaphor analysis and culture specific differences (if any), i.e. how migration is metaphorically perceived or understood in British or Lithuanian mainstream media.

The collected data is summarised in Table 1 below, where more specific information is provided about the overall number of words for both Lithuanian (LT) and English (EN) data sets:

Table 1. Data Summary

Media	LT	EN
Time period	(May, 25) 2015 - (November, 23) 2016	(April, 19) 2016 - (December, 23) 2016
Number of words	10,004	10,100

Total: 20,104 words

As seen from Table 1 above, the data covers the time period between 2015 and 2016, though according to the collected data in both languages, it is obvious that the English online newspapers publish more articles on the issue of migration than the Lithuanian media sources with the total number of words equaling 20,104.

As the current research aims to analyse and compare culture-specific media representations, Table 2 provides the summary of the collected media sources and their percentage respectively. :

Table 2. Media Data Characteristics

	LT media		EN media	
1	Delfi.lt	50%	The Guardian	33,(3)%
2	15min.lt	25%	The Independent	33,(3)%
3	Lrt.lt	17%	The BBC	20%
4	Lrytas.lt	8%	The Telegraph	13,(3)%
Total		100%		100%

As provided in Table 2 above, there are media sources that cover the topic of migration in Europe more frequently than the others do. In the English data set these are The Guardian and The Independent that address the issue more frequently than other online newspapers, while in the Lithuanian data it is Delfi.lt.

To identify the basic meaning of lexical units, the Oxford English Dictionary Online and the Macmillan English Dictionary for the English data, as well as Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas

for the Lithuanian data were used. To clarify more problematic instances of metaphor use, the Online Etymology Dictionary was added to the Dictionary list.

In the following section, the research findings of the current study will be discussed in greater detail.

III. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The overall analysis of the collected data results in the overall of 428 metaphorical expressions. The British data consists of 238 metaphorical expressions, while the Lithuanian metaphorical expressions amount to 190. The summary of the data is provided in Table 3 for the British media, and for the Lithuanian media in Table 4 below. In both Tables the total number of words, number of metaphorical expressions marked as ME, metaphorical density as MD and the prevailing source domain(s) as SD are provided.

Table 3. Research Findings of the British Media Sources

	No of words	ME	MD	SD
The Guardian	3800	86	1 me per 44 words	JOURNEY (22) OBJECT (16) PERSONIFICATION (13) NATURAL PHENOMENA (12) CRIME (5) HEALTH PROBLEM (3)
The Independent	3410	55	1 me per 62 words	JOURNEY (14) NATURAL PHENOMENA (10) OBJECT (11) PERSONIFICATION (6) HEALTH PROBLEM (4)
BBC	1521	61	1 me per 25 words	PERSONIFICATION (24) JOURNEY (13) OBJECT (13) NATURAL PHENOMENA (6) HEALTH PROBLEM (4) CRIME (4)
The Telegraph	1369	36	1 me per 38 words	PERSONIFICATION (11) OBJECT (13) NATURAL PHENOMENA (4)

				CRIME (3) JOURNEY (3)
Total	10,100	238	1 me per 42 words	-

Table 4. Research Findings of the Lithuanian Media Sources

	No of words	ME	MD	SD
Delfi.lt	4458	106	1 me per 42 words	PERSONIFICATION (49) NATURAL PHENOMENA (13) JOURNEY (13) HEALTH PROBLEM (9) WAR (8) OBJECT (6)
15min.lt	3350	63	1 me per 53 words	PERSON (18) JOURNEY (12) NATURAL PHENOMENA (10) HEALTH PROBLEM (8) CRIME (8)
Lrt.lt	1730	16	1 me per 108 words	PERSONIFICATION (7) OBJECT (3)
Lrytas.lt	466	5	1 me per 93 words	PERSON (2) BUSINESS (2)
Total	10,004	190	1 me per 53 words	-

As seen from Tables 3 and 4 above, there are 4 Lithuanian and 4 British online media sources, the articles of which were thoroughly analysed in order to find the metaphorical expressions related to the concept of MIGRATION. These media sources were searched for metaphorical expressions and all of the articles contained such keywords as ‘refugee’, ‘migrant’ and ‘migration’.

It was determined that the British media sources contain a considerably larger number of ME, while the difference in total number of words is not as significant. However, the metaphorical density per number of words differs by 10 metaphorical expressions on average. By comparison, the Lithuanian online media sources offer less metaphors per number of words than their British counterparts do. It can also be noted that similar prevalent source domains occur in both Lithuanian and British data. Interestingly, it can be observed that the higher the MD in the articles, similar source domains tend to be repeated in the same article.

The following subsections will provide more specific evaluation of the research findings.

