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**On Metaphorical and Literal Wars:
Evidence from Newspaper Corpora
A Corpus-Based Study**

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

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Podpis

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Annotation

This diploma thesis aims to investigate the degree of isomorphism between literal and metaphorical uses of words from the war domain. Building on Semino's work on war metaphors in various types of discourse, I will compare the distribution of war-related vocabulary in Czech Covid-related media discourse and in Czech media coverage of the war in Ukraine.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, military metaphors, coronavirus, COVID-19, prototypical war

Anotace

Cílem této diplomové práce je prozkoumat doslovné a metaforické užití slov válečné terminologie. V návaznosti na práci o válečných metaforách podle Semino porovnáám v různých typech textu válečnou slovní zásobu v článcích českého deníku *Lidové Noviny* souvisejícím s koronavirovou pandemií a v článcích o válce na Ukrajině.

Klíčová slova: konceptuální metafora, vojenské metafory, koronavirus, COVID-19, prototypická válka.

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1 Introduction

People often believe that metaphor is a figure of speech, or a poetic device, mostly used in fiction. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) challenged this traditional approach by introducing the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). According to CMT, metaphors are not just a matter of individual linguistic expressions but systematic mappings that influence our thoughts, language, and actions. They are crucial in everyday communication, shaping how we understand the world (Lakoff and Johnson 2008, 3). CMT suggests that metaphors help us ease our understanding of abstract concepts by mapping them to concrete concepts. This framing means that certain aspects of perceived reality are highlighted while others are concealed (Entman 1993, 52).

This thesis will focus on military metaphors, which are very common as they are used to frame discourse on various topics. In the illness-related discourse, military metaphors can ease understanding of difficult diseases: they frame the complex concept of disease by relating it to a more specific, tangible concept of war, as illustrated in the metaphor CONFRONTATION OF CANCER IS A WAGING WAR. Furthermore, since they can frame the tools for prevention (e.g. sunscreen) as protective gear necessary for defending yourself, their usage can increase worry about getting a disease (e.g. skin cancer) and thus strengthen the prevention intentions (Landau et al. 2018).

In this thesis, I aim to investigate the degree of isomorphism between metaphorical uses of Czech words from the war domain and their literal use. More specifically, I will be comparing the vocabulary related to the WAR domain in two types of news reporting: one in which the words from this domain are predominantly expected to be used metaphorically, namely in news reporting about the COVID-19 pandemic, and one where it is expected to be used literally, namely reporting about the Russo-Ukrainian War by the same Czech newspaper, *Lidové noviny*.

The research questions aim to identify 1) which source-domain vocabulary (from the WAR domain) appears in discussions about Russo-Ukrainian War and which source-domain vocabulary is mapped on the target domain (communication about the COVID-19 pandemic); 2) the specific mappings the military metaphors display in the COVID-19 discourse and 3) which military terms are present in discussions about Russo-Ukrainian War but are used metaphorically. Since literature (Flusberg et al. 2018, 10) suggests that metaphorical mappings are based on so-called prototypical wars—characterised, for example, by a clearly identifiable victory—this thesis will also examine to what extent

the Russo-Ukrainian War can be labelled as prototypical. Finally, the two types of texts will be compared, with particular attention paid to military terminology found in both, as well as terms exclusive to the communication about the Russo-Ukrainian War, to explore why such terms are not reflected in the discourse about COVID-19.

To achieve this, I will create two text corpora using articles from the Czech newspaper *Lidové noviny*. The first, called the “Covid Pandemic is War Corpus” (CPiWC), will include articles about the COVID-19 pandemic. The second, the “Russo-Ukrainian War Corpus” (RUWC), will contain articles about the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War. I will use the online software Sketch Engine and its tools to create and analyse these corpora.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 will review the literature regarding CMT with a specific focus on military metaphors in illness-related discourse and the advantages and disadvantages of their usage. Chapter 3 will describe the process of the corpora creation and exploration using Sketch Engine and its tools. Furthermore, the chapter will outline the steps for identifying military vocabulary and subsequent military metaphor identification. Chapter 4 will present the results of the corpora exploration, including the frequency lists and a quantitative analysis for both corpora. Chapter 5, divided into three sections, will then focus on a qualitative analysis of these findings. In the first section, 5.1, I will examine how military terms (source-domain terms) are used in newspaper reporting about the COVID-19 pandemic, listing specific metaphor mappings found in the CPiWC with examples. Section 5.2 will investigate whether these same military terms appear in the RUWC and if they are also used metaphorically. In the last section, 5.3, military terminology found in both corpora will be examined, aiming to compare what source-domain terms are present in both RUWC and CPiWC, i.e. what military terminology is mapped on the communication about the covid pandemic; and which ones appear in RUWC but not in CPiWC, i.e. what military terminology is *not* mapped on the communication about covid pandemic, i.e. the metaphorical framing ignores it.

2 Metaphors in discourse

The goal of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the complex issue of military metaphors, mainly as used in illness-related discourse. Firstly, an overview of the literature concerning the idea of conceptual metaphor introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and later developed by Kövecses (2010) is provided. I will then define military metaphors based on Semino's (2018) categorisation and examine their role and suitability in illness-related discourse. Since their impact on patients has been a widely debated issue with diverging viewpoints, I will provide the most common arguments for and against their usage. Lastly, I will focus on the military metaphors in the COVID-19 discourse. Based on the criticism surrounding military metaphors in this discourse, alternatives such as fire metaphors will be briefly examined in comparison to them.

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

It is often believed that metaphors are a means of making a simple text more interesting and appealing to the reader, and so they are usually used in fiction (Lakoff and Johnson 1980,3). In the traditional approach, one tends to understand a metaphor as a figure of speech for poetic and rhetoric use, which requires the author's skill or talent. The Cambridge Dictionary (CD) similarly defines a metaphor as “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”¹. In the words of Lakoff and Johnson, metaphor is for most people “a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language” and “a matter of words rather than thought or action” (1980, 3). An example of the traditional approach to understanding a metaphor can be seen in (1).

(1) *Achilles was a lion in the fight.*

(Kövecses 2010, 9)

The word *lion* in (1) is used metaphorically to achieve a rhetorical or artistic effect and to impress the reader with extraordinary language. The author also suggests that there is a possible resemblance between Achilles and lions, such as their bravery and strength (Kövecses 2010, 9). Since the example in (1) is a matter of an individual word used

¹ Cambridge Dictionary, s.v. “metaphor,” accessed March 16, 2024, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/metaphor>.

metaphorically and is based on a resemblance, we classify this expression as a traditional metaphor.

In contrast, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 6) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) understands metaphors not only as poetic and rhetoric devices but finds them crucial for the whole conceptual human system, including language, thoughts, and actions of everyday life. They are not a matter of words only but of whole concepts and conceptual domains. Metaphors are not reserved for the language of talented people but are frequently and effortlessly used by the majority, though unconsciously. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) assume metaphors to form a part of the conceptual system and so the conceptual metaphors are also systematically related. The systematic structure is based on so-called *sources*, *targets* and *mappings*. Kövecses states that "metaphor can be characterised with the formula *A IS B*, where the target domain (A) is comprehended through a source domain (B)" (2010, 33). The target domain is constituted by the immediate subject matter, whereas the source domain provides the source concepts from the real-world concepts. The source domain is usually familiar and well-structured and so it is used to articulate the target domain (Cruse 2006, 31). The relationship between these two domains and the correspondence between the familiar and abstract concepts is then called a mapping of a metaphor (Kövecses 2010, 7). To understand a metaphor, or to conceive of one, one has to be aware of its set of mappings (Kövecses 2010, 33). Let us closely examine the set of mappings for the PLANT IS A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION in (2).

(2)

Source: PLANT

the whole plant

a part of the plant

growth of the plant

removing a part of the plant

the root of the plant

the flowering

the fruits or crops

Target: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

the entire organization

a part of the organization

development of the organization

reducing the organization

the origin of the organization

the best stage, the most successful stage

the beneficial consequences

(Kövecses 2010, 10)

Mappings of a metaphor can be studied through their surface realizations, i.e. the metaphorical linguistic expressions (Kövecses 2010, 34). The linguistic expressions

belonging to the source domain PLANT are systematically used to talk about the target domain SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, as in (3).

(3)

- a. He works for the local *branch* of the bank.
- b. Our company is *growing*.
- c. The organization was *rooted* in the old church.

(Kövecses 2010, 10)

Lakoff and Johanson further suggest that most of our conceptual system is metaphorical and thus metaphors form a large part of the way we speak (1980,4). If, according to the CMT, speakers do not use metaphors for the sake of originality and non-repetitiveness of expressions, one may ask what their function is then. Flusberg et al. (2018, 3) pinpoint two important functions of a metaphor. Firstly, metaphors ease our understanding of difficult concepts, i.e. they allow us to not only talk but also think about and comprehend complex or abstract information in terms of fairly simple and more concrete information. For instance, the abstract concept of love can be viewed through a more concrete physical concept of a journey in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Examples of metaphorical linguistic expressions of this metaphor can be seen in (4).

(4)

- a. Look *how far we've come*.
- b. We're *at a crossroads*.

(Kövecses 2010, 6)

In this way, metaphors allow people to leverage what they know, for example about journey, as a mental model for thinking about an abstract issue that lacks a defined solution (Flusberg et al. 2018, 3).

At the same time, metaphors can simplify complex abstract issues by so-called framing, i.e. highlighting certain aspects while hiding others: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman 1993, 52). For example, in the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, we are aware of the intent of attacking our opponent’s position while defending our own. We, however, lose sight of the cooperative aspects of arguing: when people argue, they give each other their time, a valuable commodity, which can be seen as an effort of mutual understanding. In this way, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor highlights the battle aspects of an argument while hiding the cooperative aspects (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 11).

Secondly, metaphors convey a notable emotional valence and thus can shape the way people think. For instance, if one refers to societal drug problems using the language of disease, it can evoke feelings of compassion and care; whereas if one refers to the societal drug problem in terms of a war, it evokes an emotional tone of fear or panic (Flusberg et al. 2018, 3). On top of that, the emotional value metaphors carry, can influence not only the way people think but also the way they react. For example, metaphors referring to crime as either a virus or a beast influenced the solutions for dealing with the crime. Specifically, people who perceived crime as a beast suggested increased punishments for the criminals (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011, 2013). Some scholars thus claim that metaphor framing, for its influence on people's emotions and reasoning, can be used to manipulate the readers, especially for political reasons (Liu and Tay 2023). Such ideology manipulation is then defined by Liu and Tay as: "the use of metaphors to influence peoples' beliefs, understandings and experiences of events, thus potentially shaping their subsequent relevant actions" (2023, 2). The connection between metaphors and ideology was studied by Charteris-Black (2005) and later replicated by Stefanowitsch (2020). In their case studies, they focused on the IMMIGRATION IS A MASS OF WATER metaphor. Charteris-Black (2005) examined this metaphor in the right-wing newspapers *Daily Mail* and *Daily Telegraph*; Stefanowitsch broadened it and compared the right-wing newspaper *Daily Telegraph* with the left-wing newspaper *The Guardian*. The results showed that "the domain of migration liquid metaphor is more frequent than expected in the Telegraph and less frequent than expected in the Guardian, which suggests that such metaphors are indeed typical of right-wing discourse" (Stefanowitsch 2020, 432). Thus, the author claims IMMIGRATION IS A MASS OF WATER to be associated with particular political ideologies.

Finally, Flusberg et al. claim that some metaphors gain meaning and efficacy from the emotional tone they create (2018, 3). They further discuss this option regarding military metaphors, as they are often used for their urgent emotional tone that captures attention and motivates action. The following chapter will elaborate on this suggestion and analyse the usage of military metaphors in illness-related and COVID-19 discourse and their influence on people's emotions.

2.1.1 Military Metaphors

Military metaphors are a subtype of structural metaphors (Kövecses 2010, 33). Structural metaphors provide a rich knowledge structure for the target concept, i.e. their cognitive

function allows speakers to comprehend the target domain through the structure of the source domain. Their mappings offer an overall system for understanding not only the particular metaphorical expressions but also the whole notion of the target domain (Kövecses 2010, 37–38). In the case of military metaphors, the knowledge people have about wars provides a rich structure for abstract concepts such as diseases which eases people’s understanding of those difficult abstract concepts.

A precise delimitation of military metaphors is, however, a rather complex issue (Semino et al. 2018, 96). So far, authors have been using various labels for metaphors derived from military terminology, e.g. “battle”, “fight”, “war” or “military” metaphors. Semino et al. (2018, 96) suggest that all of these metaphors could be subsumed under one umbrella term “violence metaphors”. However, not all authors follow this categorisation and thus different labels for the “violence metaphors” will occur in the following discussion, as I intentionally retained the labels used in each of the individual studies.

A prototypical example of a military metaphor, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor has the following surface realizations (5):

- (5) ARGUMENT IS WAR
- a. I *demolished* his argument.
 - b. I've never *won* an argument with him.
 - c. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4)

The mapping of the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor suggests that the actions we take during an argument can be structured by the concept of war. Although arguments are mostly not physical, we can still enter a verbal *fight*. We see the people we are arguing with as *opponents*, and we might want to *attack* them with our reasoning and potentially *win* the argument itself. This metaphor is deeply embedded in our culture, thus none of the example sentences in (5) is perceived as a marked poetic or rhetoric device but can be heard in everyday life conversations.

2.1.2 Functions of military metaphors

As mentioned before, metaphors, in general, have two main functions: 1) they are an effective tool for thinking and talking about complex or abstract information in terms of fairly simple and more concrete information; and 2) they have so-called framing effects, i.e. they carry an emotional value which influences how people think about complex issues (Flusberg et al. 2018, 3). In this chapter, I will analyse how military metaphors fulfil these two functions.

As far as the first function is concerned, there are, according to Flusberg et al. (2018, 4), three criteria for a metaphor to be an effective tool for thinking and talking. First, their source domain has a salient knowledge scheme; 2) this knowledge scheme is known to the speakers of a linguistic community, and 3) the source and target domain comparison is apt in a given culture. Each of these criteria is fulfilled in military metaphors. First, the source domain, war, has a salient knowledge scheme: the well-defined systematic knowledge of a prototypical war involves the opposing forces, in-group and out-group; strategic decisions about whether to attack or defend; and the aim of harming the out-group. Second, the knowledge of the prototypical war is well known among the speakers since many people indeed experience the war first-hand, and others learn about it at school, read it in the newspaper, and see it on television or phones. Third, the usage of military metaphors is seen in various types of discourse in many languages. They can be found in political speeches, in the discourse regarding diseases and illnesses, crime, poverty, environmental issues, or troubles of everyday life, such as the LOVE IS WAR metaphor.

Another function of an effective metaphor is its emotional value carried by its framing effects. Generally, military metaphors can trigger both negative emotions, such as emotions of threat, fear, and panic, as well as positive emotions, e.g. of cooperation and unity with the co-members of the in-group, or the sense of urgency in modifying our behaviour to “win the battle” (Flusberg et al. 2018, 3). For their great influence on people’s emotions, military metaphors are often used in political rhetoric. Examples of military metaphors being used for political agenda are US President Richard Nixon’s “declaration of war on drugs” at the beginning of the 1970s (Alexandrescu 2013, 27) or French President Emmanuel Macron’s statement “We are at war.”, referring to the COVID-19 situation in March 2020 (Macron 2020).

