

Metaphorical representation of European migration crisis in Spanish and Russian press in 2017

Representación metafórica de la crisis migratoria europea en la prensa española y rusa en 2017

Tatiana Mukhortikova

University of Valencia, Valencia, Spain
tamuk@alumni.uv.es

Abstract

This article presents a contrastive study of metaphors from news texts relative to the refugees' crisis published in 2017 in Web pages of six newspapers, three of them are from Spain and three from Russia. The objective of the analysis is to identify differences and similarities in metaphors from six newspapers edited in two different countries and reconstruct the image of the informative object offered by the media. The Spanish corpus is composed of national and international news. The investigation has been realized in synchronic perspective and manages by mixed methodology of journalism and linguistics studies. The analysis covers structural study of metaphors in media text and exposes its relation with the current reality. The research combines qualitative and quantitative look.

Keywords

Metaphor, media language, migration crisis, refugees.

Resumen

El artículo presenta un estudio contrastivo de las metáforas extraídas de los textos noticiosos relativos a la crisis de refugiados publicados en 2017 en las páginas Web de seis periódicos, tres de los cuales son de España y tres de Rusia. El análisis destaca diferencias y similitudes entre metáforas empleadas por seis diarios procedentes de dos países distintos, y reconstruye la imagen del objeto informativo divulgada por los medios. El corpus de prensa española está compuesto de noticias nacionales e internacionales. La investigación tiene perspectiva sincrónica y apela por la metodología mixta entre el periodismo y la lingüística. El análisis abarca el estudio estructural de las metáforas en los textos periodísticos y pone de manifiesto su relación con la actualidad que reflejan. El estudio combina la mirada cualitativa y cuantitativa.

Palabras clave

Metáfora, lenguaje periodístico, crisis migratoria, refugiados.

1. Introduction

In the last years European countries have been hit by a migration crisis, mass arrival of refugees from countries to the east, resulting in the death of hundreds of people trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea, causing the worst humanitarian crisis since WWII (Arlin, 2016: 88). This study begins with the perception of the European migration crisis as a serious situation due to its size that presents complicated contradictions in its perception by societies of the countries receiving them and affecting the entire international community (Arlin, 2016; Del Valle, 2016; Goodman et al., 2017).

The year 2017 was one of the most intense in terms of the arrival of refugees and saw 178,547 people reach Europa via the Mediterranean, three times as many people as the year before. Plus, 3,119 immigrants died or disappeared in the sea, according to the United Nations Refugee Agency (Spanish Red Cross, 2018: 3). The humanitarian problem had consequences in both the political and social spheres of the countries affected and therefore, continues to be a topic of significant interest in communication media.

Indicated the ability of the metaphor to reflect the present situation of a determined historic moment (Baranov, 2004: 39-40), the dependence on its interpretation of the context that also links to the socio-political reality (Beuchot, 1980; Lakoff & Johnson, 1995) and its ability to name and qualify an object visually, expressively and eloquently make this linguistic element key when analyzing the comprehension of an extreme situation experienced by a society and shown by the media.

Therefore, it is interesting to compare the metaphoric approximations of the migratory crisis in the press of Spain and Russia. The selection of countries enables a contrasting of an "insiders" perspective from a state involved in the arrival and refuge of the immigrants, and another that due to its

geographic distance, is not affected by the problem.

Both Russia and Spain are countries with a long migratory history. Numerous studies were done on the Spanish emigration towards Latin American countries referring to various historic periods (Delgado, 1982; Naranjo, 1984; Fernández, 2004; Márquez, 2014); the consequences of the Spanish Civil War and the exile of the Republicans (Rubio, 1977); the migrating of the Spanish to other European countries in the second half of the 20th century (Fernández, 2000; Babiano & Farré, 2002). In the case of Russia, Lesnevskaja highlights 5 waves of emigration during the 20th century: 1904-1917 – the labor emigration («трудова́я эмиграция»); 1918-1923 – the white emigration («белая эмиграция») que remite al exilio de los ciudadanos que athat refers to the exile of the citizens that left the country as a result of the October 1917 Revolution and Civil War between 1918-1924; 1937-1947 – political emigration («политическая эмиграция»), caused by political retaliations; 1948-1990 – dissident emigration («диссидентская эмиграция»), citizens or groups of the Soviet Union that were in disagreement with the politics and actions of the government; starting in 1990 – the post-Soviet economic emigration («постсоветская экономическая эмиграция») (2013: 26-27), whose peak was during the 90s (Denisenko, 2003: 157). However, currently these two states are among the top 10 receiving countries in terms of immigration, according to International Migration Report (United Nations Organization Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017: 7).

From a linguistic point of view, the study allows for the comparison of 2 coming from different linguistic families, the Romantic (Spanish) and the Slavic (Russia), whose contrast lexically, morphologically and syntactically say various authors (Sánchez, 2001; López, 2003; Korneva, 2004; Baitukova, 2006). The specificity of the metaphoric associations of the two languages that that carry in themselves a *rational local flavor* (Luque & Pamies, 2005: 1) serve to enrich the analysis.

2. Theoretical Framework: metaphor and immigration in journalistic texts

Highlighted by various authors, the specificity of the journalistic discourse that consists in its social character, the capacity and the mission to reflect the reality of a determined moment (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1990, 2009) obligate one to understand the texts produced in the framework of this type of discourse in its sociocultural context. Communication media texts do not show a pure image of reality, but rather "contain a world (...) including the very image of the spectator" (Vilches, 1984: 9).