3.1. Metaphor Use in the British Online Media Sources

This subsection of the paper will provide evaluation of the previously mentioned data samples (see Table 3 and Table 4). The prevailing source domains will be the main focus of this section and each SD will be discussed by supporting its conceptual nature with linguistic examples from the collected media articles.

The prevalent SD identified in the British online sources are summarised in Figure 2 below:

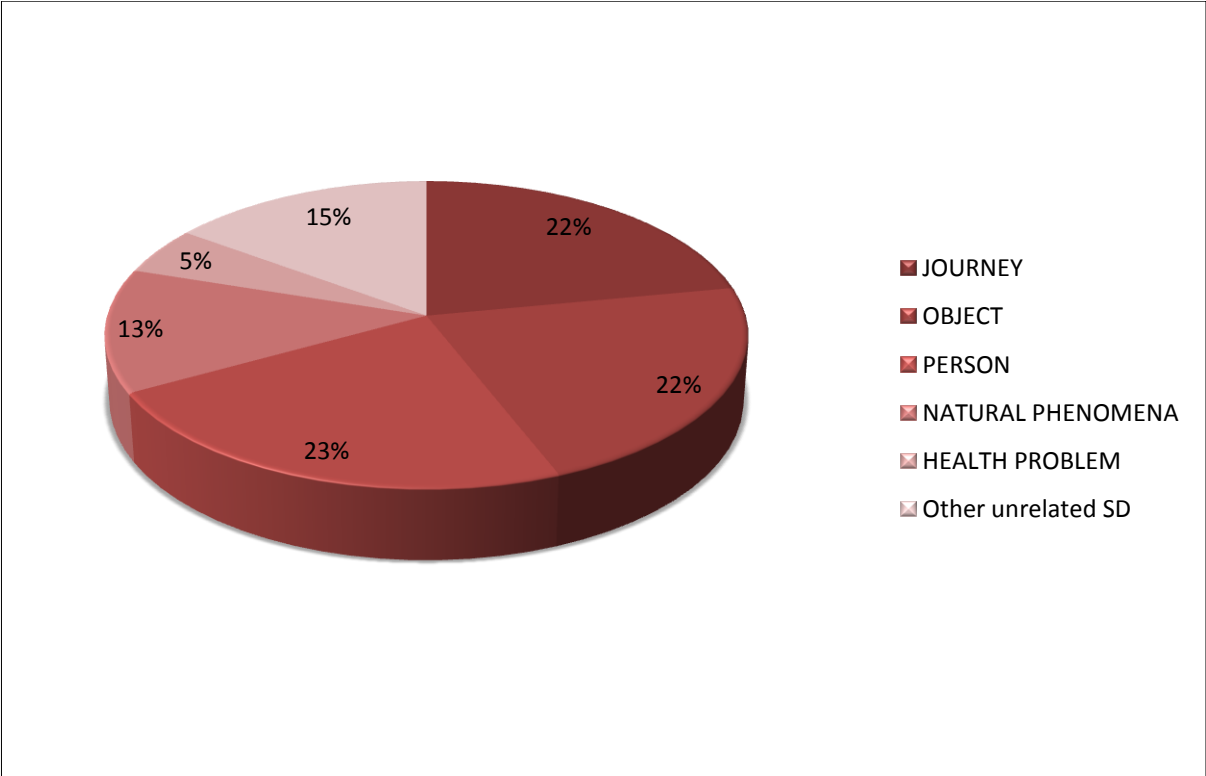


Figure 2. Prevalent SD in the British Online Media Sources

As indicated in Figure 2 above, the SD of PERSON dominates the British media narrative with 23%, while the SD of JOURNEY and OBJECT are equal in terms of metaphorical expressions reaching 22% each. The least dominant domains were NATURAL PHENOMENA with 13% and HEALTH PROBLEM with 5% respectively.

Overall, it can be argued that the underlying evaluation of the prevalent source domains is more negative than positive. This can be explained by their conceptual nature and their interrelatedness. To be more precise, the SD of OBJECT and JOURNEY indicate that the process of migration is threatening residents' life in the country and can damage their health and security. Similarly, the SD of HEALTH PROBLEM is mapped on the target domain of migration, migrants and refugees, and creates a perception of their presence as a threat to common health. In addition, the metaphors of objects and numbers offer the consumerists approach (objects, numbers) to migrating people as well as people seeking asylum. The metaphor of personification is demonstrated by the following examples chosen from the British data.

