

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

**Metaphors and the End of Life:
The Case of Czech**

(Magisterská diplomová práce)

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Metaphors and the End of Life: The Case of Czech

(Magisterská diplomová práce)

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla úplný seznam citované a použité literatury.

V Olomouci dne

Podpis

Motto

“Sometimes I’ll start a sentence and I don’t even know where it’s going. I just hope I find it along the way. Like an improv conversation. An improversation.”

Michael Scott

I would like to thank my supervisor Mgr. Michaela Martínková, Ph.D. for her kindness and willingness to help. I would also like to thank my friends and family for making the writing process in quarantine a bit more bearable.

V Olomouci dne

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Abstract

The metaphors used to discuss cancer can influence how patients feel and cope with their situation. This thesis discusses the most frequent cancer related metaphors – cancer as a *battle* or as a *journey* - using terms from Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Following the corpus-based research of Semino et al. (2018b), I created a Czech language corpus of online cancer related discourse in order to gain insight into Czech metaphors about cancer. Its contents are explored, and the observations are additionally used to lay the groundwork for further research into the metaphors' emotional implications.

Keywords

cancer metaphors, exploratory research, Czech metaphors, conceptual metaphor theory, violence metaphors, battle metaphors, journey metaphors

Anotace

Metafory, s kterými se mluví o rakovině mohou ovlivnit, jak se pacienti cítí a vyrovnávají se svou situací. Tato diplomová práce se zabývá nejčastějšími metaforami o rakovině – rakovina jako *boj* nebo jako *cesta* – a analyzuje je pomocí teorie konceptuální metafory. Po vzoru Semino et al. (2018b) a jejich výzkumu založeného na korpusu, jsem vytvořila český korpus online diskuzí o rakovině, aby bylo možné lépe porozumět českým metaforám v tomto diskurzu. Obsah korpusu je prozkoumán a nabyté poznatky jsou dále využity pro vytvoření podkladu pro budoucí výzkum emocionálních implikací těchto metafor.

Klíčová slova

metafory o rakovině, průzkum, české metafory, teorie konceptuální metafory, metafory násilí, metafory boje, metafory cesty

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1 Introduction

Metaphors are not just poetic figures of speech found in literature, in fact, they are pervasive in everyday language and even our thought. In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson presented their Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) which describes how metaphors shape our perception of the world and structure our actions. According to CMT, metaphors help us understand something abstract in the terms of something more tangible (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5). That way we can think and produce language about abstract concepts such as TIME, LIFE, or IDEAS. For example, thinking about TIME in terms of MONEY, or in CMT terms the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY, produces expressions like *waste time* and *save time*. Since this process is more or less automatic, studying metaphorical expressions allows us to shed light onto our conceptual system.

One area in which metaphor use is of particular importance is healthcare, especially in discourse about cancer. The unfamiliar workings of the disease can be made more accessible by explaining them through familiar concepts. Patients can also use metaphors to talk about their experience and make sense of their situation. The two most frequently observed metaphors in this discourse use the concept of a BATTLE or a JOURNEY. In the former, the patient is a *warrior* who faces the disease as an *enemy* in a *battle*. In the latter, the patient is on a *journey*, where they deal with *obstacles* and choose which *paths* to take.

In order to study these expressions and therefore the way we think about cancer, researchers such as Elena Semino and Zsófia Demjén chose a corpus-based approach. Semino et al.'s (2018b) book *Metaphor, Cancer and the End of Life* is the largest and most systematic study to date of metaphors in cancer related discourse. It is based on their 1.5-million-word corpus of online contributions and interviews with cancer patients, their carers and healthcare workers (2018b: 3). Through this data, the authors were able to observe how the illness is conceptualized and commonly talked about. In addition, Semino participated in research for a study on emotional implications of English metaphors about cancer (Hendricks et al. 2018). More specifically, the authors investigate native speakers' responses to two short texts (referred to as 'vignettes') describing a person's experience with the disease using BATTLE and JOURNEY metaphors. Ultimately,

the goal of these studies is to achieve a better understanding and improvement in English communication about cancer in healthcare practice, research and patient care.

To my knowledge, no comprehensive research into Czech metaphors about cancer and into the role of the language in patients' coping with the disease has been done. This thesis aims to, at least partly, fill the gap. The objective is to prepare the ground for future replications of Hendricks' study on Czech native speakers, that is, to recreate the 'vignettes' in Czech. Since a simple translation of the vignettes does not sound natural in Czech, I will try to recreate comparable Czech vignettes with the help of a Czech language corpus¹ created for this purpose from online contributions to a cancer-related webpage. Observations stemming from the corpus' analysis will then be used as groundwork for future replication of the study by Hendricks et al.'s (2018) on emotional implications of metaphors about cancer.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 reviews literature regarding CMT. BATTLE and JOURNEY metaphors in English are discussed using corpus-based evidence from Semino et al. (2018b). The rest of the chapter describes Hendricks et al.'s (2018) study on emotional implications in detail and discusses its results.

Chapter 3 details the creation of the Czech corpus from online contributions. The data are then explored in Sketch Engine, a corpora management tool, for quantitative assessments. In chapter 4, the data are analyzed and discussed in CMT terms in order to provide insight into Czech metaphor use and language about cancer. Finally, the observations are applied to the creation of two Czech vignettes to be used in replicating the emotional implications study in the future.

¹ During the data collection process, less than a hundred words of Slovak made it into the corpus. This had no impact on the quantitative analysis and the words were excluded from the qualitative analysis.

2 Literature review

This section is a review of literature related to metaphors and their use in the discourse about cancer. First, the theory of conceptual metaphors is introduced and described in detail. Then the focus shifts onto metaphors and cancer. The illness is most often talked about in terms of a *battle* or a *journey*, and the two conceptual metaphors are explored through their specific linguistic manifestations, supported by Semino et al.'s (2018b) 1.5-million-word corpus. Finally, Hendricks et al.'s (2018) study on emotional implications of these metaphors is discussed.

2.1 Traditional view of metaphor

In a more everyday sense of the word, metaphors are defined as poetic figures of speech found in literature. This is reflected in dictionary definitions, such as this entry from Cambridge Dictionary: “an expression, often found in literature, that describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object.” Examples in this entry are metaphors such as “the city is a jungle.” Therefore, the typical view of metaphors is that it is a matter of the individual words rather than thought (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3), and that it requires skillful and conscious choice of words to produce apt comparisons between people or objects.

There are many metaphors however, that are being used in casual everyday conversations without being regarded as poetic or skillful uses of language. Consider the following examples of English speakers talking about the concept of life from Kövecses (2010: 3):

(1) I'm *where I want to be* in life.

She'll *go places* in life.

He's never *let* anyone *get in his way*.

She's *gone through* a lot in life.

(Kövecses 2010: 3)

These metaphors describe life by referring to place and movement, or in other words, the concept of a journey is used to speak about the abstract concept of life. Why do we draw on language used to talk about travelling when we talk about life? Cognitive linguists suggest that thinking about abstract concepts in the terms of a more concrete concept is helpful in our effort to describe these abstract concepts, which is where the conceptual metaphor theory comes in.

2.2 Conceptual metaphor theory

Cognitive linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have introduced conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) in their book *Metaphors We Live By*, originally published in 1980.

First, the authors argue that metaphors² are not only a matter of mere words, but are prevalent in our everyday life in language, thought and action (1980: 3). Their most important claim is that “human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical” (1980: 6). According to the authors, our thought processes are governed by concepts which also govern our everyday functioning, structuring our perception and interaction with the world. If they are correct in claiming that our conceptual system is metaphorical, then our thoughts, experiences and the actions we do every day are “very much a matter of metaphor” (1980: 3). We, however, are not aware of this system, as so much of what we do and think is more or less automatic. If communication, thinking, and acting is based on the same conceptual system, language is an important source of evidence for the inner workings of this system (ibid). By observing metaphors as linguistic expressions, it is possible to glimpse into a person’s conceptual system.

Primarily based on linguistic evidence, the authors found that there are metaphorical concepts that then structure our everyday activities. Unlike the more traditional view of metaphors, this theory views metaphorical expressions as systematic, and the system can be studied and categorized. Crucially, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) describe the essence of metaphor as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing

² From this point on, “metaphor” will refer to conceptual metaphor as defined in this section, not the general meaning used in section 2.1.

in terms of another.” The examples in (1) are describing LIFE in terms of a JOURNEY. LIFE is the abstract concept described with vocabulary for referring to a JOURNEY, resulting in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The wording of the conceptual metaphor does not suggest that it appears in language as such, but the small capital letters indicate it is a sort of organizational name for the expressions and mappings that result from it, such as the ones in (1). This notion will be explained further in this chapter.

More generally, a conceptual metaphor can be defined as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B (Kövecses 2010: 4). Domain A is the target domain, the one that is to be understood in terms of the source domain, domain B. Typically, the target domain is the more abstract one, such as LIFE, THEORIES, or IDEAS. The source domain is then something more tangible or physical, such as a JOURNEY, BUILDINGS, or FOOD. It is easier for us to use our everyday experiences with the physical world as a foundation for understanding more abstract concepts, which is why in most cases the domains are not reversible (Kövecses 2010: 7). Before domains and their relationship are further discussed in section 2.2.2., I will explain what is meant by metaphorical expressions in greater detail.

2.2.1 Metaphorical linguistic expressions

Metaphorical linguistic expressions are surface realizations of underlying conceptual mappings and need to be distinguished from conceptual metaphors. Consider the following examples:

(2) ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4)

The concept described above is an ARGUMENT but using the vocabulary for WAR. The conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR, produces the metaphorical linguistic expressions such as the ones in (2) in italics. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4-5) comment that these expressions are a normal way to describe an argument, i.e. they are not poetic but literal. When someone *attacks weak points* in an argument, it is normal to use those words to describe this action. However, people do not “just *talk* about arguments in terms of war” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4) but the concept of war also structures what people *do* and the way they approach an argument. When arguing, the other person is our opponent. We use *strategies*, *defend* our positions and *attack* theirs, ultimately *winning* or *losing* the argument.

Our understanding of the concept of war helps us structure arguments; similarly, the more tangible experience of a journey can help in understanding and describing life. By observing these systematic linguistic expressions, the existence of conceptual metaphors is revealed, shedding light on our way of thinking, which is according to Lakoff and Johnson “metaphorically structured and defined” (1980: 6).

Linguistic expressions such as the ones in (2) are examples of metaphors that are conventionalized, i.e. well established and entrenched in the language, and most speakers do not even notice they are using them (Kövecses 2010: 34). Both conceptual metaphors and linguistic expressions can be more or less conventional. The more they are headed to the less conventional side of the scale, the more original and creative they seem. These are the types of metaphors that fit the traditional definition described in section 2.1 the most. Such expressions can be easily found even outside of poetry and literature, but it is more difficult to find unconventional conceptual metaphors. For example:

(3) You said you’d read me like a book, but the pages are all torn and frayed

(My Chemical Romance 2004)

In the song lyrics above, the conventional metaphorical expression *read someone like a book* is extended into an unconventional metaphor that could be characterized as PEOPLE ARE BOOKS, where the book pages correspond to the speaker’s personality or emotions.

2.2.2 *Conceptual domains and mappings*

If conceptual metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY are defined as one thing understood in terms of another, there needs to be more clarification as to what “understanding” means and what the relationship between the concepts is.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 7) argue that since the process governing our thoughts and everyday activities is systematic, so are the conceptual metaphors and the language used to express them. They illustrate this on the following metaphor:

(4) TIME IS MONEY

You’re *wasting* my time.

I’ve *invested* a lot of time in her.

You’re *running out* of time.

Thank you for your time.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 7-8)

This conceptual metaphor reflects time being viewed as a valuable commodity in our modern culture. The meaning can even be literal in cases where the amount of time equals the amount of money gained or spent, e.g. hourly wages or hotel room rates. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 8) point out that since people *act* as if time is a valuable resource, we *conceive* of time that way. Time is therefore understood and experienced as something that can be *wasted*, *spent*, *saved* and so on. They also note that metaphorical concepts like TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE or TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY are entailed by TIME IS MONEY, which is the most specific and characterizes the entire system.

TIME is the target domain in this metaphor, i.e. the domain we are trying to understand, and MONEY is the source domain, i.e. the domain we use to understand the target. It is the source domain where metaphorical reasoning happens and provides the source concepts used in that reasoning, and where the metaphorical language has literal meaning (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 265). The relationship between them is referred to as cross-domain mapping (Lakoff 1993: 202). As was noted in section 2.2, the source domain is typically more tangible or physical, with easily understandable structure that can then be applied, or mapped, onto the target domain to articulate it. The mappings are

a set of systematic correspondences between the two domains, creating source-target pairings which constitute much of the meaning of the resulting linguistic expressions (Kövecses 2010: 14). For example, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be manifested by the following linguistic expressions:

(5) LOVE IS A JOURNEY

- a) Look *how far we've come*.
- b) We're *at a crossroads*.
- c) We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
- d) I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
- e) It's been *a long, bumpy road*.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 44-45)

The metaphorical expressions in italics do not by themselves carry metaphorical meaning relating to love. Without the appropriate context, they can still be interpreted literally. When we do use a JOURNEY to talk about LOVE, the following set of mappings can be created. The pronoun *we* refers to the people in the love relationship, they are the travelers. The relationship itself is manifested as the vehicle they use, such as in (5d) where it is suggested the vehicle is no longer moving anywhere and the relationship is over. Since they are traveling together, decisions about their direction, as in (5b) and (5c), correspond to various choices impacting the relationship. If they decide to go in separate directions, the relationship ends. The distance covered on the journey corresponds to the progress they have made in (5a), and obstacles on the road in (5e) are difficulties the lovers went through. Not all aspects of a journey can be used to produce a metaphorical expression, though. The source domain can therefore highlight some aspects and hide others, e.g. JOURNEY in LIFE IS A JOURNEY highlights moving towards a goal and achieving some purpose, but backgrounds reflection or failure in life (Semino et al. 2018b: 8).

Kövecses (2010) examined a great number of metaphors through metaphor dictionaries and available literature on conceptual metaphors in order to support his claim that source and target domains are not reversible in most cases, and to see which domains are most common. Among the most frequent source domains were the human body (the *heart* of the problem), health and illness (a *sick* mind), animals (*a sly fox*), plants (*fruit* of

labor) and more domains related to tangible, everyday experiences. Common target domains included for example emotions (*bursting* with joy), desire (*hungry* for knowledge), thought (I *see* your point) and other abstract concepts. See Kövecses 2010, chapter 2 for details.