Drawing from the evidence analysed in the chapter above, one can conclude that military metaphors serve the basic functions outlined by Flusberg et al. (2018) which renders them a useful tool in communication. In fact, since military metaphors are so conventional, it is easy for people to understand them quickly, and they are even prevalent in communication (Flusberg et al. 2018, 4).

2.1.3 Military metaphors in illness-related discourse

In this chapter, the influence of military metaphors on people’s emotions will be examined more closely, with a specific focus on how these metaphors are used in

discourse concerning illnesses and diseases. In addition, arguments for and against the usage of these metaphors will be summarised. The account will reflect the fact that linguists label these metaphors in different ways, e.g. as “battle” (Hauser & Schwartz 2019), “enemy” (Hauser & Schwartz 2015; Landau et al. 2018), “military” (Sontag 1978, 1989), “war” (Flusberg et al. 2018; Olza et al. 2021; Semino 2021; Seixas 2021; Tao et al. 2023) or more generally “violence metaphors”. The issue of labelling such metaphors is further explored in the review of research presented in Semino et al. (2018) in Section 2.1.5.

2.1.4 Positive effects of military metaphors

Talking about negative and unpleasant things is a challenge for many. In general, people tend to avoid direct language when it comes to illnesses, diseases or death, as they often fear sounding rude or disrespectful. We use less direct language (*pass away* instead of *die*), or metaphors (*resting in peace* instead of *died*), which can serve as a facilitator for those explicit expressions. As it was mentioned in the chapters above, metaphors can help people ease their understanding of complex or abstract information, such as serious diseases and illnesses. For instance, both tuberculosis and cancer appeared in an era in which all diseases were thought to be curable. TBC and cancer were initially unexplored and difficult to comprehend; and for that reason, they were eventually viewed by both the doctors and the public as something dark and mysterious (Sontag 1978, 5), something which could not be understood. Military metaphors can help people understand such unknown concepts in terms of something they already know well, the concept of war.

Apart from easing understanding of difficult concepts and serving as euphemisms for uncomfortable topics, military metaphors offer more strengths to their usage. Landau et al. (2018) found that enemy metaphors used in the skin cancer discourse can affect people’s perception of the disease and they are thus more willing to use sunscreen for cancer prevention. In their studies, they tested two hypotheses, what they call ‘the source resonance hypothesis’ and ‘the metaphoric fit hypothesis’. The source resonance hypothesis predicts that when a health risk is framed metaphorically in terms of a concrete hazard, individual differences in fear surrounding that particular hazard will differentially predict risk-related worry and thus prevention intentions (Landau et al. 2018, 137). The participants, tested online, first rated their agreement with statements focusing on their general fear of enemy combatants and vehicle accidents, e.g. “I don’t get too scared by physical confrontations.” or “The possibility I could get in a vehicle accident is

frightening”. Second, they viewed a “Skin Cancer and Sun Protection” information page, purposefully full of complex scientific terms followed by either an enemy-metaphoric message or a parallel message in literal terms. Both messages were enriched with pictures: a personified picture of an “evil sun” for the enemy-framed message or an unadorned sun image for the literal message. Finally, participants rated their agreement with statements concerning their worry about skin cancer and future sun protection intentions (Landau et al. 2018, 137–138). The results of this study supported the source resonance hypothesis: if participants who strongly fear enemy confrontation are exposed to enemy-framed metaphors comparing UV radiation to an evil sun, it increases their worry about skin cancer and strengthens their sun protection intentions (Landau et al. 2018, 146). However, participants with low (vs. high) fear of enemy confrontation responded to enemy-framed (vs. literal) messages with lower worry about skin cancer and had lower sun protection intentions (Landau et al. 2018, 138). This indicates that the enemy metaphor is apt only for people with a high fear of enemy confrontation.

Their second study tested the metaphoric fit hypothesis, or metaphor matching hypothesis which predicts that a risk metaphor will be more persuasive when the recommended prevention response is itself framed metaphorically as addressing the concrete hazard (Landau et al. 2018, 136). This study combined Study 1’s risk-framing manipulation (enemy-metaphoric vs. literal) with a response-framing manipulation (armour-metaphoric vs. literal). Some participants of Study 1 were randomly assigned a second message (the response) framing sunscreen either metaphorically as combat armour (with expressions such as “*shielding* your skin from UV exposure”) or in literal terms (“*protecting* your skin from UV exposure”). Again, both messages were enriched with images of either armour for the armour-metaphoric message or sunscreen for the literal message. Participants then responded to a single item measuring conditional skin cancer worry and to three items measuring sunscreen intentions (Landau et al. 2018, 140). Study 2’s results confirmed the metaphoric fit hypothesis, as participants reported greater worry about their health without the sunscreen protection when sunscreen was framed in matching armour-metaphoric terms versus mismatching terms (UV risk framed metaphorically with a literal response).

Apart from confirming the beneficial aspects of the “enemy” or “risk” metaphors, Landau et al. (2018, 141) made two additional discoveries. Firstly, if the message framed UV risk in literal terms (“UV exposure leads to skin damage”), worry about the participant’s health did not differ in response to metaphoric vs. literal response framing,

i.e. the metaphors did not play any beneficial role when responding to a message in literal terms. Secondly, if the message framed UV risk metaphorically (“it keeps piercing and zapping your skin”) was paired with a literal response, the participants reported even lower worry (compared to a message with UV risk in literal terms paired with a response in literal terms). And since matching *metaphor* messages did not produce more worry or stronger preventative intentions than matching *literal* messages, the study eventually casts doubt on the need for military metaphors in health messages (Landau 2018, 141).

The metaphoric fit hypothesis was also investigated in Hauser and Schwarz’s study (2015). In an ostensible pre-test of health information messages, this study participants were randomly assigned to read one of three messages about cancer: one with an enemy metaphor, the second with an imbalance metaphor, and the third presented in neutral terms. These messages were designed to introduce a variety of cancer-preventative behaviours suitable for each of the metaphoric conceptualisations. In the enemy behavioural frame, cancer was framed as an *enemy* and preventative behaviours, such as being physically active, were described as apt for *fighting* the enemy. In the imbalance behavioural frame, cancer was framed as an *imbalance*, and such behaviours were described as being apt for *restoring balance*. Their findings confirmed that participants who had been exposed to an enemy-framed message reported higher intentions to engage in preventative behaviours when such behaviours were framed as apt for *fighting* enemies than when the behaviours were framed neutrally or as apt for *restoring balance* (Hauser & Schwarz 2014, 73), supporting the metaphoric fit hypothesis proposed by Landau et al. (2018).

Overall, Landau et al. (2018) and Hauser & Schwarz (2015) support the beneficial effects of military metaphors, as they can increase worry about skin cancer and strengthen sun protection intentions. At the same time, Landau et al. (2018) raise awareness of the metaphor matching importance for preventative behaviour. Flusberg et al. (2018, 8) similarly argue that if war metaphors are used to describe a disease, they have to be followed by the preventative behaviours framed as a way to *fight the disease* otherwise the metaphor usage can backfire.

2.1.5 Negative effects of military metaphors

On one hand, military metaphors can ease understanding of diseases difficult to comprehend, serve as a euphemism for such diseases or support disease-preventative

behaviours if the metaphorical match is adhered to. On the other hand, military metaphors can also carry negative framing effects.

This idea is discussed by Susan Sontag, an American writer and critic, in her *Illness As Metaphor* (1978), where she criticises the use of metaphors in the discourse concerning tuberculosis or cancer. She introduces the mappings for the CONFRONTATION OF CANCER IS WAGING A WAR metaphor with linguistic expressions such as *fight* or *crusade* against cancer, the *killer disease*. The patients are then labelled as cancer *victims*. She disapproves of the usage of military metaphors mainly for 1) putting blame on the patients and mythicising the disease itself and thus 2) creating excessive anxiety surrounding the disease. Framing the patients as victims is one of the most common criticisms of military metaphors. Many psychological theories claim that by doing that, the luckless patients are then assigned the responsibility for falling ill as well (Sonntag 1978, 57). In the Bible, we read about diseases sometimes serving as God's punishment or the devil's trial on people. These and many other conventions of treating cancer as something demonic eventually led people to believe they should be ashamed of their condition (Sonntag 1978, 57). By positioning patients and illness as opponents, the metaphor suggests that if patients do not recover, *lose their battle*, it is their personal defeat (Hurley 2014, 314), as if they did not fight hard enough (Semino 2021, 50). A similar opinion was published in the *Guardian* by Kate Granger, a consultant geriatrician with cancer:

'She lost her brave fight.' If anyone mutters those words after my death, wherever I am, I will curse them. [...] I do not want to feel a failure about something beyond my control. I refuse to believe my death will be because I didn't battle hard enough.

(Granger 2014)

Diseases difficult to understand and difficult to cure often become mysterious or even demonic in the people's eyes leading them to dread such diseases. Military metaphors contribute to such imagery, as they create an image of an unbeatable *enemy* who is impossible to fight or defeat. And "[a]s long as a particular disease is treated as an evil, invincible predator, not just a disease, most people with cancer will indeed be demoralized by learning what disease they have" (Sonntag 1978, 7).

In her second work *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (1989), Sontag discusses the influence of military metaphors on governmental decisions. By increasing anxiety surrounding certain diseases, they are therefore viewed as invading not only the body but the whole society as well. For instance, framing AIDS as an *alien invader* served

authoritarian political ideologies in their interest in promoting fear and a sense of takeover by aliens. And since foreigners or immigrants are often depicted as bearers of various diseases (in the late nineteenth century: cholera, yellow fever, tuberculosis) by the xenophobic propaganda (Sontag 1989, 61–62), military metaphors can potentially support authoritarian governmental measures, such as a call to ban the entry of the immigrants to *beat the disease*. (Sontag 1989, 66).

Sontag has a simple and unambiguous view on using metaphors in discourse concerning diseases: "... illness is not a metaphor, ..." (Sontag 1978, 3) and it is the military metaphor, she criticises the most: "The one [metaphor] I am most eager to see retired – more than ever since the emergence of AIDS – is the military metaphor. (...) It overmobilizes, it overdescribes, and it powerfully contributes to the excommunicating and stigmatizing of the ill" (Sontag 1989, 94). She thus proposes not only abstaining from the use of military metaphors in discussions about diseases and illness but also exposing and strongly criticizing them to eventually remove them from such discourse (Sontag 1989, 94). However, this might be hard, if metaphors are a part of a human conceptual system, not just a matter of words (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Sontag's rather radical solution was indeed seen as unrealistic by many scholars including Sontag herself, still, she raised the awareness of the metaphor dilemma, which has been widely discussed until this day.

Apart from Sontag, many scholars discussed the negative effects of military metaphors. Hauser and Schwarz's study (2015), already mentioned in the chapter on the positive effects of military metaphors, points out some drawbacks of their usage as well. They expected that fear raised by the military (in their words "bellicose enemy") framing would motivate people to engage in beneficial preventive behaviours, as discussed in many previous studies, for instance in studies on video games' influence on young adults with cancer by Kato et al. (2008) or Khalil (2012). Participants of Hauser and Schwarz's study (2015, 68–69) first read background information on cancer and then were asked to list preventative behaviours they would engage in. Participants were randomly assigned texts either with a military metaphoric frame or a neutral frame. The participant's list of preventative behaviours, rated as either self-limiting or self-bolstering behaviour by two unbiased coders, indicated surprising results: it was found that enemy metaphors in fact lessen intentions for self-limiting behaviours for cancer prevention, such as avoiding consumption of sugary or alcoholic drinks, red meats or salty foods, which counters the prevailing wisdom's expected benefits of framing cancer as an enemy (Hauser & Schwarz

2015, 74). The authors provided a possible explanation for such results. Since self-limiting behaviours entail restraining oneself, they are less applicable to the enemy metaphor, as they undermine the attributes of power and strength vital to this metaphor. Nevertheless, based on this reasoning, enemy metaphors should have beneficial effects on self-bolstering behaviours, such as eating fruits and vegetables or foods high in fibre, since these behaviours entail active engagement in *fighting* the disease (Hauser & Schwarz 2015, 69). The authors examined this hypothesis in their second study. Participants were asked to read a message framed either in enemy-metaphor or in neutral terms and then answered questions regarding their intentions to self-limiting, self-bolstering behaviours or monitoring. As predicted, military framing lowered intentions for self-limiting behaviours, yet they had no effect on self-bolstering prevention intentions. The absence of a beneficial effect on self-bolstering intentions then casts serious doubt on the aptness of such metaphors in the discourse regarding illnesses and diseases (Hauser & Schwarz 2015, 74).

In their later study, Hauser and Schwarz (2019) added other arguments for eluding military (here referred to as “battle”) metaphors. Their four studies tested whether battle metaphors 1) increase the perceived difficulty of cancer treatment, 2) increase fatalism about cancer prevention, and 3) increase vigilance in cancer monitoring (Hauser & Schwarz 2019, 1702). In all studies, participants read about another person’s cancer diagnosis described either in military terms or in other ways. The participants then rated the expected difficulty of that person’s treatment. Since battles are difficult, participants who saw battle metaphors were expected to rate that person’s treatment as being more difficult. Additionally, in Study 3, participants also assessed their level of so-called cancer fatalism, a belief that no matter what one does, they have no personal control over preventing the disease. The participants rated to what extent they agreed with statements such as “If someone is meant to get cancer, they will get it no matter what they do”. Because battles can be surrendered, the authors expected the participants who saw battle metaphors to have more fatalistic beliefs regarding cancer prevention. Finally, in Study 4, participants also completed a scale assessing to what extent they would delay seeing a doctor in the event of a cancer scare. Since battles involve vigilance, monitoring and surveying the battlefield, the participants who saw battle metaphors were expected to have less delay in seeing a doctor (Hauser & Schwarz 2019, 1699). Their findings confirmed that framing cancer treatment as a battle 1) increases perceptions of its difficulty and 2) increases fatalism regarding cancer prevention. The author’s last

hypothesis was however rejected as battle metaphors showed no effect on motivating vigilance in cancer monitoring. Drawing from their findings, battle metaphors can negatively affect the public, and since they are common in communication about cancer, they should be used with great caution.

Finally, one of the most influential works on metaphors used in communication about diseases is *Metaphor, Cancer and the End of Life* (2018) by Semino et al., which aims for quantitative and qualitative analysis of the usage of military (“violence” in their work) metaphors. This corpus study examined how different people talk about either their own experience of cancer or their experience with taking care of someone with cancer at the end of life (2018, 45). They focused on three groups of people, sometimes referred to as “key stakeholders” (Semino et al. 2018, 46) in healthcare: cancer patients; unpaid carers for someone with cancer, for instance, the patient’s family members or close friends; and healthcare professionals. Semino et al. created a corpus, MELC corpus², consisting of data from semi-structured interviews and posts from online fora and blogs. For identifying the metaphorical expressions in their corpus, they used the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) described by Pragglejaz Group (2007, 3):

1. Read the entire text discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.
 - a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.
 - Related to bodily action.
 - More precise (as opposed to vague)
 - Historically older.Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
3. If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

(Pragglejaz Group 2007, 3)

The authors depart from the MIP in the treatment of proper nouns and phrasal verbs. If *Macmillan Online Dictionary* identified a set of verbs as phrasal, they were considered as one lexical unit. The authors also excluded some common grammatical words, such as

² The MELC (Metaphor and End-of-Life Care).

prepositions or semi-auxiliary verbs (Semino et al. 2018, 59). Beyond the scope of the original MIP, they also included similes and other explicit figurative comparisons, as suggested by Steen et al. (2010, 11). In their approach, Steen et al. identify different ways a conceptual metaphor can be expressed. It can be conveyed either indirectly through metaphorical expressions where there is a contrast between the basic and contextual meanings; or directly through similes and other explicit comparisons, often signalled by the word “like” (2010, 11). Finally, not all metaphors were analysed, as the authors restricted their analysis to only those metaphors related to the cancer experience and the end of life, excluding for instance spatial metaphors in relation to time, e.g. “as time passes” (Semino et al 2018, 61).