- The Source Domain of PERSON

(5) *Europe cannot continue to pretend this isn't happening.* (EUROPE IS A PERSON)

(6) <...> *as Germany has quietly clamped down on Balkan migration* (COUNTRY IS A PERSON)

(7) *It has taken the government three-plus years to negotiate this deal.* (GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON)

(8) <...> *many in Europe have criticised Turkey's tough response.* (COUNTRY IS A PERSON)

(9) <...> *the EU has to commit itself to a new relationship with Africa.* (EU IS A PERSON)

As seen from the examples above, personification helps journalists to create emotional appeal and establish a connection with the readers. Here it can be noted that the authors want the audience to believe that the decisions taken by the authorities make the entire country or union responsible for every citizen. Journalists personify a certain territory, such as in the example 5, 6 or 9 with the use of verbal phrases *to pretend*, *clamped down* and *has to commit* to imply that it is a human being with certain human traits that participate and are trying to solve migration 'problem'. By contrast, the OBJECT metaphor is the opposite conceptual frame of personification, whereby people, in this case migrants/refugees are objectified, i.e. represented as if they were objects. For example:

- The Source Domain of OBJECT

(10) <...> *final annual total is likely to surpass the previous record of 170,000.* (MIGRANTS ARE NUMBERS)

- (11) <...> *to accept a higher refugee intake* (MIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS)
- (12) <...> *really wants to reduce numbers coming into the UK* (MIGRANTS ARE NUMBERS)
- (13) *The latest figures, released by the UN's refugee agency, include 100 deaths.* (MIGRANTS ARE NUMBERS)
- (14) Since then *arrivals into Europe have slumped*. (MIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS)

As can be observed above, the examples show the dehumanizing aspect of the migration metaphor use. In this case, contrary to the personification of countries, unions or governments in the SD of PERSON, migrants are being objectified. People are viewed as objects that are without emotions and expressed through numerical value, i.e. can and should be counted. The use of the OBJECT metaphor minimizes any sense of empathy towards migrants. The choice of noun phrases, such as *annual total*, *refugee intake*, *latest figures* or *arrivals* demonstrate a more negative attitude towards refugees that is channeled by the mass media sources to readers.

To continue, another frequent metaphor estimated in the English data source is that of JOURNEY, e.g.:

- The Source Domain of JOURNEY
- (15) <...> *the Italian route once again becoming the main migrant gateway into Europe*. (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)
- (16) <...> *degree during their journey to Europe*. (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)
- (17) *On the eastern Mediterranean route – where migrants travel overland via Turkey and Greece* <...>. (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)
- (18) <...> *he said, including by intercepting people in the Mediterranean and returning them to their “starting point”* (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)
- (19) <...> *migrants unable to continue their journeys to Western Europe*. (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)

As shown in the examples, the use of metaphorical expressions implies that migrants/refugees' journey is perceived as a constant movement of migrants who are viewed as travellers reaching a certain destination and encountering various difficulties on their way. It can be noted that the tone of these metaphorical expressions is rather neutral, i.e. the migration process is considered to be an ordinary issue and such noun phrases as *migrant gateway*, *journey*, *route*, *starting point* confirm this kind of evaluative neutrality. Here the concept of migration is seen as a human journey that evokes the feeling of empathy and understanding. In general sense, life is also understood as a long

journey, thus in this case the use of metaphorical expressions only highlight the fact that this particular journey of migration from one country to another is not as easy and smooth.

The following examples will illustrate another domain – NATURAL PHENOMENA:

- The Source Domain of NATURAL PHENOMENA

(20) *The flows of people into Europe.* (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(21) <...> *she spoke of Britain being “swamped” by immigrants.* (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(22) <...> *to manage their borders to reduce onwards flows of illegal and uncontrolled migration.* (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(23) *The migrant numbers reaching the Greek islands have dropped since an EU-Turkey deal in March to curb the influx.* (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(24) *Then, finally, refugee flows will ease.* (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

In the several examples provided above, the definite negative view towards migration can be observed. Due to the manipulative nature of me, here the negative evaluation with the use of phenomena caused by nature can be seen. Such expressive nouns as *the flows* or *the influx* provide a threatening picture that is being showcased to the readers, thus they unconsciously paint a certain image of the current situation in their minds. The verbs *to curb* or *to reduce* indicate that migration essentially is a phenomenon such as an inflow of water, i.e. a stream that causes danger and is difficult to either stop or control.