One on hand, media shows immigration based on the collective imaginary of a society. In other words, they represent the perception of a community to which they belong (Rodrigo, 2006: 40). Said national representations, may maintain the historic continuity, or change during an era (2006: 41), given that journalism in some way serves like a barometer of socio-cultural change (Fairclough, 1995: 52). On the other hand, communication media themselves act as creators of the public imaginary (Cogo et al., 2008: 10).

Due to this characteristic, journalistic material that is both analytic and informative, takes on a different degree of the interpretation of the present (Gomis, 1989: 35, 53). When it comes to audiovisual texts, Vilches presents 3 terms to describe the communicative process: the *author*, whether a physical person or a collective, the text as a communicative product, and the model reader, and individual or a collective to whom the communication is directed. Thus, in reality the media products show an *image of the text*, which is to say, the possible interpretations of itself (1984: 9-10). Its study, therefore, should go beyond the limits of the text and enter the pragmatic sphere (1984: 10).

Although the classic separation between information and opinion makes for us to understand the news as *truth in fact* (Rodrigo, 2006:

39), the stylistic analysis of news texts enables us to highlight the subjective presence of the author via determined *textual options* (Palau, 2009: 363-364). The metaphor acts as one of the chains of interpretation of the present in journalistic discourse, given that it allows packaging a meaning in the written content that the author wants to communicate (Tomlin, 2000: 109).

In the metaphors of the news texts, more than in other types of discourse, political-social context is specified (Ortega, 1994: 111). The media metaphor often has a serial character, although the creative expressions used ordinarily in the headlines are important (Hellsten & Renvall, 1997: 41). The metaphor is capable of representing a feature of the informative object, hiding or masking others (Llamas, 2010: 151-152). Thus, using determined metaphoric frames in the media discourse you can build an image of a social group (Ferreire et al., 2017: 60). Given that metaphors organize and structure the discourse, their systematic study can be used as a tool of social analysis (Lizcano, 1999: 29).

Eco indicates the difficulty to establish rules of metaphoric interpretation that, without comprehension of the context in which it is produced, make no sense (1988: 186). Starting with Aristotel, a good interpretation of metaphor is considered to be one that drives the taxonomy of knowledge that supposedly organizes our perception of the world. As an option to this thought, Eco develops five rules of semiotic interpretation of the metaphor: 1) build the componential representation of the sememe of the metaphor, putting emphasis on the contextual components; 2) identifying all the potential interpretations of a word, the author calls encyclopedia, these sememes include the specific characteristics that hypothetically conform the emotional component of the metaphor; 3) establish a relationship between the contrasting features of tenor and vehicle, two components of the metaphoric expression, via a common feature that composes the metaphor; 4) value the quality of the metaphoric interpretation, given that higher visibility of the contrast in-

dicates more originality of the expression; 5) verify the links established and define them in the tenor to fulfill the cognitive mission of the trope (1988: 184-185).

Ricouer relates the metaphor with mental processes and indicates the ability of said figure to transfer the untranslatable information (1978: 143). Ricouer starts with the statements of Beardsley, that distinguishes between two elements of the utterance, *subject-thing* and modifier, and manifests the ability of the metaphor to briefly express the most substantial characteristics of the object (1967: 286). Following the idea of Beardsley, the author reveals the similarity as a fundamental characteristic of the metaphor, given that their appearance is made possible thanks to the semantic similarity of the 2 terms that it has despite its different daily use. In a metaphoric expression, both impression and reasoning play a part, *the gift of genius and the ratio of proportions* (1980: 266). The metaphor enables, via the imagination, the development of a different way to interpret reality. It would be a mistake to oppose imagination and reasoning from interacting in a thought (1978: 156; 1980: 266).

Finally, Beuchot highlights 3 dimensions of semiotic analysis of the metaphor: 1) the syntax that examines the relationship of coherence between signs; 2) semantics that reveals the relationship between the sign and the meaning and establishes rules of meaning and reference; 3) the pragmatics that analyze the relationship between the signs and the users and highlights the rules of use of expression for a linguistic community or a particular speaker, in a determined social, psychological context, etc. (1980: 114-115).

Contrary to the syntactic study that does not present difficulties, semantics causes obstacles when researching, given that the power of the metaphor is provided by the meaning strictly related to images and concepts that are not well defined (1980: 118). In the metaphor we ascribe to objects the characteristics that in reality they may not have. In this way

we create a *poetic reality* that only exists in our thinking (1980: 118). The author differentiates between two meanings of the metaphor: the primary, image or concept that we immediately perceive; and the secondary, which is accessed via the discursive transfer starting with the immediate, primary meaning (1980: 118). Pragmatically there are some referential combinations that guide our poetic reality thought to the natural reality via imagination and intellect (1980: 120).

The empirical studies of metaphors in media texts on immigration show the antagonism of the discursive actors "we" and "them" and the spatial contrariety "in-out". Immigrants are treated as foreign, those from "outside" (Pedone, 2001; Halpern, 2009; Piñero et al., 2015: 4-5). Said contrasting is most evident in political and media discourses starting with the attacks in New York (2001), Madrid (2004) and London (2005), the caused the reinterpretation of the concepts of migratory politics in western countries and brought about a discussion towards the figure of the immigrant that begins to be considered a threat (Castiglione & Cura, 2007: 98-99; Lario, 2008: 792-793). This treatment present in the political and media discourse, the denominated *racism of the elite* (Van Dijk, 2009: 16-17) brings about the appearance of alternative communication media founded by communities with the purpose of giving a voice to the immigrants themselves (Melella, 2016: 145).