As there is not yet a fully automated corpus-based method for metaphor identification, the analysis of large datasets such as their 1.5-million-word corpus, usually begins with a qualitative analysis of just a sample of the data. From each section of their six-section-corpus (three participants’ groups in two genres), they extracted a sample and conducted a manual analysis of linguistic metaphors, which would then inform the computer-aided analysis of the whole corpus. The sample interviews were selected based on their relevance to the topic, the degree of emotionality of the participants (as opposed to discussing facts) and the prevalence of metaphorical expressions based on first readings. Similarly, the sample posts from online fora and blogs were selected based on relevance to the topic. The posts were manually explored by using a “find text” tool for the crucial expressions, such as “death”, “dying”, etc. Posts with these expressions were read and if proven relevant to the topic, also included in the Sample corpus. For the manual sample annotation, the members of the project team used a collaborative text annotation tool eMargin. They worked with three types of annotation: highlighting, comments and tags, which could be added to both individual words and larger sections of text. After marking linguistic metaphors, tags were used to assign these expressions to semantic fields, such as violence, movement, sport/games, etc., corresponding to their literal meanings (Semino et al. 2018, 62–63).

Once all the relevant metaphors in the Sample corpus had been identified and subsumed under semantic fields (potential source domains), the analysis could be scaled up to the entire corpus. For the computer-aided analysis of the whole corpus, the authors used the automatic semantic tagger, the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS), built into their main corpus tool Wmatrix (Rayson 2008), expecting that the semantic categories assigned by the semantic tagging software, would allow them to identify the

source and target domains of the corpus. The USAS tagger, which automatically assigns a semantic tag to every word or phrase in a corpus, consists of 21 major discourse domains, such as “General and abstract terms”, “The body and the individual”, etc. By relying on this list of potential tags, the USAS tagger then attempts to assign an appropriate tag to a word or a phrase by taking into consideration its meaning in a wider discourse (2018, 64–65).

To scale up the analysis to the entire corpus, the manually analysed and tagged files from the eMargin tool from the Sample corpus were imported into their database, called MELCdb. The database enabled the authors to search for metaphor groups from the manual analysis of the Sample corpus alongside the automatically inserted semantic tags from USAS. A list of words for each eMargin metaphor group label, together with their most likely USAS tags was extracted. For instance, the metaphorical expressions from the manually applied violence tag from eMargin were automatically assigned the following USAS tags:

- G3 (Warfare): e.g. ‘battle’, ‘fight’ as a verb;
- A1.1.1 (General actions, making): e.g. ‘blast’, ‘confront’;
- A1.1.2 (Damaging and destroying): e.g. ‘destroy’, ‘shatter’;
- E3- (Violent/angry): e.g. ‘hit’, ‘attack’;
- S8+ (Helping): e.g. ‘defend’, ‘protect’;
- S8- (Hindering): e.g. ‘fight’ as a noun;
- X8+ (Trying hard): e.g. ‘struggle’.

(Semino et al. 2018, 66)

By extracting the manual labels and matching them with the USAS taggers (which automatically tagged the whole corpus), the authors could use the resulting list of USAS taggers to search the whole corpus.

Apart from this, the authors used two additional methods for metaphor identification in the whole corpus. The keyness method³ and a special adaptation to the software, a “broad sweep” searching tool⁴. By bringing all these methods together: a combination of eMargin manually tagged data, mapped to USAS semantic tags in order to search the full corpus; usage of a key semantic tag list; and the broad sweep search; they extracted concordances for the selected semantic tags and analysed them manually

³ Keyness method enabled cross checking whether the semantic tags are worthy of further consideration or not (see Semino et al. 2018, 67).

⁴ Broad sweep search enables to search anywhere on the list of possible tags (not only first-choice semantic tag), which benefits the metaphor identification (see Semino et al. 2018, 68).

to identify relevant metaphors to the study's topic of cancer at the end of life (Semino et al. 2018, 68).

As a result of the application of the methods above, the authors were able to identify 6,686 instances of metaphor relevant to the topic of cancer at the end of life and to divide these metaphors into ten main metaphor types, such as violence, animals, journey, machines, etc. For the purposes of this thesis, I will now summarise their findings concerning violence metaphors only, which was the most frequent type of metaphor (2,268 instances) overall. (Semino et al. 2018, 82–83).

The authors define violence metaphors as “any metaphorical expressions or similes whose literal meanings suggest scenarios in which, prototypically, a human agent intentionally causes physical harm to another human with or without weapons. Less prototypical scenarios involve non-human agents, the threat or consequences of violence, or non-physical harm.” (Semino et al. 2018, 100) Based on their definition, the term “violence metaphors” is an umbrella category for all the different kinds of metaphors, that have been so far variously referred to as “battle”, “fight”, “war” or “military” metaphors (2018, 96). The linguistic metaphors fitting the description were then matched with the USAS semantic tags. Next, each example in the USAS semantic categories was examined to determine whether it was an instance of metaphor relevant to the cancer experience at the end of life (Semino et al. 2018, 100). The relevant violence metaphors were divided into more specific lexical groupings in order to identify broad patterns in their usage. For instance, the lexical grouping “fight” groups together words related either grammatically (e.g. ‘fight’, ‘fighting’, ‘fought’) or derivationally (e.g. ‘fighter’). The most frequent lexical groupings were “fight”, “battle”, “hit”, “kick”, “protect” and “struggle” (Semino et al. 2018, 104) and each of these groupings was then analysed in great detail.

The analysis is then both quantitative and qualitative. The former suggests that there is not just one kind of battle/war/military metaphor, but rather there are multiple specific lexical groupings which can be subsumed under the umbrella term ‘violence metaphor’. The frequencies, uses and functions of these specific metaphors varied not only across the three participant groups but also across the two genres in their corpus: violence metaphors were more frequent in the online data than in interviews and less frequent in the speech of health professionals. The authors suggest that the difference between genres could stem from the contrast between the formality of interviews and the anonymity of online fora, where one's opinions and emotions can be expressed more freely and informally, favouring the metaphors. Also, the fact that health professionals

used less violence metaphors suggests their awareness of the negative effects these metaphors can carry (Semino et al. 2018, 122).

The qualitative analysis, based on a thorough examination of both data from semi-structured interviews and online posts, revealed four key factors that play a crucial role in determining whether the metaphor will have empowering or disempowering effect. First, it is the specific linguist variation: while ‘fight’ and ‘kick’ metaphors tend to carry empowering effects (used by patients for self-motivational purposes), ‘battle’ and ‘hit’ metaphors suggest disempowerment (used to describe the disease as the aggressor). Second, it is important who uses the metaphors and for what aspects of the cancer experience: violence metaphors used by patients to describe the terminal phase of the disease carry negative framings; metaphors used by professionals to assign themselves as military officers fighting against the disease on behalf of the patients can carry empowering effects. Third, it is the precise context in which violence metaphors are used: for instance, ‘devastate’ metaphors suggested a disempowering scenario, however, carers used them mostly to support each other. Additionally, the violence metaphors were found in the speech of all participants used to express criticism of the healthcare system, which should be addressed by the authorities. The observations from both analyses suggest, that even though there is evidence for the disempowering effects of violence metaphors, which in turn justifies their criticism, the solution does not lie in the elimination of violence metaphors as they appear to be used to express personal determination and encouragement, but rather in cautious use in the healthcare system (Semino et al. 2018, 124).

To sum up, this chapter provided an overview of studies dealing with the advantages and disadvantages of military metaphors’ usage in the discourse about diseases and illnesses. The studies discussed their benefits, such as easing understanding of difficult diseases or euphemising uncomfortable topics, such as being diagnosed with a disease. Additionally, if used aptly, the metaphors can increase worry about getting a disease (e.g. skin cancer) and thus strengthen the prevention intentions. However, if used for preventative reasons, the need for explicit mapping and apt usage is crucial (Flusberg et al. 2018, 8). On the other hand, scholars brought up many arguments against the usage of military metaphors, such as the metaphor’s framing which puts blame on the patients, not on the disease; creates an evil myth around those diseases; and causes unnecessarily authoritarian measures ordered by the government (Sontag 1978, 1989). Hauser and Schwarz (2015, 2020) supported the metaphor’s criticism with their findings indicating

that the metaphors 1) lowered intentions for self-limiting cancer-preventative behaviours; and 2) had no effect on self-bolstering preventative behaviours; 3) unnecessarily increased the perceived difficulty of cancer treatment, 4) increased fatalism about cancer prevention; and 5) had no effect on vigilance in cancer monitoring. Semino et al. (2018), who discussed both the advantages and disadvantages of what they call violence metaphors (including military metaphors), concluded that making radical steps, such as metaphor elimination on the one hand and their active introduction in the healthcare system, is not a solution to the issue of military metaphors in discourse about illnesses and diseases. Instead, a careful usage of such metaphors in the healthcare system is proposed (Semino et al. 2018). In fact, building on her previous work, Semino is currently developing *A 'Metaphor Menu' for People Living with Cancer*. This collection of metaphors, inspired by a diverse range of individuals who have experienced cancer, aims to provide more ways of describing the cancer experience (Semino 2019).

2.1.6 Military metaphors and their alternatives in COVID-19 discourse

With the emergence of COVID-19 pandemic, military metaphors have again become ubiquitous in political speeches, newspaper articles or social network posts. Right at the beginning of the pandemic, many political figures, including Emmanuel Macron (Macron 2020), Angela Merkel (Merkel 2020), Pedro Sánchez (Sánchez 2020) and others used military imagery in their speeches. For instance, the official statement by UK Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, is full of military linguistic metaphors:

Yes this *enemy* can be deadly, but it is also *beatable* – and we know how to *beat* it and we know that if as a country we follow the scientific advice that is now being given we know that we will *beat* it. And however tough the months ahead we have the resolve and the resources to *win the fight*.

(Johnson 2020)

In like manner, Governor Andrew Cuomo's speech likened the healthcare professionals taking care of COVID-19 patients to soldiers in a battle: "The *soldiers* in this *fight* are our healthcare professionals. It's the doctors, it's the nurses, it's the people who are working in the hospitals, it's the aids. They are the *soldiers* who are *fighting* this *battle* for us." (Cuomo 2020). The mappings of military metaphors in the COVID-19 discourse are described by Musu (2020) as follows: "It [the metaphor] identifies an enemy (the virus), a strategy ('flatten the curve,' but also 'save the economy'), the frontline warriors (healthcare personnel), the home-front (people isolating at home), the traitors and deserters (people breaking the social-distancing rules). The recurrent use of the military

metaphor during a health crisis may be proof of its effectiveness as a rhetorical tool (Seixas 2021, 1). To examine that, Seixas (2021) gathered a sample of political speeches commenting on the COVID-19 situation in March 2020 to determine the purposes for which it is used in terms of crisis communication and management. The author selected the speeches on the basis of their predominant use of military metaphors and coded them according to their use in relation to crisis communication. Her results showed seven different ways of managing the crisis with the usage of military imagery: preparing the public for hard times; persuading citizens to change their behaviour; fostering national unity, mobilization and resilience; showing compassion, concern and empathy; avoiding responsibility and mitigating blame; and constructing enemies and shifting blame and responsibility (Seixas 2021, 4). Her findings indicate that war metaphors in the COVID-19 discourse are used for purposes such as showing compassion to the public and promoting self-efficacy, which can be viewed as the most effective practice in crisis communication. On the other hand, there are practices, such as avoiding responsibility and mitigating blame or constructing enemies, which may support the authoritarian governmental power, a practice already criticised by Sontag (2018). In addition, Seixas highlights the importance of understanding the pragmatics of discourse in which war metaphors are used. She suggests examining the exceptions where different crisis communication strategies were used and investigating the reason for it. For instance, in Germany, war metaphors were avoided in the COVID-19 discourse, which may be linked to Germany's history regarding World War II. In his speech, the German president, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, explicitly disagrees with the war rhetoric: "It is not a war, it's a test to our humanity!" (Steinmeier 2020).

The doubts as to the suitability of military metaphors in illness-related and COVID-19 discourse resulted in attempts to reframe the global pandemic in terms of different, better-suited metaphors. One of the most prominent initiatives was proposed by Olza et al. (2021) in their #ReframeCovid movement. This movement offers a collection of alternative metaphors in various languages, such as journey, sport or weather metaphors; later extended with other metaphors referring to the virus as "glitter" that "gets everywhere" or "hedgehog" which encourages self-limiting behaviour, such as social distancing (Olza et al. 2022, 135– 136). The initiative developed informally in the course of a Twitter conversation among linguists, commenting on the overuse of war metaphors. As more scholars joined the conversation, the hashtag #ReframeCovid was created. Soon, an open-source document on Google Drive was set up to collect non-war metaphors from

various languages (Olza et al. 2021, 12–13). During the pandemic, users outside of academia engaged in this conversation, and its publicity grew. Eventually, a webpage was launched to present its results. The rationale for this movement was to raise awareness about the framing potential of metaphors and to emphasise the need to have available alternative ways to look at the complex, long-term phenomena, such as the global pandemic (Olza et al. 2021, 26) targeting as many aspects of it as possible (the virus, its effect, the agents involved in its spread and control, etc.) (Olza et al. 2021, 13).

Semino, who was a part of the #ReframeCovid movement, highlights the suitability of a fire metaphor in COVID-19 discourse in her article “Not Soldiers but Fire-fighters” (2021). In this article, different metaphors for the pandemic, drawn from the #ReframeCovid collection, are introduced, and their mappings are described. As for the war metaphors, Semino (2021, 50–51) is aware of both arguments for and against their usage. She (2021, 52) then claims the fire metaphor to be particularly appropriate in communication about the global pandemic, especially as compared with the war metaphor, since it can serve multiple purposes without counterproductive framing effects. For instance, fire metaphors:

- convey danger and urgency;
- distinguish between different phases of the pandemic;
- explain how contagion happens and the role of individuals within that;
- explain measures for reducing contagion;
- portray the role of health workers;
- connect the pandemic with health inequalities and other problems; and
- outline post-pandemic futures.

(Semino 2021, 54)

One of the most important aspects of the fire metaphor is its ability to explain how virus contagion happens. If one thinks about the virus in terms of a forest fire, which spreads quickly if trees are in close proximity to one another, then similarly, people can accelerate the virus spreading if remaining in close proximity (Semino 2021, 55). In addition, the role of an individual within that contagion is explained without directly attributing blame to the people spreading the virus, as people infected with the virus are described as trees consumed by the spreading fire, unable to escape (Semino 2021, 55).