To continue, the examples of the following prevalent domain, i.e. HEALTH PROBLEM are discussed below:

- The Source Domain of HEALTH PROBLEM

(25) *This crisis can’t be managed; it has to be resolved.* (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM)

(26) <...> *with its migration crisis for too long.* (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM)

(27) <...> *a migration crisis that has put massive strain on Europe.* (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM)

(28) <...> *leaders could successfully tackle a migration crisis.* (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM)

(29) <...> *against the risks of modern slavery as part of the response to the migration and refugee crisis.* (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM)

As can be observed above, the perception of migrants as a threat to society is portrayed through metaphors that mean a certain illness. In most cases there is a phrase *migration crisis* that is prevalent. It is also expressed through the verb phrases that follow the *migration crisis*, such as *can't be managed*, *has put massive strain*; therefore, the authors of the articles underline the consequences of the illness i.e. a crisis. A certain country or a territory (e.g. Europe) is shown as one living organism, by thus dehumanizing migrants or refugees.

Thus, the analysis of the British media sources has shown that unfortunately migration is viewed more negatively than positively. According to the results, the gradability of negative emotions is obvious when migration is described; people who migrate receive less empathy and tend to be dehumanized, whereas countries, organisations or even governments are likely to receive human qualities, such as an ability to think, respond, react in a certain way, pretend, fear, make decisions. The metaphors discussed in this subsection are quite powerful in terms of forming the public opinion regarding this topic. Just as argued by Charteris-Black (2006), the fact that migration is closely-related to the concept of natural disasters and other phenomena is dangerous for society. Charteris-Black distinguishes two basic forms of migration metaphors, thus here it can be noted that the British media uses a lot of *metaphors of natural disaster*. He suggests that it is fairly easy to use the manipulative power of words to transmit various information and points of view. The use of the afore-discussed metaphors therefore evokes fear and lack of empathy for migrants. Even more, it becomes possible to formulate public opinion by using a certain language in the news articles.

In the following subsection of the Research Findings, the use of the Lithuanian conceptual migration metaphors will be discussed and compared with the metaphors from the British media sources.

3.2. Metaphor Use in the Lithuanian Online Media Sources

This subsection will discuss the prevalent source domains (SD) in the Lithuanian Online Media Sources, where 190 metaphorical expressions were identified. The analysis of metaphors has shown that some SD were more popular in use than the others. The pie chart provided below demonstrates the overall tendency of preferences in percentage.