Metaphorically a receiving country is shown in the migratory media discourse as a type of receptor, container with the restricted limits of refuge (Musolf, 2011), that supports the pressure of the immigrants (Piñero et al., 2015: 3; Ferreira et al., 2017). The migratory push is interpreted as a threat that imposes the need for contraction that consists in stopping the immigration (Crespo, 2008: 53; Piñero et al., 2015: 4-5).

However, analyzing the informative treatment of the Mexican immigrants in the United States, Piñero et al. highlight the existence of a "human" component: in some cases expres-

sed are used like “human solution” when referring to ways of resolving the migratory problem (2015: 8). This way, the figure of the illegal immigrant being identified as a “threat” becomes treated like a human being.

The immigrants are shown via association with natural phenomenon, above all, those related to water (“wave”, *tsunami*, flood) (Charteris-Black, 2009; Musolf, 2011: 7; Ferreire et al., 2017: 63-64), presenting itself like something irrational and similar to a chaotic force connected to disaster (Santamaría, 2002: 166; Crespo, 2008: 53). The second group of metaphors highlighted in the articles on immigration shows the phenomenon in war terms, assimilating it to an invasion (Musolf, 2011: 7; Ferreire et al., 2017: 63-64). Immigration is also associated with force or pressure (2017: 63-64).

3. Objetivos, corpus y metodología

The objectives of the study are: 1) specify the metaphors used by six newspapers from two different countries when reporting on the European migratory crisis during 2017 and establish similarities; 2) reveal the specific metaphoric associations that respond to differences caused by the social, cultural and linguistic context; 3) based on outstanding metaphors recreate the perception of the informative object reported on by the respective media.

The corpus is made up of the informative materials published on the web pages of six national newspapers, three of which are edited in Spain: *El País* – EP, *El Mundo* – EM, ABC; and three in Russia: *Izvestia* («Известия») – IZV, *Kommersant* («Коммерсантъ») – KOM, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* («Независимая газета») – NG. The selection is based on the criteria of similitude: they are newspapers with nationwide distribution. The three Russian newspapers, including both their print and digital versions, are among the newspapers most referenced in May 2018 (Mediologia, 2018). Meanwhile, Spanish newspapers studied are included in the list of the most read

newspapers in Spain in 2017 in both their digital and printed versions (Vara-Miguel et al., 2017).

The study addresses articles published between January 1 and December 31, 2017 and features both national and international news. After locating 1,162 materials related to the migratory crisis (including opinion pieces, headlines of photojournalism reports, etc.), we reduced the number to 315 exclusively news-centered texts. For analysis we selected 77 materials that contained metaphors relative to the migratory problem, 16 correspond to EP, 23 to EM, 24 to ABC, 7 to IZV, 4 to KOM and 3 to NG. The articles that feature metaphors represent 22.44% of the news texts regarding the migratory crisis published in the newspapers in 2017.

By choosing newspapers from 2 different countries we can evaluate the metaphoric perception of the migratory problem from the inside perspective, via the Spanish newspapers, the country that is affected by the arrivals of the refugees to its coasts, and from outside, via the Russian press, the country geographically outside the migratory routes and unaffected by the problem.

The study methodology is based, in the first place, on the proposal by Teruel (1997) for the structural analysis of the journalistic metaphor. The author presents three components of the metaphor: the *focus* (key word in the expression), the *frame* (part of the expression that highlights the focus; also includes other linguistic elements in the sentence), the *subject* (a combination of items the metaphor addresses) (1997: 235-240).

In second place, we appeal to the semiotic reflections of Eco (1988), Ricouer (1978; 1980), Beuchot (1980) that interpret the metaphor as a linguistic sign closely linked to the context of its production. We think that by including the context in the study it will allow for recreating the panorama of the migratory crisis perception in the respective media that, at the same, is based on the collective imaginary of a linguistic community (Beuchot, 1980; Vilches, 1984; Ro-

drigo, 2006). Starting with this idea we include contextual information in the analysis referring to the arrival of the refugees to Spanish coasts (EFE, 2017; Eurostat, 2017).

Supported by the proposal of Teruel (1997) and considering the importance of the context for the study of journalistic metaphor an empirical-contrastive analysis of the metaphors in Spanish and Russian press and the analysis chart is made (Table 1, made by author). We begin with our attention to the structural study of the metaphors, highlighting the focuses, the frame of the expressions, and other textual elements that reinforce and complement the metaphoric image, and the contextual aspects that address the timing of the metaphors and their location in the text, given that the utterances situated in the headlines have the greatest effect, thanks to the mission of the headline of capturing the reader's attention stated by various authors (Gómez, 1982: 7; Van Dijk, 1990: 99; Shostak, 2001).

Table 1. Analysis Chart.

Structural Analysis	Context
Focus	Location (headline or body)
Framework	Timing
Other linguistic elements that create the framework	

Source: Author.