Following Semino’s promotion of fire metaphors, Tao et al. (2023) employed an online survey experiment to examine the effectiveness of fire metaphors compared to war metaphors and non-metaphorical literal frames. They wanted to explore what frame (fire metaphor, war metaphor or literal) would be most beneficial with respect to a) people’s intentions to adopt pro-health behaviours against COVID-19, b) perceived collective

responsibility to curb the pandemic, and c) intentions to discuss and share health news. Participants of this survey were randomly assigned one of three messages, either in a war frame (with expressions such as “the *battle* against the COVID-19 enemy”), a fire frame (“the *raging blazes* of COVID-19 fire”), or a non-metaphorical frame. All participants read a text about the threat of contracting COVID-19 and the recommended actions to prevent the COVID-19 pandemic framed in matching terms. Next, they answered manipulation questions and rated a) their intentions to adopt pro-health behaviours against COVID-19, b) the perceived collective responsibility to curb the COVID-19 pandemic, and c) their communicative intentions (Tao et al. 2023, 6). The results showed two important things. First, war metaphors had no significant advantage over non-metaphorical frames in any of the three outcomes, indicating their limited effectiveness in pandemic situations. Second, war metaphors outperformed fire metaphors, as they increased both perceived threats of COVID-19 and positive emotions, which in turn promoted pro-health behavioural intentions against the disease and indirectly built solidarity among people, encouraging them to share and discuss the health news (Tao et al. 2023, 10). In addition, no evidence of evoking negative emotions was found. This is particularly important since the main source of criticism of war metaphors was that they evoke excessive negative emotions (Semino 2021), and the fire alternative should prevent that. As to the ineffectiveness of fire metaphors observed in this study, the authors explain it by so-called metaphor familiarity (see Flusberg et al. 2018, 4), i.e. the fact that fire metaphors in COVID-19 discourse are relatively new and the public is not as familiar with them as it is with war metaphors (Tao et al. 2013, 11). In general, this study challenges Semino’s proposal to reframe the global pandemic in terms of the fire metaphor. However, the authors urge the reader not to interpret the study as evidence to completely abandon fire metaphor in a public health context but rather to explore the utility of both war and fire metaphors.

To sum up, this section focused on metaphors in COVID-19 discourse. As a result of continuous criticism of military metaphors in this discourse, various alternatives are offered by the #ReframeCovid movement. One of the most prominent alternatives, promoted by Semino (2021), was the fire metaphor, which did not prove its alleged benefits when examined by Tao et al. 2013; despite their criticism, military metaphors were proven to be effective at least when compared to the fire alternative. All studies then call for further research, especially for the comparison of metaphorical and non-

metaphorical frames, as the latter seems to be better suited for communication in long-term phenomena, such as pandemics.

This thesis will analyse military metaphors, though it will not primarily focus on their suitability in communication. In the following chapters, the metaphorical war on COVID-19 will be compared to the literal Russo-Ukrainian War, currently waging on Ukrainian soil, searching for similarities and differences between the metaphorical and non-metaphorical frame.

3 Methodology

This section describes the process of data collection, creating corpora in Sketch Engine and their exploration through Sketch Engine Wordlist and Concordance tools, including Concordance Annotation Mode. I will also explain how military-domain vocabulary was identified and describe the process of metaphor identification in the data.

3.1 Data source and collection

“There is probably no other discursive practice, besides everyday conversation, that is engaged in so frequently and by so many people as news in the press and on television” (van Dijk 1991, 110). As news or media discourse is easily accessible, and its language is usually written in a standard language (Krennmayr 2011, 64), it can convey knowledge to a broad society. And since “metaphor is an essential part of the way we deal with novel and current events” (Kennedy 2000, 209), the media discourse is one of the richest sources of metaphors.

For these reasons, the source chosen for our corpora is a Czech newspaper *Lidové noviny*. It was established in 1893 in Brno by Adolf Stránský, who initially used them as a political tool. After independent Czechoslovakia was founded, *Lidové noviny* became one of the most influential newspapers. In 1919, the contemporary editor-in-chief, Arnošt Heinrich, turned it into an unbiased medium. Some of the most important Czech personalities, such as Karel Čapek, Ferdinand Peroutka and Eduard Bass, were writing their articles for this newspaper, attracting many readers. During World War II, when Czechoslovakia was controlled by Germany, and then again after the Soviet invasion in 1969, *Lidové noviny* was strongly censored. In 1987, it began to be published again in samizdat and played a crucial role in the Velvet Revolution in 1989. In the last few years, *Lidové noviny* has been publishing an issue per day except for Sunday. It is written in Standard Czech, and its issues consist of articles written by journalists and occasional contributions from readers. At the end of August 2024, after a 130-year tradition, the independent publication of the daily *Lidové noviny* in printed form ceased due to the development of modern technologies, paper and distribution costs (Svoboda 2024).

The first corpus, called “Covid Pandemic is War Corpus” (CPiWC), consists of news about the COVID-19 pandemic in the Czech Republic. The newspaper issues used for this corpus cover the period between March 3, 2020, the day of the first COVID-19

case in the Czech Republic, and April 4, 2020. For this corpus, 28 issues were gathered, resulting in 500,362 words. The second corpus, “Russo-Ukrainian War Corpus” (RUWC), consists of texts dealing with a literal war, Russo-Ukrainian War. The newspaper issues used for the corpus cover the period between February 24, 2022, the day of the covert invasion of Ukraine as an escalation of the Russo-Ukrainian War, and March 29, 2022. To achieve equally extensive corpora, 29 issues were gathered for the second corpus, resulting in 497,368 words.

Two criteria for choosing the individual articles were set. For the first corpus, the article headline had to be directly connected to the COVID-19 situation, or the article itself had to contain COVID-19-related vocabulary, such as *pandemie* (*pandemic*), *epidemie* (*epidemic*), *covid*, *covid-19*, *koronavirus* (*coronavirus*), or derivations of these nouns. For the second corpus, the article headline had to be directly connected to the Russo-Ukrainian War, or the article itself had to contain vocabulary related to this situation, such as *Rusko* (*Russia*), *Ukrajina* (*Ukraine*), *válka* (*war*), *invaze* (*invasion*), or derivations of these nouns. This was achieved by using the “Find Tool” in Google Chrome. The chosen articles were manually copied from the digital archive and pasted into separate Word documents. To avoid gathering irrelevant texts, all advertisements, hyperlinks, the authors’ names and places of publications were excluded from the document. Since it is not the goal of the present work to analyse multimodal metaphors, pictures were eliminated as well.

3.2 Corpora exploration and metaphor identification

For the corpora creation and exploration, Sketch Engine was selected. Sketch Engine is an online software whose algorithms can analyse collections of texts (text corpora) to identify what is typical and what is rare and unusual in a language. Sketch Engine also provides the option to create customised corpora for specific research needs (Sketch Engine, 2024). The Word Documents with texts collected from the Lidové noviny archive were uploaded to Sketch Engine, and two separate corpora were created.

3.2.1 Source-domain vocabulary identification

Since this thesis searches for isomorphism between literal and metaphorical uses of source-domain vocabulary, I had to identify the source-domain vocabulary first. To the best of my knowledge, it was Sontag (1978) who first used the term “military metaphor”,

though rather vaguely, without a precise definition. Despite the term’s vagueness, her description of military metaphors as “being drawn from the language of warfare” (Sontag 1978, 64) will be sufficient for the purposes of this thesis. Additionally, to check whether the words in question belong to the military domain, Czech thesaurus *Tezaurus jazyka českého* was used. Since this thesis is primarily data-driven, I am ready to consider broadening the scope of military metaphors to violence metaphors, as proposed by Semino et al. (2018, 100) if the data indicate such results.

To identify this military-domain vocabulary in the corpora, I made use of Sketch Engine, which, in the process of corpus creation, automatically assigns a part of speech tag and then allows the retrieval of wordlists by part of speech.⁵ I examined three parts-of-speech categories, namely nouns, verbs and adjectives in each corpus. To illustrate, Figure 1 below shows nouns with ranks 101–130 in CPiWC, along with their absolute frequencies.

Noun	Frequency [?] ↓	Noun	Frequency [?] ↓	Noun	Frequency [?] ↓
101 skupina	226 ***	111 podpora	210 ***	121 obava	194 ***
102 dopad	226 ***	112 domov	208 ***	122 výroba	194 ***
103 německo	226 ***	113 krok	206 ***	123 zdraví	191 ***
104 rodina	223 ***	114 příjem	205 ***	124 rozhodnutí	191 ***
105 onemocnění	218 ***	115 slovo	204 ***	125 válka	190 ***
106 způsob	217 ***	116 pomůcka	203 ***	126 ředitel	188 ***
107 tým	217 ***	117 úvěr	201 ***	127 vývoj	185 ***
108 provoz	213 ***	118 kontrola	200 ***	128 rodič	184 ***
109 podnik	213 ***	119 číslo	200 ***	129 obyvatel	184 ***
110 ruka	211 ***	120 duben	198 ***	130 pohyb	182 ***

Figure 1. Wordlist of most frequent nouns in CPiWC.

Next, in each of these categories, I searched for words belonging to the military domain – here *válka* (war), rank 125. A threshold frequency was set to a minimum of 2, which means that hapaxes were excluded. In addition, I used the Czech thesaurus *Tezaurus jazyka českého* to check the thematic category to which the word in question belongs. To be included in the analysis, the word had to belong to one of the following categories: *útočiště* (refuge), *pomoc* (help), *vzdor* (defiance), *odpor* (resistance), *útok* (attack),

⁵ Throughout the corpus exploration, some errors were spotted. For example, Sketch Engine cannot disambiguate the homonymous genitive plural form *děl* as a form of *dělo* (cannon) and *dílo* (work of art). Another error occurred while identifying source-domain vocabulary in CPiWC with the polysemous word *fronta*. Initially recorded as the military term “front”, its concordances revealed that most instances referred to its other meaning, “queue”. This high frequency likely reflects the many queues formed during the COVID-19 pandemic, such as at borders, supermarkets, and doctors’ offices.

obrana (defence), *střetnutí* (combat encounter), *mír* (peace), *válka* (war), *válečník* (warrior), *zbraň* (weapon), *úspěch* (accomplishment), *neúspěch* (failure) and *odstoupení* (resignation). Next, I created a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel, where I listed all military-domain vocabulary extracted from both corpora and divided it into three categories: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The tables below show the ten most frequent nouns from the military domain in the CPiWC (Table 1) and in the RUWC (Table 1. Military-domain vocabulary in CPiWC: nouns).

RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY ⁶	NOUN
1.	242	<i>boj</i> (fight)
2.	*190	<i>válka</i> (war)
3.	160	<i>ochrana</i> (protection)
4.	148	<i>ztráta</i> (loss)
5.	137	<i>oběť</i> (victim)
6.	118	<i>armáda</i> (army)
7.	94	<i>zápas</i> (struggle)
8.	86	<i>voják</i> (soldier)
9.	63	<i>útok</i> (attack)
10.	*61	<i>obrana</i> (defense)

Table 1. Military-domain vocabulary in CPiWC: nouns

RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	NOUN
1.	1,856	<i>válka</i> (war)
2.	627	<i>uprchlík</i> (refugee)
3.	597	<i>invaze</i> (invasion)
4.	511	<i>armáda</i> (army)
5.	393	<i>útok</i> (attack)
6.	386	<i>zbraň</i> (weapon)
7.	384	<i>konflikt</i> (conflict)
8.	324	<i>voják</i> (soldier)
9.	317	<i>obrana</i> (defence)
10.	283	<i>boj</i> (fight)

Table 2. Military-domain vocabulary in RUWC: nouns

3.2.2 Covid Pandemic is War Corpus: metaphor identification

In order to identify the individual uses as metaphorical, I followed the MIPVU method proposed by Steen et al. (2010). Once I selected vocabulary belonging to the military

⁶ An asterisk next to the number of absolute frequencies indicates the presence of proper nouns instances, specifically for the words *válka* (4) and *obrana* (41).

domain, I examined each instance of those words in its linguistic context using the Concordance tool, as seen in Figure 2. This tool shows the exact sentences in which a certain word appears, and if needed, a whole paragraph in which the sentence appears can be viewed as well. In this way, I was able to determine whether the specific instance was used metaphorically or not.

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 tentu ČR na premiéra v případech stavu ohrožení a války , vyhodil včera pojistky na internetu.</s><s>Málem t
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 at, musí s tím souhlasit sněmovna.</s><s>Pro dobu války a ohrožení Třaskavý návrh se týká stavu ohrožení si
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 oby, kdy rozvést debatu o tom, kdo může při hrozbě války nebo útoku na demokratické principy vyhlášovat mir
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 pne rádio nebo si otevře noviny a má pocit, že je ve válce ... Kdo má jenom to rádio a televizi, může snadno zř
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 avní průmysl jede naplno.</s><s>Za druhé světové války , o tom byla Bohéma, se točily komedie, které pak hi
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 rč, mně to potvrzuje jedno, a to, že média jsou pilíře války , vždy a za všech časů.</s><s>V mediální době se :
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 ěrů.</s><s>Nyní můžeme slyšet vojenský slovník: válka proti viru, boj proti hospodářské krizi a podobně.</s>
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 jhá karanténa.</s><s>Co ale bude, až tato finanční válka skončí?</s><s>Historie nabízí málo analogií.</s><s>
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 situace připomínat Švýcarsko během druhé světové války .</s><s>Navzdory lidovým představám o chamtivýd
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="info"/>	doc#0 omika, silně závislá na mezinárodním obchodu, na válce hodně tratilo.</s><s>Zatímco americký a britský prů

Figure 2. Concordance results for *válka* (war).

For easier navigation, I made use of the Concordance Annotation Mode, which allows the categorisation of the instances by adding labels to the concordance lines. Each concordance line containing a military-domain expression was sorted into the following categories: 1) literal usage of the word, 2) proper names, 3) other types of metaphor, 4) the COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR metaphor and, if needed, 5) similes. The Sketch Engine software then counted the absolute frequencies of each category, as seen in Figure 3. The frequencies were then copied into the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, and the categories of literal usage, proper nouns (name of a person, place, or object), and other than COVID-19-related metaphors were eliminated from the analysis.

Label	Filter	Frequency
COVID metaphor	<input checked="" type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	55
literal usage	<input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/>	116
other target domains	<input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/>	0
proper names	<input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/>	4
similes	<input type="radio"/> <input checked="" type="radio"/>	15

Figure 3. Concordance Annotation Mode: *válka* (war).

In this approach, metaphor identification relies on a subjective yes/no decision, as the author of this thesis decides whether a particular word is used metaphorically or not. This accepting approach is sometimes viewed as problematic (Steen et al. 2010, 18). Thus,

during the process of metaphor identification, I opted for a strategy called WIDLII, “When In Doubt, Leave It In” for border-line cases (Steen et al. 2010, 19), which were then discussed with this thesis’s supervisor.

For a better understanding, let me demonstrate the process of the annotation on the word *válka* (war), which appeared in CPiWC 190 times. This word is defined by the *Slovník spisovné češtiny* (SSČ) as “organizovaný ozbrojený boj mezi dvěma stranami”⁷ (an organised and armed struggle between two parties⁸). In the following example (6), the word *válka* (war) is used in its literal meaning:

(6)

Poprvé od **druhé světové války** letos neproběhne slavný Wimbledon.
*For the first time since **World War II**, the famous Wimbledon will not take place this year.*

After being examined in its context, the word *válka* in the example (7) does not indicate an armed struggle but dealing with the crisis in the Czech Republic during the COVID-19 pandemic. This item was thus labelled as a COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR metaphor.

