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Conceptualisation of Migration: an Analysis of Communications of the
European Union Institutions

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements
for the degree of MA in Language for Specific (Legal) Purposes

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to the supervisor of my research paper Professor Dr Inesa Šeškauskienė. I am greatly indebted for the constructive feedback, valuable insights and support that helped me immensely during the process of conducting my research as well as writing the paper itself.

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Abstract

This paper sets out to explore the phenomenon of migration by analysing conceptual metaphors extracted from the Communication that were issued by the Institutions of the European Union. The aim of this research paper is to attempt to reveal how migration is conceptualised by the Institutions of the European Union in general. In order to achieve this objective, a corpus of linguistic data on the topic of migration was compiled from which conceptual metaphors were extracted by applying several methods. Firstly, metaphorical patterns were established using software that analysis linguistic data; secondly, the metaphoricity of utterances was determined by evaluating the meaning of lexical units in the given context. Lastly, a comprehensive analysis of the most prominent metaphors in the corpus was carried out. The overall results revealed that the metaphor MIGRATION IS OBJECT was the most frequent; nevertheless, other conceptual metaphors, such as, MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON, MIGRATION IS ENTERPRISE, ILLEGAL MIGRATION IS BATTLE and MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY were also quite common.

Introduction

The phenomenon of migration is not a new concept, in fact, people have migrated since The Stone Age. The reasons were various: firstly, people sought to find more fertile land, better weather conditions, more easily accessible materials that were vital for the existing. In other words, people migrated so that they can find more suitable environment for the essential human needs. However, these days the movement of people is influenced more by dreadful conditions rather than the need to fulfil basic needs of survival. Thus, the purpose of migration in the 21st century has changed fundamentally. Present migration is mostly related to the human factors. e. g., armed conflicts, violence, religious-ethnic persecution, famine, lack of education and proper health care systems. Therefore, it is not surprising that the European Union, having no wars, freedom to choose religion, prohibition to persecute persons based on their ethnicity, as well as relatively well-established education and health care systems was always a major destination for immigrants. According to the Eurostat, by 1 January 2020, 23 million people residing in one of the Member States were not citizens of the European Union (Eurostat 2021). This amounts to 5.1 % of whole population. Thus, indeed, as observed by Wiesbrock, “immense volume and scale of movement of persons <...> have turned the phenomenon of migration into one of the most visible challenges and opportunities in a globalised world” (Wiesbrock 2010:1).

Firstly, it should be noted that there are two types of migration in the European Union that are distinguished in the documents available: internal and external. Even though, internal migration has its own challenges, for example, loss of skilful work force, a possible rise in criminal activity, danger of terrorism and economic consequences, it is a topic that is not as dividing. However, external migration is a sensitive topic since it has many subtle aspects that should be taken into consideration. On the one hand, when looking from political perspective, the European Union, as an institution, advocates strongly for human rights and humanitarian help for those in need. On the other hand, it is a burden that citizens of the European Union must take on their shoulders. Therefore, naturally, they are concerned about their well-being; namely, changes in the labour market situation, social challenges, economic consequences for their country as well as fair distribution of migrants within the European Union in general. The issue aggravated even more during the migrant crisis in Europe in 2014. During a period of five years (2014 – 2019) a high number of refugees came to the European Union from overseas across the Mediterranean Sea. This created unprecedented situation for the Member States. As noted by Borowicz “the migration crisis in the European Union has demonstrated the differences in the understanding of the notion of solidarity among the Member States. <...> The EU is in a unique position with sufficient capabilities and resources to handle this social and economic

phenomenon. However, the measures undertaken by individual Member States are certain to carry political consequences, with the EU greatly divided on this sensitive issue” (Borowicz 2017: 90). Thus, the political undertone added to the complexity of the issue even more. Nevertheless, as the European Union is seen as a one unit, naturally, the combined approach should be applied when tackling the issue at hand. This approach should be reflected in the official documents issued by various institutions because they form the political agenda in general. Therefore, by employing linguistic evidence, this paper aims to find out how the phenomenon of migration is perceived by the European Union Institutions. To achieve this goal, the following objectives have been set: 1) to compile a corpus consisting of linguistic data from Communications of the European Union Institutions on the topic of migration; 2) to extract the conceptual metaphors from the corpus collected and assign them to appropriate categories; 3) to analyse the most often employed conceptual metaphors in order to find out how migration was conceptualised.

In the first section of the paper, literature related to conceptual metaphor theory and legal discourse will be overviewed. In the second chapter, data and methodology of the investigation conducted will be presented. Furthermore, the results that were obtained will be discussed in more detail. Then an in-depth analysis of major metaphors will be carried out. Lastly, the results will be discussed and presented in the Conclusions.

Literature Review

As defined by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* a “[m]etaphor [is a] figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities” (Encyclopedia Britannica 2021). Due to its nature, the usage of metaphors often aids in understanding abstract ideas. In other words, the idea of an abstract notion is transposed on tangible item. As explained in *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*, “metaphor ascribes to some thing or action X a property Y which it could not literally possess in that context” (Childs & Fowler 2006: 139). This feature allows to create meaningful units of language that are not only relatively short and clear in their meaning, but also stylistically pleasing. For example, in the phrase “mind is an ocean”, the notion of *mind*, which is abstract, and thus, difficult to grasp, is presented within a framework of an *ocean*, a concrete item with specific features (Cambridge Dictionary Online 2021). Therefore, one can understand that the human mind is vast in its size and deep in its ability to think. What is specific for the type of metaphors mentioned is that they are mainly used in poetic language, namely, fictional prose, drama, poetry. They are artistic in nature as their purpose is to make language elegant and musical, therefore, they are called creative metaphors. This is a traditional approach to metaphor considered as far back as by Aristotle in his *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*.

In the 1970s, a new approach to language studies emerged, namely, cognitive linguistics. It is an interdisciplinary trend with its own theoretical background that analyses language, mind, and sociocultural events. This new trend in linguistics altered the understanding of metaphor, and thus, a new approach was developed known as conceptual metaphor phenomenon. This kind of metaphor can be found not only in fiction or prose, but also in discourses that are stylistically more rigid, for example, legal texts.

1. The foundations of conceptual metaphor theory

Overall, the following ideas could be distinguished as being one of the main principles of cognitive linguistics (Croft and Cruse 2004). Firstly, language cannot be separated from thought. This entails that when constructing utterances, people invoke the same processes for the recovery of linguistic knowledge as for the retrieval of any other kind of cognitive information. Thus, it could be argued that language in the human mind is organised in the same way as any other cognitive structure. Secondly, grammar reflects the way in which the world is conceptualised. The theory refers to the idea that it is not enough to only interact with the outside world; all the experiences must be communicated. This is done by employing specific grammatical patterns that are deeply entrenched in languages, and thus, reveal the specific manner in which humans communicate their ideas. Lastly, people learn about certain patterns of language only by using it. In other words, people can only employ semantic, morphological,

syntactical, and phonological structures of a language if they first learn to recognise them when used in specific contexts. Thus, in general, the main idea of cognitive linguistics is related to the concept that thought and language are strongly intertwined and should be looked upon comprehensively.

Furthermore, language is perceived as a system that can reflect the way humans see the world around them, and according to cognitive linguists, this idea is evident in the language system itself. As discussed by Dirven and Verspoor (1998), humans in general tend to communicate through three types of sign systems. Firstly, indexical signs that point to certain direction or sometimes even emotional state. Secondly, iconic signs that are a visual representation of the item that they stand for. Lastly, symbolic signs which do not have a direct link to the item that they stand for and are only meaningful because their definitions are commonly agreed upon. According to Dirven and Verspoor, these systems of signs manifest themselves in language in the following way. The language is indexical because humans define the location of an item in space and time from their own perspective by pointing to a certain object or referring to the event of the past. This is evident from the small words, such as, *here, there, now, this, that* etc (Dirven and Verspoor 1998: 5). Furthermore, the iconicity of a language manifests in three ways: in sequential order of structuring sentences (the construction of temporal and linear events in a specific manner), word order (syntactical order of words in sentences), and repetition (when the same word/phrase is repeated several times so that to put emphasis on the plurality of things). This means that sentences are constructed by employing specific linguistic patterns which cannot be reverted. Lastly, the symbolicity of language is related to the relationship between meaning and form of the word. However, scholars admit that these days most of the words lost the original link, and their symbolic meaning is rather arbitrary. As explained by Dirven and Verspoor, the phones with cords are no longer used; however, the phrase *to hang up a phone* is still a meaningful unit of language (Dirven and Verspoor 1998: 13). Nevertheless, the nature of humans to look for a link between a form of a word and its meaning is still evident when coining new words. As a rule, new terms are built on those concepts that already exists in language, and thus, are already meaningful for humans. This proves once again that linguistic information that humans already possess is a foundation on which cognitive knowledge is developed.