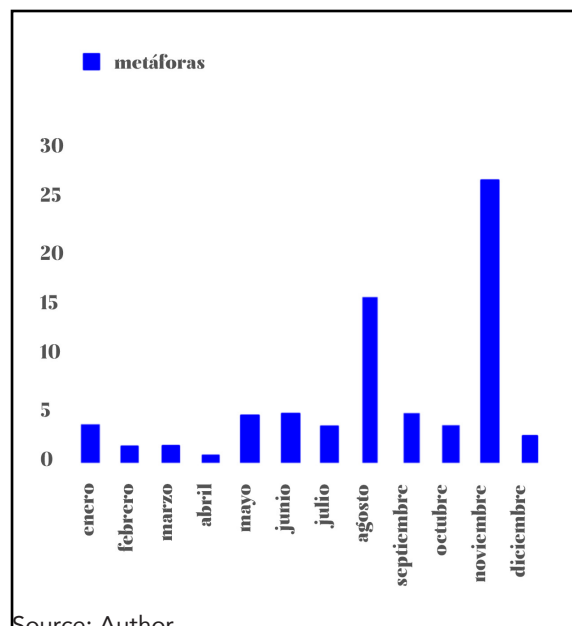
4. Analysis Results

4.1. Metaphors in Spanish newspapers

The 3 Spanish newspapers have 78 metaphors. The dynamic of the timing of the examples (Graph 1, made by author) shows two climaxes in the months of August and November, which coincide with the information provided by the International Organization for Migration, indicating the greatest number of refugees arriving to European coasts in November (EFE, 2017).

However, the metaphors relative to the migratory crisis appear consecutively throughout the year. This is due to the proximity of the events for Spanish society and on which the problem has a direct impact. The metaphors correspond to the following semantic fields: nature (sea, force, mountain), theater and economy (Table 2, made by author). The majority of the expressions represent the refugee crisis as a maritime phenomenon.

Graph 1. Timing of the metaphors (2017: EP, EM, ABC).



Source: Author.

Table 2. Number of metaphors (2017: EP, EM, ABC).

		Block	No. of metaphors
Natural		Maritime	42
		Of Force	11
		Of	8
		Mountain	
		Theatricals	15
		Economic	2

Source: Author.

4.1.1. Natural Metaphors

4.1.1.1. Maritime Metaphors

The informative texts on immigration from the Spanish part of the corpus contain 42 expressions that refer to the ocean. In the first semester of the year, the metaphors are registered in March and May, and starting in June they appear regularly each month, reaching the highest number in November, coinciding with the month of high arrivals to the European coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, according to the data provided by the International Organization for Migration. Eleven of the utterances appear in headlines. The presentation of the migratory phenomenon in maritime terms indicated by other authors (Charteris-Black, 2009; Musolf, 2011: 7; Ferrere et al., 2017: 63-64) appeals to the number of refugees.

A group of 34 metaphors include the semantic focuses "surge" or "wave". The expressions are used with the frames "rafts", "immigrants", the adjectives "migratory" and

"human" ("human wave", ABC, 03.12.2017), "increasing". The large majority of the metaphors refers to the raft as the most frequently used means of transport by immigrants. The metaphoric image is reinforced with verbs like "stop", "increase", "enlarge", "overwhelm" that indicate the perception of the arrival of the refugees as something threatening.

Four expressions contain the word "leak" as the focus and the frames "by raft", "immigrants", the adjective "constant". The metaphors were published in January, May and September. The same number of utterances from the June, July, September and November issues include the noun "flow", with the frames presented by the adjective "migratory" and the noun "entry". All the expressions are located in the body of the news text. The migratory crisis is shown as a natural maritime phenomenon increasing in magnitude and intimidates European countries that should resolve the problem before being "drowned" in an increasing surge.

4.1.1.2. Metaphors of Force

Eleven expressions registered have the noun "pressure" as focus of the sentence, defined by the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* as: "Physical magnitude that expresses the force exercised by a body on the unity of surface" (Real Academia Española, 2001). The frame in 10 examples is the adjective "migratory", one of the utterances refers to the means of transport ("pressure of rafts", EP, 04.11.2017). The full sentences carry indications of place ("in The Strait", "on the Coasts of Cadiz", "throughout the southern Mediterranean") or the way the pressure is applied ("by sea"). The pressure is defined as "strong", "really high", is "increasing", there is a need for "control". The frequency of use of the metaphors of "pressure" coincide with the peaks in appearance of the metaphors in the texts of the corpus and correspond to August and November. The image that the metaphors transmit show the country of refuge, in this case Spain, as a container with a capacity

limit, metaphorical perception highlighted in other studies (Piñero et al., 2015: 3; Ferreire et al., 2017).

4.1.1.3. Metaphors of Mountains

This block is comprised of 8 metaphors. In all the examples, the focus of the sentence is the term "avalanche" that alludes to the quantitative aspect of the problem. The utterances are registered in May, June, August and November, which adheres to the statistics of use of the metaphors. Three phrases appear in the headlines. The frames of the metaphors are nouns that indicate the means of transportation of the refugees: "rafts", "barges"; or adjectives "continuous", "real". As texts indicate, the avalanche "overflows", "overwhelms", an image that frightens the reader. The verb "stop" is used to express the necessary contraction.