(7)

Sotva premiér Babiš konečně ustoupil do pozadí, přenechal vedení **války s virem** odborníkovi ...
*No sooner had Prime Minister Babiš finally yielded than he left the **war against the virus** to an expert ...*

Following the methodology used in Semino et al. (2018, 61), the analysis of metaphors present in CPiWC was restricted to only military metaphors related to the COVID-19 experience, excluding examples such as the one given in (8). Here, the word *boj* (struggle/fight), defined as “ozbrojené utkání”⁹ (armed struggle) in SSČ is used to describe a political struggle. Hence, these instances were labelled as “non-covid target domains”.

(8)

... se v Německu odehrává **mocenský boj o budoucího lídra** na pravici.
*... there is **a power struggle in Germany for the future leader** in the right-wing parties.*

⁷ Slovník Spisovné Češtiny, s.v. “válka,” accessed August 22, 2024.
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=v%C3%A>

⁸ All Czech examples and dictionary quotes were translated to English by the author of the thesis.

⁹ Slovník Spisovné Češtiny, s.v. “boj,” accessed August 22, 2024.
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=boj>

In the process of annotating the corpus, some cases of similes appeared. Although Semino et al. (2018, 61), following Steen et al. (2010, 11), include similes in their analysis of metaphors, I decided to assign them their own category to find out whether their occurrences are comparable to the metaphor occurrences. As a type of simile, I included entire scenarios following the proposition “like” or other simile-signalling words, such as “liken to”, when used to describe aspects of pandemic experience. The following examples in (9) illustrate such cases.

(9)

- a. Je to jako ve válce, jako stanné právo, stěžují si nyní Italové uvržení do celostátní karantény kvůli lavinovitému šíření nového typu koronaviru, a podobně se cítí i obyvatelé dalších evropských zemí včetně Česka.
It's like war, like martial law, Italians are complaining as they are thrown into a national quarantine because of the avalanche-like spread of a new type of coronavirus, and people in other European countries, including the Czech Republic, feel the same way.
- b. Současnou epidemií koronaviru nejen italsí politici běžně přirovnávají k válce ...
The current coronavirus epidemic is being commonly likened to a 'war' not only by Italian politicians ...

As in Semino et al. (2018, 59), an exception was made to the MIPVU method in that proper names were excluded from the data analysis. In the example below (10), the word *obrana* (defence) forms a part of an official name for the Ministry of Defence:

(10)

Chci všechny ujistit, že stejně jako celá republika, i my na ministerstvu **obran**y a v armádě děláme vše pro to, abychom tuto složitou dobu zvládli.
I would like to assure everyone that, just like our entire republic, we in the Ministry of Defence and in the army are doing everything we can to cope with these difficult times.

3.2.3 Russo-Ukrainian War Corpus: literality verification

For this corpus, the same strategy for source-domain vocabulary identification as in CPiWC was applied, resulting in three wordlists (nouns, adjectives, and verbs). Soon, it was apparent that in RUWC, more military-domain vocabulary occurrences were found, and these occurrences showed a higher frequency, too. For example, the word *válka* (war) appeared in the corpus 1,856 times, in comparison to CPiWC, where the word *válka* (war) appeared 190 times. To process such large data, I created random samples of 200 instances using the Sketch Engine tool “Get a Random Sample”, which allows the user

to reduce the number of concordance lines while preserving the representativeness of the sample. This sample was again annotated, and the frequency of metaphorical uses counted: only four tokens of the analysed 200 nouns *válka* were metaphorical, which corresponds to 37 metaphorical instances in the whole corpus. For a better understanding, see Table 3.

	Total frequency	Frequency of metaphors
RUWC Sample	200	4
RUWC	1,856	37.12

Table 3. RUWC: literal vs metaphorical use of the noun *válka* (war)

The individual metaphorical instances found in the random sample will be further analysed in Section 5.2.

4 Results

This chapter presents the results of the corpora exploration, including a quantitative analysis and frequency lists for both corpora.

4.1 Quantitative analysis

The CPiWC, which consists of coronavirus-oriented texts, contained a total of 500,362 words. Among these, 86 distinct military-domain nouns, 13 military-domain adjectives and 38 military-domain verbs were identified. The RUWC, with texts focusing on the Russo-Ukrainian War, consisted of 497,368 words. As predicted, this corpus contained more military terminology, namely 164 distinct nouns, 65 adjectives and 65 verbs. For visual representation, see Figure 4.

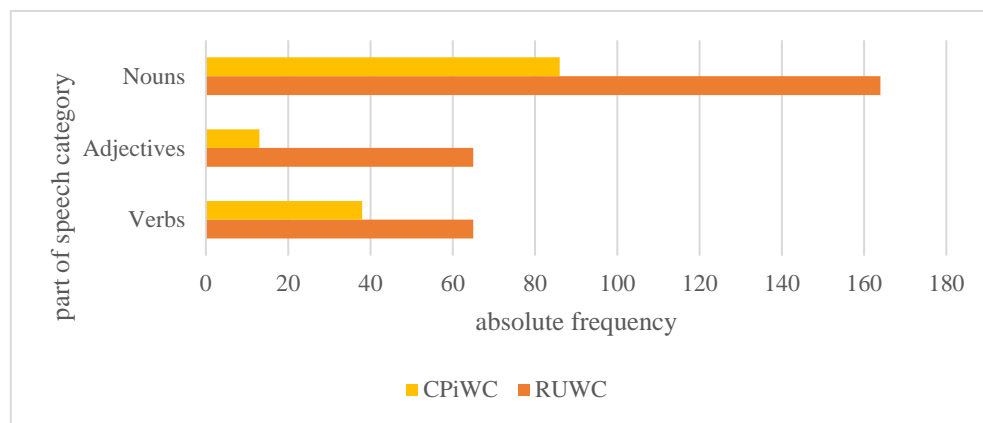


Figure 4. Lexical diversity of words evoking the military domain in CPiWC and RUWC.

Each lexical item identified in the corpora was then analysed for its token frequency. For instance, the noun *válka* (war) appeared 190 times in the CPiWC, representing 190 individual tokens. Figure 5 outlines the token frequencies based on part of speech categories.

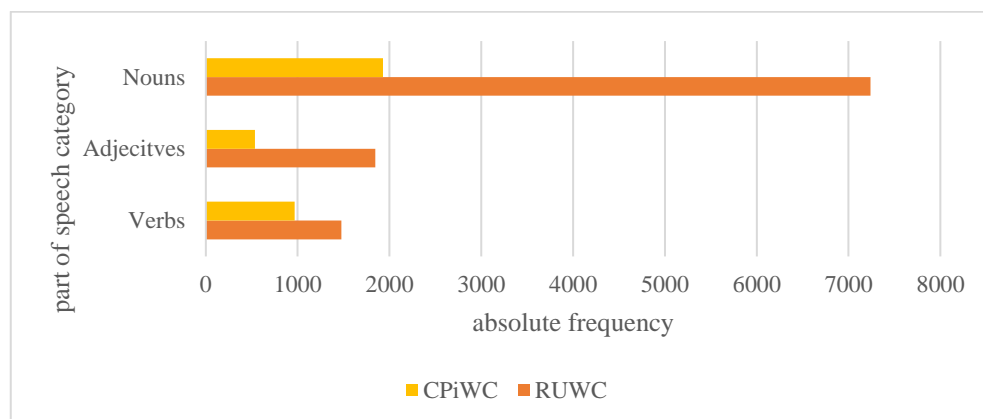


Figure 5. CPiWC and RUWC comparison: token frequencies of expressions evoking the military domain.

4.2 Frequency lists

This section presents three spreadsheets, each corresponding to a specific part-of-speech category (nouns, adjectives, or verbs). Each spreadsheet consists of two parts, one with the CPiWC data and the other with RUWC data. The CPiWC part provides 1) words identified in the corpus, 2) their absolute frequencies, 3) the number of COVID-19 pandemic-related metaphorical occurrences of a said word, 4) the number of literal occurrences, 5) the number of metaphorical occurrences with non-covid target domains, and 6) the number of simile occurrences. The RUWC part lists the words found in the corpus, their absolute frequencies and the number of literal occurrences. However, metaphorical occurrences are included only for selected cases (the reasoning for the selection is explained in Section 5.2). Due to the extensive data for nouns, only the first 34 instances are included in the frequency list; for the full spreadsheet, see the attachments in STAG.

First, I will focus on the CPiWC data, examining the military terminology mapped onto the COVID-19 discourse and the specific mappings found in the corpus. Next, the RUWC data will be analysed to determine whether the words listed in the spreadsheets are used exclusively in a literal sense or also appear in metaphorical contexts. Finally, the CPiWC and RUWC spreadsheets will be compared to identify what military terminology is *not* mapped in the communication about the pandemic, i.e. the metaphorical framing ignores it.

4.2.1 Nouns

CPIWC							RUWC				
RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	NOUN	COVID-19 METAPHOR	LITERAL USE	NON-COVID TARGET DOMAINS	SIMILES	RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	NOUN	METAPHORICAL USE	LITERAL USE
1.	242	<i>boj</i> (fight)	179	4	26		1.	1856 (200)	<i>válka</i> (war)	37 (4)	1,819 (196)
2.	*190	<i>válka</i> (war)	55	116		15	2.	627	<i>uprchlík</i> (refugee)		
3.	160	<i>ochrana</i> (protection)	106	7	9	15	3.	597	<i>invaze</i> (invasion)		
4.	148	<i>ztráta</i> (loss)	125	15		1	4.	511	<i>armáda</i> (army)		
5.	137	<i>oběť</i> (victim)	113	1	22	1	5.	393	<i>útok</i> (attack)		
6.	118	<i>armáda</i> (army)		115	3		6.	386 (200)	<i>zbraň</i> (weapon)	4 (2)	382 (198)
7.	94	<i>zápas</i> (struggle)	1	89	4		7.	384	<i>konflikt</i> (conflict)		
8.	86	<i>voják</i> (soldier)	4	81	1		8.	324 (200)	<i>voják</i> (soldier)	0	324 (200)
9.	63	<i>útok</i> (attack)	22	26	15		9.	317	<i>obrana</i> (defence)		
10.	*61	<i>obrana</i> (defense)	16	3	1		10.	283	<i>boj</i> (fight)	31	252
11.	56	<i>strategie</i> (strategy)	44	1	11		11.	230	<i>běženec</i> (fugitive)		
12.	53	<i>fronta</i> (front/queue)	7	46			12.	197	<i>jednotka</i> (unit)		
13.	51	<i>jednotka</i> (unit)	3	21	27		13.	118	<i>vojsko</i> (army)		
14.	49	<i>zbraň</i> (weapon)	17	26	2	4	14.	107	<i>nepřítel</i> (enemy)	11	96
15.	37	<i>zásah</i> (hit)	26	6	5		15.	101	<i>mir</i> (peace)		
16.	35	<i>linie</i> (line)	33	1	1		16.	98	<i>oběť</i> (victim)	12	77
17.	32	<i>nepřítel</i> (enemy)	22	7		3	17.	95	<i>odpor</i> (resistance)		
18.	30	<i>rána</i> (wound)	24	2	1	3	18.	93	<i>tank</i> (tank)		
19.	27	<i>záchrana</i> (rescue)	15	11	1		19.	78	<i>civilista</i> (civilian)		
20.	26	<i>konflikt</i> (conflict)		26			20.	76	<i>ochrana</i> (protection)		
21.	25	<i>štít</i> (shield)	23	1	1		21.	68	<i>střela</i> (missile)		
22.	25	<i>vítězství</i> (victory)	11	3	10	1	22.	65	<i>vpád</i> (invasion)		
23.	22	<i>útočník</i> (attacker)		22			23.	63	<i>ostřelování</i> (shelling)		
24.	21	<i>vítěz</i> (winner)	3	0	16	2	24.	63	<i>strategie</i> (strategy)	22	41
25.	19	<i>vojsko</i> (army)	1	18			25.	56	<i>vítězství</i> (victory)	4	52
26.	18	<i>běženec</i> (fugitive)		18			26.	55	<i>generál</i> (general)		
27.	17	<i>uprchlík</i> (refugee)		17			27.	54	<i>impérium</i> (empire)		
28.	16	<i>bitva</i> (battle)	9		7		28.	51	<i>anexe</i> (annexation)		
29.	16	<i>mise</i> (mission)	3	10	1	2	29.	48	<i>hrdina</i> (hero)	3	45
30.	16	<i>hrdina</i> (hero)	12		4		30.	47	<i>bombardování</i> (bombing)		
31.	14	<i>násilí</i> (violence)		14			31.	46	<i>nápor</i> (onslaught)		
32.	14	<i>generál</i> (general)		14			32.	45	<i>okupace</i> (occupation)		
33.	14	<i>družstvo</i> (squad)		14			33.	45	<i>munice</i> (ammunition)		
34.	11	<i>ústup</i> (retreat)	10	1			34.	42	<i>bombardování</i> (bombing)		

Table 4. Nouns evoking the military domain identified in CPIWC and RUWC.

4.2.2 Adjectives

CPIWC							RUWC		
RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	ADJECTIVE	COVID-19 METAPHOR	LITERAL USE	NON-COVID TARGET DOMAIN	SIMILES	RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	ADJECTIVE
1.	295	<i>ochranný</i> (protective)					1.	417	<i>vojenský</i> (military)
2.	75	<i>zasažený</i> (hit)	74		1		2.	308	<i>válečný</i> (warlike)
3.	71	<i>vojenský</i> (military)	1				3.	95	<i>generální</i> (general)
4.	27	<i>válečný</i> (warlike)	11	12	1	3	4.	89	<i>strategický</i> (strategic)
5.	19	<i>civilní</i> (civil)		19			5.	89	<i>civilní</i> (civil)
6.	12	<i>obranný</i> (defensive)	6	6			6.	84	<i>mírový</i> (peaceful)
7.	10	<i>vítězný</i> (victorious)	1		9		7.	75	<i>ozbrojený</i> (armed)
8.	9	<i>zasažen</i> (hit)	9				8.	50	<i>obranný</i> (defensive)
9.	6	<i>napadený</i> (attacked)	4	1	1		9.	47	<i>bojový</i> (combat)
10.	5	<i>bojující</i> (fighting)	3		2		10.	31	<i>zasažený</i> (hit)
11.	3	<i>bojovný</i> (combative)	2	1			11.	28	<i>protitankový</i> (antitank)
12.	2	<i>hrdinský</i> (heroic)	1	1			12.	25	<i>okupovaný</i> (occupied)
13.	2	<i>poražený</i> (defeated)	1	1			13.	25	<i>zničený</i> (destroyed)
							14.	22	<i>bojující</i> (fighting)
							15.	22	<i>obléhamý</i> (beleaguered)
							16.	22	<i>protivzdušný</i> (anti-aircraft)
							17.	21	<i>útočný</i> (aggressive)
							18.	21	<i>ochranný</i> (protective)
							19.	19	<i>záchranný</i> (emergency)
							20.	18	<i>protiletadlový</i> (anti-aircraft)
							21.	17	<i>válčící</i> (warring)
							22.	16	<i>obrněný</i> (armoured)
							23.	16	<i>protiválečný</i> (antiwar)
							24.	15	<i>zbraňový</i> (weapon-like)
							25.	14	<i>dělostřelecký</i> (artillery)
							26.	14	<i>obsazený</i> (occupied)
							27.	13	<i>branný</i> (military)
							28.	13	<i>zbrojní</i> (arms)
							29.	12	<i>neprůstřelný</i> (bullet-proof)
							30.	12	<i>vítězný</i> (victorious)
							31.	10	<i>zasažen</i> (hit)
							32.	10	<i>protiletadlový</i> (flak)
							33.	10	<i>násilný</i> (violent)
							34.	9	<i>poválečný</i> (postwar)

Table 5. Adjectives evoking the military domain identified in CPIWC and RUWC.