Additionally, scholars argue that on the cognitive level humans in general tend to categorise the world around them. The structure of those categories through which humans comprehend their environment was discussed in detail by Rosch (1978) in her seminal work *Principles of Categorization* (the main concepts were also presented in Taylor 1995, Ungerer & Schmid

2006, Evans & Green 2006). The scholar claims that “human categorization should not be considered the arbitrary product of historical accident or of whim but rather the result of psychological principles of categorization” (Rosch 1978: 27). This entails that humans classify notions not because it is customary but as a consequence of cognitive processes.

Generally, two axes of perception exist: vertical and horizontal. Vertical dimension puts emphasis on the importance of the identical features of items which allows to create the hierarchy of concepts. The horizontal dimension, on the other hand, deals with prototypes which are understood as “schematic representation of the conceptual core of a category” (Taylor 1995: 59). In other words, no item can be identical to one another; it is almost impossible. However, if it has certain attributes (a collection of characteristics that animate or inanimate object possess), categories can be formed, and objects assigned to them. Cognitive linguists consider that items which have all the attributes necessary are good representatives of their category. Nevertheless, it becomes rather problematic when an item in question has some features that meets the criteria, yet lacks the others, or has additional characteristics that are entirely different. That is, the speaker’s intuition suggests that the item belongs to a certain category; however, formally, due to the requirements listed, it cannot be assigned to it. This creates so called fuzzy boundaries, a term that refers to cognitive categorisation within the same system. It is rather problematic issue; nevertheless, according to the cognitive linguists it can be resolved by applying a principle of family resemblance (Wittgenstein, Rosh & Mervis in Ungerer & Schmid 2006). The basic idea of the principle is that each item within category shares at least one attribute with the other member, and thus, are related. This could be explained schematically in the following way (Ungerer & Schmid 2006: 29): items that have attributes AB, BC, CD, DE are related because the first item has attributes AB and the second has BC, and since one of the features (namely, B) is identical, items in question can be assigned to the same category. This can be further extended to the examples BC, CD, and DE. Overall, the principle allows for more flexible understanding of the categorisation which helps to resolve issues related to the fuzziness.

2. Cognitive categorisation: the phenomenon of conceptual metaphor

As argued in the previous section, language and thought are closely interrelated and this relationship can be traced back linguistically (as discussed by Dirven and Verspoor). It was also suggested that humans tend to categorise various concepts on the cognitive level in general (Rosch 1978, Taylor 1995, Ungerer & Schmid 2006, Evans & Green 2006). Nevertheless, the idea of systemised human perception of the world and relation between thought and language was extended further by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The scholars claimed that not only people

tend to systemise various concepts on the cognitive level, but those systems can also reflect in what terms humans perceive the world around them. This perception, as claimed by Lakoff and Johnson, is entrenched in language and is manifested through conceptual metaphors. Indeed, the scholars argue that language is highly metaphorical and conceptual metaphors are not only embedded in language but can also influence the perception of the world of the people as well. As noted by Lakoff and Johnson “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). Thus, most of the time humans are not even aware that their actions might be influenced in some way, they just act accordingly due to the unconscious behavioural models established. To understand what is behind those patterns, one must look at the language, which is a tool for communication, and thus, as argued in the previous chapter, is a reflection of our thoughts. The following example of conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY was proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 44-45):

LOVE IS JOURNEY:

Look how *far we've come*.
We're *at a crossroads*.
We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
We can't *turn back* now.
I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
Where are we?
We're *stuck*.
It's been a *long, bumpy road*.
This relationship is a *dead-end street*.
We're just *spinning our wheels*.
Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
We've *gotten off the track*.
This relationship *is foundering*.

As can be seen from the examples above, the concept of love, which is a rather abstract notion, is expressed by employing linguistic terms that are usually used in reference to a concrete action, namely, travelling. Thus, it was observed (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002) that conceptual metaphor consists of two elements. Firstly, domain A, which is related to abstract notion (i.e., target domain), and domain B that refers to the concrete concept (i.e., source domain). Therefore, the formula that depicts the conceptual metaphor pattern is the following: A is B. Additionally, cognitive linguists emphasise that conceptual metaphors are unidirectional since metaphorical process cannot be reversed. In other words, the source domain conveys the target domain as both domains have similarities, however, target domain cannot be conveyed in terms of a source domain. Additionally, later, the term of mapping was also introduced into the theory of conceptual metaphor. This term refers to the linguistic grounds used for the comparison of the domains (Kövecses 2002, Ungerer & Schmid 2006, Evans & Green 2006). According to the scholars, mappings are not accidentally applied linguistic terms but rather

units of language that are formed on the basis of three categories, also known as mapping scope. The categories of mapping scope are the following: image schemas, basic correlations, and culture-dependent evaluations (Ungerer & Schmid 2006: 119-120). The image schemas, as argued by Lakoff and Johnson, are structures which are formed on the basis of specific human experiences the number of which is rather limited: “containment” (the object is perceived as being enclosed); “journey and its component parts” (the object is conceptualised in terms of travelling); “proximity and distance” (the level of emotional involvement is depicted in terms related to space); “linkage and separation” (refers to the spatial relations between material object and abstract idea); “front-back” (related to the physical position of a human body); “part-whole” (refers to the conceptualisation of an object as consisting of separate elements that forms homogeneous entity); “linear order” (related to the sequential order of events); up-down (related to the position of an object as being perceived horizontally); mass vs. multiplex (a large number of objects are perceived as being a one unit) (Taylor 1995: 134-135). The second group, basic correlations, refers to experiences that are not related to the physical relation between human body and the environment, yet the knowledge of it “guide us in understanding the events and actions in the world around us” (Ungerer & Schmid 2006: 120). Lastly, the culture-dependent evaluations refer to a specific type of knowledge that only the representatives of certain cultures are aware of.

Considering all of the above, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY could be deconstructed in the following manner: love (target domain) is conveyed through journey (source domain) by employing words, such as, *come*, *crossroads*, *go* etc. (mapping). That is, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY is created by borrowing one aspect of the source domain and mapping it on the target domain. It should also be noted that when constructing the conceptual metaphor some elements of the source domain are more prominent than the others. For example, the element of the road in the metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY is salient; however, the method used for the travel itself is not clear, thus hidden. This phenomenon is known as highlighting/hiding and it can “perspectivise a concept or conceptual domain” (Evans & Green 2006: 304). In other words, it can display which specific aspects of abstract concept are emphasised, and thus, considered as important. Lastly, as claimed by the scholars, the linguistic manifestation of conceptual metaphors is usually so deeply entrenched in language that the metaphors “become so conventional and common place with constant use that by now they have lost their vigour and have ceased to be metaphors at all” (Kövecses 2002: ix). Cognitive linguists refer to such metaphors as “dead” since initial, poetic, effect has faded, and their usage has become a standard practice. Nevertheless, these metaphors are the ones that can reveal the most about

how humans conceptualise their experiences since their usage has become a convention used almost unconsciously.

3. The metaphoricity of legal discourse

The previous section has shown that conceptual metaphors are a collection of experiences presented in coherent cognitive systems the manifestation of which is encoded in a language. Additionally, it was also observed that the usage of conceptual metaphors is not limited to the poetic language only; it is a prominent feature of everyday language. Thus, naturally, conceptual metaphors should prevail in texts of various genres as well. Indeed, as suggested by a significant number of studies, conceptual metaphor is a widely spread phenomenon that may be found in various discourses, such as sciences (mathematics, physics, biology etc.), academic and legal documents.

As observed by Rideout and Ramsfield (1994), coherent legal texts are an essential tool for all the kind of lawyers: those who practice as well as for those who work in the academic field of law. According to the scholars, writing is one of the most important components to a success of the representatives of the profession. A good quality text may influence the outcome of the case. Nevertheless, legal style of writing, also known as legalese, is infamous for its intricate texts that often require a thorough explanation by the experts. Firstly, as observed by Tiersma (2008) when drafting documents, it is a standard practice to employ archaic word forms, for example, *herewith*, *thereinunder*, *theretofore* etc. This is usually influenced by “habit, laziness, or economy” of the lawyers (Tiersma 2008: 30). Additionally, the usage of a modal verb *shall* is also peculiar. In legal context this modal verb has a meaning of an obligation, while in other discourses it is used to imply a suggestion rather than a command. Furthermore, in their written works lawyers have a tendency to employ terms that are of Latin or French origin. On the one hand, legal terms that were borrowed from French language may not be as problematic as they are often used in common English in general, for example, *attorney*, *jury*, *treaty*. On the other hand, Latin terms, such as, *ad hoc*, *de jure*, *de facto* may require translation for those who do not speak Latin. Therefore, the overall understanding of the text becomes an even more complex process as it requires a certain level of specific knowledge. In addition, legal texts also contain long sentences that are filled with technical terms. This is to be expected as lawyers must consider every detail since the overall success of the case might depend on it. Nevertheless, this makes the understanding of legal documents all the more difficult. It is argued by many that the reasoning behind this complexity of legal texts is related to the deep-rooted traditions of the profession in general. According to Bahtia (2010), legal texts must be clear, precise, unambiguous, and inclusive. In other words, documents should be drafted in such a way that

the text produced would be as concrete and factually accurate as possible, yet all the details and crucial information would also be provided. Unfortunately, often this results in lengthy and complex sentences. Nevertheless, it should be noted that attempts to make the genre more reader friendly were made. In the 20th century a new trend known as Plain English Movement (Tiersma 2008, Jensen 2010) which advocates for the easier accessibility to justice system. However, even though the United States enforced some laws that require that the language used in certain documents, the information of which is important for the average reader, would be clear and understandable, most of the time legal texts are still a challenge for the non-professionals.