4.1.2. Theatrical Metaphors

The articles present various metaphors relative to the world of entertainment. One block of expressions uses "drama" (7 metaphors) and "tragedy" (6 utterances) alluding to the genres of theatrical representation that suppose the highest fatality of the destination of the heroes. The frames contain references to physical places where there is: "tragedy on the Strait" (ABC, 30.11.2017), "drama in the Mediterranean" (ABC, 12.01.2017). Numerous expressions include the adjectives "migratory" ("migratory tragedy", EP, 05.11.2017), "human drama" ("human" EM, 19.11.2017), "new" referring to the number of rafts sinking, the noun "immigration" ("immigration tragedy", EM, 02.11.2017). Two metaphors show the focuses "scene", "episode", "act" ("scene of a new immigration act", ABC, 01.08.2017; "immigration episode", ABC, 31.07.2017) referring to the theater construction element and showing the respective events as part of a artistic creation.

Theatrical metaphors are largely expressions integrated in daily language and address

the subject of the personal stories behind immigration statistics, they have a stronger emotional effect and show a more compassionate comprehension of the events being described. The utterances appear throughout the year, and five of the expressions are found in headlines.

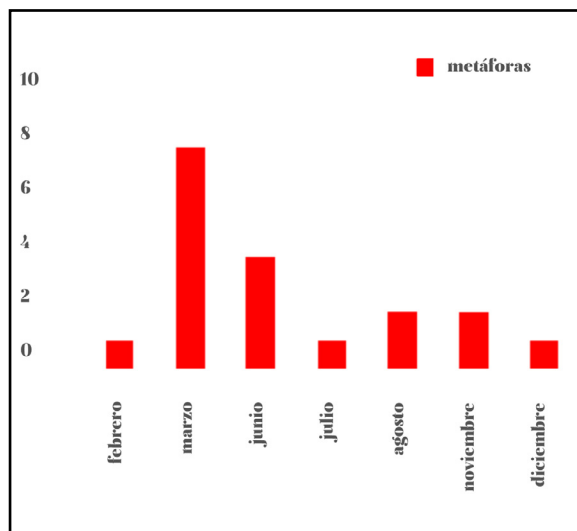
4.1.3. Metaphors of Economy

The corpus shows two metaphors relative to economy, whose focus is the term "crisis". The expressions are published in September and November, one of them is located in the headline. The metaphors are composed of the frames "rafts" (in both expressions) and "canoes" (in one of the phrases) alluding to the transport that carries immigrants to the coasts of the Mediterranean. In the sentence with one of the examples the verb "worsens" ("*The rafts crisis worsens with the arrival of another 106 immigrants*", EM, 26.11.2017) is used to indicate the increasing dynamic of the arrivals. The expressions reveal the event consequences for Europe showing the massive arrival of the refugees as one of the most analyzed situations experienced by the continent in the latest decades.

4.2. Metáforas de los periódicos rusos

Russian newspapers show a fewer number of metaphors in comparison to Spanish newspapers: the analysis is comprised of 20 expressions, four of which are found in headlines. The dynamic of the use of the metaphors (Graph 2, made by author) highlights 2 main points: the months of March and June. March coincides with the statistics of the requests for first asylum in Europe, according to European Statistics (Eurostat, 2017). The metaphors highlighted belong to the semantic spheres of nature (water and maritime-related phenomena), technical, wartime and health, there is an example of the creative metaphor. The vast majority of the expressions represent the migratory crisis in terms related to water (Table 2, made by author).

Graph 2. Timing of the metaphors (2017: IZV, KOM, NG).



Source: Author.

4.2.1. Natural Metaphors

4.2.1.1. Water and Maritime Metaphors

The majority of metaphors appearing in Russian press have semantic focuses such as "flow" (*поток*), "wave" (*наплыв*) and "flood" (*приток*). Contrary to Spanish newspapers, the Russian newspapers only show one case of using the noun "wave". There was also an example using "flood". The majority of the expressions (13 out of 15 cases) referred to the concept of "flow". We think that preference is given to the term "flow" instead of "wave" given the proximity of the readership: for its size Russia is a largely continental country, and association to a river or stream is easier for the reader to imagine than references to a sea or ocean. On some occasions it specifies that the flow "increases" (*увеличиваться*) showing in this way the increasing dynamic of immigrant arrival during the year.

Table 3. Number of metaphors (2017: IZV, KOM, NG)

Block		No. of metaphors
Natural	Aquatic and maritime	15
Technical		2
Health		1
Wartime		1
Creative		1

Source: Author.

Contrary to Spanish press, which uses numerous references to means of transport such as "raft", in terms of frames in Russian newspapers there are terms like "migrants" (*мигранты*), "immigrants" (*иммигранты*), "refugees" (*беженцы*), the adjective "migratory" (*миграционный*), without referring to "raft". This phenomenon can be attributed to geographic distance: the raft is a direct symbol of the tragedy experienced in first person. Russia is a country that observes but does not live out this experience. Other linguistic elements that reinforce metaphors are the verbs "stop" (*остановить*), "detain" (*притормозить*), "struggle" (*бороться*). Thus, the mass arrival of refugees to Europe is presented as a threat that must be struggled against. The aquatic expressions appear especially in March and June coinciding with the general dynamic (Graphic 2). However, its decreased presence is registered every month, except August. Only two of the metaphors studied are in the headlines of the news pieces. The rest is found in the body of the text.