4.2.3 Verbs

CPIWC							RUWC				
RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	VERB	COVID-19 METAPHOR	LITERAL USE	NON-COVID TARGET DOMAIN	SIMILES	RANK	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	VERB	METAPHORICAL USE	LITERAL USE
1.	118	<i>vyhlásit</i> (to declare)	6	110	2		1.	228	<i>bojovat</i> (to fight)	22	206
2.	111	<i>zasáhnout</i> (to hit)	86	1	24		2.	170	<i>bránit</i> (to defend)		
3.	100	<i>chránit</i> (to protect)	92	5	3		3.	94	<i>čelit</i> (to face)		
4.	83	<i>čelit</i> (to face)	71	1	11		4.	75	<i>vyhlásit</i> (to declare)		
5.	78	<i>bojovat</i> (to fight)	59	0	14	5	5.	67	<i>vzdát</i> (to surrender)		
6.	73	<i>bránit</i> (to defend)	47	9	17		6.	50	<i>vyhrát</i> (to win)		
7.	57	<i>podlehnout</i> (to succumb)	48		9		7.	46	<i>útočit</i> (to attack)		
8.	43	<i>ochránit</i> (to protect)	43				8.	45	<i>zaútočit</i> (to attack)		
9.	41	<i>vyhrát</i> (to win)	10		31		9.	41	<i>zachránit</i> (to save)		
10.	34	<i>porazit</i> (to defeat)	26	1	7		10.	35	<i>zabránit</i> (to prevent)		
11.	33	<i>napadnout</i> (to attack)	10	2	21		11.	34	<i>chránit</i> (to protect)		
12.	26	<i>zabrat</i> (to occupy)	1	25			12.	33	<i>dobýt</i> (to conquer)		
13.	20	<i>napadat</i> (to attack)	14		6		13.	32	<i>zvítězit</i> (to win)		
14.	19	<i>zachraňovat</i> (to rescue)	10	4	5		14.	31	<i>střílet</i> (to shoot)		
15.	17	<i>velet</i> (to command)	13	2	2		15.	31	<i>porazit</i> (to defeat)		
16.	15	<i>zvítězit</i> (to win)	7		8		16.	28	<i>utrpět</i> (to suffer)		
17.	10	<i>útočit</i> (to attack)	8	2			17.	27	<i>válčit</i> (to wage war)		
18.	9	<i>mobilizovat</i> (to mobilise)	8		1		18.	26	<i>bombardovat</i> (to bomb)		
19.	9	<i>zaútočit</i> (to attack)	3		6		19.	25	<i>prohrát</i> (to lose)		
20.	9	<i>prohrát</i> (to lose)	2		7		20.	23	<i>rozpoutat</i> (to start a war)		
21.	7	<i>vzdávat</i> (to surrender)	5	1	1		21.	22	<i>ochránit</i> (to protect)		
22.	7	<i>udeřit</i> (to strike)	4	1	1	1	22.	20	<i>zabrat</i> (to seize)		
23.	5	<i>ubránit</i> (to defend)	2	3			23.	19	<i>okupovat</i> (to occupy)		
24.	5	<i>vyhrávat</i> (to win)	2	3			24.	17	<i>velet</i> (to command)		
25.	4	<i>střetnout</i> (to collide)	2	1	1		25.	16	<i>ostřelovat</i> (to shell)		
26.	4	<i>ustupovat</i> (to retreat)	4				26.	13	<i>ubránit</i> (to defend)		
27.	4	<i>vybojovat</i> (to conquer)	1	3			27.	13	<i>vystřelit</i> (to shoot)		
28.	3	<i>odolávat</i> (to resist)	3				28.	12	<i>ustoupit</i> (to retreat)		
29.	3	<i>triumfovat</i> (to triumph)	1	2			29.	11	<i>podlehnout</i> (to succumb)		
30.	3	<i>prohrávat</i> (to lose)	3				30.	10	<i>obklíčit</i> (to encircle)		
31.	3	<i>střílet</i> (to shoot)	1	2			31.	9	<i>narukovat</i> (to enlist)		
32.	3	<i>zápasit</i> (to struggle)	2		1		32.	9	<i>postoupit</i> (to advance)		
33.	2	<i>dobývat</i> (to conquer)	2				33.	9	<i>vpadnout</i> (to invade)		
34.	2	<i>porážet</i> (to defeat)	2				34.	8	<i>odrazit</i> (to repel)		

Table 6. Verbs evoking the military domain identified in CPIWC and RUWC.

5 Discussion

This chapter will explore and analyse both corpora. Section 5.1 will examine military metaphors and their specific mappings found in the CPiWC. Section 5.2 will focus on the RUWC, looking at which military concepts that are typically used literally are used metaphorically. Section 5.3 will compare the two corpora and identify which military concepts are used in discussions about the COVID-19 pandemic and which are missing from the COVID-19 discourse.

5.1 Covid Pandemic is War

Military metaphors have a complex structure and display elaborate mappings between the source and target domain. This section discusses the mappings for the metaphor COVID PANDEMIC IS WAR, providing examples from CPiWC for each mapping. For easier navigation in the text, military-metaphoric expressions are in bold, while similes are underlined.

5.1.1 THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR/ FIGHT

The most frequent nouns stemming from the military vocabulary found in the collected articles were *boj* (fight) and *válka* (war). During the first wave of the pandemic, the situation was mostly described in terms of war, partly because of its resemblance to the literal wars. Coronavirus spread so quickly that neither the governments nor hospitals were able to react effectively. The examples in (11) show that the sudden rise of the death toll, the chaos and panic evoked feelings just as the world was in a war.

(11)

- a. Celá země vstoupila do **války** s infekční nemocí.
*The whole country is at **war** with an infectious disease.*
- b. ČR podle statistik zvládá **boj** s koronavirem podstatně lépe než například Itálie či Španělsko.
*According to statistics, the Czech Republic copes with the **fight** against coronavirus much better than, for example, Italy or Spain.*

Similarly, as seen in the examples (12), this proposition was expressed in the form of similes as well.

(12)

- a. Británie: kroky jako za světové války
Britain: steps just as in the world war

- b. LN: Začneme otázkou v duchu chytré karantény. Kde přesně jste a co tam děláte?
Let me start by asking you about the smart quarantine. Where exactly are you, and what are you doing there?
 [...]

 Robert Sedláček: A pak si zapne rádio nebo si otevře noviny a má pocit, že je ve válce ... Kdo má jenom to rádio a televizi, může snadno získat pocit, že už ani nic jiného není.
And then when you turn on the radio or open the newspaper, it feels like you're at war... If you only have the radio or TV, you can easily believe that there's nothing else in the world.

Apart from the pandemic's resemblance to a literal war, military vocabulary is commonly used in political rhetoric to raise people's awareness of the problem, to strengthen people's sense of unity, to encourage people's willingness to adopt certain cautious behaviours, and more. The following examples illustrate this "call to arms" rhetoric:

(13)

- a. Vláda vyhlásila koronaviru **válku**.
*The government has declared **war** on the coronavirus.*
- b. Zachovej klid a pokračuj. Tak zní pokyn obyvatelstvu na slavném britském plakátu z doby druhé světové války. V naší dnešní **válce s virem** platí stejné doporučení.
*Keep calm and carry on. That's what is written on the famous British poster from the Second World War. For our current **war on the virus**, the same advice applies.*
- c. Americký kongres nyní připravuje pro **boj s virem** osm miliard dolarů, ...
*The U.S. Congress is now preparing eight billion dollars for **a fight against the virus**...*

Interestingly, metaphorical linguistic expressions with *boj* (fight) were far more frequent than those with *válka* (war). *Boj* (fight) had 179 metaphorical instances, whereas *válka* (war) had only 60. A comparison of their dictionary definitions in (14) and (15) reveals two main differences between these words. The first difference relates to the duration of the action, with *stav* (state) indicating a longer period than *utkání* (gunfight). Second, *válka* (war) is structurally more complex, often involving the engagement of entire countries or nations. Additionally, *válka* (war) is generally viewed as something more serious than *boj* (fight).

(14) Dictionary definition of *boj* (fight) in SSČJ

utkání zbraněmi, vojenský zápas¹⁰
a gunfight or a military struggle

(15) Dictionary definition of *válka* (war) in SSČJ

stav nepřátelství projevující se organizovaným, ozbrojeným bojem mezi dvěma n. více státy, národy, popř. (i uvnitř státu) mezi společenskými třídami, skupinami¹¹
a state of hostility characterised by organized armed struggle between two or more states or nations; or within a state, between social classes or groups

The significant difference in the occurrences of these words suggests that Czechs, favouring the term *boj* (fight), may have perceived the COVID-19 pandemic as a temporary or less severe event. Furthermore, *boj* (fight), being less complex in meaning than *válka* (war), may be better suited for metaphorical mappings. It is more relatable to the experiences of a “civilian” and effectively emphasises individual efforts during the pandemic, such as wearing a mask or staying at home.

The COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR/FIGHT is a complex structural metaphor with many concrete mappings (correspondences). The following chapters will provide some of the most common mappings and their concrete realisations.

5.1.2 CORONAVIRUS AS AN ENEMY

In a war, there are at least two opposing military forces fighting each other. Based on this point of view, there is the “us” side, which is perceived as “good”, and the “them” side, which is perceived as “bad”. In the Czech media discourse, it is the virus which is frequently referred to as *nepřítel* (enemy), perceived as the opposing side to us people. In example (16), the “us” side is signalled by the personal pronoun *my* (we), illustrating the unity needed for defeating the enemy.

(16)

V rámci našeho projektu bychom chtěli, aby si lidé uvědomili, že **nepřítel je virus**, a ne ti druzí. [...] a my vir musíme **porazit** společně. **Nepřítel** nejsme my jako lidstvo, není to Babiš, Čína ani lyžaři z Itálie. [...] my se proti němu musíme spojit. *As part of our project, we would like people to realise that **the enemy is the virus** and not the other people. [...] and we must **defeat** the virus together. The **enemy** is not us as humanity, nor Babiš, China nor the skiers from Italy. [...] and we must **unite** against it.*

¹⁰ Slovník Spisovného Jazyka Českého, s.v. “boj,” accessed August 28, 2024.

<https://ssjc.ujc.cas.cz/search.php?heslo=boj&sti=4745&where=hesla>

¹¹ Slovník Spisovného Jazyka Češtiny, s.v. “válka,” accessed August 28, 2024.

<https://ssjc.ujc.cas.cz/search.php?heslo=v%C3%A1lka&sti=101885&where=hesla>

The examples below use the word *nepřítel* (enemy) to describe the virus's nature.

(17)

- a. ... Itálie je nyní v první linii boje s **neviditelným nepřítelem** ...
*... Italy is now on the front line of the fight against **an invisible enemy** ...*
- b. Jsme ve válce se **silným a chytrým nepřítelem**...
*We are at war with **a strong and clever enemy**...*

On one hand, the adjective *neviditelný* (invisible), shown in example (17a), is used literally; the virus is invisible to the naked eye; it transmits by droplets that one cannot see. On the other hand, this attribute signals the virus's power. Since we cannot see the enemy coming, we cannot take up a defensive position, and the enemy gains an advantage, gets more powerful, and becomes more dangerous. In example (17b), the virus is described as *silný* (strong) and *chytrý* (clever), suggesting its ability to cause serious complications in a patient's condition, its ability to attack strategically and target society's "weakest links", such as seniors and sick people. Personifications also involve negative attributes, such as *nemilosrdný* (merciless) or *zákeřný* (insidious) evoking fear and a sense of danger in order to draw people's attention to the seriousness of the virus's power.

(18)

- a. Na otázky bude čas později, teď musíme **bojovat**, protože **nepřítel** je nemilosrdný.
*There will be plenty of time for questions later, for now, we must **fight**, for **the enemy** is merciless.*
- b. ... i když **neútočí** lidský **nepřítel**, ale zákeřný virus.
*... even though it's not a human **enemy attacking**, but an insidious virus.*

Lastly, the examples in (19) contain military-domain verbs illustrating the virus's "behaviours" during the pandemic and its targets.

(19)

- a. Koronavirus **útočí** na sport
*Coronavirus **attacks** sport*
- b. Odborníci se přitom shodují, že nemoc Covid-19 **napadá** zejména seniory.
*Experts agree that the disease Covid-19 **attacks** especially the elderly.*
- c. na kterém místě těla vás virus **napadne**
*what part of the body the virus **strikes***

- d. Izolujte covid, **ničí** vztahy
*Isolate the covid, he's **destroying** relationships*
- e. virus sám **decimuje** íránský parlament.
*... the virus itself **decimates** the Iranian parliament.*

5.1.3 HEALTHCARE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS FIGHTING THE ENEMY

As mentioned earlier, in a war raging, there are two opposing sides fighting against each other. Czech media discourse primarily frames the virus as the enemy, the “bad” side. The “good” side is represented mainly by healthcare workers (e.g. doctors, nurses, paramedics) who must fight the coronavirus face to face. Healthcare workers, when treating patients in serious conditions, come to a direct confrontation with the disease and are working long shifts surrounded by the virus. In comparison to other professions during the pandemic, they are the closest to the disease and in the most danger. Hence, people see them as standing on the frontline. Such examples are provided in (20).

(20)

- a. Stát svou pozornost věnuje zejména nemocnicím a praktickým lékařům. Ti jsou v **první linii**.
*The state pays particular attention to hospitals and general practitioners. They are **on the front line**.*
- b. Ano, jsou samozřejmě nějaké priority, v **první linii** jsou zdravotníci.
*Yes, of course, there are some priorities, as the health professionals are **on the front line**.*
- c. „Děsí mě chyby z únavy,“ líčí sestra z **první linie**.
*“Mistakes caused by my fatigue scare me,” says a **frontline** nurse.*

On top of that, for their great sacrifices and firm commitment, healthcare workers are often described as heroes (21a–b), fighting for the lives of the patients (21c).

(21)

- a. On a podobní lékaři a zdravotníci po celém světě jsou nezpochybnitelní **hrdinové**.
*He and other doctors and medics all around the world are undoubtedly **heroes**.*
- b. Zdravotní pracovníci – sestry, lékaři, epidemiologové a všichni ostatní zaměstnanci ve zdravotnictví jsou skutečnými **hrdiny** v **první linii** této krize.
*Health workers – nurses, doctors, epidemiologists and all other health workers – are the real **heroes** on the **frontline** of this crisis.*

- c. V každém regionu jsou jednotky intenzivní péče, vysoce erudovaný personál, vynikající a obětaví odborníci, kteří **bojují o životy lidí** velmi efektivně.
*In each region, there are intensive care units with highly erudite staff and excellent and dedicated specialists who **fight for people's lives** very effectively.*

In some cases, healthcare workers are not the only ones listed as fighting on the frontline. There are other professions surrounded by the virus on a daily basis. These professions include police officers, firefighters, soldiers or customs officers, who, despite not confronting the coronavirus directly, come into close contact with a lot of people who may be already transmitting the disease. These encounters put them in greater danger, and that is why many people see them on the frontline.