Considering all of the above, it would seem natural to assume that legal texts should not contain such abstract notions as metaphors; nevertheless, as argued by a number of scholars, legal discourse is full of it. Ebbesson claims that “the use of metaphors reveals how lawyers perceive different situations and contexts. Thus, they shape the legal discourses and, in some sense, determine which arguments are valid in legal reasoning and when legal issues are resolved” (Ebbesson 2012: 260). The metaphors are used in different areas of legal discourse which “makes them all the more important” and an effective linguistic device since their persuasive nature may influence the outcome of the case (Ebbesson 2012: 260). The scholar argues that metaphors help to understand difficult to grasp concepts, processes via the analogies that are well known. Therefore, the metaphors can help to comprehend legal language, which can be complex, and, at times, confusing, better. For this reason, “rather than trying to avoid metaphors – which we cannot – we should learn (and teach) how to see – and see through – them. We should know how to appraise and criticise rhetorical uses of metaphors, when they fail to correctly describe what lawyers do and when they lead us astray” (Ebbesson 2012: 269).

Several studies have been conducted to analyse conceptual metaphors used in legal discourse and their overall effect. For example, Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011) were investigating how conceptual metaphors influence the person’s opinion about a crime and its prevention measures. The scholars conducted five different experiments with different texts in order to learn if metaphors can change one’s perception and, if so, how. After the analysis scholars found that participants who were given the text where crime was depicted as a virus, were more likely to analyse issues behind the crime and suggest solutions that include social changes” (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011: 3-5). On the other hand, when crime was presented as a beast, the participants were likely to take more drastic measures. Therefore, Thibodeau and Boroditsky came to the conclusion that metaphors can, in fact, have influence on decisions that people make.

Moreover, Jumanca analysed English legal discourse and texts of different genres (belonging to the same subject field) and looked at the conceptual metaphors used. The findings of the study reveal that in legal discourse, the element of visuality is of importance. According to the scholar “there seems to be a tendency towards a visually oriented legal language” which “has much to do with our own preference towards everything that can be seen or visualized” (Jumanca 2013: 369). It is visuality that forms humans’ social identity. Furthermore, the attention of readers’ is drawn to legal metaphors of Latin origin. According to the scholar, there is a significant number of legal terms that have either full or partial Latin form. Nevertheless, Jumanca does not expand on this particular discovery. In addition, as revealed by the study the legal discourse is filled with metaphors that are related to human body. The scholar speculates that this might be due to human’s natural desire to simplify concepts that are difficult to grasp. The scholar states that “legal discourse applies to the use of body metaphors so as to be more connected to reality, to be more human” (Jumanca 2013: 369). Overall, according to the scholar metaphors are “absolutely central to human understanding and communication” (Jumanca 2013: 368). However, it is important to emphasise that the conclusions of the analysis should be considered with caution, since the material and the size of the corpus are not provided.

Castaño, Martín and Clavera (Castaño, Martín & Clavera 2017) have also analysed conceptual metaphors in legal discourse. Nevertheless, the scholars focused on one specific issue – immigration. It should be noted that the analysis was conducted not with native English language speakers. The scholars have investigated legal texts produced by EAL (English as an Additional Language) students. According to Castaño, Martín and Clavera several studies have shown that “metaphors act as framing instruments not only able to convey legal concepts but also to influence thought and policies” (Castaño, Martín & Clavera 2017: 250). Indeed, the findings of the analysis showed that not only the topic of immigration is highly metaphorical, but also that EAL students are not always aware of the negative connotation that a conceptual metaphor may carry. Therefore, it is important to raise awareness about this in order to “to enhance critical thinking” and eliminate prejudice about immigrants (Castaño, Martín & Clavera 2017: 245). Additionally, Castaño, Martín and Clavera distinguished several metaphorical categories in relation to immigration that are the following: NATIONS ARE CONTAINERS, IMMIGRATION IS A THREAT/PROBLEM; IMMIGRATION CONTROL IS A BATTLE, IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL FORCE; IMMIGRANTS ARE OBJECTS.

Overall, this part of the paper has reviewed the three key aspects that are related to the present investigation. Firstly, it was established that language and thought are closely interrelated. It was also discussed that this relation manifest itself through language. Additionally, it was

argued that humans tend to categorise the world around them on the cognitive level. The theory of categorisation of concepts was further discussed by introducing the phenomenon of conceptual metaphor, an extension to the phenomenon of the cognitive categorisation. It was established that the usage of conceptual metaphors is deeply entrenched in the mind of the speakers. For this reason, humans often employ conceptual metaphors almost unconsciously. Thus, presumably deconstruction of them into separate domains can reveal how humans conceptualise certain ideas in general. Additionally, it was argued that conceptual metaphor is a widely spread phenomenon, namely, it can be found in various discourses.

For example, it was established that legal discourse is highly metaphorical discourse in general. The following chapters of the paper will present the results that were obtained after the investigation.

Data and Methodology

For this investigation 49 communications issued by the European Union institutions were selected. The data was taken from the EUR-Lex, an official database of the European Union law that is freely available on the Internet.

The data was collected in the following way: the word *migration* was entered into the “quick search” bar, and the type of document, in this case communication, was selected. The scope was further narrowed by choosing specific year that ranges from 2000 until 2020. The results obtained for each year were looked over manually and communications that have the word *migration* in the title were selected. Communications with derivations, namely, *immigration* and *emigration* were also taken as they are closely related to the topic. If two of the same communication were found, the second, consolidated version was chosen for the analysis. After documents were collected, the texts were revised by deleting titles of chapters, sub-chapters, references and footnotes. The annexes and tables that provided numerical data were also omitted as it was considered that they would only increase the amount of data without giving any significant information. The communications used for the present investigation are provided in the list of sources at the end of the paper.

In total, a corpus that amounts to 337,802 thousand words was collected. The procedure of identifying metaphors was carried out by employing three methods. Firstly, the metaphorical pattern analysis identified by Anatol Stefanowitsch was employed. The scholar claims that for a corpus-based analysis, a specific lexical item is crucial in order to retrieve metaphorical mappings that allow for systematic analysis of conceptual metaphor patterns (Stefanowitsch 2004: 138–139). In order to identify the key words of the corpus under investigation, the data was processed with the corpus analysis toolkit *AntConc* (Anthony 2020). The software was asked to provide a list of the most frequently used lexical units. As expected, the frequency list revealed that the most often used words in the communications of the European Union Institutions were articles, prepositions, and conjunctions. This is to be expected due to the fact that most languages are highly dependent on such words in constructing sentences. The first meaningful unit of language, appearing in the 9th position on the frequency list, was the abbreviation *EU* (3788 hits) that stands for the European Union. However, the abbreviation was not analysed as it was presumed that the word is not directly linked to the phenomenon. Instead, the word *migration* which is the 12th on the list with 2913 instances and the second meaningful unit of language in general was selected for the analysis. In addition, in order to maintain the integrity of the investigation, the derivatives *immigration* and *emigration* that are 47th (799 hits) and 1269th (31 hits) respectively were also analysed.

Secondly, after the key words were identified, the metaphoricality of expressions were to be determined. To achieve this aim, the *a* part of the third step of *Metaphor Identification Procedure*, known as MIP, was applied (Pragglejaz Group 2007). The step is described by the authors as follows:

3. a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3).

Lastly, the concordance lists of *migration*, *immigration* and *emigration* were exported on to *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheet. Then, lexical units surrounding the word were manually examined and evaluated by marking each pattern consisting of the key word, which is a word from the target domain, and at least one word from the context, which represents a source domain as metaphorical or non-metaphorical. The metaphorical cases were assigned to an appropriate category afterwards. To determine the meaning of the words, the *Cambridge Dictionary Online* was employed as well as the *Online Etymology Dictionary* (hereinafter – CDO and OED respectively). Lastly, after the analysis, the data was processed and systemised using automatic formulas.