2.2.3 *Kinds of conceptual metaphors*

The metaphors discussed thus far, e.g. LOVE IS A JOURNEY in (5), are called structural metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 14) based on the cognitive function they perform, i.e. understanding one domain through the structure (or mappings) provided by another domain. This is the kind that this thesis is focused on. There are, however, two more types of metaphor, namely orientational and ontological metaphors.

Oriental metaphors do not structure concepts but “organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14). Most of these metaphors have to do with basic spatial orientation, such as up-down or center-periphery, and therefore have a basis in our normal human experience. Kövecses (2010: 40) argues that a more appropriate name for them would be “coherence metaphors,” as they make the target concepts more coherent in a consistent manner. For example, positive evaluation tends to be given the spatial orientation UP, while negative evaluation tends to be DOWN (though evaluation is not limited to up-down). This can result in the following orientational metaphors:

(6) Orientational metaphors

- a) HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN: You’re in *high* spirits. I’m feeling *down*.
- b) CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN: Wake *up*. He *fell* asleep.
- c) HEALTH IS UP; SICKNESS IS DOWN: He’s at the *peak* of his health. He came *down* with the flu.
- d) CONTROL IS UP; LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN: I am *on top* of the situation. He is *under* my control.
- e) GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN: Things are looking *up*. Things are at an all-time *low*.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15-16)

All of these examples have a physical basis. In (6a), a drooping posture is typically associated with a negative emotional state. (6b-c) are both related to physically lying down, whether in an unconscious state or forced by illness. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 15) suggest that in (6d), the basis lies in physical size and strength, as victors in a fight are typically on top. (6e) gives UP the meaning of general well-being, which then systematically corresponds with the other more specific examples. Orientational metaphors are rooted in both physical and cultural experience, so the spatial orientation might vary from culture to culture.

Finally, there are ontological³ metaphors which seem to provide at least some very general structure to abstract concepts that have little or no structure of their own. Similar to spatial orientation, our experiences with physical objects and our own bodies lead to metaphors in which events, emotions, ideas and so on, are viewed as objects, substances, and containers (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 25-29). The concepts of objects, substances, and containers are too general to be used as structures and help in understanding a domain, like structural metaphors do. Instead, they only help in conceptualizing and talking about the target domains. Here is an overview:

(7) Ontological metaphors (source domain \Rightarrow target domains)

PHYSICAL OBJECT \Rightarrow NONPHYSICAL OR ABSTRACT ENTITIES (the mind), EVENTS (going to the race), ACTIONS (giving someone a call)

SUBSTANCE \Rightarrow ACTIVITIES (a lot of running in the game)

CONTAINER \Rightarrow UNDELINEATED PHYSICAL OBJECTS (a clearing in the forest), PHYSICAL AND NONPHYSICAL SURFACES (ship coming into view), STATES (in love)

(Kövecses 2010: 39)

If we, for example, conceive of an idea (a NONPHYSICAL ABSTRACT ENTITY) as a PHYSICAL OBJECT, it can be referred to with possessives, e.g. *my idea*, *your idea*. Then it is possible to provide more elaborate structure, for instance using the FOOD domain, resulting in the structural metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD and linguistic expressions like *there are too many facts to digest them all*. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 33) also consider personification, i.e.

³ *Ontology is a branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of being.*

human qualities being given to a nonhuman entity, as an extension of ontological metaphors.

2.3 Metaphor and cancer

The American writer Susan Sontag famously spoke out against metaphorical expressions in discourse surrounding cancer, while she was undergoing treatment herself. In *Illness as Metaphor* (1978: 64-65) she criticizes how cancer and its treatment are very frequently described using the language of warfare: cancer cells are *invasive*, the body has weakened *defenses*, patients are *bombarded* with toxic rays in order to *kill* the cancer cells. Sontag argues that though the military terminology goes back to the discovery of bacteria as carriers of disease which were said to *invade* and *infiltrate*, the widespread use of these metaphors only demonizes the illness and contributes to feelings of fear in the patients. Her wish for metaphors to be eliminated when discussing illness has since been dismissed by both scholars and medical experts as unrealistic and undesirable (Semino 2008: 176), but Sontag's contribution remains influential.

It follows naturally from what has been said about CMT above that complete elimination of metaphor from any discourse is not truly achievable, especially for highly conventional metaphors which are often used naturally and unconsciously. The core tenet of CMT (understanding an abstract concept in terms of a more familiar one) sheds light on the widespread use of metaphors in this specific discourse. The complicated disease process can be made more accessible through systematic mappings onto a more tangible domain. Healthcare professionals not only use metaphors to explain such unfamiliar concepts, but those who use metaphors more often than others are even viewed as better communicators by their patients (Casarett et al. 2010: 255). The patients in turn also gain a way to understand and communicate about their illness, which can help them to “impose order on a suddenly disordered world” (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4024).

However, Sontag was not the only one to point out that the prevalent use of violent warfare metaphors can have potentially negative effects on the patients' perception of their condition. War and fighting contain winners and losers, which in terms of cancer can mean victory (overcoming the disease), or failure (succumbing to it). The patient's mapping in the metaphor as the *fighter* can also be perceived as either positive or negative.

It can be empowering but it can also produce feelings of guilt when the treatments are not working (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4025). These and other weaknesses of this metaphor, discussed in the following subsections, lead some researchers to look for less problematic alternatives. One of these alternatives is the frequently used JOURNEY domain. In this domain, the disease is usually a road to travel on rather than an aggressor (Semino et al. 2018a: 626). The JOURNEY domain avoids the concept of failing, and patients facing terminal illness “simply arrive at a different destination” (Harrington 2012: 409).

Elena Semino and Zsófia Demjén approached the topic differently than Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. In *Metaphors in Discourse* (2008: 10), Semino argues that Lakoff and Johnson have focused too much on conceptual metaphors when presenting CMT, while the actual metaphorical expressions were secondary and constructed artificially to support their theory. Instead, Semino adopted a data-driven perspective to support her claims (especially about conventionality of linguistic expressions) with authentic evidence from language corpora and paying attention to formal and intertextual characteristics of the expressions.

In order to study metaphors in relation to cancer, Semino et al. (2018b) created a corpus of 1.5 million words. The corpus consists of semi-structured spoken interviews and online contributions from fora and blogs by three groups: people with cancer, unpaid carers for someone with cancer (such as family members) and healthcare professionals. The online contributions include posts from a UK-based forum dedicated to cancer, written by 56 patients and 56 carers. Their particular contributions were chosen by Semino et al. (2018b: 46) because they either identified themselves as patients or carers for someone with advanced cancer or wrote about death, terminal illness and palliative care. The rest of the online section is made up of contributions by 307 healthcare professionals, writing about death on blogs, comments on blog posts, or online fora. Together the online contributions make up 82% of the whole corpus, which is approximately 1,200,000 words. The remaining 28% is spoken data from interviews with 29 patients, 17 unpaid carers, and 16 senior healthcare professionals working in hospice or palliative care.

As there is no fully automated method for analyzing metaphors yet, approximately 15,000 words from each section of the corpus (92,000 in total) were selected for qualitative manual analysis (Semino et al. 2018b: 61). The samples were chosen based on

“their relevance to [the] topic (cancer, end of life and end-of-life care), the degree of focus on the responder’s own experience and emotions [...], and the prevalence of metaphorical expressions based on first reading” (ibid). In the case of the online patient and carer data, which is most applicable to this thesis, the authors chose the most relevant forum threads (individual discussions with chronologically ordered posts) and downloaded the posts in them as plain text files. These texts were then explored manually using a “find text” tool, looking for expressions such as *death* or *hospice* (Semino et al. 2018b: 62). If the result fit the aforementioned criteria, it was exported and collected in a separate text file. Then the samples were organized using several types of text annotation tools and software, such as eMargin and Wmatrix. For instance, metaphorical expressions were tagged based on their literal meanings, i.e. a metaphor using *fight* was tagged as Violence (Semino et al. 2018b: 64). This not only allowed easier exploration of the metaphors, but also allowed quick software-assisted observation of statistical data, such as concordance (the linguistic context in which a word appears) and frequency lists.

The most frequent metaphors in the corpus were expectedly using violence and warfare, followed by those using journeys and movement. These two types, as well as their use in combination, will be discussed in detail in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Violence metaphors

The corpus made by Semino et al. (2018b) has supported the hypothesis that comparing a cancer experience to a *battle* or *fight* is the dominant metaphor in this kind of discourse. Violence metaphors involve drawing on the BATTLE⁴ domain to talk about the illness, which in terms of CMT could be expressed as BEING ILL WITH CANCER IS A BATTLE. Among the most frequently used words in Semino et al.’s (2018b) corpus are for example *fight*, *battle*, *protect*, and *struggle*. To illustrate, below is an extract from the online contributions corpus where a man talks about his wife’s cancer (metaphorical expressions are underlined, and original spelling is retained in all following examples):

- (8) [...] I refused to go, I worked on the basis that this was an enemy attacking my loved one and it had picked a fight with me as well. I wish I could say that we won

⁴ Semino et al. (2018a) uses A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WITH THE DISEASE instead of BATTLE, which was chosen for brevity.

all the battles, and that she is alive and well and cancer free. We did however win a significant number of skirmishes to make me proud to have been worthy to be by my darling's side.

(Semino et al. 2018b: 2, emphasis added)

One of the reasons for the dominance of this conceptual metaphor is the availability of adaptable mappings to the BATTLE domain (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4025). The confrontation is between the patient and the disease. The commander and the allies can be represented by the healthcare professionals, who supply the combatant with weaponry in the form of various treatments that attack the opponent. Loved ones can also be cast as co-combatants, as in example (8) above. Winning the whole battle suggests defeating the cancer completely, while smaller battles refer to going through treatments or operations.

The adaptability and a large scale of mappings allow physicians to use this metaphor readily to describe the complex progress of the disease without too many medical terms. Casarett et al. (2010: 256) studied conversations between oncologists and their patients, “whose death within 1 year would not be a surprise.” The study found that in 101 of recorded conversations, metaphors appeared in 64% of them, and 22% of those metaphors were militaristic (193 metaphors identified in total, 42 using BATTLE). Additionally, the BATTLE domain communicates the seriousness of purpose, images of power and aggression, rather than powerlessness and passivity (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4025). This can be empowering for some patients but not for others, suggesting a personalized approach could be necessary when it comes to metaphor use by healthcare professionals (Penson et al. 2004; Reisfield & Wilson 2004). In using these metaphors, the patients are often presented as active, determined, making an effort to get better with a positive attitude (Semino et al. 2018b: 106), such as in these examples:

(9) I don't intend to give up; I don't intend to give in. No I want to fight it. I don't want it to beat me, I want to beat it.

Your words though have given me a bit more of my fighting spirit back. I am ready to kick some cancer butt!

I respect Cancer and never underestimate the power it has, but if you can face up to it and hit it back head on then I think you stand a good chance of beating it for just a bit longer.

Cancer and the fighting of it is something to be very proud of.

(Semino et al. 2018b: 106-109)

With the patient positioned in the role of a fighter comes a major downside. *Winning* the battle suggests overcoming the disease, but the metaphor also involves the concept of *losing*, which suggests that not getting better means the patient is not fighting hard enough (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4025) and the metaphor offers no concept of recovery. When the BATTLE metaphor is used to describe unsuccessful treatments and difficulties, the patient appears disempowered, construing the experience as personal defeat or failure (Semino et al. 2018b):

(10) we become ill to a point where we cannot fight any more, then we die.

I feel such a failure that I am not winning this battle

My husband lost his battle after 10 ½ months.

I sometimes worry about being so positive or feel I am being cocky when I say I will fight this as I think oh my god what if I don't win people will think ah see I knew she couldn't do it!

(Semino et al. 2018b: 109-112)

This is an unfortunate misapprehension. Feelings of personal failure here are triggered by events that are not the person's fault. More accurately it is the limitations in healthcare and understanding of the disease that creates failures; rather than patients failing the treatment, the treatment is failing the patients, and the metaphor does not convey this correctly (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4025). Additionally, if the metaphor is used for patients with terminal cancer, it inevitably ends in them *losing the battle*. Equating unsuccessful treatments to not fighting hard enough can lead to feelings of guilt, letting others down and eventually even giving up (Penson et al. 2004: 711). The patients may then feel pressured into suppressing negative emotions, maintaining a courageous optimistic outlook for the sake of others, which can lead to further disempowerment and isolation (Harrington 2012: 409). Trying to avoid feelings of guilt or weakness can also lead patients to pursue futile medical treatments that will be of no benefit to them, rather than focus on seeking hospice or palliative services that could improve the remainder of their time (ibid). The seemingly counter-intuitive combination of warfare and saving lives

also leads some healthcare professionals to wonder how to reconcile supporting a patient's instinct to fight with expressions of healing and acceptance (Penson et al. 2004: 709).

There are even more inaccuracies in violence metaphors. Reisfield & Wilson (2004: 4025) note that cancer is not an enemy invader, it is the patient's own cells that are attacking, and the battlefield is not the operating table or the hospital, but rather the patient's body. They also criticize the metaphor for being "inherently masculine, power-based, paternalistic" (4025). Miller (2010) advocates for avoiding the military metaphor altogether, and specifically targets the word *aggressive* (e.g. *an aggressive tumor*) as it frightens the patients and applies unnecessary personification to the tumor. The treatment is also often described as violent, e.g. the patient is being *bombarded* with toxic rays meaning chemotherapy (Sontag 1978: 65). Semino et al. (2018b: 115) note that in their corpus, patients often used the verb *hit* to characterize the effect of cancer and its treatments, whether they are physical or emotional.

Overall, prior work does not view the BATTLE metaphor positively, but it can still be empowering for some. A blanket rejection of them, as was advocated by Sontag (1978), could deprive those patients of the positive effects (Semino et al. 2015). The military language in medicine has a long history (see Penson et al. 2004) but recent work advocates for a more individual approach that respects the patient's preferences in metaphors. If a patient speaks out against violence metaphors, journey metaphors are available as the quieter but equally rich option (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4026).

2.3.2 Journey metaphors

Journey metaphors are the most prominent alternative to violence metaphors and the second most common metaphor when talking about cancer (Semino et al. 2018b: 129). Instead of viewing the relationship between the disease and the patient as an antagonistic one, journey metaphors focus on the overall process (Hendricks et al. 2018: 409).