(22)

- a. Celníci, vojáci, hasiči a policisté stojí spolu se zdravotníky v **první „palebné“ linii**, pokud jde o koronavirové aerosoly.
*When it comes to coronavirus aerosols, customs officers, soldiers, firefighters and police officers are, along with health professionals, **on the firing frontline**.*
- b. Zároveň jsou nejvíc ohrožení, stojí v **první linii**. Koronavirus přitom dohání i je – policisty, lékaře, hasiče.
*At the same time, they are the most at risk, since they are standing **on the frontline**. The coronavirus is catching up also with police officers, doctors, firefighters.*

5.1.4 COVID-19 PATIENTS AS VICTIMS

One of the most criticised mappings of military metaphors is undoubtedly framing the deceased patients as victims (Sonntag 1978, 57). In spite of its criticism, the Czech media discourse uses this mapping frequently, mainly to inform about the coronavirus situation in the Czech Republic. The word *oběť* (victim) is usually used in an overview of the number of deceased people due to COVID-19, as seen in examples (23).

(23)

- a. Itálie, jež je s takřka 3100 případy a 107 **obětmi** nejpostiženější zemí Evropy, ...
*Italy is the most affected country in Europe with nearly 3,100 cases and 107 **victims**, ...*
- b. Novým typem koronaviru se na celém světě nakazilo přes 88 tisíc lidí a nemoc Covid-19 si už vyžádala tři tisíce **obětí**.
*More than 88,000 people worldwide have been infected with the new type of coronavirus and the disease Covid-19 has already claimed 3,000 **victims**.*

No instances of *oběť* (victim) in the CPiWC referred to people who were “only” infected with the disease, indicating that the word *oběť* (victim) is used exclusively for the deceased.

5.1.5 GOVERNMENT AS A MILITARY LEADERSHIP AND ITS MEASURES AS STRATEGIES TO FIGHT CORONAVIRUS

In a literal war, each side has leaders, such as generals or colonels, who devise strategies and tactics to overcome the enemy. These leaders command their troops, who are required to follow orders. A similar framework is evident in the COVID-19 discourse. Government officials are portrayed as high-ranking military leaders, with their plans likened to military strategies or tactics against the virus. The general population is then expected to comply with the measures issued by the government.

The example in (24a) indirectly portrays the government and Prime Minister as military officers who command their troops, and in the examples (24b–c), the country’s leaders are likened to dictators. *Akademický Slovník Současné Češtiny* (ASSČ) defines a dictator as “autoritářský vládce s neomezenou mocí, které dosáhl zprav. bez svobodného souhlasu lidu a kterou využívá k útlaku, samovládce”¹² (an authoritarian ruler with unlimited power, which he has attained without the free consent of the people and which he uses to oppress them; an autocrat). Although ASSČ does not mark this term as inherently expressive, it can carry a negative connotation, especially since people often associate the term “dictator” with prototypical dictators, notorious historical figures like Hitler or Stalin. Framing government leaders during the COVID-19 pandemic as dictators may lead people to view governmental actions as oppressive, seeing them as restrictions on their rights rather than measures to protect public health from the virus.

(24)

- a. V nálezou nyní nejvíce stíženě Itálii má teď rozhodující slovo rovněž vláda a premiér, „**velí**“ formou zrychlených vládních dekretů.
In Italy, which is now most affected by the contagion, the government and the Prime Minister also have a decisive say; they are “commanding” in the form of fast-track government decrees.
- b. ... protože v módě je Orbána hanět a progresivní je ho přirovnávat k diktátorům i v době virové.
... because it is fashionable to vilify Orbán and progressive to compare him to dictators in this virus age.

¹² Akademický Slovník Současné Češtiny, s.v. “diktátor,” accessed September 12, 2024.
<https://slovníkcestiny.cz/heslo/dikt%C3%A1tor/0/16931>

- c. ... i když po návratu domů mohu nakazit spoustu lidí, [...] najist pojedu lyžovat do virem zamořené Itálie, jen abych se pomstil **diktátoru** Burešovi, který chce zavádět povinnou karanténu ...
*... even though I may infect a lot of people when I return home, [...] I will still go skiing in virus-contaminated Italy, just to take revenge on **dictator Bures**, who wants to establish compulsory quarantine ...*

One of the most common strategies the government established was social distancing, quarantine or isolation and wearing protective masks, as seen in examples (25a–c). *Lidové noviny* reports that some other countries opted for targeted COVID-19 contagion in order to get immune to the disease (25d).

(25)

- a. Hlavní **strategií** proti epidemii je sociální odstup
*The main **strategy** against the epidemic is social distancing*
- b. Jedinou bezpečnou **taktikou** proti šíření viru je nevycházet z bytu.
*The only safe **tactic** against the spread of the virus is not leaving the apartment.*
- c. Česká republika a Slovensko jsou s **taktikou** povinných ochranných roušek zatím spíše výjimkou.
*The Czech Republic and Slovakia are with their **tactics** of compulsory protective masks so far rather exceptions.*
- d. Jejich [britskou] **strategii** lze popsat jako kontrolovaný postup nákazy s cílem, aby většina populace získala imunitu, ...
*Their [British] **strategy** can be described as a controlled process of contagion with the aim of making the majority of the population immune...*

In addition, strategic plans during the COVID-19 pandemic required effective communication on social media platforms. Many people criticised the government for their incompetence in securing the safety of the country's population. In order to prevent the spread of criticism, the government had to choose appropriate strategies for online communication. This usage is exemplified in (26):

(26)

Ministerstvo zdravotnictví čelí obrovskému tlaku kvůli nedostatku roušek a respirátorů. Jako komunikační **strategii** proto zvolilo cestu detailního informování o tom, kolik už pomůcek dovezlo.
*The Ministry of Health is facing enormous pressure due to the shortage of protective masks and respirators. Therefore, the communication **strategy** has been set to provide detailed information on the number of already-imported supplies.*

5.1.6 THE END OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AS VICTORY

In a war, the main purpose of each side is to defeat the adversary and claim victory. In some cases, peace is declared. In the pandemic situation, the concept of victory is blurry. For some, the victory means a complete elimination of the virus, as seen in examples (27).
(27)

- a. Premiér opozici ujistil, že pravomoci, které vláda získala, použije rozumně a vrátí je parlamentu, jakmile bude koronavirus v zemi **poražen**.
*The Prime Minister assured the opposition that the government will use the powers it acquired wisely and return them to Parliament once the coronavirus is **defeated** in the country.*
- b. V této **válce proti viru** my jako země i my jako zeměkoule nakonec **zvítězíme**, byť stále nevíme, jak dlouho to bude trvat, jakou cenu budeme muset zaplatit a kolik obětí si ještě vyžádá.
*In this **war against the virus**, we as a country and as a globe will eventually win, although we still do not know how long it will take, what price we will have to pay, and how many more victims it will claim.*
- c. Ale až **zvítězíme**, opět odebereme naší vládě mimořádné pravomoci a na oslavu **vítězství symbolicky řečeno vyvěsíme tisíc vlajek**. I když – mohli bychom je vyvěsit i skutečně.
*But when we **win**, we will once again take away our government's emergency powers and put up a thousand flags, symbolically speaking, to celebrate the **victory**. Although – we could put them up for real.*

Additionally, in the example in (27c), the word *vlajek* (flags) is used as a symbolic expression, as people typically put up the flag of the victorious country once the war has ended.

In other cases, the notion of victory is relativised in various ways. The example in (28a) indicates that in order to claim victory, we do not have to eliminate the virus completely but only control it in such a way that it does not endanger certain groups of people. In (28b), opening the borders of a formerly contaminated city and handling the coronavirus's spread in its epicentre also means a victory of a kind.

(28)

- a. Plán: řízená epidemie. „Pokud se podaří pandemii uřídit, aby nevlétla nekontrolovaně do ohrožené slupiny, bude to velké **vítězství** [...]“
*The plan: a controlled epidemic. “If the pandemic can be managed so that it does not raid the endangered groups uncontrollably, it will be a great **victory** [...].”*
- b. Peking vyhlásil **vítězství** nad epidemií Covid-19. Čínský prezident Si slaví **vítězství**. Když včera přijel do Wu-chanu, byl to symbol porážky epidemie Covid-19 v jejím epicentru.

Beijing declares **victory** over the Covid-19 epidemic. Chinese President Xi celebrates the **victory**. When he arrived in Wuhan yesterday, it was a symbol of the defeat of the Covid-19 epidemic at its epicentre.

Finally, there are doubts about whether the virus can be defeated and peace declared. The example (29) reflects this opinion, mentioning *koexistence* (coexistence) rather than *peace*:

(29)

Celý svět vyhlíží, kdy pandemii **porazíme**. Lze vůbec koronavirus úplně **zdotat**? Nemyslím si, že by člověk měl něco **porážet**. To my, lidský druh, žijeme ve světě mikroorganismů, virů, bakterií. Proto bychom se měli spíše snažit o koexistenci.

*The whole world is waiting to see when we will **defeat** the pandemic. But can the coronavirus ever be completely **conquered**? I don't think you have to **defeat** anything. We, the human species, live in a world of microorganisms, viruses, and bacteria. That's why we should rather try to coexist with it.*

5.1.7 OTHER MILITARY MAPPINGS

In the sections above, the most frequent and most conventional military mappings were presented. However, the corpus exploration exposed a lot of additional mappings, which frame some of the most common military concepts in a different, unusual way.

Firstly, I was able to indicate additional enemy frames, such as PANIC/LONELINESS/FAKE NEWS AS AN ENEMY. Examples of these can be seen in (30) below.

(30)

- a. Jak známo, panika je **mocný nepřítel**, a každodenně přibývajících čísla obětí po celém světě vytváří značný tlak.
*It is well known that panic is a **powerful enemy**, and the daily increase in death toll in the world is putting pressure on the people.*
- b. A všichni se připravují na to, jak **bojovat** buď s ponorkou, nebo se samotou, podle toho, v jaké jsou aktuální životní situaci.
*And they are all preparing for a **fight** with either cabin fever or loneliness, depending on their current life situation.*
- c. Tým expertů, v němž zasedl i generál či experti na IT, určuje **taktiku** proti koronaviru a **bojuje** i s fake news. [...] Upravují **taktiku** jejího [nákazy] potírání, ale také jsou v pohotovosti před dezinformacemi, které kolem pandemie kolují na internetu.
*A team of experts, including the general or IT experts, is setting **tactics** against the coronavirus and is **fighting** fake news as well. They are*

*adjusting their **tactics** to combat it [contagion], but they are also alert to the false information about the pandemic circulating on the internet.*

Next, the corpus showed that healthcare workers are not the only ones to fight against the coronavirus. Due to the coronavirus's economic consequences, a lot of small business owners lost their regular income, as their customers had to stay at home. The small businesses were thus at risk of being closed for good, i.e. “dying”, and had to use every recourse they had, i.e. “fight to survive” in order to stay in the market. The following examples (31) describe the mapping SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS AS FIGHTERS.

(31)

- a. Restauratéri, výrobci autodílů i hoteliéři **bojují o přežití** a čekají, až jim vláda pošle peníze, aby zaplatili lidi a nemuseli propouštět.
*Restaurant owners, auto parts manufacturers and hoteliers are **struggling to survive** and waiting for the government to send them money to pay the employees so they don't have to lay people off.*
- b. Další krok představují bezplatné půjčky firmám **zasazeným** koronavirem, eventuálně snížit daň z příjmů.
*The next step is providing free loans to companies **hit** by the coronavirus and possibly reducing income tax.*

Furthermore, if the companies do not adapt to the situation quickly, they can even become the victims of the coronavirus—not the disease itself, but the consequences it carries.

(32)

V době epidemií bývají restaurace hrozbou i potenciální **obětí** ze tří důvodů.
*In times of epidemics, restaurants are both threats and potential **victims** for three reasons.*

Finally, in waging war, it is crucial for each side to be equipped with weapons. During the pandemic, healthcare workers used protective gear, such as masks or suits (33a); others fought the coronavirus by staying at home and avoiding the spread of the virus (33b–c). In example (33c), the words *zbraň* (weapon) or *arzenál* (arsenal) are not explicitly present, but the concept of weapons is implied. Additionally, many public figures were expressing their opinions on the coronavirus situation on social media. Donald Trump, one of the most prominent figures on the internet in the USA, used his tweets to target the coronavirus and potentially the Chinese population, blaming them for causing the worldwide pandemic (33d). The examples below show metaphorical mappings PROTECTIVE GEAR/STAYING AT HOME/TWEETS AS WEAPONS.

(33)

- a. K dispozici mají mít [ošetřovatelé] celý **arzenál** ochranných pomůcek.
*[Healthcare workers] should have a full **arsenal** of protective gear at their disposal.*
- b. Snaha udržet lidi mimo přímý kontakt, nejlépe doma. Je to nejspolehlivější **zbraň** proti šíření infekce, není-li skutečně účinná **zbraň** k dispozici – lék, natož očkovací sérum.
*Trying to keep people out of direct contact, preferably at home, is the most reliable **weapon** against the spread of the contagion unless there is a really effective weapon available – a drug or a vaccine serum.*
- c. Zatímco naši dědečkové a pradědečkové bojovali za lepší svět ve válce, nám stačí otevřít pivo a zůstat doma na gauči.
While our grandfathers and great-grandfathers fought for a better world in war, all we have to do is crack open a beer and stay home on the couch.
- d. [Amerika] [n]emá dostatek testů ani ochranného vybavení pro testující. Donald Trump **bojuje s koronavirem svými tweety** (označil koronavirus za „zahraniční virus“).
*[America] doesn't have enough tests or protective equipment for testers. Donald Trump has been **fighting the coronavirus with his tweets** (he called the coronavirus a “foreign virus”).*

5.2 Russo-Ukrainian War Corpus

In section 2.1, the concept of framing, i.e. highlighting certain aspects while hiding others, was introduced. One thus understands that metaphors are a specific type of framing, but even literal wars can be framed, depending on the source's preference—Russian articles, for instance, will frame the war differently than Ukrainian articles. Since framing can “... promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman 1993, 52), it plays a crucial role in war narratives. In the case of the Russo-Ukrainian War, Russian speakers frame Ukraine (or the Western Block in general) as their enemy (34a) and vice versa (34b). In addition, in the example (34c), Russia is framed not only as the enemy against whom Ukraine must fight but also as a “vicious beast”.

(34)

- a. Jenže je zřejmé, že hlavním nepřítelem Ruska v Putinových očích není Ukrajina, ale demokratická Evropa a USA.
It is, however, clear that Russia's main enemy in Putin's eyes is not Ukraine but democratic Europe and the USA.
- b. ... ukrajinská armáda musí pokračovat v boji, poněvadž nepřítel povolává posily ...

...the Ukrainian army must continue to fight as the enemy sends for reinforcements...

- c. Medvěd¹³ je zkrátka šelma zlá a **boj** s ním vyžaduje odvalu.
*The bear is a vicious beast and it takes courage to **fight** it.*

These contrasting framings of the Russo-Ukrainian War by Russian and Ukrainian speakers raise broader questions about the nature of the conflict itself. To further understand these differences in representation, it is essential to consider whether the Russo-Ukrainian War aligns with the characteristics of a “prototypical war”. However, delimiting what constitutes a war is not an easy task, as seen in the rather vague definition by SSČ: “organizovaný ozbrojený boj mezi dvěma stranami”¹⁴ (an organised and armed struggle between two parties). In conceptual structural metaphors, this prototypical war format is typically used for metaphorical mappings (Flusberg et al. 2018, 10). For instance, in the COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR metaphor, speakers imagine a war with a clear “bad” side (the virus) battling against the “good” side. As prototypical soldiers, people usually think of physically strong men fighting on the battlefield, using prototypical weapons, such as firearms. Prototypical strategies are solely military operations and movements in a battle, and victory is clearly defined as the total defeat of the enemy. Although some characteristics of a prototypical war align with the Russo-Ukrainian War, others do not fit the traditional definition. This section thus aims to investigate to what extent the Russo-Ukrainian War can be considered prototypical.