Thus, the procedure was applied in the following manner. The concordance list of the word *migration* was exported onto the *Microsoft Excel* sheet. It was found that the first utterance in the list was:

*include cooperation with third countries, enhancement of legal **channels for migration**, a clear commitment on resettlement, further steps to tackle trafficking.*

Furthermore, it was established that the word *channel* was used metaphorically since in the CDO the word was defined as “a passage for water or other liquids to flow along, or a part of a river or other area of water that is deep and wide enough to provide a route for ships to travel along” (2021). Based on the definition, it was decided to appoint this utterance to the category MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON. The same moves were repeated with the rest of the expression in the list under investigation. After the categories were determined, the *Microsoft Excel* formula *Countif*, which allow to count cells based on one specific criterion, was applied. This helped to automatically count how many times utterances were assigned to a certain category, and therefore, determine which conceptual metaphor was employed the most frequently. The same moves were repeated when investigating the words *immigration* and *emigration*.

The following section of the paper deals with the analysis of the results that were obtained after the analysis.

Metaphorical Tendencies in the Communications of the European Union Institutions

In total, there were 3743 utterances investigated out of which 2408 (64 %) were identified as metaphorical, and 1335 (36%) as non-metaphorical. This means that in the corpus under investigation there are approximately 71 metaphors per 10 000 words. The overall results are presented in *Table 1* below.

Table 1. Results

TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES	METAPHORICAL CASES	NORMALISED FREQUENCY OF METAPHORICAL CASES PER 10,000 WORDS ¹	NON- METAPHORICAL CASES
3743	2408	71.28	1335

Out of 2913 instances the word *migration* was identified as metaphorical 1974 (68%)² times and 939 (32%) cases were recognised as non-metaphorical. Furthermore, 418 instances (52%) of the word *immigration* were metaphorical and 381 (48%) were recognised as not. Lastly, the usage of the word *emigration* was identified as metaphorical 16 times (52%), while 15 (48%) cases were identified as not metaphorical. Overall, the data demonstrates that the word *migration* in the majority of cases is metaphorical as 68% of all instances were recognised as being used metaphorically. The same could not be said about the word *immigration* as the distribution between metaphorical and non-metaphorical cases is more or less the same. The metaphoricity of the word *emigration* is even more obscure as the number of utterances collected is rather small, which does not allow to draw definitive conclusions. The data of metaphoricity is presented in *Table 2* below.

Table 2. Distribution of data

	MIGRATION	IMMIGRATION	EMIGRATION
METAPHORICAL CASES	1974	418	16
NON- METAPHORICAL CASES	939	381	15
TOTAL	2913	799	31

In total, 17 different metaphors were identified during the investigation. The results demonstrated that the most common metaphor in the communications under investigation was

¹ Metaphorical instances per 10 000 words.

² The value expressed in percentages reveals the relation between metaphorical and non-metaphorical cases of each word separately.

MIGRATION IS OBJECT; the metaphor was identified 1063 times (45 %). Furthermore, the metaphor MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON (12 %) was the second most frequent, with 280 instances. Other conceptual metaphors, such as, MIGRATION IS ENTERPRISE, 278 (12 %) cases, ILLEGAL MIGRATION IS BATTLE, 197 (8 %) instances, MIGRATION IS ANIMATE, 172 (7 %) instances, and MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY, 118 (5 %) instances, were also recognised a significant number of times. However, as it can be seen in *Table 3* below, the drop in the number of cases of metaphors mentioned above is rather abrupt in comparison with the MIGRATION IS OBJECT metaphor. This tendency strongly suggests that the phenomenon of migration is perceived more through the notion of object rather than any other concept.

Table 3. Frequency List of Metaphors

	METAPHOR	RAW FREQUENCY OF CASES	NORMALISED FREQUENCY OF CASES
1.	MIGRATION IS OBJECT	1063	31.5
2.	MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON	280	8.9
3.	MIGRATION IS ENTERPRISE	278	8.2
4.	ILLEGAL MIGRATION IS BATTLE	197	5.8
5.	MIGRATION IS ANIMATE	172	5.1
6.	MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY	118	3.5
7.	MIGRATION IS TEXT	83	2.5
8.	MIGRATION IS FORCE	76	2.2
9.	MIGRATION IS MONEY	74	2.2
10.	MIGRATION IS TECHNOLOGY	20	0.6
11.	MIGRATION IS THEATRE	18	0.5
12.	MIGRATION IS SYSTEM	10	0.3
13.	MIGRATION IS SPATIAL	5	0.1
14.	MIGRATION IS CONSPIRACY	2	0.05
15.	MIGRATION IS LIQUID	1	0.02
16.	MIGRATION IS MARRIAGE	1	0.02
17.	MIGRATION IS SPORTS	1	0.02

The overall results of the analysis demonstrate that the phenomenon of migration in the Communications of the European Union Institutions that were investigated is perceived more metaphorically than not. This once again adds to the idea that legal discourse is a rather metaphorical discourse.

An Analysis of Major Metaphors

As explained in the first part of the paper, conceptual metaphor is a phenomenon that reflects our understanding of the environment. The possibility to transpose an abstract notion onto

concrete item (or mental concept) not only allows for easier understanding of abstract ideas, but also creates a specific kind of system in terms of which we think about a specific concept. Thus, naturally, the deconstruction of metaphorical domains can unveil how an abstract idea is perceived. Therefore, in the following section, metaphors that were used the most frequently in the Communications will be analysed in more detail to discover how migration is perceived by the institutions of the European Union reflecting the view of Member States in general.

1. MIGRATION IS OBJECT

The object metaphor was the most favoured metaphor throughout the corpus. This was expected as it is a broad and flexible notion under which many concepts can be included. For example, every material thing that is tangible and can be moved, e. g., tables, chairs or books, can be categorised as objects. On the other hand, mountains, fields and oceans can also be perceived as objects, even though they differ in size and ability to be moved. In other words, the object in this paper is perceived as an item that can be touched and has a material form. The understanding is also extended to the item that is less tangible, yet specific features allow to perceive them as being an object. For example, a huge area of land is perceived as having boundaries, at least abstract, thus, the image of containment is perceived as an object, namely, container (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Additionally, in the context of conceptual metaphors, the material form of things and their concreteness allow for easier understanding of complex ideas, such as, migration. Therefore, it is not surprising that the phenomenon of migration was mainly conceptualised through the metaphor of object.

The analysis revealed that migration took many forms of various objects in the Communications under investigation. Firstly, migration was perceived as a container to which other things can be put into. This was mainly achieved by repeatedly employing the following phrases: *in migration*, *in the field of migration*, and *in the area of migration*. According to Lakoff and Johnson visualising an area of a land as having boundaries, allows to perceive a concept as a container, thus, it can be argued that areas of land are conceptualised as CONTAINERS. Scholars claim that “we conceptualize our visual field as a container and conceptualize what we see as being inside it” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 30). Thus, in this paper phrases *in the field of migration* and *in the area of migration* were determined as being used metaphorically. Furthermore, it should be noted that to determine the metaphoricity of prepositions is a rather tricky task. As explained by Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr and Pasma “difficulty <...> lies in deciding on the contextual meaning” (Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, & Pasma 2010: 46). However, in the data that was analysed, the context in which preposition *in* was employed (usually in relation to the word children) allowed to assume that the phrase *in*

migration was used metaphorically, therefore, it was assigned to the category of object. The examples of CONTAINER metaphor from the Communications are the following:

(1) *In recent years, the number of children **in migration** arriving in the European Union, many of whom are unaccompanied, has increased in a dramatic way.*
(CO_17_2)

(2) *Based on the action plan for Community statistics **in the field of migration**, a proposal for an EU regulation on the collection of Community statistics on migration, citizenship and asylum, will be put forward in June 2004, to be followed by a series of implementing measures.* (CO_04_1)

(3) *Cooperation on readmission is part of a broader effort the EU is pursuing **in the area of migration**.* (CO_16_3)

As may be observed, the image of a CONTAINER in the sentence (1), was created through the preposition *in*, which signifies that something is inside some enclosed space. This idea allows to perceive migration as being a box where things can be put into. For example, children, that were mentioned in the first sentence, or considering whole context in general, human beings. Furthermore, the nouns *field* and *area* both have implications of a great size, which indicates that ‘migration box’ is extremely large; therefore, many items (e. g., people) can be fitted into it. This implicates that migration in the Communications was conceptualised as being a phenomenon of rather big proportions, and therefore, its control is a difficult task for the Member States.

Secondly, migration was conceptualised as a sturdy item. In some cases, it was even perceived as being immovable, or at least very difficult to move. This was achieved by using various lexical units that signify a state of being fixed. The examples illustrating the idea are the following:

(4) *2013 was a year of intensive negotiation on EU legislation **on legal migration**.*
(CO_14_2)

(5) *It has significantly contributed **to embed migration** in political dialogues between Africa and the EU by creating further incentives for cooperation on key interest areas.* (CO_16_3)

(6) *This phenomenon - called the ‘**migration hump**’ – should normally disappear at a later stage, when the level of development in the country of origin reaches a more mature stage.* (CO_02_1)

It is widely argued by the cognitivist that the preposition *on* implies the element of support as it is normally used to express the idea that an item is held by another construction. This preposition in combination with migration was used a significant number of times, which suggest that migration is perceived as a solid structure in general. For example, in sentence (4), the phrase *on legal migration* implies that for smooth migration process, the support of clearly established rules, e. g., legislation, is necessary. The second example also suggests that migration is a firmly entrenched phenomenon. According to the OED, the word *embed* was originally used as a geological term in reference to fossils that signify “to lay in a bed (of surrounding matter)” (OED 2021). Thus, migration is perceived as being extremely difficult to deal with. Also, the fixed nature of the phenomenon is conceptualised as an obstacle. This is demonstrated in example (6), where migration is defined in terms of a *hump*, an item the purpose of which is to slow down vehicles. This suggests that migration is seen as having an impact on the development of countries.