In CMT terms, the conceptual metaphor is BEING ILL WITH CANCER IS A JOURNEY (Semino et al. 2018b: 155). This metaphor can be seen as a part of the very conventionalized LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Semino et al. 2018b: 8). The patient is a traveler, the physician is their guide, the disease is usually the journey or road to travel

on, with different pathways as types of treatment. The illness can potentially be mapped as “a companion to live and travel with” (Semino et al. 2015: 61) rather than an enemy, with various difficulties portrayed as obstacles. Among the most used words are for example *go/come through, journey, path, and forward/backward* (Semino et al. 2018b: 131). Below is an example from Semino et al.’s online corpus:

- (11) Cancer is a journey, some people have similar experiences to others on that journey, but by and large the journey has many twists and turns that means no two people go the exact same route. I think it is like trying to drive a coach and horses uphill with no back wheels on the coach. You do need to stop occasionally and rest the horses, review the situation with your husband.

(Semino et al. 2018b: 139)

The JOURNEY domain is not limited to metaphors involving roads, Semino et al. (2018b: 127) also include metaphors for movement, location, and direction into the JOURNEY domain. Therefore, something like *route* or *twists and turns* seems quite obviously drawn from the JOURNEY domain, but verbs like *go* and *stop* also involve movement and belong to the journey metaphor.

The application of the journey metaphor onto the cancer experience is particularly appropriate in the 21st century, where the disease has generally shifted from an acute event to an illness potentially spanning years or even decades (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4026). As such it becomes a part of the larger narrative of someone’s life. The cross-domain mappings convey the progress being made and what the goals are. Patients can view themselves as travelers who are in control of the journey’s direction and express solidarity with other patients as their traveling companions (Semino et al. 2015: 63). The metaphor does not communicate failure but possibility: for exploring different roads, reaching new destinations, overcoming obstacles, and moving forward with purpose and a sense of direction. The purposefulness, some degree of choice, and companionship in particular can have empowering effects (Semino et al. 2015: 63). When the metaphor is used to talk about the end of life, it is not conveyed as a loss or failure but as the journey’s final destination. Below are examples from Semino et al.’s (2018b) online corpus:

- (12) My journey may not be smooth but it certainly makes me look up and take notice of the scenery!

Cancer is just like a long and winding country road enjoy the good scenery and get past the rough areas as quickly and as safely as you can.

Its a rocky road we are travelling on you and I, take care.

The journey is tough but my husband and I made some wonderful memories and had many wonderful moments

may he rest peacefully now after his long and arduous journey

(Semino et al. 2018b: 134-140)

There is a large amount of possibilities to describe the cancer experience by focusing on different aspects of the journey scenario. In particular, there is a lot of variation in terms of the number of roads the traveler is taking, whether they are traveling alone or not, what is the condition of the road, terrain or location, and what are the destinations or end points (Semino et al. 2018b: 133). The idea of the journey also conveys continuity over a lengthy period of time, not only through the cancer treatment but also beyond it (Reisfield & Wilson 2004: 4026). By contrast, violence metaphors have the more clear-cut winner/loser scenario which does not account for the additional consequences beyond successful cancer treatments.

The journey metaphor is by no means perfect, however. Semino et al. (2015; 2018b) also found the metaphor in negative, disempowering expressions:

(13) Well, I have not done so well with my own “cancer journey” through the wilderness of my own local hospitals

How the hell am I supposed to know how to navigate this road I do not even want to be on when I’ve never done it before

[...] it saddens my heart to read of the passengers nearing the end of their journey and those recently having finished their journey.

as much as we have support from family and friends, we go through the cancer journey on our own, as much as you, as a carer, go through your journey on your own

(Semino et al. 2018b: 136-137)

Semino et al. (2018b: 138) note that many negative adjectives modified *journey*, e.g. *difficult, tough, long and arduous, uncertain or dreadful*. Some patients emphasized the difficulties and obstacles, suggesting they are too overwhelming, and navigating the journey successfully is too difficult to accomplish. In 39 out of a random sample of 100 journey metaphors studied by Semino et al. (2015: 64), the patients implied they are traveling against their will and lack control over the direction which can convey feelings of passivity or lack of acceptance. The journey can also be viewed as lonely, such as the last example in (13), which may further reinforce the feelings of facing extreme difficulties and helplessness.

Semino et al. (2015: 64) thus concludes that the criticized violence metaphors “are not always negative, while Journey metaphors are not always positive.” Therefore, the suitability of metaphor use should be evaluated on the basis of its empowering effects, i.e. “the degree of agency the patient has, or perceives him/herself to have” (2015: 62) and associated emotions.

2.3.3 Violence and journey metaphors in combination

Though these metaphors are quite contrastive, they can appear alongside each other (Semino et al. 2018b: 147). Some examples in Semino et al.’s (2018b) corpus use both *battle* and *journey* in one sentence, posing them as equal alternatives. Several online contributors do not view them as incompatible either, and combine them in complementary rather than contrastive ways, for example:

(14) Continued strength to everyone on this journey, whatever your situation, we are united in our journeys to slay the BC Beast :)

I am totally convinced that as you will help and guide him through this part of his journey, he will come out the other end in a much better place to fight this disease.

(Semino et al. 2018b: 148)

Though combining the different mappings of each metaphor can be somewhat confusing, the results “seem rhetorically effective nonetheless” (Semino et al. 2018b: 149). Based on their data, Semino et al. (2018b: 152) conclude that each metaphor is best suited for

different functions. Journey metaphors are good at conveying the lengthy duration of the illness, the phases of its progress, and the long-term aspects. Violence metaphors are stronger in conveying fearlessness, determination, intense effort, and keeping the focus on shorter moments. According to Semino et al. (ibid), this explains the appearance of both metaphors, separately or in combination, in contributions by the same individuals. Therefore, instead of viewing them as mutually exclusive, they suggest seeing them as “different resources” (ibid) to be used by cancer patients for what they are trying to convey. Whether the emotions associated with the metaphorical expressions discussed so far could shape the way patients cope is explored by Hendricks et al. (2018) in their study presented below.

2.3.4 Emotional implications study

The largest study in scale so far that compared violence and journey metaphors was done by Hendricks et al. (2018). In a series of five experiments, Hendricks et al. studied emotional implications and consequences of metaphor use for mindset about cancer. They emphasized that metaphors used to describe cancer could shape the way people cope. The aim was to collect data on whether people appraise an illness experience differently when it is expressed through violence or journey metaphors. They hypothesized that if a person does not recover from the disease, using violence metaphors would make people believe that “they could have fought harder and therefore feel guilty” (2018: 269). Regarding journey metaphors, they predicted that their use would “encourage greater belief in the possibility of making peace with the situation” (ibid).

As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, Hendricks et al. (2018) used two short vignettes describing a person’s experience with cancer, one using metaphors from the BATTLE domain and the other using the JOURNEY metaphor. The vignettes were given to a large number of participants (506 in the first experiment, then ranging from 113-527 for the subsequent experiments), university students and workers on Amazon Mechanical Turk, who read one of the vignettes and answered questions about the cancer patient. These were the vignettes, presented without emphasis to the participants:

(15) Vignette with BATTLE metaphors

Joe was just diagnosed with cancer. He knows that for the foreseeable future, every day will be a battle against the disease. The battle he has to fight will not always be an easy one. Many people have written about their experiences on the battlefield, and he can turn to those for consolation. His friends and family want him to know that he will not be alone in his battle. Even though sometimes he might not feel like talking, other times he may want to share stories of his battle with others, and they will be there for those moments.

(16) Vignette with JOURNEY metaphors

Joe was just diagnosed with cancer. He knows that for the foreseeable future, every day will be a journey with the disease. The road he has to travel will not always be an easy one. Many people have written about their experiences on the path, and he can turn to those for consolation. His friends and family want him to know that he will not be alone on his journey. Even though sometimes he might not feel like talking, other times he may want to share stories of his journey with others, and they will be there for those moments.

(Hendricks et al. 2018: 270)

After reading one of the vignettes, the participants were asked to rate their agreement with the two statements in (17) ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much):

(17) He will feel guilty that he hasn't done enough if he does not recover.

He can make peace with his experience.

(Hendricks et al. 2018: 270)

The responses to (17) were used to calculate the difference between the participants' "belief that the vignette's subject could make peace with the situation and their belief that the subject would feel guilty if they did not recover" (2018: 271). This is referred to as the peace-guilt difference score. For each participant, the guilt rating was deducted from the peace rating. A larger difference between the ratings, and therefore a larger resulting number, indicates a greater belief that the cancer patient can make peace with his experience. A smaller number indicates a greater belief that the patient is more likely to feel guilty.

After rating the statements in (17), the participants were asked several free-text questions designed to make them think about the patient's experience and produce their own language about it, such as: "What are Joe's prospects for recovery?" (see Hendricks et al. 2018: 271). Finally, the participants were asked their gender, highest education level and languages they speak. The authors later supplemented or changed these questions, which will be addressed later in this section. The free-text answers were compiled into a corpus of approximately 80,000 words.

The results confirmed Hendricks et al.'s (2018) hypotheses. Participants who read the vignette with metaphors using the JOURNEY domain showed a greater difference in their scores, therefore felt the patient was more likely to make peace and less likely to feel guilty, than those who read the BATTLE vignette. Hendricks et al. (2018: 272) also noted that females leaned towards the patient making peace than feeling guilty more than males did. This experiment laid a foundation by showing that people do appraise someone's cancer experience differently when it is presented using BATTLE or JOURNEY metaphors.

There is a large number of variables that could affect the results however, and this was acknowledged by Hendricks et al. (2018) in the form of four subsequent modifications of the first experiment. The second experiment was aimed at the possible effect of lexical priming⁵ in response to the phrase *make peace*. The researchers were concerned that participants who read the BATTLE vignette could be less inclined towards the patient making peace, since *battle* and *peace* are antonyms. Though *peace* can be the result of a *battle* and therefore lead the participants towards the *make peace* option, this outcome was not consistent with the previous findings. The statement in (17) was changed to "He can *come to terms* with his situation" and given to a half of participants, the other half received the original phrasing. No difference was found in the peace-guilt scores and a priming effect coming from the *make peace* phrase was ruled out.

The third modification of the experiment consisted of taking into consideration the role of firsthand experience with the disease. Hendricks et al. (2018: 272) note that prior research suggests that people's views on a topic must be "somewhat malleable for a

⁵ *Lexical priming is a theory that we are subconsciously primed by prior repeated encounters with words (or their combination) and their linguistic contexts, which make us more likely to replicate these words when we produce language in that same context (see Hoey 2005).*

metaphor to influence [their reasoning].” Therefore, it could be possible that people who have firsthand experience with cancer are less likely to be influenced by metaphor use, having some established views already. This experiment was identical to the first one, except when the participants were asked questions about themselves, they were additionally asked whether they or someone close to them was being treated or had been treated for cancer. No difference was found in the peace-guilt score for people who did and did not have a firsthand experience.

Another aspect identified as a possible influence on the results was the sex of the person suffering from cancer. For the fourth experiment, *Joe* was thus replaced with gender ambiguous *Jamie* and neutral pronoun *they*. Additionally, the participants were asked whether they believed Jamie was male or female. No interaction between the perceived gender and the metaphors was observed, which suggests that gender did not affect emotional appraisals in this study. Finally, the fifth experiment was meant to explore whether it is only reasoning about cancer that is sensitive to metaphors. The word *cancer* was substituted with *depression*, but the rest of the experiment remained identical to the first one, and the participants were asked whether they or someone close to them was being treated or had been treated for depression. Consistent with the previous experiments, the participants still leaned towards Joe making peace after reading the JOURNEY vignette rather than after reading the BATTLE vignette. The results were then compared with the first experiment. The participants believed that Joe would feel more guilty for not recovering from depression than he would for not recovering from cancer. Hendricks et al. (2018: 274) suppose this is due to people “holding different mental models” about different illnesses.

Overall, the participants leaned towards the patient making peace with his experience. In all experiments however, the participants who read the JOURNEY vignette believed to a greater extent that the patient would make peace rather than feel guilty. Female participants believed in the patient making peace more strongly than males did. Additionally, the corpus of free-text responses showed a degree of lexical priming; the respondents tended to be consistent with the metaphors they read, but also extended them beyond the ones used in the vignettes. Though Hendricks et al.’s (2018) study is certainly a good first step, the many modifications indicate the difficulty of conducting such research, especially without a significant body of prior work to build on. For this study to

be replicated in a different language, there needs to be enough knowledge about that language's metaphor use in cancer discourse. A simple translation of the BATTLE/JOURNEY vignettes is insufficient, as it may not reflect the metaphor use accurately. The wording used needs to be as natural as possible to obscure the goals of the study, therefore there needs to be an idea of what exactly is a natural way to talk about cancer in each language. To provide this knowledge and therefore the necessary groundwork for research in Czech, I have created a corpus of Czech metaphors about cancer, which will be described in the following chapter.

3 Methodology and data

One of the goals of this thesis is to lay the groundwork for replicating Hendricks et al.'s (2018) study on emotional implications of metaphor, described in section 2.3.4. Since the study relies primarily on two vignettes using BATTLE and JOURNEY metaphors about cancer, the main objective is to recreate these texts in Czech. Two issues arise: first, a translation of the original vignettes sounds forced. Second, to my knowledge, there is no corpus-based research into Czech cancer metaphors to provide evidence of their natural use. This thesis offers a solution for both issues. Following Semino et al. (2018b), I have created a Czech language corpus from online contributions to a cancer related Facebook page. This chapter describes how the corpus was made, and the data are explored for quantitative assessments using Sketch Engine, a corpora management tool. Chapter 4 then focuses on qualitative analysis of BATTLE and JOURNEY metaphors, in order to create idiomatic vignettes supported by corpus-based evidence. All the following quotes and examples from Czech are translated by me.

3.1 Data source

The data for the corpus were collected from posts on a Facebook blog page named *Kdo bojuje – vyhrává* (Those who fight – win), referred to further as *Kdo bojuje*. The author of the page is Jana, a young woman who was first diagnosed with cancer in 2016 during pregnancy. After her tumor was removed and the child survived, she decided to share her experience online. The large response prompted her to start blogging on Facebook, later publishing a book of the same title (Lišková 2019). In 2019 the disease returned, and Jana continues detailing her experience as a patient and a young mother on her page. As of March 2020, the page has over 26,000 followers. In general, the author posts photos of herself and/or her daughter. When the photos are accompanied by a short text, they generally receive approximately 100 responses, mostly in the form of short comments on the photo or image-based responses. Posts with a longer text detailing the author's feelings or news about her condition receive hundreds of longer responses, where people express solidarity, offer support, even share their own experience. Eight of these posts were chosen for data collection, described in section 3.2.