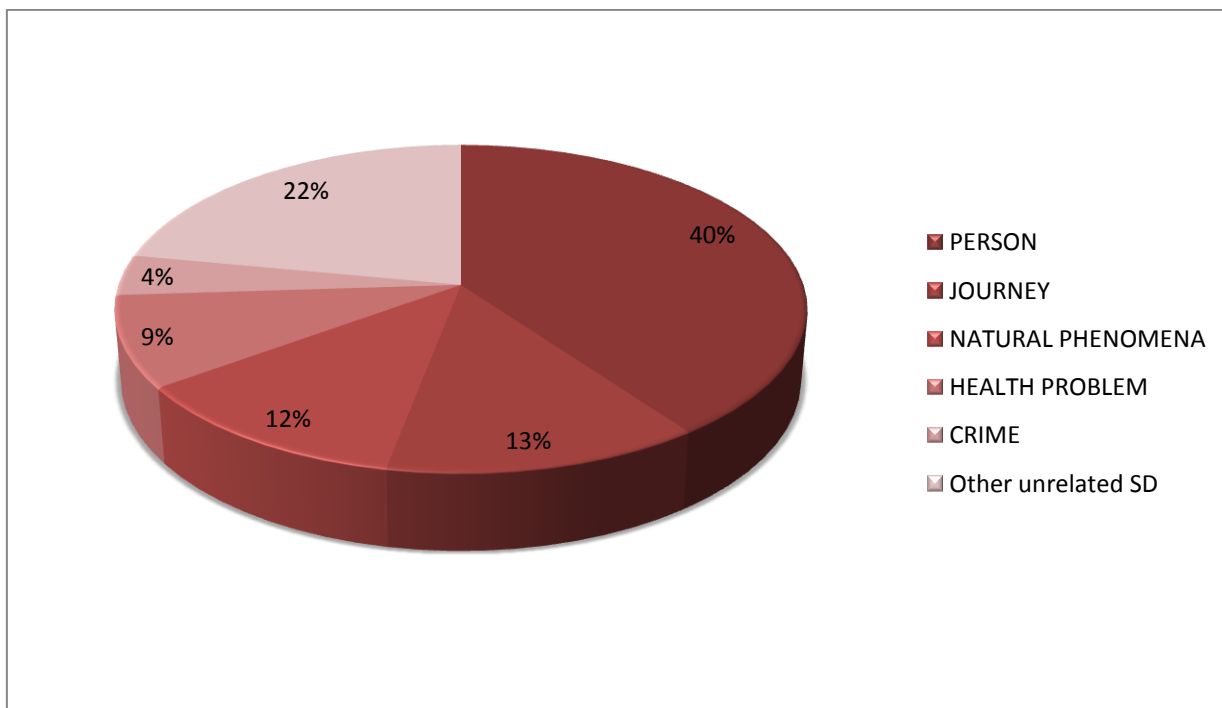


Figure 3. Prevalent SD in the Lithuanian Online Media Sources

As can be observed in Figure 3, there are several SD that stand out. The SD of PERSON, similarly to the British data, dominates with 40% of the overall frequency of use. Then the SD of JOURNEY with 13% of frequency is followed by the NATURAL PHENOMENA metaphor with its use of 12%. The last two SD are important to mention due to more specific metaphor cases, even though their percentage is not as high, i.e. 9% for HEALTH PROBLEM and the CRIME metaphor with 4%. The following examples and explanations will provide a more in-depth illustration of each conceptual metaphor.

The most frequent conceptual metaphor found in the Lithuanian data is that of personification, whereby abstract entities or countries are personified and represented as agents who have power and will to make decisions and act. For instance:

- The Source Domain of PERSON

(30) <...> *pradėta gabenti migrantus link sienos su Vengrija, kuri jau ir taip nesusidoroja su tūkstančiais pabėgėlių.* (COUNTRY IS A PERSON)

(31) *Tą iš dalies galima paaiškinti bendromis Europos nuotaikomis pabėgėlių klausimu.* (EUROPE IS A PERSON)

(32) *Įvardijo, kodėl Vokietija noriai priima pabėgėlius.* (COUNTRY IS A PERSON)

(33) *Vokietija jau gana seniai patyrė, kad atvykėliai atneša daugiau naudos nei padaro žalos.*

(COUNTRY IS A PERSON)

(34) *Turkija labai trokšta bevizio režimo.* (COUNTRY IS A PERSON)

As can be seen from the examples above, the SD of PERSON is similar to the British representation of personified countries or organisations. Once again, they are responsible for the decisions of the entire nation, and they experience human-like situations, in this case a wish, an attitude and an experience. These metaphors are expressed through verb phrases in the present and past tenses: *nesusidoroja, priima, patyrė, trokšta*; likewise, in the British online sources the verb phrases were also used in the context of personified metaphor.

The following examples are of JOURNEY, which is also one of the most frequent domains:

- The Source Domain of JOURNEY

(35) <...> *renkasi mirties keliu pramintą kelionę Viduržemio jūra ir viltį apie saugesnę ir sotesnę ateitį Europoje.* (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)

(36) *Migrantų kelionė iš Prancūzijos į Didžiąją Britaniją – ne naujiena.* (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)

(37) <...> *kodėl afrikiečiai bei azijiečiai bėga į Europą.* (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)

(38) <...> *imigrantai pabijos dar labiau rizikuoti gyvybėmis ir leistis į šią pavojingą kelionę.* (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)

(39) *Etiopė pažino ne vieną žmogų, kuris Europą pasiekė vandeniui.* (MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY)

As can be observed from the examples, the JOURNEY metaphor is represented as a travelling experience for migrants. Migration, similarly to the British narrative, is perceived as a long journey with some obstacles on the way. However, in the Lithuanian case the emphasis is more on the fact that such journeys are extremely dangerous for them. The British authors give an impression of a neutral tone, while here the choice of words signals the danger and sometimes fatal results of such travels. This can be seen from the expressions with the metaphorical use of adjectives to describe the journey: *mirties keliu pramintą kelionę, leistis į šią pavojingą kelionę*.

To carry on, the NATURAL PHENOMENA metaphor is illustrated below and the comparison between the prevalent British SD and the Lithuanian one is provided, the former being previously discussed in greater detail:

- The Source Domain of NATURAL PHENOMENA

(40) *Problemos dėl pabėgėlių: plūsta tūkstančiai*. (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(41) *Dešimtys tūkstančių migrantų užplūdo Balkanų šalis*. (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(42) *Per visą Europą nuvilnijusi pabėgėlių krizės banga pasiekė ir Lietuvą*. (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(43) *Padidėjus migrantų antplūdžiui Didžioji Britanija sustiprino apsaugą*. (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

(44) *Ši tendencija tai sustiprėja, tai atslūgsta daugiau nei dešimtmetį*. (MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON)

As can be seen from the instances above, the Lithuanian media tries to showcase migration as a natural phenomenon, i.e. something that, similarly as the previously mentioned cases in the British media, is unstoppable and dangerous for the local residents. Interestingly, as the Lithuanian language has a completely different sentence structure in comparison with the English language, Lithuanian journalists use various prefixes to express the NATURAL PHENOMENA metaphor. As the Lithuanian language is rich in affixation, it is used with the verbs such as *atslūgsta*, *užplūdo*; it is also possible to observe the variety of the synonyms for running streams of water, flows and general movements of water, which represent the migrants, e.g. migrants are a huge wave in *pabėgėlių krizės banga* or the immense number of people as a flood in *plūsta tūkstančiai*. This signals the idea that migration is represented in the negative light, which can form the negative opinion and contribute to the overall atmosphere of animosity towards migrants.