Another significant immovable object through which migration was conceptualised was a building. In fact, it was found that in the communications under investigation the conceptualisation through the notion of building was conveyed by employing several different words that are related to the building. Nevertheless, the most popular ones were nouns *framework* and *base* as well as verb *to support*. The examples illustrating this are the following:

(7) *Recognising the specificities of search and rescue in the EU **framework for migration** and asylum.* (CO_20_1)

(8) *The Commission will therefore launch Talent Partnerships in the form of an enhanced commitment **to support legal migration** and mobility with key partners.* (CO_20_1)

(9) *There is also a need to improve and enlarge the evidence **base for migration initiatives**.* (CO_08_1)

The noun *framework* as well as the verb *to support* used in sentences (7) and (8), suggest an image of a solid construction around which something can be build. Thus, it is an essential part, the strength of which is directly related to the general sturdiness of the building. Furthermore, in example (9), the noun *base* refers to the part of the building, which is firmly fixed under the ground and helps to hold the structure in place. Similar to the examples mentioned, the foundation is also a crucial element for any kind of a building. Therefore, the conceptualisation of migration through these notions, suggests that there is a need to create a strong, and most importantly, legal grounds for migration process. That way it will be possible to build a strong and durable institution, which is the European Union.

On the other hand, migration was also perceived as a movable object. Despite a few differences (e. g., sentence (10)), the movability of an object in the corpus was conveyed by employing the verb *to put* (and its derivatives):

(10) *Dialogue and cooperation with non-EU countries should also **place migration** and mobility in the perspective of the need to maintain orderly movements.*

(CO_11_1)

(11) *But the diplomatic offensive now under way has also **put migration at the centre** of bilateral, regional and multilateral dialogue.* (CO_15_1)

(12) *At the core of the priority actions and the joint Communication of the Commission and the High Representative/Vice-President last month was **putting migration at the top** of the EU's external concerns.* (CO_15_1)

The instances above imply movement since in order to put things down, up, left or right, physical effort is required. For this reason, migration in communications under investigation is perceived as a dynamic phenomenon. Furthermore, the ability to move also indicates that migration can be regarded as being on vertical and horizontal axes, in other words, can be seen as up-down or right-left. For this reason, the phenomenon of migration can be conceptualised as having either positive or negative consequences, and thus be regarded as beneficial or not. Considering an overall context, it is difficult to conclude how (positively or negatively) migration was conceptualised in the Communications under investigation. Furthermore, the focus in the present corpus was also put on the level of importance. This can be observed from the phrases *at the centre* and *at the top*, which show that the issue of migration is an essential topic that is discussed at the highest levels of the European Union.

Lastly, migration was conceptualised as an item that has certain shapes. After the analysis, it was found that the adjectives *circular* and *irregular* were used a significant number of times when referring to the phenomenon. For example:

(13) *This is the first directive addressing mainly low-skilled migrants and **circular migration**, i.e. migrants coming to the EU for short periods and going back to a third country after the end of the contract.* (CO_07_3)

(14) *Mobility partnerships should cover, among others, ways to facilitate and better organise legal migration, effective and humane measures to fight **irregular migration**, and concrete steps towards reinforcing the development outcomes of migration.* (CO_11_4)

As demonstrated in example (13), migration was conceptualised as a roundly shaped item. Circularity signifies movement, thus, once again, migration is perceived as dynamic phenomenon. This concept is rather neutral and does not have any negative implications other than the action is reoccurring, which in certain contexts can be understood as a disadvantage. Differently from the second example, where migration was perceived as being of irregular form that way immediately creating negative connotation. This idea is supported even further with the preceding verb *to fight*, which signals that irregular migration is an ‘enemy’ and it needs to be tamed. In general, the image of irregular migration as being an ‘enemy’ was identifiable throughout the corpus with the verbs *to fight* and *to control* further strengthening the idea. This conceptualisation reveals that migration is perceived as an enemy and the need to fight unregulated movement of people is emphasised.

Lastly, in object metaphor, *emigration* and *immigration* were conceptualised similarly to *migration* with a few exceptions to the latter. For example, *immigration* was conceptualised as non-homogeneous item as demonstrated in the example below:

(15) *The spatial **distribution of immigration** also varies considerably across Member States and regions, with a relatively higher concentration in urban and industrialised areas.* (CO_07_1)

The word *distribution* is usually used in the context of dividing an item into smaller parts and spreading them on a certain area. Thus, as the context of the sentence suggests, immigration is perceived as an item that can be divided into smaller parts of different sizes and dispersed across the European Union.

Additionally, *immigration* was also conceptualised as an item that has an ability to grow in volume:

(16) *Without an increase in employment derived from **increased immigration** and unless productivity growth rises above its current range, the average GDP growth in the EU calculated in the depicted scenario would slow down to 1% between 2010-2020 and to 0.6% between 2020-2030.* (CO_03_1)

The word *increase* in the CDO is defined as “a rise in the amount or size of something” (2021). This indicates that the object, in this case immigration, can change its proportions: expand or diminish. Therefore, the magnitude and seriousness of the issue of immigration is rather situation dependent.

Immigration was also conceptualised as a part of something bigger:

(17) To facilitate **incorporation of immigration**, including integration objectives, into Commission initiatives a Commissioners Group on Migration Issues was established bringing together all related policy areas. (CO_07_2)

The example above, clearly demonstrates that immigration is perceived as a smaller part of a bigger item. Thus, it could be argued that immigration is conceptualised as a sub-category because it denotes a less concrete idea, thus belongs to much broader term, in this case, migration. This allows to assume that the issue of migration has many aspects to it, and therefore, in order to find a proper solution, all should be taken into considered in a complex way.

2. MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON

The second most-frequent metaphor was related to natural phenomena. In the Communications under investigation, migration was perceived through several natural phenomena. Firstly, the phrases *the root cause* and *landscape* that were repeatedly employed reveal that migration was perceived as a plant:

(18) Many of **the root causes of migration lie deep** in global issues which the EU has been trying to address for many years. (CO_15_3)

(19) Whilst the EMN is now firmly established in the **landscape of asylum and migration** and is highly regarded, it is appropriate to consider how it could even better meet its objectives. (CO_12_1)

In example (18), migration was conceptualised as having roots. This particular part of a plant grows deep into the ground and provides food and water helping the plant to grow bigger and stronger through certain periods of time. In addition, roots are usually a part that helps to withstand harsh weather conditions, for example, hurricanes, or other powerful impacts of force. It is one of the main parts that is essential for the successful development of any kind of a plant; therefore, the stronger the roots are, the more firmly the plant is entrenched into the ground. Furthermore, example (19), indicates that migration is perceived not as an isolated phenomenon since the notion of *landscape* suggest a perspective where individual things are viewed as being a part of a whole. In this context, the plant metaphor shows that the issue of migration is conceptualised as strongly embedded and difficult to eradicate with its roots lying deep in the ground. It is also an issue that is viewed as a complex phenomenon with many aspects to be taken into consideration. Interestingly, the image of root was identified a significant number of times in the corpus under investigation, which strongly suggests a tendency to perceive migration as a plant.

Secondly, migration was also presented through the concept of water. This was done mainly by employing collocations *migration flows* and *migration channels* as seen in the following sentences:

(20) *Based on existing and future EU legislation, adopting adequate levels of sanctions for criminal activities which are associated with **illegal migration flows** and/or trafficking in human beings and raising the costs of illegal immigration and trafficking by adopting measures depriving smugglers and traffickers of illegally obtained financial advantages.* (CO_01_2)

(21) *Removing the incentives for irregular migration also means improving conditions in countries of origin, cooperation with key countries of transit such as Turkey, reliable **legal channels of migration** and effective, systematic and timely return and readmission of those who do not have a right to stay.* (CO_16_4)

In general, the notion of water implicates an idea of a powerful source of force that is extremely difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to stop. For example, in sentence (20), the idea of water is realised through the phrase *illegal migration flows* that expresses a repetitive movement towards the same direction. It is nearly impossible to stop the flow of the stream, even if certain obstacles are put in front of it; the stream of water will find its way around it. Thus, illegal migration is perceived as a dynamic phenomenon that moves persistently to the same direction; therefore, the control of it is an extremely challenging task. Furthermore, in example (21), the word *channel* signifies a passage of water that is wide and deep enough for ships to go through. Thus, by conceptualising legal migration as a channel, strong implications of importance of legal ways to migrate are made. Overall, the investigation revealed that the conceptualisation of migration through the notion of water indicates that it is nearly impossible to suppress the movement of people. It also suggests that migration is spontaneous, inevitable. Natural phenomena are usually like this. Such metaphors usually imply that people feel unable to do anything. Therefore, the focus should be put on finding efficient ways to control rather than try to prevent it.