4.2.2. Technical Metaphors

In the articles of the corpus there are two technical metaphors, whose organic presence in the Russian journalistic texts started in the Soviet Era claims Baranov (1991: 190). They are the expressions with semantic focuses of the noun "course" (*курс*) and the verb "slip" (*буксовать*). As frames of the metaphors the noun "politics" (*политика*) is used and the adjective "migratory" (*миграционный*); The expression "migratory course" is accompanied by the verb "change" (*изменить*) (IZV, 30.03.2017; IZV, 26.06.2017). The metaphors are in the headlines capturing the attention of the readers and present the negative consequences of European politics in the way refugees were received indicating the need for change, the interpretation in which all three newspapers coincide. Both expressions are found during the peak times of metaphor appearance in the texts of the corpus, in March and June.

4.2.3. Metaphors of Health

In one of the number edited in August, a metaphor was used referring to health. It was the expression "seasonal exacerbation of migratory problem" (*сезонное обострение миграционной проблемы*, КОМ, 14.08.2017), whose focus is the term "exacerbation" (*обострение*). The migratory issue is shown as a serious phase, a crisis of the seasonal illness. Indirectly, it compares the arrival of refugees to an ailment, and Europe - to a person suffering from it.

4.2.4. Wartime Metaphors

One of the texts analyzed has a metaphor corresponding to the wartime field. The phrase is used in the body of the article published in March, the semantic focus is the noun "offense" (*наступление*), and the frame is the indirect complement "the refugees" (*на беженцев*). The migration police promoted by Hungary that denied entry of refugees is presented as an offense: the country attacks the immigrants on its "southern border" (*южная*

граница) (IZV, 30.03.2017). In this case, there is a country that denies to receive refugees as an enemy that attacks those who cannot defend themselves, the image that does not coincide with the vision promoted by natural, technical or health metaphors that reveal the threatening character of the migratory crisis.

4.2.5. Creative Metaphors

In August a text is published that addresses the personal stories of the refugees and is titled with a creative metaphor "The Mediterranean Shame" (*«Средиземное горе»*, КОМ, 15.08.2017), based on the rhyming words "sea" (*«море»*) and "shame" (*«горе»*), "móre" - "góre": "Sredizemnoye móre – Sredizemnoye góre" (*«Средиземное море – Средиземное горе»*). It is the only expression detected in the Russian part of the corpus that exhibits a "human" image of the migratory crisis that is registered, in addition, in the only material written by a journalist involved in the situation, given that the correspondent went to Italy and personally spoke with the refugees, collecting their stories.

5. Conclusions

According to ethical recommendations, in the coverage of serious situations like those of humanitarian crises, the media should defend democratic values, protect the human rights of refugees, avoid biased presentation of the events (European Council, 1993; Sojuz zhurnalistov Rossii, 1994). In general, the news analyzed complies with the deontological norms, the tone of the treatment is neutral, and, on occasions, compassionate. However, the metaphors of the corpus support, to a certain degree, stigmatization of immigrants.

The Spanish segment of the corpus has the most metaphors. Of the 78 examples, 20 were found in headlines. Meanwhile, 20 expressions were found in the Russian segment, 4 of which correspond to headlines. This phe-

nomenon is explained by the proximity of the events: in the case of Spain, it is one of the countries directly affected by the migratory crisis.

The majority of the examples registered by the newspapers of both groups appeal to comparisons to nature, especially, to water. In this sense, the analysis allows for highlighting the linguistic specificity of the metaphoric associations in regards to the geographic location of the countries: in the Russian texts there are various water-related metaphors referring to rivers ("flow", "flood"), while in Spanish press there is a preference for maritime terms ("surge", "wave"). Spanish newspapers show natural metaphors referring to mountains, explained by the county's mountainous terrain. The panorama of the perception of the events related to the European migratory crisis in Spanish and Russian press rebuilt based on featured metaphors shows a certain contradiction.

The metaphoric image presented by both Spanish and Russian newspapers shows the migratory crisis as a threat to European countries. The result that responds to the tendency shown in the studies on the metaphor in the texts referring to immigration. By way of the metaphors referring to the natural, technical and health sectors, the antagonism of refugees and the countries receiving them is shown; the latter appear pressured by the previous. The threatening character of the European migratory crisis is presented in the articles of the Russian newspapers as an illness in its most dangerous phase. The Russian corpus includes technical metaphors in

regards to the refuge policies promoted by the European Union that is associated to a vehicle about to breakdown driving down the wrong road.

In both newspaper groups, the more humane and compassionate side of the events was also shown. Spanish press shows the "human" component via numerous expressions that present the refugees using theater terms, like participants in a drama or tragedy, actors that act on stage. They are associated to characters in theater performances that represent fatalism, the human being's incapacity to change his destiny, and that often end in the death of the main hero. The metaphors insinuate rafts sinking in the Mediterranean. In Russian newspapers, the human dimension is expressed by a creative metaphor referring to the large number of deaths in the sea, found in a reporting-collecting of refugee stories, the only material written by a journalist that actually interviewed the people involved in the events. Plus, one of the metaphors detected in the Russian newspapers in wartime terms showed the immigrants as victims of an enemy state that expels them from its borders.

The timing of the metaphors shows that while the Spanish press is interested in the problem during the entire year, in Russia, the metaphors appear during months in which most international events occurred regarding immigration, such as the summit of European leaders, Italy's threat to close its ports, and Hungary's rejection to accept refugees. It is justified by the country's geographic distance from the crisis.