The following examples provide a visual for HEALTH PROBLEM, which is also a commonly-used metaphor in the British and Lithuanian media:

- The Source Domain of HEALTH PROBLEM

(45) <...> *atvykėliai kaip reikiant nustekens šalies ekonomiką*. (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM, ECONOMY IS A PERSON)

(46) *Europą ištiko baisiausia per 50 metų migrantų krizė*. (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM, EUROPE IS A PERSON)

(47) *Apsauga nuo imigrantų – skurdas*. (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM, A THREAT)

(48) <...> *srautas laikomas didžiausia krize nuo Antrojo Pasaulinio karo laikų*. (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM)

(49) *Klausimas, kaip atsitiko, kad tokia stipri ir įtakinga Europos Sąjunga (ES) negalėjo numatyti tokios krizės.* (MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM, EU IS A PERSON)

As shown above, the Lithuanian media as well as its British counterpart portray migration via the source domain of HEALTH PROBLEM in a similar way. Both sides utilise the metaphor of *crisis* in the metaphorical expressions. The British media tend to use the collocation that has recently appeared in the *Collocation Dictionary*- *refugee crisis* and also the collocation *migration crisis* which are very popular among the news outlets. It can be seen that the Lithuanian authors emphasize the seriousness of this *crisis* by adding various adjectives: *baisiausia per 50 metų migrantų krizė, didžiausia krizė nuo Antrojo Pasaulinio karo laikų*. This leads to a conclusion that migration is perceived as a major threat for modern society that is ‘weakening’ the personified EU that has to experience this ‘horrible illness’. Once again it proves negativity towards the people who are looking for shelter and are seeking for help in Europe.

To continue, another metaphor which occurred in the Lithuanian data is that of CRIME is discussed in more detail:

- The Source Domain of CRIME

(50) <...> *imigrantai užgrobia vietinių piliečių darbo vietas.* (MIGRATION IS A CRIME)

(51) *Daugiausia nerimo jiems kelia galimas nusikalstamumo augimas.* (MIGRATION IS A CRIME)

(52) *Taigi Europos valstybių nusikalstamos struktūros suka lizdus institucijose.* (MIGRATION IS A CRIME)

(53) *Kroatija ragina tūkstančius migrantų neteisėtai kirsti sieną.* (MIGRATION IS A CRIME)

(54) <...> *Dažniausiai imigrantai nusikalsta dėl socialinės atskirties ir išstūmimo už visuomenės ribų.* (MIGRATION IS A CRIME)

In the examples above, it is possible to observe the instances of conceptual metaphor that appear through the associations drawn from the source domain of CRIME. Here migrants are represented as people who can or commit crimes; more importantly, there is a trend of dehumanization,-whereby migrants are seen as one unit and all of them are dangerous for the society, e.g. *imigrantai užgrobia vietinių piliečių darbo vietas, imigrantai nusikalsta dėl socialinės atskirties*. The general view towards them is negative, which makes it difficult for readers to express empathy or sympathize with migrants in any positive way.

To conclude these two subsections, it can be noted that the overall opinion towards migration is emphatically negative. The prevalent SD in the British online media sources with the above examples represent the view that dominates in the migration-related articles. Migration is seen as a phenomenon that puts others in a dangerous situation, i.e. public opinion is shaped in a way to portray migrants as a threat for local residents. The lack of empathy in the SD of OBJECT demonstrates the problem more clearly. Meanwhile, the SD of PERSON, similarly in both Lithuanian and British media, seems to personify everything but the refugees. The Lithuanian articles contain a richer metaphor choice due to the variety of prefixes used in the verb phrases and a more expressive language use. All the SDs are interrelated, and it can be seen how one SD triggers the other SD in a way that metaphors are conceptually interconnected, e.g. MIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS, COUNTRY IS A PERSON, MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON, and MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM. Their interrelatedness provides us with a logical explanation to why migrants are being objectified and perceived as a threat. The fact that migrants are viewed whether as a health issue, or a flow of water is something a person or a country would like to get rid of or avoid, thus it indicates a negatively poisoning attitude towards people who run for their lives.