3.1.1 Participants

As was described in the previous chapter, Semino et al. (2018b) chose online fora and blog contributions for their online corpus. While there are Czech fora for discussion about illnesses and the end of life, such as *Doktorka.cz* or *Umirani.cz*, they are not focused solely on cancer, and their activity is lower than the engagement on the *Kdo bojuje* Facebook blog. The data collected for this thesis therefore center around the experience of the blog's author and the responses of her followers who may or may not be cancer patients, unpaid carers, or physicians themselves. Unless they have identified themselves as such in their contributions, there is no way for the responses to be categorized into participant groups and draw conclusions from it as Semino et al. did.⁶

3.2 Data collection

The data were collected in December 2019 – January 2020. Eight Facebook posts on *Kdo bojuje* from November 2019 – January 2020 were chosen based on the number of responses they received. Additionally, roughly the first hundred responses were explored under each post to confirm (based on first reading) the presence of metaphorical expressions. The table below shows each post numbered chronologically with its specific number of responses:

(18) *Kdo bojuje* – vyhrává Facebook posts – number of responses as of January 2020

| | POST 1 | POST 2 | POST 3 | POST 4 | POST 5 | POST 6 | POST 7 | POST 8 | TOTAL |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Number of responses | 1127 | 821 | 1017 | 509 | 461 | 399 | 656 | 296 | 5286 |

⁶ What appears to be the closest Czech data source to Semino et al.'s would be Facebook support groups for cancer patients, where it would be easier to identify the contributors. One such group, *Rakovina – nový začátek* (Cancer – a new start), has as of March 2020 over 4,000 members and averages 9 posts per day per Facebook's statistics. However, like many groups of this kind, their posts are not publicly viewable in order to respect the members' privacy, since Facebook contributions are not anonymous. Members have to be approved manually by the administrators and applying means answering a questionnaire regarding one's experience with the illness, whether as a patient or as a carer, and only then the posts can be viewed and interacted with. Entering this space with the purpose of data collection was considered unethical and was not pursued.

The text of each post and all of its responses were copied from Facebook and pasted into a single Microsoft Word file. All hyperlinks along with the names of the commenters were deleted using a “find and replace” tool. Responses that only contained images or emoticons were deleted. Emoticons were not deleted from posts that also contained text. It is possible to use this corpus for future research into the use of emoticons in this discourse, but this was not pursued here, and emoticons were omitted from the analysis. Stylistic, grammatical or spelling errors were not corrected and left as such.

Like in Semino et al.’s (2018b) approach described in section 2.3, I first only used a “find text” tool to explore the responses using keywords such as *boj* (a fight), *bojovat* (to battle/fight), *bitva* (a battle), *cesta* (journey), *jít* (to go) and some of their inflected forms. Since it was quite ineffective to examine the corpus this way, as an alternative I decided to use Sketch Engine.

3.3 Corpus exploration through Sketch Engine

3.3.1 Exploration methods

Sketch Engine is an online tool used for managing corpora and text analysis. As a concordancer it makes accessible large corpora in over 90 languages (Sketch Engine 2020). It can also be used as a corpus architect, i.e. it allows creating corpora and analyzing them.

When uploaded to Sketch Engine, my corpus has 32,272 words. First, I used the Wordlist tool, which generates frequency lists. To illustrate, in table (19) below are the first 30 results of a search for the most frequent lemmas, i.e. the dictionary form of a word which includes all of its inflections⁷. For example, *go*, *going*, *goes*, *went* and *gone* would all be listed under *go*.

⁷ Since Sketch Engine is best suited for English data, the lemmas and part of speech tags are not always accurate due to the very common lack of diacritics, but also spelling and grammatical errors.

(19) Wordlist results example (all lemmas)

| Lemma | ↓ Frequency ? | Lemma | ↓ Frequency ? | Lemma | ↓ Frequency ? |
|---------|---------------|------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1 být | 1,934 ... | 11 přát | 350 ... | 21 mít | 252 ... |
| 2 a | 1,781 ... | 12 hodně | 336 ... | 22 co | 239 ... |
| 3 ten | 1,402 ... | 13 dobře | 333 ... | 23 s | 238 ... |
| 4 se | 926 ... | 14 že | 328 ... | 24 ať | 233 ... |
| 5 vy | 924 ... | 15 všechen | 298 ... | 25 krásný | 229 ... |
| 6 držet | 740 ... | 16 už | 295 ... | 26 já | 229 ... |
| 7 moc | 553 ... | 17 jen | 294 ... | 27 bojovnice | 204 ... |
| 8 na | 536 ... | 18 v | 277 ... | 28 janička | 202 ... |
| 9 síla | 396 ... | 19 myslet | 264 ... | 29 ty | 202 ... |
| 10 jani | 355 ... | 20 palec | 256 ... | 30 tak | 200 ... |

Sketch Engine tags each word for a part of speech, which can be used to produce more specific lists, such as that of most common nouns. Each item on the list can be viewed in its linguistic context using the Concordance tool, illustrated below:

(20) Concordance results for *síla* (strength)

| <input type="checkbox"/> | Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|--------------------------|--|--------------|-------------|--|
| 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 jí s nepřízní osudu. </s><s> A v tom je Vaše | | síla | . </s><s> Nenechte se zlomit, vy ten boj vyhrá |
| 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 Držte se ,fandím Vám .Posílám Vám spoustu | | sil | do roku 2020 ! </s><s> To vám fakt někdo naj |
| 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 › k tomu bravurne ;) jen tak dál! </s><s> Plno | | sil | a ver,ze ani polovina matek není tak skvela jal |
| 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 ach co pisi takove skarede veci... Přeji hodně | | sil | a udržení si nadhledu nad takovými komentář |
| 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 › napsala. </s><s> Drzte se a posilam mnoho | | sil | za sebe a celou rodinu. </s><s> Janinko, to je |
| 6 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 něho začátku jste moc silná osobnost.Hodne | | síly | a zdraví hlavně.Slusi Vám to s dcerou moc. < |
| 7 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 /ánoce a uzijte si to v rodiném kruhu a hodne | | sil | lásky a bojuj tě Jak už jsem vám psala do zpr: |
| 8 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 › mí usmívat, bojovat a dokonce dokáže dávat | | sílu | ostatním!!!❤ Krásné Vánoce Někteří lidi dok: |
| 9 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 ›s> Díky nim se ale zapřete a dostanete větší | | sílu | . </s><s> Využijte pro svou sílu jejich slabostí |
| 10 | <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 ›stanete větší sílu . </s><s> Využijte pro svou | | sílu | jejich slabostí a myslete pozitivně . </s><s> P |

Concordance shows the entire sentence in which the word appears, but also the sentences before and after it. To gather more quantitative information about the word's context, I also used the Collocations tool, shown in (21). This tool examines up to five words to the right and/or left of the chosen word, then produces a list of words that most often occur before and/or after it (within the specified range). Using Collocations allows for assessing the typical use of a word in the corpus.

(21) Collocations results for up to three lemmas after *síla* (left), and Concordance example (right)

| Lemma | Cooccurrences ? | Candidates ? | <input type="checkbox"/> Details | Left context | KWIC | Right context |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 a | 135 | 1,779 | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 | rodinou vánoce a sbírejte | silu | na další boj s tou potvorou |
| 2 do | 31 | 160 | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 | </s><s> Přeji Vám mnoho | sil | do dalšího boje pro tu Vaši |
| 3 boj | 22 | 83 | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 | a hodně moc zdravíčka a | sily | do boje , který vás čeká v l |
| 4 energie | 18 | 81 | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 | i a veselé, naberte hodně | sil | na úspěšný boj v roce 202 |
| 5 štěstí | 17 | 107 | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 | :ou obalené nervy a máte | silu | na další boj .Držím pěsti a |
| | | | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#0 | é svátky vánoční a hodně | sil | do dalšího boje Krásné vá |

In the example above, Collocations examined up to three lemmas following the word *síla* (strength) and produced a frequency list. *Boj* (a fight) was the third most frequent. The context of *boj* can be then explored using Concordance, which in this case reveals multiple examples of violence metaphors using the expression *síla do boje/na boj* (strength for a fight).

Finally, I also used the Keywords and Terms tool, which is used to extract single and multi-word units that are typical for the corpus. This is achieved by comparing my corpus with Czech Web 2017 (csTenTen17) set as a “reference” corpus, which is a web-crawled corpus of non-specialized language. Here is an example of the results:

(22) Keywords and Terms example (left: single-word, center and right: multi-word)

| Word | Word | Word |
|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Jani ... | 1 velká bojovnice ... | 11 další boj ... |
| 2 Janička ... | 2 krásná vánoce ... | 12 celé srdce ... |
| 3 Janinka ... | 3 krásná vánoce ... | 13 statečná žena ... |
| 4 bojovnice ... | 4 silná žena ... | 14 obrovská bojovnice ... |
| 5 Janicko ... | 5 klidná noc ... | 15 krásná zpráva ... |
| 6 Drzim ... | 6 neskutečná bojovnice ... | 16 úžasná žena ... |
| 7 drzim ... | 7 krásný svátek ... | 17 Hodn sil ... |
| 8 paleček ... | 8 úžasná bojovnice ... | 18 pooperační změna ... |
| 9 Vam ... | 9 brzké uzdravení ... | 19 silná bojovnice ... |
| 10 zdraev ... | 10 spousta sil ... | 20 drzim palce ... |

The multi-words (Terms) seem to be more accurate representations of typical language in the corpus than single-words (Keywords), mainly because of the lack of diacritics and spelling errors in the data. For instance, *hodně* (a lot) appeared frequently without the

diacritical mark (**hodne*)⁸, and Sketch Engine lemmatized it as a token of a non-existing verb **hodnout*.

The following section provides a qualitative analysis based on quantitative data mainly from Wordlists, and supplemented by Concordance, Collocations, and Keywords and Terms. Words without diacritics were identified manually and added to the Wordlists results.

3.3.2 Exploration using Wordlists, Keywords and Terms, Collocations, and Concordance tools

Table (23) presents the absolute frequencies of noun and verb lemmas (including those without diacritics) based on Wordlists. Since the corpus was created around Christmas, frequently appearing words such as *Vánoce* (Christmas) were not included in the table or the analysis. First, I will comment on what the particular nouns and verbs say about the corpus compiled. The words *bojovnice* (woman warrior) and *bojovat* (to fight/battle) will then be addressed separately.

(23) Overview of frequent nouns and verbs based on Wordlists

| Nouns | Times used | Verbs | Times used |
|----------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| <i>síla</i> (strength) | 418 | <i>držet</i> (hold) | 841 |
| <i>palec</i> (thumb) | 256 | <i>přát</i> (wish) | 430 |
| <i>Janička</i> (Jane [dim]) | 209 | <i>mít</i> (have/should) | 257 |
| <i>bojovnice</i> (woman warrior) | 204 | <i>myslet</i> (think) | 349 |
| <i>člověk</i> (person) | 192 | <i>bojovat</i> (fight/battle) | 194 |
| <i>pěst</i> (fist) | 159 | <i>věřit</i> (believe) | 223 |
| <i>zpráva</i> (news/message) | 141 | <i>posílat</i> (send) | 200 |
| <i>štěstí</i> (luck/happiness) | 124 | <i>dát</i> (give/able to do) | 149 |

⁸It resembles an inflected 2nd class Czech verb (e.g. *bodnout*).

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|
| <i>paleček</i> (thumb [dim]) | 114 | <i>zvládnout</i> (handle) | 132 |
|---------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|

The nouns and verbs in (23) reflect the overall nature of the comments in the corpus: they generally express support and encouragement. *Síla* (strength) is the most used noun, usually appearing in supportive statements such as *přeji/posílám hodně síly* (I wish/send you a lot of strength). Occasionally, ‘energy’ (*energie*) was used instead of ‘strength.’ The second most frequently used noun is, curiously, the noun *palec* (thumb). Exploring it further using Collocations and Concordance tools, ‘thumb’ is used instead of *finger* in the Czech equivalent of *keeping one’s fingers crossed* (*držet palce*, literally ‘to hold one’s thumbs’). This expression appears in several variations. ‘Fists’ (*pěsti*) were used instead of ‘thumbs,’ as well as diminutives⁹ for both ‘fists’ and ‘thumbs’ (*pěstičky, palečky*). *Janička* is a diminutive form of Jane, the name of the blog’s author. *Zpráva* (news/message) appears often in wishes for ‘good news’ (*dobré zprávy*), just like *štěstí* (luck/happiness) does in ‘good luck’ (*hodně štěstí*).

Držet (to hold) was used for the expression mentioned above, but also as a short encouraging message *držte se*, literally ‘hold yourself,’ which means to ‘hang on’ or ‘hold on.’ *Myslet* (to think) appears very commonly in expressions of support, such as *myslím na Vás* (I am thinking of you). *Přát* (to wish) and *věřit* (to believe) are used similarly, a typical example is *věřím, že budete v pořádku* (I believe that you will be all right). *Posílat* (to send) is used almost exclusively to ‘send strength/energy’ (*posílám sílu/energii*), which makes sense in the online setting as an expression of support from a distance. *Dát* does literally mean ‘to give’ and it is used as such, but more often it appears as ‘be able to do’ or ‘manage’ as in e.g. *Jani ty to dáš!* (Jane you can do/manage it!). *Zvládnout* is a similar case. It can be translated as ‘handle’ or ‘be able to do,’ as in *tento boj zvládnete* (you will handle this fight) or *to zvládnete!* (you can do this!).

Apart from these nouns and verbs, the data is also characterized by the prevalence of violence metaphors, apparent in the high placement of both *bojovnice* (woman warrior) and *bojovat* (to fight/battle). Right after her name, ‘warrior’ is the most common way to

⁹ A diminutive is a word with an added suffix that expresses smallness and can be used to show affection. An example from English would be *dog – doggie*.

address the blog's author. According to Collocations and Terms, most commenters chose to modify the noun with a variety of positive adjectives, such as *velká* (great/big), *neskutečná* (unreal), *úžasná* (amazing), *statečná* (brave) or *silná* (strong). When the commenters referred to the disease as the enemy, they often chose derogatory expressions such as *mrcha* (bitch, 40 uses), *svině* (swine, 20 uses), or *potvora* (beast, 19 uses). The noun *boj* (a fight) appeared less often, 83 times, but it is still a statistically significant number. Its most frequent modification is *další* (next/another), which could refer to treatments but also to the return of the disease after being successfully cured before. Although in English, the nouns 'a battle' and 'a fight' can be generally treated in the same way, it is not the case in Czech. The noun 'battle' translates to *bitva*, which is specifically used for combat in warfare. A 'fight,' in Czech *boj*, is a violent confrontation in a more general sense, not necessarily in a warfare setting. 'Battle' (*bitva*) appeared in the corpus only 5 times. Though Semino et al.'s (2018b: 104) English data had a much higher rate of 'battle,' even their data showed that 'fight' was more frequent, in fact, it was the most frequent violence metaphor lemma. In the case of the verb *bojovat*, both 'to fight/battle' are appropriate translations.