Bibliographic References

- Arlin, K. (2016). European Migration Crisis, *Vertiente, revista semestral*, 1(1), 87-92, recuperado de: http://vertientepublicaeinternacional.mx/Edicion/1/ARTICULO_6.pdf
- Babiano, J. & Farré, S. (2002). Spanish emigration to Europe during the 60s: France and Switzerland as refuge countries, *Historia Social*, 42, 81-98.
- Baitukova, O. (2006). *From the lexicon to the syntax: aspect and qualia in Russian and*

- Spanish grammar*. Doctoral Thesis. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Baranov A.N. (1991). Ocherk kognitivnoy teorii metafory. En Baranov A.N. & Karaulov Yu.N. (eds), *Russkaya politicheskaya metafora (materialy k slovaryu)* (pp. 184-192). Moskva: Institut russkogo yazyka AN SSSR.
- Baranov A.N. (2004). *Politicheskiy diskurs: metody analiiza tematicheskoy struktury i metaforiki*. Moskva: Fond INDEM.
- Beardsley, M. C. (1967). Metaphor. En Edwards, P. (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Vol. 5, (pp. 284-289). New York, London: Macmillan.
- Beuchot, M. (1980). Semiotic Analysis of the metaphor, *Acta poética*, 2(1-2), 113-126.
- Castiglione, C. & Cura, D. (2007). Migrations in Written Communication Media (2000-2005). En Novick, S. (ed), *Sur-norte. Estudios sobre la emigración reciente de argentinos* (pp. 93-149). Buenos Aires: Catálogos.
- Cogo, D., Gutiérrez, M., & Huertas, A. (coords). (2008). *International Migration and Communication Media. Stories from Barcelona and Porto Alegre*. Madrid: Catarata.
- Consejo de Europa (1993). *Código Europeo de Deontología en Periodismo*. Recuperado de: <http://www.fesp.org/index.php/template/item/3619-Regulaci%C3%B3n%20del%20Derecho%20a%20la%20informaci%C3%B3n>
- Crespo, E. (2008). The Lexicon of immigration: mitigation and verbal offense in the Alicante Press. En Martínez, M. (ed), *Inmigración, discurso y medios de comunicación* (pp. 45-64). Alicante: Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil Albert, Diputación Provincial de Alicante.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2009). Great Britain as container: metaphors on immigration in the electoral campaign 2005, *Discurso & Sociedad*, 3(3), 467-494.
- Del Valle, A. (2016). European Union, refugee crisis and Limes Imperii, *Revista General de Derecho Europeo*, 38, 1-13.
- Delgado, J. D. (1982). Spanish emigration to Latin America during the era of free trade (1765-1820), *Boletín americanista*, 115-137.
- Denisenko, M.B. (2003). Jemigracija iz Rossii po dannym zarubezhnoj statistiki, *Mir Rossii*, 3, 157-169.
- Departamento de Asuntos Económicos y Sociales de la Organización de Naciones Unidas (2017). *International Migration Report. Department of economic and Social Affairs*, 1-38. Recuperado de: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017_Highlights.pdf
- Eco, U. (1988). *Semiòtica i filosofia del llenguatge*. Barcelona: Laia.
- EFE (2017). The arrival of migrants doubles in 2017 with over 3,000 deaths in the Mediterranean, *Cadena SER*. Recuperado de: http://cadenaser.com/ser/2017/12/30/sociedad/1514629682_836495.html
- Eurostat (2017). *First time asylum applicants, EU-28, January 2016 – September 2017*. Recuperado de: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:First_time_asylum_applicants,_EU-28,_January_2016_%E2%80%93_September_2017.png
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fernández, A. (2004). *An Ethnic Market in La Plata. Spanish Emigration and Exportation in Argentina*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Fernández, A. I. (2000). Migratory Strategies. Notes on the process of Spanish emigration