The following section will provide the conclusions with regard to the objectives that have been set in the beginning of the investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

This research was carried out in order to determine what kinds of migration metaphor prevail in the British and Lithuanian online media sources. The key was to ascertain the prevalent opinion that is formed by evoking conceptual metaphor in the recent news articles, related to migration. Based on the interim findings of this paper, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The most frequent metaphor SDs that were identified in the collected data are the following: PERSON, OBJECT, JOURNEY, and NATURAL PHENOMENON. The Lithuanian media uses similar metaphors to express the same opinion towards migration as the British sources do. However, due to the differences in the language structure and general choice of lexis, the metaphorical expressions tend to be quite diverse. The intensity of SD ranges from 40% of all the findings (PERSON) to 4% (CRIME).
2. Metaphor that is the target of this research is conceptual, i.e. it carries a particular concept which is expressed through a certain thought or idea. As conceptual metaphor performs a cognitive function, in written discourse it is realised through metaphorical expressions. The analysis of the collected data resulted in the following conceptual metaphors: COUNTRY IS A PERSON, MIGRANTS ARE NUMBERS, MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON, MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM, MIGRATION IS A THREAT etc.
3. The implied ideological meaning is similar in both Lithuanian and British media articles. The overall opinion that dominates in the media sources and is evoked by the SD is negative. Journalists tend to portray migration through the use of conceptual metaphors that imply negativity towards it.
4. The comparison of two data sets has led to the results as follows:
 - 4.1. Both British and Lithuanian media sources use the personified images of institutions or countries, realized through such metaphors as COUNTRY IS A PERSON, GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON, EUROPE IS A PERSON, with the purpose to indicate that they are alive and thus have human qualities. In that case, the entire nation is seen as being responsible for the decisions of a country, or that all the residents share feelings towards migrants such as fear, anger etc.
 - 4.2. The British media has plenty of metaphors that dehumanize migrants/refugees. The SD of OBJECT that appears in the British data implies the objectified image of people, i.e. migrants are portrayed through MIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS and MIGRANTS ARE NUMBERS metaphors. This causes lack of empathy for people who undergo migration and

are forced to cross the borders. Here they are seen as an overall number of objects that can be moved around or placed somewhere. By contrast, there were fewer metaphors in the Lithuanian media that would imply a similar concept.

- 4.3. In the case of the British media, the MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, similarly to the Lithuanian media, is presented in a more neutral tone. However, the Lithuanian media tends to emphasize the difficulties and dangers of the undertaken journey.
- 4.4. As observed from both Lithuanian and British data analysis, the SD of NATURAL PHENOMENA is widely used in both languages (12-13% of the total number). The MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON metaphor expresses the concept of flows and other water-related ideas that are associated with migration. Again, due to the interrelatedness of all the SD, this ideological meaning is visible not only through this SD, but in the other SDs as well. The ‘intruders’, i.e. migrants seem to be unstoppable, and this causes panic and frustration of the residents. In case of the Lithuanian articles, the only minor difference is the use of prefixation, which is articulated through verb and noun phrases to depict the same implied ideology. Once more, the absence of empathy for the people who meet the issue of migration is highlighted by the metaphor use.
- 4.5. The SD of the HEALTH PROBLEM in the British and Lithuanian online sources is also alike. MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM is expressed by the use of the word *crisis*. However, Lithuanian authors are more likely to emphasize the severity and the intensity of the illness – long-term awful disease that a certain country, or the EU has to experience. As with the other SDs, this concept dehumanizes the refugees and personifies the territories instead.
- 4.6. The interrelatedness is the main factor that appears in all of the SDs discussed in this research. All the SD are interconnected, thus it helps to focus on the general idea of what the author of the article tries to imply. The metaphor use creates an image of objectified migrants that are considered to be a threat that can burst the doors open to get into the EU. Thus, personified countries or territories seem to experience difficulties due to the migration. Finally, it can be argued that almost all the instances of metaphor use deemphasize empathy for migrants and rather evoke feelings of fear, negativity and risk to life and existence.

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans ce mémoire de fin d'études, le sujet est la métaphore conceptuelle qui est utilisée dans les journaux en ligne anglais et lituaniens. Cette métaphore est celle qui exprime l'opinion liée à la migration. Les moyens de communication aident à transmettre l'information pour les masses, et en même temps, il est facile à avoir de l'influence pour l'opinion de la société à propos des sujets d'actualité dans le monde. Les auteurs des articles utilisent le langage varié, et donc il est possible de manipuler dans le niveau cognitif, d'où la métaphore conceptuelle, qui apparaît dans les textes de la presse. Le but de ce travail est de déterminer les types de la métaphore de migration, qui prédominent dans les articles anglais et lituanien. Pour qu'on puisse les identifier, quelques objectifs ont été se fixés: premièrement, d'identifier la fréquence et l'intensité de métaphore linguistique dans les données recueillies. Ensuite, de reconstruire la métaphore linguistique à la métaphore conceptuelle de MIGRATION. Finalement, de déterminer la signification idéologique sous-entendue de la métaphore de MIGRATION.