The prevalence of violence metaphors here could be due to their overall dominance in cancer related discourse, as was observed by Semino et al. (2018b) in their corpus. What must be considered here however, is the degree of lexical priming involved. The author overtly prefers violence metaphors. Firstly, the name of the blog contains one ('Those who fight – win'). There are 27 instances in which the contributors used the blog's entire name as a message of encouragement, such as *hlavně bojujte, protože kdo bojuje – vyhrává* (just keep fighting, because those who fight – win). Many shorter comments contain a simple 'Fight!' (*Bojujte!*), which could be influenced by the blog's name as well. Secondly, violence metaphors also appear in the author's posts, in which she refers to herself as a 'woman warrior' (*bojovnice*) or calls her recent struggles 'a fight' (*boj*). The contributors could then subconsciously stay consistent with the metaphors they read, as the participants in Hendricks et al.'s (2018: 277) study did in their free-text responses. It is also possible that upon seeing the author draw empowerment from such metaphors, the commenters use them more consciously to elicit further empowerment (at least in comments directed at the author). Although the contributors frequently use the verb 'to battle/fight' (194 uses), the expressions for the concept 'to win' are less frequent. There are 86 uses of multiple variations of 'to win' combined (*vyhrát, vyhrávat, zvítězit*),

and less than 10 uses of ‘victorious’ (*vítězný*) and ‘winner’ (*vítěz*). Additionally, there are 34 uses of ‘to defeat’ (*porazit*) as in *rakovinu jsem porazila před 14 rokama* (I defeated cancer 14 years ago).

Violence metaphors are thus revealed through Wordlists and Keywords and Terms very clearly. Each use of the word ‘fight’ or ‘warrior’ is a part of a metaphor in this corpus. Curiously, journey metaphors are not as easy to identify, and subsequently quantify. As was described in section 2.3.2, journey metaphors vary in many aspects, therefore it is difficult to identify single words in frequency lists that could characterize them. In fact, it was necessary to use the Concordance tool to explore these metaphors using specific journey related words in the search query, rather than simply looking at Wordlists first. Taking inspiration from Semino et al. (2018b), I searched for words similar to their English journey data (e.g. *go through, journey*), and other words involving motion through space and travel. The most frequent words found in journey metaphors are *projít/procházet* (go through, 22 uses) and *za Vámi/tebou/sebou* (behind you, also 22 uses). These reflect the movement in the metaphor as was described previously. For example, in *neumím si představit čím procházíte* (I cannot imagine what you are going through), the contributor highlights that the blog’s author is currently in the lengthy process of dealing with the disease. And in *máte toho za sebou fakt hodně* (you really have a lot behind you), it is highlighted that the author has already made a lot of progress that she can look back on. There are only 3 instances of *před Vámi/sebou* (before/ahead of you) referring to a journey, such as *máte život před sebou* (you have [your] life ahead of you). *Jít* (to go, no affixes) appears 11 times used in a journey metaphor such as *musíte jít dál* (you have to keep going). *Cesta* (journey/path) is used 10 times, though some tokens refer to a life journey rather than a cancer journey, which will be discussed in the following chapter. There are 9 instances of metaphors using *překonat* (to overcome) which map the disease as an obstacle, and 5 uses of *cíl* (goal).

Sketch Engine exploration has shown which words are typical for violence metaphors and was able to reveal collocates of words a priori identified as belonging to the JOURNEY domain, as well as expressions of encouragement towards a cancer patient. Overall, violence metaphors appeared more frequently than journey ones. However, as already noted, the blog author’s overt preference for violence metaphors could make the contributors use them more often as a result of lexical priming. This quantitative overview

thus only scratches the surface of this kind of metaphor use in Czech, especially in terms of journey metaphors and their large variety of possible linguistic expressions. In order to gain a better understanding of the metaphors and their mappings in Czech, the uncovered expressions will be subjected to a manual qualitative analysis in the following chapter.

4 Discussion

In this chapter, I discuss examples of Czech violence and journey metaphors found in my corpus and categorize them based on their mappings and correspondences. The examples illustrate how a particular mapping manifests in the Czech language and therefore show how the metaphors are naturally used in this discourse. This knowledge is necessary for creating authentic Czech versions of the vignettes analogous to those in Hendricks et al.'s (2018) study, and my proposed vignettes are presented at the end of the chapter. All of the examples are translated by me as closely as possible. Original spelling is retained, emoticons are omitted, and the relevant metaphorical expressions are underlined.

4.1 Violence metaphors

As already suggested, mappings from the BATTLE domain were very frequent in the Czech data. This can be at least partially attributed to lexical priming caused by the blog's author, who uses a violence metaphor in the blog's title and her posts, as was discussed previously. The mappings in this section were generally the most frequent and lie at the core of the metaphor, i.e. being ill with cancer described as *a fight*, the patient as *the warrior*, the disease as *the enemy*, and the mappings of *victory* and *defeat*.

4.1.1 BEING ILL AS A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE PATIENT AND THE DISEASE

Boj (a fight) and *bojovat* (to fight/battle) was mapped onto the overall experience of being ill as a confrontation between the patient and the disease:

(24)

- a) Je to velký boj a vy ho určitě vyhrajete. Hlavně se nevzdávat a bojovat.

It is a big fight and you will surely win it. The main thing is not giving up and fighting.

- b) Já jedu na kontrolu do Prahy na onko 21.1. Je to boj a vždy si říkám ať to dopadne jak dopadne nedám se a zabujuji

I am going to [an oncologist appointment] in Prague on 21.1. It is a fight and I always tell myself [no matter how it turns out] I will not [give in] and keep fighting

- c) Myslím na Vás, Janičko, denně a přeji Vám hodně sil a vytrvalosti s tou zákeřnou chorobou. Posílám energii.....bojujte a neustupujte!!!!!!

I am thinking of You, Jane[dim.]¹⁰ every day and I wish You a lot of strength and endurance with this insidious disease. I am sending you energy.....keep fighting and do not retreat!!!!!!

- d) ... hodně moc zdravíčka a síly do boje, který vás čeká v Novém roce. Věřím, že tu nemoc porazíte a už bude dobře

... [I wish you] lots of health[dim.] and strength for the fight that awaits you in the New year. I believe you will defeat this illness and all will be well

- e) Máte můj respekt jak vše zvládáte a po každé nepříjemné zprávě z nemocnice jdete znovu do boje.

You have my respect for how you handle everything and after each unpleasant [piece of] news from the hospital you go into the fight again.

The blog author was frequently encouraged to ‘fight’ (*bojuj/-te*) and to ‘not give up’ (*nevzdát se*). In (24a), the commenter suggests these are the most important aspects of success. The author of (24b) identified themselves as a cancer patient and also highlights the importance of this attitude. Examples (24c-d) reflect one of the most typical comments in the corpus: wishing the author ‘strength’ (*síla*) and ‘sending energy’ (*posílám energii*). Based on the high frequency of the word ‘strength,’ the commenters seem to believe this is what the author needs the most to continue her ‘fight.’ (24d) specifies it as ‘strength for the fight,’ as do many other comments, since a stronger warrior is more likely to defeat their opponent. This could refer to both physical and mental strength. While the former refers to physical strength of the body, the latter could be the patient’s willpower or positive attitude. The contributor in (24e) seems to admire the blog author’s mental strength in ‘going into the fight again’ (*jít znovu do boje*) after hearing bad news. Like in English, to be healthy again is ‘to win’ (*vyhrát/zvítězit*) and ‘to defeat’ (*porazit*) the disease, as in (24d), and this will be explored later in this chapter.

Since the blog author has successfully dealt with two tumors before, some contributors consider it as successful ‘fights’:

(25)

- a) Jani posílám sílu na ten boj. Nakopejte ji do zadku, tak jako již dvakrát....

¹⁰ Words followed by [dim.] are diminutives.

Jane I am sending you strength for that fight. Kick its butt, like you have done twice before....

- b) Jani, už jste velikou bitvu vybojovala ...

Jane, you have fought [out] a big battle already ...

- c) moc sil a energie do dalšího boje ať tu potvoru po 3 porazíte! Nesmíte to vzdát ať už je to jakoliv těžké

[I wish you] lots of strength and energy for another fight so that you defeat that beast for a 3rd time! You cannot give up no matter how hard it is

- d) je to BOJ. Velký BOJ ... bojuji od včerejška do teď. Přestali mi přes den fungovat střeva ...

it is a FIGHT. Big FIGHT ...I have been fighting since yesterday until now. My intestines stopped working during the day ...

In (25a-c), the commenters use the author's previous successful 'fights' or 'battles' as a source of encouragement. These examples also illustrate that the 'fight/battle' mapping has a more clearly defined beginning and ending, rather than a notion of something lengthy and continuous. The patient's previous experiences which ended with a successful treatment were 'fights' that have been 'won.' With the return of the disease begins a new 'fight.' 'Fight' is also mapped onto significant events in the course of the illness, such as coping with bad news, undergoing operations and treatments. In this case the opponents are the effects of the disease or the treatments. (25d) is written by the author herself, where she uses 'fight' both to refer to the overall experience ('it is a FIGHT') and to coping with a recent negative change in her condition ('I have been fighting [organ failure] since yesterday').

The following comments are from self-identified cancer patients (or possibly a carer in the last example) who express solidarity with the author, suggesting that she is not alone because they are also engaged in a 'fight':

(26)

- a) jsem také onko pacient, také jezdím do ol.... bojujeme a vyhrajeme.

I am also an oncological patient, I also go to [Olomouc hospital].... we fight and we will win.

- b) kdo neco podobneho nezazil nikdy nepochopi!!! strasne moc vam fandim a drzim palce my co bojujem se jen tak nevzdáme

who has never lived through something similar will never understand!!! I am really rooting for you and keeping my fingers crossed, we who fight do not give up that easily

- c) taky bojujeme od srpna a věříme, doufáme a je to sakra těžký.

we are also fighting since August and we believe, we hope and it is damn hard.

Contrary to the English data discussed in section 2.3, there was no mention of where the ‘fight’ takes place using the word ‘battlefield’ (*bojiště, bitevní pole*). This is particularly important for recreating the vignettes for Hendricks et al.’s (2018) study, which use ‘battlefield’ in the BATTLE vignette. Based on my data, I would argue against using the Czech equivalents in the replication of the study and therefore they will be excluded from my proposed vignettes presented in section 4.5.

4.1.2 THE DISEASE AS AN OPPONENT

Alongside general terms such as *nemoc* (disease), many commenters chose to refer to the illness with derogatory expressions *mrcha* (bitch), *potvora* (beast, derogatory in Czech) and *svině* (swine). Since the word *rakovina* (cancer) is feminine in gender and so are all of the mentioned expressions, it could be the determining factor in the choice of these particular words.

(27)

- a) Můj tatínek taky bojuje, budeme čekat na výsledek..zda je ta svině pryč, nebo ne

My daddy [dim.] is fighting too, we will be waiting for the result.. [to see] if that swine is gone, or not

- b) Ti jí tu prdel nakopeš a ona uteče z brekem..

You will kick its ass and it will run away crying..

- c) Tahle potvora bude poslední uvidíte jen ji nakopte prdel jako ty předtím.

This beast will be the last one, you will see, just kick her ass like the ones before.

- d) Drzim Ti Jani palce at se ta mrcha uz vzda uz nekolikrat jsi ji natrhla prdel

I am keeping my fingers crossed [for you] Jane so that bitch will give up already, already you have kicked her ass multiple times

- e) Rakovina je ale ten nejkrutější soupeř a nemá slitování. Ať jste mámou, babičkou či normálně spokojeně žijícím člověkem, nebere na to v žádném případě ohledy a už vůbec ne kolikrát s ní bojujete.

Cancer is the cruelest opponent and it has no mercy. Whether you are a mom, grandma or a normal contently living person, it has no regard for that whatsoever, especially not for how many times you are fighting it.

Using these words portrays the disease as malicious. These expressions were frequently paired with a variation of *nakopat zadek* (to kick its backside), which implies the fight will be decisive and easy, particularly in (27b). The cancer is also portrayed as having a will and malicious intent. The contributor in (27d) wishes the cancer would ‘give up already’ (*at’ se [...] už vzdá*) as it keeps attacking the patient. There was only one instance of the word ‘opponent’ (*soupeř*) in the corpus in (27e), which is written by the blog author. She directly calls the disease ‘the cruelest’ (*nejkrutější*), having ‘no mercy’ (*nemá slitování*), and ‘no regard’ who someone is or how many times they have dealt with it, clearly implying it is malicious in nature.

4.1.3 THE PATIENT AS A FIGHTER

As was noted in the previous chapter, *bojovnice* (woman warrior) is one of the most common words in the corpus. The commenters often described the author as ‘strong’ (*sílná*), ‘brave’ (*statečná*) or ‘great/big’ (*velká*). As Semino et al. (2018b: 16) noted in their corpus, here too the patient is viewed as active and making an effort to get better:

(28)

- a) Vzhuru do boje a ukažte všem jak jste silná.
[Go] into the fight and show everyone how strong you are.
- b) Já i, nedokážu si ani představit, co prožíváte.. Ale je vidět, že jste velká bojovnice a pořád máte chuť bojovat dál!
I cannot even imagine what you are living through.. But it is apparent that you are a great warrior and you still feel like fighting on!
- c) Tak křehká víla, a tak moc silná bojovnice, s neuvěřitelně vnitřní silou!!!
Such a fragile fairy, [but] such a [very] strong warrior with unbelievable inner strength!!!
- d) Bojujte!!! Ja verim, ze prave vy svou bojovnosti to vyhrajete!!!
Fight!!!! I believe that especially you [with] your fighting spirit will win!!!

Comments such as these praise the author for her will to ‘fight on’ (*bojovat dál*) while generally maintaining a positive ‘fighting spirit’ (*bojovnost*). As was mentioned in section 2.3.1, the effort to display an image of a ‘strong warrior’ ready to ‘fight’ can lead to a suppression of negative emotions (Harrington 2012: 409). A ‘warrior’ that shows weakness would be more susceptible to loss, and the blog author has built her online image in part on her strong optimistic personality despite her medical condition. Though she clearly draws empowerment from the ‘warrior’ position, in examples (29) and then below in (43a) she expresses how difficult it is to maintain this attitude when the cancer returned.