- in Europe (1959-2000), *Migraciones & Exilios: Cuadernos de la Asociación para el estudio de los exilios y migraciones ibéricos contemporáneos*, 1, 61-94.
- Ferreira, L. C., Valle, C. & Morosini, C. (2017). The representation of refuge and migration in the online media in Brazil and abroad: a Cognitive Linguistics analysis, *Signo*, 42(75), 59-66, doi: 10.17058/signo.v42i75.11217
- Gómez, J. L. (1982). *Headlines in Press*. Barcelona: Editorial Mitre.
- Gomis, L. (1989). *Teoria dels gèneres periodístics*. Barcelona: Centre d'Investigació de la Comunicació.
- Goodman, S., Sirriyeh, A. & McMahon, S. (2017). The evolving (re)categorizations of refugees throughout the "refugee/migrant crisis", *Wiley*, 27, 105-114, doi:10.1002/casp.2302
- Halpern, G. (2009). *Ethnicity, immigration and politics. Representations and political culture of exiled Paraguayans in Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.
- Hellsten, I. & Renvall, M. (1997). Inside and outside of Politics? Metaphor and Paradox in Journalism, *Nordicom Review*, 2, 41-48.
- Korneva, V.V. (2004). Ispanskije dejkticheskie narechija v zerkale russkij narechij, *Vestnik VGU, serija "Lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaja komunikacija"*, 1, 35-41.
- La Cruz Roja Española (2018). *Refugee crisis in Europe. 20 Situation Report*. 12.02.2018, 1-34. Recuperado de: http://www.cruzroja.es/principal/documentos/113616/1959113/ISCrisis+Refugiados_20_03.pdf/e9a19dd1-083f-ffa9-04b4-0a2f652e1f70
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1995). *Metaphors of daily life*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Lario, M. (2008). Critical chronical of the debate on migratory politics in Spain 2008, *Discurso & Sociedad*, 2(4), 769-798.
- Lesnevskaja, D. (2013). Russkoe zarubezh'e v jepohu globalizacii. En Bunjak, P. (ed), *Russkoe zarubezh'e i slavjanskij mir. Sbornik trudov* (pp. 22-32). Belgrad: Slavisticheskoe obshhestvo Srbije.
- Lizcano, E. (1999). The metaphor as social analyzer, *EMPIRIA, Revista de metodología de ciencias sociales*, 2, 29-60.
- López, J. M. (2003). General considerations of the taxis of Russian in Spanish, *Interlingüística*, 14, 623-630.
- Luque, J. & Pamies, A. (2005). Prologue. En Luque & Pamies, A. (eds), *Creativity in Language: idiomatic collocations and phraseology* (pp. 1-2). Granada: Granada Lingüística Método Ediciones.
- Llamas, C. (2010). Argumentation in journalistic news: the case of the metaphoric conceptual anaphora. En Martínez, C. (ed), *Estrategias argumentativas en el discurso periodístico* (pp. 147-170). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Márquez, R. (2014). *Spanish emigration to America (1765-1824)*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo.
- Medialogia (2018). *Top-10 samyh citiruemyh gazet - maj 2018*. Recuperado de: <http://www.mlg.ru/ratings/media/federal/6042/#gazeti>
- Melella, C. (2016). Graphic Press and South American migration, *Estudios Sociales Contemporáneos*, 13, 134-150.
- Musolf, A. (2011). Migration, Media and "deliberate" metaphors, *Metaphorik.de*, 21, 7-19.
- Naranjo, V. C. (1984). Historic Analysis of Spanish emigration to Cuba, 1950-1959, *Revista*

de Indias, XLIV (14), 505-527.

- Palau, D. (2009). Style and signature in information. An apparent absence of identity, *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 15, 347-366.
- Pedone, C. (2001). Immigration and Communication Media: Ecuadorian workers in Spanish press, *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, 54, recuperado de: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn-94-43.htm>
- Piñero, G., Díaz, M. & García, M.J. (2015). Argumentation and metaphor in the political discourse regarding immigration, *Arbor: Ciencia, Pensamiento, Cultura*, 191 (772), 1-12. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2015.772n2010>
- Real Academia Española (2001). *Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary*. Recuperado de: <http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario>
- Ricoeur, P. (1980). *The Living Metaphor*. Madrid: Europa.
- Ricoeur, P. (1978). The metaphorical process as cognition, imagination and feeling, *Critical Inquiry*, 5(1), 143-159.
- Rodrigo, R. (2006). Journalism in the face of immigration. En van Dijk, T. A. (ed), *Medios de comunicación e inmigración* (pp. 37-58). Barcelona: CAM Obra Social.
- Rubio, J. (1977). Emigration during the Civil War of 1936-1939: *History of the exodus that is produced at the end of the 2nd Spanish Republic*. Madrid: Librería Editorial San Martín.
- Sánchez, M. P., Karaulov, U.N. & Cherkasova, G.A. (2001). *Associativnye formy ispankogo i ruskogo jazykov*. Moskva: Azbukovnik.
- Santamaría, E. (2002). *The mystery of the strange. An approximation to the sociological meaning of "communal immigration"*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Shostak, M.I. (2001). *Reporter: Professionalism and Ethics*. Moskva: RIP-kholding.
- Sojuz zhurnalistov Rossii (1994). *Kodeks professional'noj jetiki rossijskogo zhurnalista*. Recuperado de: <http://www.dzjalosh.ru/01-comm/books/shesh-small/pril-kodex.html>
- Teruel, E. (1997). *Rhetoric, information and metaphor: analysis applied to mass communication media*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Tomlin S. R., Forrest, L, Pu, M. & Kim, M. (2000). Semantics of the discourse. En van Dijk, T. A. (ed), *The Discourse as Structure and Process: discourse studies, multidisciplinary introduction* (pp. 107-170). Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1990). *The News as a Discourse: comprehension, structure and production of information*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). *Racism and Discourse of the Elites*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vara-Miguel, A., Negrodo, S. & Amoedo, A. (eds). (2017). *Digital News Report ES 2017*. Universidad de Navarra. Recuperado de: <http://www.digitalnewsreport.es/2017/rapida-transicion-digital-de-los-diarios-y-mas-lenta-para-las-televisiones-con-alta-fragmentacion-en-el-uso-de-marcas-informativas/>
- Vilches, L. (1984). *Interpretation of the Image: press, cinema, television*. Barcelona: Paidós.

▾ About the author

Tatiana Mukhortikova She a degree in Journalism from the State University of Moscow "M.V. Lomonosov", Masters and Doctors Degrees from Universidad de Valencia. Her academic interests revolve around the statistical analysis of journalistic texts and the interdisciplinary study of language used in media.

▾ ¿Cómo citar?

Mukhortikova, T. (2018). La representación metafórica de la crisis migratoria europea en la prensa española y rusa en 2017. *Comunicación y Medios*, (38), 12-26.