Pour cette recherche, on a pris 27 articles de journaux en ligne lituaniens et anglais. La période de cettas publications est les années 2015-2016. Au total, le nombre de mots égale 20,104. Pour analyser les données et identifier la métaphore conceptuelle, on utilise la méthode MIP de Pragglejazz Group (2007). 428 expressions métaphoriques ont été trouvées dans les articles anglais et lituaniens. Après avoir analysé les données, on peut constater les choses suivantes: les SD des métaphores les plus fréquentes sont PERSON, OBJECT, JOURNEY, et NATURAL PHENOMENON. L'opinion dominante dans les articles anglais et lituaniens en ligne sur la migration est négative. Les métaphores conceptuelles utilisées les plus sont MIGRANTS ARE NUMBERS, COUNTRY IS A PERSON, MIGRATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON, MIGRATION IS A HEALTH PROBLEM, MIGRATION IS A THREAT etc. La chose la plus importante est la tentative de déshumaniser les migrants. L'absence d'empathie pour les gens et la personnification plutôt des pays. En plus, tous les SD métaphoriques sont en corrélation. Il est visible que, en fait, le jugement certain existe dans tous les articles analysés. Le SD de JOURNEY est le seul domaine qui exprime la neutralité, tandis que les domaines restants insinuent l'opinion négative à l'égard des migrants et le processus de migration.

APPENDICES

Table 5. Description of Sources

No.	Source name	Language	Article title	Word count
1	Delfi.lt	LT	Migrantai Vokietijoje reikalauja geresnių sąlygų: padėtis tampa kritine	398
2	Delfi.lt	LT	Vokietijoje – problemos dėl pabėgėlių: plūsta tūkstančiai	371
3	Delfi.lt	LT	Kroatijoje esantys migrantai pajudėjo Vengrijos link	461
4	Delfi.lt	LT	Migrantai giriasi patekę į Europos rojų: po 600 eurų – už nieko neveikimą	882
5	Delfi.lt	LT	Naujas pabėgėlių srautas Europai smogs iš ten, kur nesitikėta	617
6	Delfi.lt	LT	Pabėgėliai sprunka iš Lietuvos kartu su emigrantais	1,729
7	15min	LT	Pabėgėliai iš Kalė „Džiunglių“ į Didžiąją Britaniją plūsta ne dėl pašalpų	837
8	15min	LT	Į Europą plūstantys pabėgėliai: didžiausios europiečių baimės ir stereotipai	1,739
9	15min	LT	Laimę Lietuvoje radusi etiopė: pabėgėliai atkeliauja ne kaip kolonizatoriai	774
10	Lrt. lt	LT	Ruklos seniūnas apie pabėgėlius: tegul savo tradicijų laikosi uždariai ir nebruka jų mums	759
11	Lrt. lt	LT	P. Auštrevičius siūlo taikyti kitokią pabėgėlių priėmimo tvarką	971
12	Lrytas.lt	LT	Ar pavyks pabėgėlių mainai?	466
13	The Guardian	ENG	2016 sets new record for asylum seekers reaching Italy by boat	513
14	The Guardian	ENG	100 people feared drowned as boat sinks off Libya	684
15	The Guardian	ENG	Refugees held in Australian offshore detention to be resettled in US	1,194
16	The Guardian	ENG	Survey finds 70% of migrants arriving in Europe by boat trafficked or exploited	633
17	The Guardian	ENG	Tony Abbott says Europe is facing 'peaceful invasion' of asylum seekers	776
18	The Independent	ENG	Refugee crisis: Woman and child killed in fire at migrant detention camp on Greek island of Lesbos	299
19	The Independent	ENG	How economic migrants become refugees as they seek a new life	1,366
20	The Independent	ENG	Refugees coming to the UK aren't escaping the troubles they leave	409

			behind, says Tory MEP	
21	The Independent	ENG	Brexit may cause endless queues at Calais, but it won't halt the migrant crisis	874
22	The Independent	ENG	Theresa May tells world leaders they have a 'duty' to block mass-migration	462
23	BBC	ENG	Migrant crisis: Turkey threatens EU with new surge	433
24	BBC	ENG	Migration crisis: Italy threatened by national crisis	839
25	BBC	ENG	Migrant crisis: UN says 5,000 drown trying to reach Europe this year	249
26	The Telegraph	ENG	Sweden was overwhelmed by influx of child migrants – we should heed their lesson	893
27	The Telegraph	ENG	Pressure mounts on Greek refugee camps as more migrants come across the Aegean Sea	476
				Total: 20,104