(29)

na každé fotce s palcem nahore protože doufala, že už se stala vítězem ... mezi těmi fotkami ale uběhl pokaždé nějaký zvrát [...] Jsem vyčerpána, nešťastná a bez elánu do života. I když nevím jak a kde, musím začít sbírat sílu na další zřejmě operaci a boj, UŽ třetí ...

[she is] on each photo with thumbs up because she hoped that she became a winner already ... but there was some twist in between each photo [...] I am exhausted, unhappy and with no zest for life. Even though I do not know how or where, I have to start gathering my strength for probably another operation and fight, third ALREADY ...

When the patient does not feel strong as in (29) above, the BATTLE domain mappings seem to allow very little in terms of encouragement other than wishes for more strength:

(30)

a) Občas i velké bojovnici na chvíli dojdou síly. [...] Protože víme, že zítra, pozítří, prostě brzy, zase vstanete a budete bojovat.

Sometimes even a great warrior loses her strength for a while. [...] Because we know that tomorrow, the day after, simply soon, you will get up again and keep fighting.

b) Není jiná možnost než se zvednout a bojovat, bojovat za život, za dceru.

There is no other option but to get up and fight, fight for life, for your daughter.

c) Posílám veskerou svou energii a moc Vam preji, aby jste ji v sobe nasla a byla opet pripravena bojovat!!!

I am sending you all of my energy and wish that you will find it within yourself and be ready to fight again!!!

d) Jsi opravdu hodně statečná a silná ja bych to asi nedala každý mi psal ze jsem bojovnice pak už jsem to slovo nenasela.

You are really very brave and strong, I would not [be able to handle] it, everyone was writing to me that I am a warrior and then I hated that word.

(30a) acknowledges that a ‘warrior’ can run out of strength ‘for a while,’ but then recover it and ‘fight’ again. (30b) illustrates the limited options of the metaphor quite bluntly with ‘there is no other option.’ Both examples also use the orientational metaphor SAD IS DOWN, implying the author is down now and needs to ‘get up’ in order to continue. In the context of a battle, to be ‘down’ could also imply being (at least temporarily) defeated. The contributor in (30c) wishes the patient found the energy ‘within herself,’ which just like the examples before puts the responsibility on the patient. (30d) was written by a self-identified cancer patient who directly speaks out against the ‘warrior’ mapping and expresses dislike towards hearing it often but does not elaborate further.

4.1.4 VICTORY AND DEFEAT

The BATTLE domain’s mappings for victory and loss are considered the most problematic, as was discussed in section 2.3.1. Winning equals becoming healthy, which is also referenced in the blog’s title ‘Those who fight – win.’ Many commenters reference the title in their encouraging comments, e.g. *Kdo bojuje vyhrává a Vy jste velká bojovnice!* (Those who fight win and You are a great warrior!). For this section I looked for other uses of this metaphor that do not clearly reference the title:

(31)

- a) Rakovinu jsem porazila před 14roky, můj syn ji zvládl porazit také.
I defeated cancer 14 years ago, my son managed to defeat it as well.
- b) Svoji bojovnosti jste velký vítěz a velký vzor pro všechny, kdo Vás znají.
Your fighting spirit [makes you] a great winner and a great example for everyone who knows You.
- c) ... to je boj pro slona, a ne takovou "holčičku", ale my ho s Vámi vyhrajeme, protože bojujeme v myšlenkách společných.
.. this is a fight for an elephant, not such a "little girl," but we will win it with You, because we fight in collective thoughts.

The author of (31a) uses ‘to defeat cancer’ (*porazit rakovinu*) to express becoming healthy again. A commenter in (31b) chose to call the blog’s author a ‘winner’ (*vítěz*) despite her

current condition, saying that the author's 'fighting spirit' (*bojovnost*) makes her a 'winner' for inspiring others. This could be an attempt at avoiding the loser mapping, suggesting that even if the author does not recover from the disease, she was still a 'winner' in other aspects of her life. (31c) comments on the difficulty of this 'fight,' but also expresses solidarity by saying they also engage in this 'fight' in their thoughts. This was quite unique in the data. Most commenters express being 'with [the patient]' in thought, but do not put themselves into the patient's 'fight.' Those who did were usually other patients (or their loved ones) like in (26) above. However, there were comments by people who also had firsthand experience with the disease and did not put themselves into the patient's 'fight' as in (27a) above or (32a) below.

The following examples talk about losing in some way, though only one example uses 'losing the fight' specifically:

(32)

- a) Jani, vetsi bojovnici jsem nepoznala, jen sveho tatu, který boj před 9lety bohužel prohrál a do dnes mam vycitky ze jsem plno veci mela udelat jinak

Jane [dim.], I have not met a greater warrior [than you], only my dad who unfortunately lost [his] fight 9 years ago and to this day I feel remorse that I should have done lots of things differently

- b) Je mi to moc líto, až toho budete schopna posbírejte všechny síly které máte a bojujte, přece ji nenecháte vyhrát...vy rozhodně ne, tomu nevěřím!

I am so sorry, when you will be able to, gather all the strength you have and fight, you cannot let it win... not you, I do not believe that!

- c) ... sakra at' už někdo vymyslí nějaký lék není přeci možné, že ta svině bude pořád vyhrávat !!

... damn, let someone come up with a cure already, it cannot be possible for that swine to keep winning !!

The author of (32a) is a loved one of someone who 'lost the fight' (*prohrál boj*) and mentions feeling remorseful. There is not much the metaphor could offer in order to console this commenter. The patient is mapped onto an unsuccessful 'fighter' and the 'fight' was 'lost.' This mapping produces feelings of guilt in the patient when the treatments are failing (Semino et al. 2015: 63) but this comment also suggests the guilt extended to the remaining loved one. In (32b) the commenter does not want the patient to 'let [the cancer] win' (*nenecháte ji vyhrát*) which avoids directly mentioning the

patient's potential defeat. (32c) expresses this mapping similarly by mentioning the disease 'keeps winning' (*pořád vyhrávat*) rather than that patients keep losing. Overall, words communicating 'defeat' were avoided in the corpus, which could imply how sensitive it is for a cancer patient to think about, but also it reflects the nature of the contributions. The comments are mostly encouraging and supportive, therefore avoiding mentioning the possibility of loss is naturally desirable.

Since the blog author had multiple tumors since starting her blog, some commenters refer to her previous experiences as 'fights' that have been 'won,' see examples (25) above. However, the following contributors imply the blog author has not in fact 'won' yet, at least not completely:

(33)

- a) pokazde co ctu prizpevek se modlim, aby jste uz konecne a nadobro boj s tou strasnou nemocí vyhrala... pevne verim, ze nakonec to dokazete!!

every time I read [your] posts I pray that you will finally win the fight with that terrible disease for good... I strongly believe that you will accomplish it in the end!!

- b) Janičko bojuj vydržela jsi toho tolik, doufám, že teď definitivně vyhraješ, nad tou nemocí.

Jane [dim.] keep fighting you have endured so much, I hope that now you will definitively win [against] that disease.

- c) Posílám spoustu síly pro další boj a z celého srdce přeji, ať ho vyhrajete a tu mrchu už konečně porazíte

I am sending [you] a lot of strength for another fight and I wish with all my heart that you will win it and finally defeat that bitch.

These contributors do not view the disease as 'defeated' completely during the patient's previous experiences. Some continuity seems to be implied, rather than the clearly divided 'fights' mentioned by the contributors in (25). It seems as if the contributors think of the disease as a 'war' which is not 'won' if the disease returns, leading to more 'fights.' It is unclear however, when the 'war' should be considered as 'won,' since the possibility of the disease's return remains even after successful treatment. In this case, journey metaphors are more suitable to express continuity and the life beyond treatment (Reisfield & Wilson: 4026).

4.2 Journey metaphors

There were fewer JOURNEY domain mappings than BATTLE domain mappings in the corpus, but enough for a better understanding of these metaphors in Czech. It was noted in section 2.3.2 that cancer related journey metaphors can be viewed as a part of the very conventional LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Semino et al. 2018b: 8). Both LIFE and BEING ILL WITH CANCER domains draw the same mappings from the JOURNEY source domain (e.g. A PERSON/PATIENT IS A TRAVELER or DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES) and both involve more general concepts than violence metaphors, i.e. movement, direction, and location (Semino et al. 2018b: 127). The goal is to provide evidence of Czech metaphor use, therefore as long as the metaphor still refers to cancer and a journey, it is included in the analysis, even if it may lean towards referring to a life journey.

4.2.1 BEING ILL WITH CANCER AS A JOURNEY

Contrary to the English journey metaphors, the words ‘journey’ and ‘path’ (both *cesta*) appeared only rarely in the Czech data. When the contributors referred to the entire cancer experience with a journey metaphor, they most commonly used ‘to go through’ (*procházet/projít*):

(34)

- a) Strasne moc vam drzim palce, sama jsem si tim prošla dvakrat a vim co prozivate.
I'm really keeping my fingers crossed for you, I went through it twice myself and I know what you are living through.
- b) [...] přála bych jim aby si obuli vaše boty a prošli si aspoň půl toho co jste prošla vy
[...] I wish they would put on your shoes and go through at least a half of what you went through
- c) Vyplačte vztek a bolest, zvedněte pak hlavu a jděte dál. Někde tam za tím rožkem už musí být lepší příští.
Cry out your anger and pain, then lift your head up and keep going. Somewhere around that corner there must be a better [future].
- d) Ačkoli jste silná žena, je mi jasné, že tohle je na jednoho človíčka moc...přesto pevně věřím, že zdárně projdete i tímto temným údolím.

Even though you are a strong woman, it is obvious that this is too much for one person [dim.]... But I strongly believe that you will successfully go through even this dark valley.

The contributor in (34a) is a cancer patient who relates to the blog author's experience by saying she also 'went through it,' and it is a typical example of a journey metaphor in the corpus. Comments (34b-d) expand the metaphor in a variety of ways. The comment in (34b) is a response to a post where the blog author describes seeing negative comments on her page. This contributor says the critics should first experience what the patient does by 'putting on [her] shoes' (*obuli vaše boty*) and then 'going through' the journey before they make judgements. The response in (34c) was written under a post where the blog author announces the disease has returned. It suggests the patient should let her emotions out, 'lift [her] head up' (*zvedněte hlavu*) and then 'keep going' (*jděte dál*) implying that feeling emotionally overwhelmed means not moving forward. Additionally, 'lifting [her] head up' is the orientational metaphor HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN, which reacts to the sadness the blog post was describing. Another creative use of a journey metaphor is in (34d) where the cancer experience is mapped onto a 'dark valley' (*temné údolí*). Since a 'dark valley' is a deep area of low land, it could imply that one has to go up to leave it. It would then also correspond to the mentioned orientational metaphor, or even more specifically to HEALTH IS UP; SICKNESS IS DOWN.

4.2.2 LOVED ONES AS AN ENGINE

The following comments are examples of a mapping that was not observed in Semino et al.'s (2018b) English data:

(35)

- a) Taky si tím teď procházím ale věřím. Opatrujte se Janičko. P.S. Stelinka je Váš hnací motor.

I am also going through this now but I [have faith]. Take care, Jane [dim.] P.S. Stella [dim.] is Your [driving force/engine].

- b) Jste silná žena a mate hnací motor v krásné dcerce.

You are a strong woman and you have a [driving force/engine] in your beautiful daughter.

- c) Jste hnacím motorem pro všechny lidi s jakoukoliv nemocí, kteří si myslí, že dále už opravdu nemohou.

You are a [driving force/engine] for all people with a disease that think they cannot go on anymore.

Though ‘driving force’ is an adequate translation of *hnací motor*, it translates literally to ‘driving engine,’ which I consider to be a JOURNEY domain mapping. The patient’s loved ones, in this case her young daughter, are mapped onto an ‘engine’ (*motor*) a vital part of a vehicle and travel in general. This mapping suggests that like an engine keeps a vehicle in motion, the patient is moving forward on her journey, motivated by her daughter. Six people used this expression in the corpus, five of which used it in the same manner as (35a-b), therefore I can only speculate about the extent of this mapping. More specifically, the ‘engine’ could be a mapping for the support and motivation the loved ones provide. Their sole existence could also be the ‘engine,’ with their support being its fuel. In terms of the patient, they could be still considered as the traveler in general, but more accurately they are the vehicle powered by this ‘engine.’ (35c) is the only slightly different use of this mapping which considers the patient to be the ‘engine’ for other patients, therefore a motivating force for the journeys of others. In that case, this mapping could be described as INSPIRING PEOPLE ARE ENGINES, but there was no other evidence of this in the corpus.

4.2.3 BECOMING HEALTHY AS A DESTINATION

Semino et al. (2018b: 135) note in their data that the journey’s destination can be viewed either as positive (becoming healthy) or negative (not recovering). In my data, only one contributor used a journey metaphor to speak about death and they did not map it as a ‘destination,’ see (37). Contributors that do refer to the journey’s ‘goal/destination’ (*cíl*) map it onto becoming healthy:

(36)

- a) Jani bude to dobrý, moc Vám to přeju. Já byla na PET/CT včera a super zprávy. Jsem vyléčená v cíli a vy tam také dojdete

Jane [dim.] it will be alright, I really [want that] for you. I was at PET/CT yesterday and [got] great news. I recovered and [I am] in [my] destination and you will also arrive there [on foot]

- b) Já na vás myslím dost často a obdivuji vás jak jste statečná a cíl je už za rohem.

I think of you often and admire how brave you are and the goal is already around the corner.

- c) [...] věřím, že ten nový rok přinese spoustu energie, které Vás určitě dovodou k cíli být zdravá

I believe, that the new year will bring lots of energy that will lead you to the goal of being healthy

- d) Pozitivita je nejdůležitější cesta k uzdravení, věřit a nevzdávat.

Positivity is the most important path to recovery, to believe and to not give up.