Furthermore, due to the type of the data investigated, it is not surprising that the main issue discussed in the Communications was migration. However, the analysis revealed that the importance of the topic was conveyed through the metaphor of natural phenomena, as in the following examples:

(22) *The operational and budgetary steps set out above are designed to provide the support needed to bring the EU's migration system back into an orderly*

*approach where the rules are properly applied and the system is robust enough to react to the inevitable **peaks in migration**.* (CO_15_1)

(23) Making **migration a core issue** for EU delegations. (CO_15_3)

As demonstrated in the example (22), the source domain used to describe migration was a mountain, namely, the upper part of it. Therefore, migration was conceptualised as being observed on the vertical dimension. The word *peak* indicates the highest point, in other words, the top. Thus, the perception mentioned signals the importance of the topic. Furthermore, in example (23), the *core* also reveals the significant place migration takes in the communications under investigation. This particular word is used in two contexts: either when speaking about the seed of a fruit, or to describe the centre of earth. However, according to the OED, the primary meaning is related to the fruit. Therefore, it can be observed that this image signals the idea of the centre of an object, thus, through this domain the main topic of the communications is emphasised once again.

Lastly, *immigration* and *emigration* were conceptualised mostly by employing the same domains. Nevertheless, there were a few notable differences in the perception of immigration that is worth mentioning, for instance:

(24) Furthermore, it seems that the **large waves of legal and illegal immigration** into the US since the late 1980's is the main reason why the ageing trajectory of the US has markedly improved by comparison to, and now differs substantially from, that of Europe. (CO_03_1)

(25) Moreover, public authorities frequently refer to the temporary and even **seasonal nature of the immigration** they are willing to allow, but this is not often realistic. (CO_03_1)

(26) Policy-makers should also avoid rigidities in labour market institutions or in product and financial markets, which prevent from **reaping the advantages of immigration**. (CO_07_1)

In example (24), the concept of water reappears. As explained above, it may represent force, which is difficult to oppose, the image that is further strengthened by the preceding adjective *large*. The nature of waves also indicates that the action is repeated; thus, the issue of migration is perceived not as uninterrupted process, but rather as periodically reoccurring phenomenon. The idea of repetition is further extended in example (25), with the notion of seasons, which are also continuously changing. Additionally, the idea of immigration was perceived as having some benefits as well, implemented by employing the image of harvesting grains. Usually, this

notion is connected to the positive emotions as the action is closely linked to the idea of having food. Moreover, the action of reaping is usually conducted in large field, where many crops grow. Thus, in this context, immigration is conceptualised as having positive effects, and as suggested by the plurality of the image, quite a few of them.

3. MIGRATION IS ENTERPRISE

The third prominent metaphor in the corpus was the enterprise metaphor. In other words, migration was conceptualised as an organisation. When taking into account the overall context of Communications, it is clear that the establishment in mind is perceived as being great in size.

The analysis revealed that enterprise metaphor of words *migration*, *immigration* and *emigration* was conveyed mainly through the noun *management* and adjectives that were either preceding, or being used after the word as illustrated in the following examples:

(27) *In December 2015 the Commission adopted a borders package, designed to **help manage migration better** and to address the security threats in the EU, while safeguarding the principle of free movement in the Schengen area. (CO_16_4)*

(28) ***Well-managed migration** can contribute to boosting the economy, gaining access to needed skills and addressing labour market shortages. (CO_14_2)*

(29) *However, the detrimental effects of **poorly-managed migration** may also undermine progress towards sustainable development. (CO_13_2)*

An enterprise is a complex structure with many aspects to be taken into consideration. Firstly, its management is hierarchical. This means that there is usually one person responsible for the whole organisation who supervises those working with them. Additionally, those people can also have people under their governance as well. The bigger the organisation, the more intricate the management of it is. However, for the successful functioning of any kind of company, small or big, proper management is essential. This is especially true when speaking about large establishments. Thus, since migration is perceived as a big organisation, the necessity to find ways to properly manage it is emphasised in communications, which is illustrated by example (27). Furthermore, a successful control of migration-organisation is conceptualised as being able to bring substantial benefits for the Member States, such as growth in economy, gaining competent work force, and filling the gaps of labour market (example (28)). On the other hand, as illustrated by example (29), unskilfully managed migration may hinder the development of the European Union.

4. ILLEGAL MIGRATION IS BATTLE

Another significant metaphorical tendency in the Communications under investigation was battle metaphor. Similar to the natural phenomenon metaphor, this was anticipated due to the results of previous investigations into migration conceptualisation (Castaño, Martín & Clavera 2017). Nevertheless, in the present corpus, the battle metaphor of the words *migration*, *immigration* and *emigration* were mainly conveyed through the verbs *to fight*, *to combat* and *to tackle*, for example:

(30) *Based on the existing policy and cooperation framework, it seeks to identify novel approaches to improve the management of legal movements of people between the EU and third countries ready to make significant efforts **to fight illegal migration**. (CO_07_3)*

(31) *Combating human smuggling is a complementary element of a policy **combating illegal immigration** as in many cases the illegal entry into a Member State would hardly be possible without the services of smugglers. (CO_03_2)*

(32) *In conclusions adopted in December 2003, the aim of the mechanism is described as monitoring the migratory situation in the third countries concerned including their administrative and institutional capacity to manage asylum and migration and the actions being taken in order **to tackle illegal migration**. (CO_05_1).*

The verbs *to fight*, *to combat* and *to tackle* are related to the concept of war. However, the meaning of the words *to tackle* and *to fight* is more general; therefore, they can be used in a broader range of contexts with *tackle* even being used in the discourse of sports. On the other hand, *combat* is arguably a more specific term usually reserved to refer particularly to battle; nevertheless, all three verbs carry the meaning of confrontation. Furthermore, according to the CDO, the verb *fight* is defined as follows “to use physical force to try to defeat another person or group of people” and *tackle* being defined similarly as “to catch and knock down someone who is running, esp. in the game of football” (2021). On the other hand, the notion of *combat* that is defined as “a fight, especially during a war” (2021). Based on the definitions provided, the element of physical and armed encounter can be distinguished, thus, it could be considered that the issue of migration in Member States is dealt by employing as many measures as possible. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that all three verbs were usually used in combination with the adjective *illegal*. This indicates, once again, that throughout the corpus the focus is put on fighting specifically migration that is not regulated by law.

Moreover, *migration*, *immigration*, and *emigration* were also conceptualised as objects under attack. This was mainly conveyed using the nouns (and their derivative forms) *target* and *aim*:

(33) *In order to initiate a dialogue and agreeing objectives and **targets relating to migration**, the EU will propose to enlarge the geographical scope of the EU Trust Fund for Africa. (CO_16_3)*

(34) *This dialogue, based on solidarity, could cover **actions aimed at making legal migration a success** while ensuring a more effective fight against illegal migration and trafficking in human beings. (CO_05_4)*

(35) ***Targeted legal migration** pilot projects are being developed by the Commission and several Member States which expressed an interest to include temporary as well as longer-term migration schemes, based on labour market needs and offers in Member States and selected third countries. (CO_18_4)*

Arguably, all the terms used to define fighting have negative connotation due to the unpleasant associations related to the concept of war. For example, in the CDO the noun *target* is defined as “<...> any object or place at which bullets, bombs, etc. are aimed”, while *aimed* described as “to point or direct a weapon towards someone or something that you want to hit” (2021). Thus, by using these words implications of destroying an unwanted object are made, which could be interpreted as a need to destroy illegal migration in general. However, after the analysis, it was found that in the communications under investigation the words *target* and *aimed* were used in the context of finding a successful way to regulate the movement of people. Therefore, legal rather than illegal migration was perceived as an object that should be tackled. In other words, the main objective of the fight against illegal immigration is to implement regulations that would help to regulate migration processes in general, and thus, legal migration is the main aim.

5. MIGRATION IS ANIMATE

As far as the conceptualisation of migration being animate is concerned, two aspects could be distinguished: migration being perceived as a person, and migration as a living being that has animate features. It should be noted that it is difficult to determine the most frequently used words (or phrases) that were employed to convey the notion of being animate. Nevertheless, the manifestation of the metaphor in the corpus is evident from the number of cases identified as animate. In the following example, the conceptualisation of migration as a person can be observed:

(36) *to serve as an Union **advisory council for migration** and asylum through co-ordination and cooperation at both national and Union level with representatives of Member States, academia, civil society, think-tanks and other Union/international entities;* (CO_12_1)

In sentence (36), the noun *council* used in combination to migration refers to a group of people that are authorised to give advice, or, in certain contexts, can give commands. Nevertheless, advice or orders are concepts that have to be comprehended mentally in order to be fulfilled. Therefore, in this context it could be argued that migration is a person as it has to manifest some intellectual characteristics so that it can perform the purpose intended.