The example in (36a) makes the mapping explicit; this patient has recovered and therefore reached her ‘destination.’ The commenter uses *dojít* (arrive by walking) to describe how the blog author can reach her destination as well. There is another use of ‘around the corner’ (*za rohem*) in (36b), previously seen in (34c), which implies that the goal is very close. In the last clause of (36c), this contributor wishes that ‘energy’ or ‘energies’ (unclear from their mixed use of plural and singular inflections) will ‘lead’ (*dovedou*) the patient towards their ‘goal.’ Again, the ‘goal’ being recovery is made explicit. The example in (36d) is slightly different, though the ‘destination’ is still recovery. It is one of the few uses of *cesta*, which can mean both ‘journey’ and ‘path.’ This use seems to be ‘path,’ since it is ‘the most important’ one, implying there are other ‘paths to recovery’ (*cesty k uzdravení*). Taking the ‘path’ of positivity would then be maintaining a positive attitude, which the contributor believes to be important in order to recover from the disease.

Below is the only example of a journey metaphor used to talk about death:

(37)

Jani, je jedno kdy odejdeme, někdo dříve někdo později [...] držím Vám palce, protože jsem jednou z těch, kterým osud nadělil pár let navíc...zatím 11.

Jane [dim.], it does not matter when we leave [on foot], some sooner some later [...] I am keeping my fingers crossed for you, because I am one of those who were given a few years extra by fate...11 so far.

Instead of death being mapped onto the final destination, it is ‘leaving (on foot)’ (*odejdeme*), a frequent euphemism for dying.

4.2.4 MAKING PROGRESS AS MOVING FORWARD

If the ‘goal’ of a cancer journey is recovery, then moving towards that ‘goal’ is the patient making progress:

(38)

- a) Tolik životní bolesti a vy pořád jdete dál. Vždy si vzpomenu: pokud procházíš peklem nezastavuj.

So much pain [in life] and you still keep going. I always think of [this]: if you are going through hell, do not stop.

- b) Máte za sebou obrovský kus cesty....

You have a huge part of the journey behind you....

(38a) admires the patient for continuing their journey. Then they use an expression that does not refer to cancer directly, but it still is a journey metaphor advising against ‘stopping’ when ‘going through’ something negative. This metaphor also contains the notion that the traveler must keep moving in order to achieve success. As was mentioned in section 2.3.2, journey metaphors allow reflection on the patient’s progress by pointing out the distance they have already covered, as in (38b). *Mít něco za sebou* (literally: have something behind you) is also used generally to refer to events that already happened. In the context of a cancer journey, this can be a location that the traveler has went through, referring to operations or treatment, and that are now ‘behind them.’ This was expressed by several contributors using variations of ‘the worst is behind you’ (*nejhorší je za vámi*):

(39)

- a) Myslete na to že to nejhorší je za vámi a už bude jen dobře.

Think of [the fact] that the worst is behind you and all will be well from now on.

- b) Moc Vám přeji, aby Vám na onkologii, řekli dobré zprávy. To špatné bylo za Vámi, pěkné šlo stále s Vámi.

I really wish that [the oncologist] will tell You good news. [I wish that] the bad was behind You, the nice always went with You.

Example (39a) considers ‘the worst’ to be the blog author’s recent painful experience after organ failure. Since the pain was subsiding, the contributor described it as being ‘behind’ the patient. (39b) expands this expression a little by saying good things will ‘[go]

with' the patient. This implies that the 'bad' was something the patient left behind and now the good will be going with her. There were also multiple self-identified cancer patients who described their cancer journeys as being 'behind them':

(40)

- a) Přeju hodně sil mám to dvakrát za sebou a moc dobře znám ty bolesti, ale vždy mi pomohla operace

I wish you a lot of strength, [it is] behind me twice and I know the pain very well, but an operation always helped me

- b) Jano, mam totez za sebou, operovali me kveten 2014

Jane, the same [thing is] behind me, I [had] an operation in May 2014

- c) Mám tohle za sebou a jsem tu 19 let navíc..... jak dlouho ještě, to nikdo neví. Ale uzdravila jsem se...

[This is] behind me and I am here 19 years extra..... for how long, no one knows. But I recovered...

These examples imply the entire cancer experience was a location or a completed journey that they have now moved past, leaving it 'behind them.' As was noted in section 4.2, these journey metaphors are likely to be a part of the more general LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. It could therefore be said, that the completed journey or location of the cancer experience is then viewed in terms of the person's life journey. It was a part of their life that they 'went through,' reached its 'destination,' and then continued the larger life journey.

4.2.5 THE DISEASE AS A COMPANION

Semino et al. (2015: 61) noted that the disease can also be mapped onto a travel companion. I have found a similar mapping in the examples below and one in combination with a violence metaphor, discussed later in section 4.3.

(41)

- a) [...] zkuste možná tolik s nemocí nebojovat. Někdy je lepší to přijmout, poděkovat jí za zkušenost a říct, že teď už může prýč. Vím že to zní bláznivě, ale přijde mi, že s čím bojujeme, s tím se velmi těžko žije.

[...] maybe try not fighting the disease that much. Sometimes it is better to accept it, thank it for the experience and say that it can [go] away now. I know

it sounds crazy, but it seems to me that [the things] we are fighting are very difficult to live with.

- b) a zase ten špitál ... zase plno vyšetření jestli ve mě neroste nádor, zase ten tunel, zase ty popíchané ruce a zase ty nervy ... mohla bych s tím zase pokračovat ještě do nekonečna ... jooo, zkrátka život s rakovinou.

and hospital [-informal] again... again a lot of examinations [to see] if there is a tumor growing inside me, again that tunnel, again the arms pricked all over and again [being nervous] ... I could go on forever again ... yeah, that's life with cancer.

Here the disease does not seem to be specifically a travel companion but rather a life companion. Both comments say that it is something one 'lives with' and it is a part of their life. The comment in (41a) was found under the blog author's post describing organ failure as a 'fight.' This contributor also uses both violence and journey metaphors, but unlike the comment to be discussed in 4.3., their uses are not complementary. Instead, this comment directly speaks out against the blog author's use of violence metaphors. The comment positions the disease as a companion, which can be 'thanked for the experience' and then it can part ways with the patient. The contributor seems to be thinking of the patient's life after treatments, whereas the post was focused on the patient's current 'fight,' see (25d) above. This contributor does not see the antagonistic relationship presented in violence metaphors as suitable if one has to continue 'living with' the disease. The next example in (41b) is written by the blog author, who rarely refers to her experience with journey metaphors. This post was written approximately a month after her second tumor has been successfully treated and before the third tumor was found. Therefore, the author referred to her 'life with cancer' at a time where she believed she was healthy. This supports the notion that each metaphor can be used by the same patient for a different purpose (Semino et al. 2018b: 152). The blog author used 'a fight' to talk about her recent organ failure, the effects of which were still fresh at the time of writing. Later she used the expression in (41b) to convey the disease's continuing influence on her life.

4.2.6 THE DISEASE AS AN OBSTACLE OR BURDEN

Metaphors in this section portray the disease as some hindrance on the patient's journey. First, the following contributors map the cancer onto an obstacle:

(42)

- a) Je mi to hrozně líto Jani, ale stále věřím, že je to zase jen překážka na cestě za šťastným životem

I am so sorry Jane [dim.], but I still believe that it is again just an obstacle on the path to a happy life

- b) Moc obdivuji váš přístup ke všemu, co se Vám v životě objevilo a postavilo do cesty.

I really admire your attitude towards everything that appeared in your life and stood in your path.

- c) Musíte být silná, aby jste mohla překonat vše špatné a mohla co nejdříve za svoji malou princeznu.

You have to be strong so you could overcome everything bad and [go] as soon as possible to your little princess.

According to these comments, cancer is obstructing the patient's 'path' and must be 'overcome' (*překonat*). The comments in (42a-b) suggest the 'path' is the path of life, and (42c) says the disease is obstructing the path back to the patient's family. While this mapping is also discussed by Semino et al. (2018b), a different mapping of a similar kind emerged in the Czech data – CANCER AS A BURDEN. Cameron & Deignan (2006: 679) described this kind of mapping in expressions such as *emotional baggage* as a part of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the mapping being DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS. Particularly in the context of a cancer journey, where moving forward means making progress towards recovery, both obstacles and burdens slow or stop the patient's progress. Here are the examples:

(43)

- a) Je pro mě zkrátka těžké dostat to velké břemeno na řádky a hodit nějaký ten úsměv

It is just difficult for me to put this large burden [into words] and put on a smile

- b) Nejde aby někdo nesl takové životní břemeno....život někdy není fér..!!

It cannot be [possible] for someone to carry such a large life burden....life is not fair sometimes..!!

- c) mate nalozeno tolik na ramenou, ale zvladnete to stejně ja dřív a zase vysvitne slunce

you have so much loaded on your shoulders, but you can do it just like I did before and the sun will rise again

The first two examples use *břemeno* (burden) to directly refer to the disease. (43a) is the blog author expressing how difficult it is to announce the disease has returned. (43b) was written in response to a different earlier post which did not contain the ‘burden’ mapping, so it is not a result of lexical priming. In (43c) the contributor uses *máte naloženo na ramenou*, literally ‘you have [something] loaded onto your shoulders.’ Some contributors shorten the expression using only *mít naloženo* (to have [something] loaded) or *dostat naloženo* (receive a load [of something]):

(44)

- a) Proč někdo proplouvá životem lehce a ani si zdraví neváží a někomu život naloží že to sotva unese.

Why is somebody sailing through life easily and does not even value their health and somebody [else receives] from life [so much] that they can barely carry it.

- b) Každý máme nějaké to trápení, ale vy dostáváte od života pěkně naloženo!

Each of us have [their own] suffering, but you are receiving a lot loaded [onto you] from life!

Both of the examples above and also (43b) indicate that it is ‘life’ which gives the ‘burden’ to the patient. One contributor also expressed wanting to ‘take’ the ‘burden’:

(45)

vzala bych bolest na sebe kdyby to trošku šlo aby se vám ulevilo

I would take the pain [and put it] onto myself if it was possible, in order to relieve you

Though the ‘burden’ is referred to as ‘pain,’ it is pain caused by the cancer. The contributor wishes to cause ‘relief’ for the patient by putting the ‘burden’ onto herself.

4.3 Violence and journey metaphors in combination

As was described in section 2.3.3, violence and journey metaphors can appear in combination. Like Semino et al. (2018b: 147), I have also found examples of both metaphors used together, a rapid shift from one metaphor to another, and both metaphors

used separately by the same individual. This section will be looking at the first two types of combination, since there was only one identifiable individual – the blog author – and her use of both metaphors separately was already discussed above in section 4.2.5.

First, the following examples come from comments in which the contributor combines mappings from both metaphors:

(46)

- a) jste neskutečně silný clovicek a já věřím ve Vaši výhru nad tím vším, čím jste si už musela projít

you are an incredibly strong person [dim.] and I believe in Your victory over everything that you had to go through already

- b) Ve velmi mladém věku Vám život přinesl spousty překážek a vy stále bojujete.
At a very young age, life brought you many obstacles and you keep fighting.

- c) Taky jsem to podstoupila. Víím co to je [...] Jinak ti přeju uzdravení málo chemoterapie, nebo vůbec. Půjde to s tebou už navěky ale bojuj, nevzdávej život.

I also underwent this. I know what it is like. [...] Anyway, I wish you recovery, little chemotherapy or none at all. It will go with you forever but keep fighting, do not give up on life.

In (46a), the contributor combines ‘go through’ and ‘victory’ (*výhra*) in what seems to be a victory over the cancer landscape they were going through. The following comment in (46b) chose the ‘obstacle’ (*překážka*) mapping for the disease but also describes the patient’s progress as ‘fighting’ the obstacles. Another example of the companion mapping mentioned previously appears in (46c) combined with a violence metaphor. A cancer patient in (46c) highlights the lasting influence of the disease with a journey metaphor, then encourages the blog author with ‘keep fighting.’

The second type of examples are rapid shifts between the metaphors. Here the contributors do not use them in the same sentence but in the same contribution. Examples (47a-c) were also quoted as separate examples in the individual metaphor analysis in (28b), (31a) and (40c) respectively.

(47)

- a) Já i, nedokážu si ani představit, co prožíváte.. Ale je vidět, že jste velká bojovnice a pořád máte chuť bojovat dál! To je dobře! Máte za sebou velký kus cesty a já Vám moc přeji, ať ten další kus cesty je už jen a jen lepší!

I cannot even imagine what you are living through.. But it is apparent that you are a great warrior and you still feel like fighting on! That is good! You have a big part of the journey behind You and I wish that the next part of the journey is [better and better]!

- b) Rakovinu jsem porazila před 14roky, můj syn ji zvládl porazit také. Lidé nevědí čím člověk prochází při léčbě.

I defeated cancer 14 years ago, my son managed to defeat it as well. People do not know what a person goes through during treatment.

- c) Mám tohle za sebou a jsem tu 19 let navíc..... jak dlouho ještě, to nikdo neví. Ale uzdravila jsem se.....[...] Byl to velký a těžký boj. Ale stalo to za to.

[This is] behind me and I am here 19 years extra..... for how long, no one knows. But I recovered... [...] It was a big and difficult fight. But it was worth it.

- d) Jani, to zvládneš máme přece pro co žít a bojovat. Já si tím procházím už nějaký ten rok chemoterapie atd.. Atd.. Musíme vyhrát

Jane [dim.], you can do it, we have something to live and fight for. I have been going through this for a year or so, chemotherapy etc.. Etc.. We have to win

- e) Je mi smutno z toho, že musíš procházet tímhle trápením. Odpočívej jak to bude možné a tělíčko pak bude lépe sbírat síly, aby tu potvoru přemohlo.

I feel sad that you have to go through this suffering. Rest when you can and the body [dim.] will gather strength better in order to defeat that beast.

These examples support Semino et al.'s (2018b: 152) conclusions outlined in section 2.3.3., namely that despite the distinct structures of these metaphors, they can be used in complementary ways to convey different aspects of the illness. For instance, in (47d) a cancer patient puts themselves and the blog author into the more active 'fighter' position. At the same time, they have been dealing with the illness for a long time, which they express by using 'going through.' Again, the question of lexical priming rises in examples such as (47a). Referring to the blog author as a 'warrior' and her 'fight' is so entrenched in the blog's discourse, that it may contribute to these metaphor combinations.

4.4 Other mappings

This section discusses mappings that were found in the data but do not strictly belong to the two metaphors discussed thus far.

4.4.1 THE DISEASE AS A TRIAL

The following comments map the disease onto ‘a trial’ or ‘test’ (*zkouška*) the patient is facing. It is unclear whether this mapping belongs to violence or journey metaphors, considering it was used alongside both equally: out of seven uses of *zkouška*, three were used with BATTLE mappings, three with JOURNEY mappings, and one with neither.

(48)

- a) Never give up! Berte to jako zkousku, kterou je potřeba projít...budete vyrazne silnejsi...
Never give up! [Think of] it as a trial that [you] need to go through..you will be considerably stronger...
- b) Janičko, myslím na Vás a máte mnoho důvodů projít tou zkouškou
Jane [dim.], I am thinking of You and you have a lot of reasons to go through this trial
- c) Janulko, ses neskutecny bojivnik, zvladnes i tuhle zkousku!!!!
Jane [dim.], you are an incredible warrior, you can handle this trial too!!!!
- d) Jsou to těžký zkoušky a dobrý člověk neví proč to tak je, ale já si myslím, že každý kdo s něčím bojuje jak ty bude potom už jen zdravý a šťastný až dobouje k vítěznému konci
There are difficult trials and a good person does not know why it is this way, but I think that everyone who fights something like you do will just be healthy and happy after they fight to the victorious end

Examples (48a-b) use ‘go through,’ suggesting the ‘trial’ is another impediment on the patient’s ‘journey.’ However, examples (48c-d) use them alongside violence metaphors in which the ‘trial’ seems similar to the ‘fight’ mapping. The contributor in (48c) suggests that the patient being a good ‘warrior’ makes them capable of handling the ‘trial,’ which is equivalent to the use of ‘fight’ discussed previously. The comment in (48d) also maps the disease onto ‘trials’ but then shifts into several BATTLE mappings.

4.4.2 THE DISEASE TAKING CONTROL OVER THE PATIENT’S BODY

As was mentioned in section 2.3.2, Semino et al. (2015: 64) found examples of patients expressing lack of control on their journeys. Though some examples expressing the topic of control appeared in my data as well, they were generally used with violence metaphors:

(49)

- a) Nikdy jsem rakovinu nevnímala tak, že by se mě nějakým způsobem zmocnila. Vždy jsem měla naopak pocit, že já jsem tady ta, kdo to všechno řídí ... a teď, po dvou letech je ve 25ti ze mě momentálně něco jako „batole“.

I never perceived cancer as if it took over me in some way. Instead I always felt that I am the one who is in control of everything ...and now, after two years at 25 years old I became something like a “toddler.”

- b) Janičko pro mě jsi vždy, Vítěz!! Ta mrcha nemá nad tebou žádnou moc!! Zase hrdě zvedneš hlavu a ukážeš jí kdo je tady pánem

Jane [dim.], you are always a Winner to me!! That bitch has no power/control over you!! You will lift your head with pride again and show her who is the master here

- c) Ty to zvládneš a určitě to bude naposledy, co Tě ta mrcha otravuje, ukaž jí kdo je pánem Tvého těla, moc, moc Ti držím palečky ať vše v pohodě zvládneš, jsi silná a určitě se s tím popereš.

You can do it and it surely will be the last time, that this bitch bothers You, show her who is the master of Your body, I am really really keeping my fingers crossed so that you handle everything well, you are strong and surely you will tackle this

The first example is written by the blog author, where she compares herself to a toddler for not being able to properly take care of her basic needs anymore, such as showering or walking. Since this is a result of her illness, she discusses losing control over her body and uses *zmocnila* (to take over control, to possess) to describe it. The other examples are responses to different posts, but both use very similar language. Both map the disease onto the opponent and call it a ‘bitch,’ then suggest the patient shows the cancer ‘who is the master’ (*kdo je pánem*). An English equivalent is *who is the boss*, both used to express establishing control and dominance. From these examples, it seems that this mapping aligns with the other discussed BATTLE mappings. The disease is still the opponent who gains more power and control unless the patient confronts it and establishes dominance again. The territory that is being ‘fought’ over is the patient’s body. However, this power struggle mapping was not mentioned in the reviewed literature and there were not enough examples of it in my corpus in order to firmly establish it under the BEING ILL WITH CANCER IS A BATTLE metaphor.

4.4.3 Sports mappings

There were two mappings belonging to what Semino et al. (2018b: 89) called sports metaphors:

(50)

- a) Hodně sil a hlavně přeji, aby tenhle mač Vašeho života už byl opravdu pro Vás vítězný a hlavně vítězný napořád.

I wish [You] lots of strength and especially that this match of Your life will be truly victorious for You and especially victorious forever.

- b) Pro mě jste ten největší vítěz už teď, ale medaile je v každém "závodě" důležitá a Vy budete mít zlato.

To me you are the greatest winner already, but a medal in every "race" is important and You will get the gold.

Sports metaphors have some things in common with violence metaphors, such as the antagonistic and competitive relationship with the disease, winning and losing (Semino et al. 2018b: 90). In (50a), the cancer experience is mapped onto a ‘match’ (*mač*) that the contributor wishes to be ‘victorious’ (*vítězný*) but also ‘victorious forever.’ This is referencing the possibility of the disease returning and it seems quite incongruous with this metaphor, as if the results of the ‘match’ were annulled upon the disease’s return. The second example maps the disease onto a ‘race’ (*závod*), likely against the cancer. As the commenter suggests, ‘winning’ in this metaphor equals receiving the ‘gold’ medal, which is a similarly admirable, praise-worthy position as the ‘strong warrior’ in violence metaphors.

4.5 Czech vignettes

Now that the Czech mappings from the BATTLE and JOURNEY domains have been thoroughly discussed, it is possible to create the material necessary for future replication of Hendricks et al.’s (2018) study. Based on the observed metaphorical expressions, I propose the following texts as the Czech versions of the vignettes (to be used with no emphasized words):

(51) Czech vignette with BATTLE metaphors

Petrovi byla právě diagnostikována rakovina. Odedš začíná jeho boj s nemocí, který nebude lehké vyhrát. Nebude na to sám – jeho rodina a přátelé mu dodají sílu do boje. I když bude občas těžké bojovat dál, jejich podpora ho bude motivovat, aby se nevzdal.

Peter was just diagnosed with cancer. From now on begins his fight against the disease, which will not be easy to win. He will not be alone for this – his family and friends will provide him strength for the fight. Even though sometimes it will be difficult to keep fighting, their support will motivate him to not give up.

(52) Czech vignette with JOURNEY metaphors

Petrovi byla právě diagnostikována rakovina. Odedš bude procházet léčbou, kterou nebude mít snadno za sebou. Nebude na to sám – jeho rodina a přátelé mu pomohou s nemocí žít. I když bude občas těžké jít dál, jejich podpora ho bude motivovat, aby se nezastavil.

Peter was just diagnosed with cancer. From now on he will go through treatment, which will not be easily behind him. He will not be alone for this – his family and friends will help him live with the disease. Even though sometimes it will be difficult to keep going, their support will motivate him to not stop.

As was stated before, the goal was to create comparable but authentic Czech texts rather than close translations of the originals presented in section 2.3.4. Nevertheless, the texts express similar notions as the originals but altered to suit the Czech mappings. The first sentence remains the same, only *Joe* was replaced with a common Czech male name *Petr*. The next sentence contains a mapping for the cancer experience as well as its successful, though not easily achieved, conclusion. Similar to the originals, the next sentence contains the notion of ‘not being alone’ and having the help of friends and family during the experience. The last sentence expresses the loved ones’ continued support, using a metaphor for the patient’s effort and not succumbing to the disease. These particular notions were used because there was enough evidence in the corpus for each of them. Therefore, sentences using mappings that did not appear in the corpus at all (such as *battlefield* or *travel*) were omitted entirely. Each vignette contains five different

metaphorical expressions compared to the six expressions in the originals, some of which were used more than once. In order to match the length of the originals or further obscure the goals of the study, the vignettes can be expanded using clauses without any of the studied metaphors.

5 Conclusion

The exploratory research done in this thesis is a first step in unveiling Czech metaphor use in cancer related discourse. It also lays the groundwork for exploring the metaphors' emotional implications through Hendricks et al.'s (2018) study. The material necessary for its replication is provided here in the form of two texts with authentic Czech BATTLE and JOURNEY metaphors.

In summary, I have observed both similarities and differences between English and Czech use of BATTLE/JOURNEY metaphors. Some of the BATTLE mappings manifested in the same way, even the less common ones. For example, the patient successfully fighting the disease in *kick some cancer butt* and *nakopejte ji do zadku* (kick its butt) or calling cancer a *beast* and *potvora* (beast). There were mappings discussed in the literature review that were not present in the Czech data however, such as *battlefield* or *invade*. In the case of JOURNEY metaphors, their Czech manifestations were slightly different. Both languages frequently used *go through* (*projít/procházet*), referred to a *goal* (*cíl*) and to forward movement. On the other hand, the Czech word for 'journey' (*cesta*) was much less frequent and had no alternatives like it does in English, e.g. *path*, *road*, *pathway* or *route*. In general, English had more variety in descriptions of the journey and its scenery. The Czech data had no contributions with 'travel' or 'traveler,' and the metaphor was often intertwined with the more general LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Additionally, three new interesting mappings came to light in the Czech data. The support of the patient's loved ones was mapped onto a 'driving force/engine' (*hnací motor*) that keeps the patient moving forward. The disease was also mapped as a 'burden' (*břemeno*) on the patient's shoulders, and a 'trial' (*zkouška*) they must 'go through' or 'handle' (*zvládnout*).

Unlike Semino et al. (2018b), I cannot make any conclusions regarding metaphor use by different groups like patients, family carers and healthcare professionals, due to the nature of the data. During the manual analysis, I did find 19 comments by self-identified patients or family carers (not counting the 8 posts by the blog author), most of which appeared in the discussion. Their metaphor use was quite balanced: 8 comments using BATTLE, 6 using JOURNEY, and 5 using both in combination. The only identifiable author was the blog author, and I was able to observe how she used both metaphors separately to describe different aspects of the disease.

Since the data was gathered from a support group centered around one patient, most of the comments express support and encouragement rather than talk about their own experiences. Future work could follow Semino et al. (2015; 2018b) and explore metaphor use in groups of patients, family carers or healthcare professionals. This could provide further evidence for the mappings discussed here or add examples of mappings that did not appear in my data. Additionally, the blog page from which the data was gathered already contained a violence metaphor in its name (*Kdo bojuje – vyhrává*, ‘Those who fight – win’) and the author clearly finds these metaphors empowering. This could lexically prime the other contributors into using violence metaphors more often and therefore result in less accurate quantitative assessments. In future metaphor research, it would be beneficial to find a data source which does not lean towards one type of metaphor so overtly.

6 Resumé

Metafory nejsou pouze poetické konstrukce v literatuře, ve skutečnosti jsou přítomny v každodenní komunikaci, a dokonce v našem myšlení. V roce 1980 představili Lakoff a Johnson svou teorii konceptuální metafory (Conceptual Metaphor Theory, zkráceně CMT), která popisuje, jak metafory ovlivňují naše vnímání a jednání. Podle CMT můžeme využít metafory k porozumění abstraktních konceptů za pomoci konceptů nám bližších. Díky tomu se můžeme lépe vyjádřit o abstraktních konceptech jako je ČAS, ŽIVOT nebo MYŠLENKY. Například, pokud přemýšlíme o ČASE jako o PENĚZÍCH, neboli za použití metafory ČAS JSOU PENÍZE, výsledkem jsou výrazy jako *šetřit čas* (*save time*). Tento proces je převážně automatický, a proto nám studování metaforických výrazů dovoluje nahlédnout do lidského pojmového systému.

Jednou z důležitých oblastí pro výzkum metafor je zdravotnictví, obzvláště co se týče rakoviny. Komplikovaný proces této nemoci může být pro pacienty uchopitelnější, pokud jim bude vysvětlen skrze známější koncepty. Pacienti také mohou využít metafory k vyjádření pocitů a pochopení své situace. Nejčastější metafory v tomto diskurzu používají koncept BOJE nebo CESTY. Koncept BOJE staví pacienta jako *bojovníka* a nemoc jako jeho *nepřítele*. U konceptu CESTY pacient *prochází* léčbou, setkává se s *překážkami* a volí svůj směr.

Za účelem zkoumání těchto metafor, a tedy i způsobu, jakým přemýšlíme o rakovině, lingvisté jako Elena Semino a Zsófia Demjén zvolili výzkum založený na korpusu. Anglický korpus vytvořený Semino et al. (2018b: 3) obsahuje 1.5 milionu slov z online diskuzních fór o rakovině a rozhovorech s pacienty, jejich pečovateli a zdravotníky. Tato data jim přinesla poznatky o běžných výrazech v diskuzi o této nemoci, což může vést k lepší komunikaci a porozumění ve zdravotnictví a péči o pacienty.

Tento druh výzkumu zatím nebyl v češtině proveden. Prvním cílem této diplomové práce je prozkoumat české metafory BOJE a CESTY po vzoru Semino et al. (2018b), tedy za pomoci korpusu online diskuzí o rakovině, vytvořeného pro tuto práci. Druhým cílem je použít výsledné poznatky pro vytvoření materiálu pro budoucí replikaci studie Hendricks et al. (2018) o emocionálních důsledcích těchto metafor.

U obou jazyků se našly shody i rozdíly. Angličtina i čeština používá metaforu BOJE velmi podobně, i když některé výrazy z angličtiny se neobjevily vůbec (např. *battlefield*,

invade). Česká metafora CESTY byla také vyjadřována podobně jako v angličtině (např. *procházet – go through*), ale nebylo zde tolik variací u popisu samotné *cesty*. Místo toho se však v češtině objevily dva výrazy, které u anglické metafory CESTY zmíněny nebyly (rakovina jako *břemeno*, blízcí lidé jako *hnací motor*) a jeden výraz, který byl použit u obou metafor (rakovina jako *zkouška*). Výsledné poznatky byly dostatečné pro vytvoření dvou autentických textů pro budoucí replikaci studie Hendricks et al. (2018).

Vzhledem k tomu, že česká data pocházela z blogu zaměřeného na zkušenosti jednoho pacienta, většina příspěvků vyjadřovala podporu místo sdělování vlastních zkušeností. Budoucí výzkum by mohl po vzoru Semino et al. (2015; 2018b) prozkoumat skupiny pacientů, neplacených pečovatелů nebo zdravotníků. Zdroj dat pro tuto práci navíc otevřeně tihnul k použití metafor násilí. Samotný název blogu obsahuje tuto metaforu (*Kdo bojuje – vyhrává*) a autorka ji často používá ve svých příspěvcích. To může navést ostatní autory komentářů k používání metafor BOJE místo CESTY, a tedy méně přesným statistickým údajům o jejich četnosti. Pro budoucí výzkum by bylo vhodnější zvolit zdroj dat, který nebude tak otevřeně tihnout k jedné metafoře.

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