As mentioned above, migration in the communications was also perceived not as a human being necessarily; nevertheless, still manifesting features of an animate object:

(37) *In addition, under the GAMM and the Agenda for Change, the Commission will promote migration governance and effective policy coherence at all levels, **to harness the potential of migration** and mobility as development enablers.* (CO_13_2)

The verb *to harness* signifies an action of reducing an ability to move. The word is also employed in reference to horses. As provided in one of the definitions in the OED, the verb has a following figurative meaning: “to control for use as power” (OED 2021). Therefore, the conceptualisation of migration through the verb *to harness*, implicates that migration is an animate object that, if properly controlled, can bring considerable benefits to the Member States.

6. MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY

The following part of this paper moves on to describe in greater detail the metaphor of MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY. In the corpus under investigation, it was found that the JOURNEY IS CONTROL metaphor was conveyed mainly through the verb *approach* as well as the nouns *route* and *pathway*:

(38) *However this needs to be done within an overall **approach to migration** and, in certain cases, require incentives and financial and technical support from the EU.* (CO_04_1)

(39) *It fosters **routes for legal migration** and aims to prevent and combat irregular migration, including through border management and return and readmission policies.* (CO_13_2)

(40) *But legal **migration pathways** are not just about protection.* (CO_18_1)

As can be observed from the sentences above, the concepts through which migration control is perceived are all related to the notion of journey. However, the connotations that all three words have slightly differ. For example, the verb *approach* signifies movement, more specifically, movement towards some particular goal. Therefore, in sentence (38), the word *approach* implies an aim set for the institution of the European Union. Based on the overall context, it could be argued that the aim is to regulate the process of migration in general. Furthermore, in example (39) the noun *routes* conveys the idea of completeness. It shows that the process of migration control is perceived as a line indicating starting and ending points. It also suggests the pace of a journey as *routes* are used by vehicles, which usually drive to arguably high speeds. Similarly, the word *pathways* in sentence (40) which also indicates that there is a start and end parts of the journey. However, *pathways* are built along side roads, and usually are reserved for pedestrians only. This shows that when conceptualising migration through the concept of *route*, the emphasis is put on achieving a goal more rapidly, while noun *pathway* signals a process of a much more moderate rate. Nevertheless, the general idea that migration control is a journey is rendered through all three words mentioned above.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that *immigration* is conceptualised slightly differently. It is perceived as a goal that is already achieved rather than pursued. The examples illustrating this idea are presented below:

(41) *In a few decades Europe has developed from a region of emigration **to a major destination of immigration.*** (CO_06_1)

(42) *The EU lags behind other **main immigration destinations** in terms of integration.*
(CO_07_1)

In sentences (40) and (41), the word *destination* indicates that the notion of immigration is perceived as being the end of the journey. At this point, it is worth noticing that the word *immigration* has a slightly different meaning in comparison to the word *migration*. According to the CDO, *immigration* signifies “the act of someone coming to live in a different country” (2021). Thus, through conceptualising immigration as a *major destination*, the European Union is perceived as being a lucrative place to live in. Taking into account the overall context, that is, the European Union having one of the strongest economies in the world, this idea is to be expected.

7. Other cases of metaphoricity

In the sections above, the most prominent metaphors that were found in the corpus under investigation were discussed in detail. The implications were made about how they are conceptualised in the Communications issued by the Institutions of the European Union; some of the insights were presented as well. However, it is important to mention that not all the utterances that were found in the corpus had clear-cut boundaries when assigning them to certain categories. Some cases were rather problematic. For instance, during the analysis, it was tricky to decide to which category certain conceptual metaphor should be assigned. In those cases, the principle of family resemblance was highly beneficial. The example of such case is provided below:

(43) *Exchange of information including statistics and analysis should be advanced by various actions such as improving the quality of statistics or the creation of a **European Migration Observatory**.* (CO_01_1)

In sentence (43), the expression *European Migration Observatory* was marked as being metaphorical. In the OED, the word *observatory* is defined as follows “building for observing astronomical phenomena” (2021). Therefore, by conceptualising the phenomenon of migration through the word *observatory*, implications that migration is perceived as outer space were made. However, in order not to inflate the number of categories artificially, the conceptual metaphor was assigned to the category MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON due to the similarity in certain attributes.

Additionally, in some cases it was difficult to assign conceptual metaphors to the specific categories due to the fact that a few different metaphors were blended in together in one utterance, for example:

(44) *Long-term partnerships with third countries of origin, transit and destination are key to facilitating return and reintegration, to assisting refugees and stranded migrants, to cooperating on the fight against human trafficking networks, and to **addressing the root causes of irregular migration**.* (CO_18_1)

(45) *Externally we need to continue working with partners: **to tackle the root causes of irregular migration**;* (CO_18_1)

(46) *At the same time, the importance of further efforts **to stem the flow of illegal migration** across the Mediterranean – with its high humanitarian cost – must be stressed.* (CO_05_1)

(47) *Finally, non-economic types of immigration will always **play a role in migration flows** and it is important to acknowledge and develop the aptitudes and skills of migrants coming through these channels.* (CO_03_1)

As can be observed from example (44) above, a mix of metaphors MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON and MIGRATION IS OBJECT was employed. Furthermore, in sentences (45) conceptual metaphors MIGRATION IS BATTLE and MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON were also combined. Interestingly, in example (46) the metaphor MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON was not combined with other type of metaphor; however, two different concepts *water* and *plant* were mixed together. It is worth mentioning that in the corpus under investigation the metaphor MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMEON was mixed a significant number of times. Lastly, in example (47) metaphors MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON and MIGRATION IS THEATRE were also combined.

Conclusions

After the analysis of the Communications of the European Union Institutions, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. In the present corpus, which amounted to 337 802 words, the nouns *migration*, *immigration*, and *emigration* were used 3743 times collectively. It was found that 2408 cases of the above nouns were used metaphorically, while 1335 did not manifest any such features. This suggests that institutions of the European Union are prone to conceptualise the phenomenon of migration more metaphorically than not.
2. Overall 17 different metaphors were identified in the communications under investigation: MIGRATION IS OBJECT (1063 instances), MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMEON (280 instances), MIGRATION IS ENTERPRISE (278 instances), ILLEGAL MIGRATION IS BATTLE (197 instances), MIGRATION IS ANIMATE (172 instances), MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY (118 instances), MIGRATION IS TEXT (83 instances), MIGRATION IS FORCE (76 instances), MIGRATION IS MONEY (74 instances), MIGRATION IS TECHNOLOGY (20 instances), MIGRATION IS THEATRE (18 instances), MIGRATION IS SYSTEM (10 instances), MIGRATION IS SPATIAL (5 instances); MIGRATION IS CONSIPRACY (2 instances), MIGRATION IS LIQUID (1 instance), MIGRATION IS MARRIAGE (1 instance), MIGRATION IS SPORTS (1 instance).
3. The results of the analysis of the most prominent metaphors in the corpus revealed that migration is conceptualised in the following manner:
 - a. MIGRATION IS OBJECT: it was demonstrated that the phenomenon of migration was conceptualised by employing various objects. Firstly, it was perceived as a hollow yet large item to which other things can be put into. It was argued that this have implications of migration being difficult to control. Furthermore, migration was also perceived as an unmovable object. It suggested that migration is an obstacle that may hinder the development of the Member States of the European Union in general. Additionally, by using words that carry the meaning of foundation, migration was also perceived as being a building. It was observed that this implied the need to establish solid legal grounds for migration processes. The implementation of such regulations would help to strengthen the European Union as an institution. Lastly, migration was also conceptualised as having shapes, namely, circular and irregular. Circularity of the migration was perceived rather neutrally, while irregularity had negative connotation and was used mainly to refer to illegal migration.

- b. MIGRATION IS NATURAL PHENOMENON: showed that migration was conceptualised by employing plant and water domains. This was implemented by using word combinations, such as, *root causes*, *migration flows* and *migration channels*. Furthermore, through the noun plant, the entrenched nature of the phenomenon was emphasised. The image of water indicated a powerful source of force, which is nearly impossible to suppress.
 - c. MIGRATION IS ENTERPRISE: revealed that migration was perceived as a large organisation. This was done by employing noun the *management* (and its derivative forms). The metaphor was mainly used in the context of demonstrating the need to find a proper way to manage the movement of people. Furthermore, implications that regulated migration would contribute to the overall success and better functioning of the European Union were also made.
 - d. ILLEGAL MIGRATION IS BATTLE: demonstrated that the issue of illegal migration in the Member States was conceptualised by employing verbs, *to fight*, *to tackle*, *to combat* as well as nouns *target* and *aim*. Interestingly, the nouns were used in the context of legal migration suggesting that legal rather than illegal migration was the main target of the European Union Institutions.
 - e. MIGRATION IS ANIMATE: the lexical units of the metaphor could not be clearly established; nevertheless, due to the number of cases identified as animate, it was still recognised as one of the most prominent metaphors in the corpus. Further analysis revealed that conceptualisation of migration by employing MIGRATION IS ANIMATE metaphor implicated that if properly controlled, migration can bring significant benefits to the European Union.
 - f. MIGRATION CONTROL IS JOURNEY: was mainly conveyed by employing nouns *approach*, *route*, and *pathway*. As expected, it was discovered that the usage of this particular mapping implicated that the control of migration is a process rather than a stagnant occurrence.
4. It can also be concluded that the data obtained after the analysis would be beneficial for the researchers of conceptual metaphors in general, especially those, who investigate the phenomenon of migration. The results would also benefit translators if they would have to deal with texts that are related to migration and require certain kind of knowledge about cultural differences between source and target audiences. Furthermore, it should be noted that the investigation could be continued, and more metaphorical patterns could be investigated. This assumption is based on the fact that the amount of the data collected is more than 300 thousand words, and only three key word were investigated in-depth. This

would allow for even more precise evaluation of the conceptualisation of the phenomenon of migration in the Communications of the European Union.

Summary in Lithuanian

Migracija – nėra naujas reiškinys. Žmonės keliauja iš vienos vietos į kitą nuo neatmenamų laikų, o tam įtakos turi įvairios priežastys. Pirmiausia, žmonės migravo tam, kad rastų resursų, kurie yra būtini patenkinti pagrindinius išgyvenimo poreikius. Pavyzdžiui, ieškojo geresnių oro sąlygų, derlingesnės ir saugesnės žemės, lengviau randamų medžiagų, iš kurių galėtų pasigaminti pagrindinius įrankius bei ginklus. Tačiau, bėgant laikui migracijos tikslai pakito ir šiandien gyvenamosios vietos keitimas yra dažniau siejamas su nepalankiomis gyvenimo sąlygomis. Tarkime, kariniais konfliktais, persekiojimu dėl religinių pažiūrų, rasės ar seksualinių pažiūrų, bado, geresnio išsilavinimo galimybių, stipresnės šalies sveikatos sistemos ir t. t. Taigi, nenuostabu, kad turėdama vieną iš stipriausių ekonomikų pasaulyje, Europos Sąjunga tapo migrantų traukos objektu. Tačiau, pastebėtina, kad šis klausimas kelia daug diskusijų tarp valstybių narių. Vis dėlto, dažniausiai, imigrantai yra papildoma ekonominė ir socialinė našta, kuri gula ant Europos Sąjungos piliečių pečių. Taip pat atsiranda nusikalstamumo ir konkurencijos darbo rinkoje padidėjimo rizika. Šis klausimas paaštrėjo dar labiau per vadinamąją „Migrantų krizę“ (2015 – 2019), kuomet didžiulis kiekis žmonių nelegaliai kirto Europos Sąjungos sienas atkeliaavę per Viduržemio jūrą.

Dėl šių priežasčių, šiuo magistro darbu buvo siekiama išsiaiškinti, kaip iš tikrųjų Europos Sąjungos institucijos konceptualizuoja migracijos reiškinį. Tam tikslui buvo pasitelkta konceptualiųjų metaforų analizė. Tekstynas, iš kurio surinktos konceptualiosios metaforos, buvo surinktas iš Europos Sąjungos Institucijų komunikatų išleistų migracijos tema. Visi komunikatai, analizuojami šiame darbe, yra viešai publikuojami oficialiame Europos Sąjungos interneto puslapyje, kuris dažnai yra laikomas Europos Sąjungos teisės šaltiniu.

Duomenims nagrinėti buvo pasitelkti keli metodai. Pirmiausia, pritaikyta metaforinių junginių analizė (Stefanowitsch 2004), kuria buvo siekiama nustatyti duomenyse vyraujančius metaforinius junginius, išivardinant pagrindinius žodžius vartojamus tekстыne. Tam tikslui buvo pasitelkta programinė įranga *AntConc* (Anthony 2020), kuri automatiškai apdoroja tekstyno medžiagą ir pateikia dažniausiai pasikartojančių žodžių sąrašą bei konkretaus atvejo leksinę aplinką. Gavus šiuos duomenis, buvo nustatytas raktinių žodžių metaforiškumas. Tai padaryta pasitelkiant konceptualiųjų metaforų analizavimo *MIP* (2007) metodo 3a punktą, kuriame kalbama apie leksinių samplaikų metaforiškumo raišką atsižvelgiant į kontekstą, kuriame jos yra vartojamos. Tam, kad būtų nustatytos žodžių reikšmės, buvo naudojami anglų kalbos ir etimologijos žodynai. Nustačius atvejų metaforiškumą, buvo išskirtos atitinkamos metaforų rūšys, pagal kurias atvejai buvo suskirstyti į atitinkamas kategorijas.

Atlikus tyrimą, paaiškėjo, kad Europos Sąjungos komunikatuose migracija yra konceptualizuojama pasitelkiant 17 skirtingų metaforų. Nepaisant to, išsami metaforų analizė atlikta tik tų atvejų, kurių pasikartojimo skaičius buvo didžiausias, t. y., MIGRACIJA YRA OBJEKTAS (1064 atvejai), MIGRACIJA YRA GAMTINIS REIŠKINYS (280 atvejų), MIGRACIJA YRA ĮMONĖ (278 atvejai), NELEGALI MIGRACIJA YRA KOVA (197 atvejai), MIGRACIJA YRA GYVAS OBJEKTAS (172 atvejai), MIGRACIJOS KONTROLĖ YRA KELIONĖ (118 atvejų).

Tyrimas atskleidė, kad migracija yra konceptualizuojama pasitelkiant ne vieną objektą. Pirmiausia, nagrinėjamuose komunikatuose migracija yra suvokiama kaip didelis konteineris. Nustatyta, kad tai implikuoja, jog ją yra sudėtinga valdyti. Antra, migracija buvo suvokiama, kaip nejudinamas arba sunkiai judinamas daiktas, dėl ko buvo padaryta prielaida, kad migracija komunikatuose vaizduojama, kaip galinti stabdyti Europos Sąjungos raidą. Trečia, migracija taip pat buvo suvokiama kaip pastato pamatai. Šiame kontekste buvo implikuojama apie migracijos procesų sureguliuojimo svarbą. Galiausiai, migracija buvo suvokiama per formas, t. y., apvali ir nereguliari. Apvalumas komunikatuose buvo atvaizduojamas gana neutraliai, tačiau nereguliarumas turėjo negatyvią konotaciją ir dažniausiai buvo vartojamas nelegalios migracijos kontekste. Toliau, migracijos konceptualizavimas per gamtinius reiškinius reiškėsi per augalo ir vandens sąvokas. Augalo motyvas indikavo apie problemos išsprendimą, o vandens – apie jos suvaldymo sudėtingumą. Taip pat migracija buvo suvokiama kaip įmonė, pabrėžiant tinkamo valdymo svarbą sėkmingam firmos, t. y., Europos Sąjungos, gyvavimui. Toliau, kalbant apie metaforos MIGRACIJA YRA GYVAS OBJEKTAS raišką, pastebėtina, kad migracijos procesų suvaldymo svarba buvo taip pat pabrėžiama. Tačiau, akcentuojama tai, jog tinkamas procesų valdymas gali atnešti naudos. Galiausiai, konceptualią metaforą MIGRACIJOS KONTROLĖ YRA KELIONĖ buvo implikuojama, kad migracijos suvaldymas yra procesas, kurio įgyvendinimas užtrunka, todėl tai nėra greitai ir lengvai pasiekiamas tikslas.

Pažymėtina, kad šio tyrimo rezultatai galėtų būti naudingi konceptualiųjų metaforų tyrinėtojams, ypač tiems, kurių tyrimų objektas yra migracija. Gauti rezultatai praverstų ir vertėjams, kurių verčiamas tekstas reikalautų įsivertinti kultūrinius tikslinės auditorijos skirtumus. Taip pat pastebėtina, kad gauti duomenys nėra baigtiniai ir tyrimas galėtų būti tęsiamas toliau. Ši prielaida yra daroma remiantis tuo, jog surinkto duomenų kiekis viršija tris šimtus tūkstančių žodžių. Iš viso tekstyno nuodugnai išanalizuoti buvo tik trys žodžiai. Taigi, atsižvelgiant į tai, būtų naudinga ištirti ir kitus žodžius. Tokiu būdu būtų galima dar tiksliau nustatyti migracijos konceptualizacijos raišką tyrinėjamuose Europos Sąjungos komunikatuose.

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