To be precise, this section examines whether the words describing military concepts in news reports about the Russo-Ukrainian War are used only in a literal sense or if they also appear in metaphorical contexts. Due to the volume of data, I selected only some words naming source-domain concepts, namely those discussed in section 5.1. The structure of this section will thus mirror the structure of the section 5.1.

5.2.1 WAR and FIGHT

Prototypical wars are thought to be held on a physical battlefield. Although the Russo-Ukrainian War is waging on Ukrainian soil, the examples (35) below show that this war is fought not only on physical battlefields, but also in people’s minds (35a), in the political sphere (35b), or in digital space (35c).

¹³ Bear is Russia’s national animal.

¹⁴ Slovník Spisovné češtiny, s.v. “válka,” accessed October 20, 2024.
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=v%C3%A1lka>

(35)

- a. Hned v prvních dnech ruské invaze se objevila „hrozba Kadyrov“ – čečenští bojovníci byli údajně vysazeni v Kyjevě, aby unášeli ukrajinské představitele, snad samotného prezidenta Zelenského. Co na to říkáte? Za mě je Kadyrov spíš fenoménem **psychologické války**.
*In the very first days of the Russian invasion, the so-called “Kadyrov threat” emerged. Allegedly, Chechen fighters were dropped in Kyiv to kidnap Ukrainian officials, perhaps even President Zelensky himself. What do you think about this? In my opinion, Kadyrov is rather a **psychological war phenomenon**.*

- b. Vracíme do doby studené války, kdy bude fungovat síla odstrašení, říká Rudolf Jindrák. „To je asi jedna z mála věcí, která v **mocenském boji** funguje, a tím pádem se bude muset obrana posilovat a víc do ní investovat,“ dodává.
*We are returning to the Cold War era when the power of deterrence will work, says Rudolf Jindrák. “This is probably one of the few things that works in a **power struggle**, and thus, they will have to strengthen the defence and invest in it more,” he adds.*

- c. Probíhají námořní operace. Vidíme použití velkého množství raket. A samozřejmě probíhá **válka** v informačním prostoru.
*Naval operations are running, and large numbers of missiles are used. And, of course, there is a **war** going on in digital space.*

This suggests that the reality of the 21st century diverges from the concept of a prototypical war. In the modern wars, there are various significant battlefields. In 2022, both Russian and Ukrainian sympathisers engaged in the “digital battlefield”, using tweets, Facebook or Instagram posts as their weapons (further discussed in 5.2.7). While the Russian army held a stronger position on the physical battlefield, Ukraine demonstrated significant dominance on the “digital battlefield”. This dominance is reflected in the framing of the conflict within Czech media, including *Lidové noviny*, which frequently presents Ukraine in a positive light, emphasising its resilience and courage while depicting Russia as the aggressor. Examples of such portrayals are provided in (36). In addition, (36a) introduces the concept of “soft power”¹⁵ war. Earlier, wars were fought with “hard power” through military action. The relatively new term “soft power” extends the notion of a modern war, whose significant part is being fought by shaping the views of other parties, i.e. getting others to want the outcomes that you want (Nye 2004, 5) without military involvement.

¹⁵ [Soft power] is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced (Nye 2004, 10).

(36)

- a. Ale ve **válce** „měkké síly“ Ukrajina **vítězí**. [...] Jak píše novinářka Bari Weissová: „Odvaha Zelenského a Ukrajinců nám nastavuje zrcadlo.“
*But in the “soft power” war, Ukraine is **winning**. [...] As journalist Bari Weiss writes: “The courage of Zelensky and the Ukrainians holds up a mirror to us.”*
- b. „Je ohromující, jak moc současná rétorika ruského vedení připomíná rétoriku nacistů a jejich **agresivní** a dobytvačnou politiku, kterou uplatňovali vůči Československu v roce 1938,“ stojí v prohlášení rektorů.
*“It is staggering how much the current rhetoric of the Russian leadership resembles the Nazi’s rhetoric and their **aggressive** and conquering policy towards Czechoslovakia in 1938,” the rectors’ statement reads.*

Another example of how modern wars diverge from the prototypical concept is the notion of a cold war, defined by the ASSČ as “stav politického a vojenského napětí mezi komunistickými státy, zejména Sovětským svazem, a západním světem, zejména Spojenými státy americkými”¹⁶ (the state of political and military tension between the communist states, especially the Soviet Union, and the Western world, especially the USA). In a cold war, conflicts occur not through military operations but mostly through the exercise of political power. In the following examples (37) the Russo-Ukrainian War is compared to the Cold War and described as the beginning of a new-age cold war.

(37)

- a. Uvidíme, jaký bude důsledek toho, co britský deník Mail on Sunday označil za příchod **Studené války 2.0**.
*We shall see the result of what the British newspaper Mail on Sunday has described as the arrival of **Cold War 2.0**.*
- b. Začne nová **studená válka** a ta svobodná Ukrajina, která dnes stále ještě zabírá zhruba devadesát procent svého území, bude novým "západním Německem" Evropy.
*A new **cold war** will begin and that free Ukraine, today still occupying about ninety per cent of its territory, will be the new “West Germany” of Europe.*
- c. ... období po roce 1989 jasně skončilo, rýsuje se nová dělicí čára na mapě Evropy a nová dlouhodobá **studená válka** Západu s Ruskem a potažmo s Čínou.
*... the post-1989 period is clearly over, and a new dividing line is emerging on the map of Europe. A new long-term **cold war** between the West and Russia and, by extension, China is coming.*

¹⁶ Akademický Slovník Současné Češtiny, s.v. “studená válka,” accessed October 25, 2024.
<https://slovníkcestiny.cz/heslo/studen%C3%A1%20v%C3%A1lka/0/48987>

5.2.2 ENEMY

In the concept of a prototypical war, there are (at least) two opposing sides, each framing the other as the enemy. However, in the “modern” war, more enemies can emerge. On the physical battlefield, it is the opposing army. In the “digital battlefield”, one may have to face fake news or disinformation, as seen in example (38a). On top of that, outside of these battlefields, civilians are fighting with another enemy—the overwhelming panic and chaos (38b).

(38)

- a. Zvláště ministerstvo vnitra se chystá [...] posilovat centra pro **boj** s hybridními a dezinformačními hrozbami.
*The Ministry of the Interior, in particular, is preparing [...]to strengthen the centres for a **fight** against both hybrid and disinformation threats.*
- b. Největším **nepřítelem** Ukrajinců je momentálně panika ...
*At the moment, Ukrainians' biggest **enemy** is panic...*

One of the features characterising the prototypical enemy is that it stands against “our” army. The examples (39) below demonstrate that “modern” enemies can be found “amongst us” as well.

(39)

- a. ... nastane něco, co jsme tady od pádu komunismu neměli. Nastane hledání vnitřních **nepřátel**.
*something will happen here that we haven't experienced since the fall of communism. We will search for **enemies** within.*
- b. ... nejhorší druh podlidí nyní už nejsou „koblihy“ (ona třetina národa, která volila Andreje Babiše), ale teď jsou **nepřítelem** číslo jedna „kremrole“, tedy lidé, kteří nesdílejí náš dominantní narativ. Proč vlastně při každé krizi potřebujeme najít mezi sebou **nepřítele**?
*... now, the worst kind of subhumans are no longer the “doughnuts” (the third of the nation voting for Andrej Babiš), but the number one **enemy** are the “kremroles”, i.e. people who do not share our dominant narrative. Why, in every crisis, do we need to find an **enemy** amongst ourselves?*

5.2.3 SOLDIERS FIGHTING THE ENEMY

Traditionally, the army consists of well-trained, disciplined and physically fit men. As the “modern” wars’ battlefields are shifted into the digital space, equally capable soldiers are needed on these “digital battlefields” as well. The “modern” soldiers must be well-trained, too, but they must be trained for different kinds of operations. The following examples

(40) show “digital soldiers” fighting in the Russo-Ukrainian War.

(40)

- a. Kvůli vpádu ruských vojáků na Ukrajinu hackerská skupina Anonymous vyhlásila Rusku kybernetickou **válku**.
*Due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the hacker group Anonymous has declared a cyber **war** on Russia.*
- b. Varování před možnými výpadky dodávek nebo správy softwaru ukazuje, že digitální dopady války nespočívají jen v **útocích hackerů** na kritická místa států, informační špionáži či cíleně šířených dezinformacích na internetu.
*Warnings of possible supply or software management failures show that the digital impacts of war do not rest only on **hackers attacking** critical sites of states, information espionage or targeted spread of disinformation on the internet.*
- c. Obě strany disponují sofistikovanými „**armádami**“ hackerů a tzv. trollů, kteří mají na starost ochromení systémů nepřítele.
*Both sides have sophisticated “**armies**” of hackers and so-called trolls who are responsible for crushing the enemy’s systems.*

5.2.4 VICTIMS

Prototypically, war victims are people: those who have lost their lives due to military action, those suffering from its effects, or those impacted by its lasting consequences. In the following examples (41), however, the concept of a prototypical victim is broadened to include non-human victims.

(41)

- a. Ceny pohonných hmot a tankující řidiči se stali prvními ekonomickými **obětmi** ruského útoku na Ukrajinu.
*Fuel prices and tanker drivers have become the first economic **victims** of the Russian attack on Ukraine.*
- b. **Obětí** války se tam staly mj. i tramvaje české výroby, které původně jezdily v Praze a posléze byly prodány právě do Charkova.
*Czech-made trams, which originally ran in Prague, have become the war **victims**, too, as they were later sold to Kharkiv.*
- c. Ekonomická historie nás učí, že první **obětí** každé války je pravda, druhou veřejné finance.
*Economic history teaches us that the first **victim** of any war is truth, and the second is public finance.*

In the example (41a), the concept of truth is considered to be the first war victim. In today’s world, propaganda, fake news and disinformation thrive through the influence of

social media, and it has become truly difficult to find an objective source of information. Moreover, truth itself is not a straightforward concept, as it often varies according to the speaker's perspective and how they choose to frame it.

5.2.5 FIGHTING STRATEGIES

In a prototypical war, leaders of the opposing countries or parties develop strategies and systematic plans to secure victory. Typically, when people think of war strategies, they picture military tactics designated to defeat the enemy on the physical battlefield. However, as society evolves, modern-day conflicts require a broader range of strategies. The examples (42) below highlight the importance of specialised economic strategies. Furthermore, not only the direct combatants must devise such plans. In *Lidové noviny*, discussions about strategy focus on approaches taken by countries indirectly involved in the conflict, such as the Czech Republic. Although not directly participating in the Russo-Ukrainian War, the Czech government faces significant challenges resulting from the conflict, including rising fuel prices, which demand a strategic response.

(42)

- a. Fialova ropná **strategie**: Vláda Petra Fialy odmítá cenu benzínu a nafty zastropovat.
Fiala's¹⁷ oil strategy: The Petr Fiala's government refuses to cap the price of petrol and diesel.
- b. Ruská invaze na Ukrajinu nás nutí znovu promyslet nejenom bezpečnostní, ale i ekonomickou **strategii**.
The Russian invasion of Ukraine is forcing us to rethink not only our security but also our economic strategy.
- c. Bez války na Ukrajině by samozřejmě energetická **strategie** belgické vlády vypadala úplně jinak ...
Without the war in Ukraine, the Belgian government's energy strategy would undoubtedly look very different ...

Another consequence of the Russo-Ukrainian War was the large influx of refugees fleeing Ukraine and seeking shelter in the Czech Republic. In example (43), plans for their accommodation and integration into Czech society are framed in terms of war strategies.

(43)

- a. ... je potřeba definovat dlouhodobou „ubytovací“ **strategii**.
... it is necessary to define a long-term “accommodation” strategy.

¹⁷ Petr Fiala is the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic.

- b. Část trhu věří, že se Ukrajinci zdrží krátce a pak se vrátí, ostatní soudí, že válka bude delší, případně že ne všichni se budou chtít vrátit. „Zatím jsem nezaznamenal žádnou hlubší integrační **strategii**, která by přiznala, že Česko se pravděpodobně už napořád zvětší o desítky tisíc nových domácností. [...]“
*Part of the market believes that the Ukrainians will stay only for a short time and then return, while others think that the war will be longer or that not everyone will want to return. “So far, I have not seen any deeper integration **strategy** acknowledging that the Czech Republic is likely to grow by tens of thousands of new households. [...]*
- c. [Členové opozice] [b]udou ale chtít znát **strategii** vlády pro dlouhodobější řešení krize v důsledku ruské invaze na Ukrajinu.
*But [the opposition] will want to know the government’s **strategy** for a longer-term solution to the crisis resulting from the Russian invasion of Ukraine.*

It is well known that wars cause trauma to soldiers, and since the end of World War II, when the term “shell shock” emerged, public awareness of mental health has grown. While civilians who experienced war have also suffered from trauma, the importance of acknowledging and expressing their feelings has only gained attention recently. In example (44), methods for coping with war experiences are framed as strategies for fighting—potentially with the onset of depression.

(44)

Všichni nejsme stejní, někteří v sobě emoce tlumí, jiní otevřeně dávají najevo, co prožívají. [...] To, co můžeme nyní udělat my všichni, je, že budeme k těmto individuálním **strategiím** maximálně tolerantní.
*We are not all the same: some people suppress their emotions, others openly show what they are experiencing. [...] What we can all do now is to be as tolerant as possible of these individual **strategies**.*

5.2.6 VICTORY

Vítězství (victory) is by the SSČ defined as “získání konečné převahy ve voj. střetnutí, v utkání, sporu ap.”¹⁸ (gaining the final upper hand in a military encounter, match, dispute, etc.). Still, there are less prototypical ways to defeat the enemy, as shown in examples (45) below. One can accomplish an economic victory by destroying the enemy’s resources or a diplomatic victory by reaching a peace agreement.

(45)

- a. ... ruského agresora nejde **porazit** vojensky (má jaderné zbraně a území je obrovské), ale hospodářsky je to obr na hliněných nohou.

¹⁸ Slovník Spisovné češtiny, s.v. “vítězství,” accessed October 21, 2024.
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=v%C3%ADt%C4%9Bzstv%C3%AD>

... *the Russian aggressor cannot be **defeated** militarily (as it has nuclear weapons and its territory is huge), but, economically, it is a giant with feet of clay.*

- b. Všechny problémy se podle Anny musí řešit diplomatickou cestou, nikdo podle ní ve válce **nevyhraje**, zemřou lidé zbytečně na obou stranách.
*According to Anna, all problems must be solved diplomatically. In this war, no one will **win**, and people will die unnecessarily on both sides.*

5.2.7 WEAPONS

When discussing a prototypical war, people usually imagine weapons essential for physical combat, such as firearms, tanks, howitzers, air forces, etc. However, in the RUWC, additional frames of weaponry have emerged. For instance, the “modern” weapons listed in examples (46) below are used in psychological warfare, where the enemy aims to infiltrate soldiers’ minds, break their will, and seize their most powerful weapons—their motivation and courage.

(46)

- a. Ruská strana [...] **bojuje** i formou psychologického nátlaku.
*Russian side [...] is also **fighting** through psychological pressure.*
- b. Právě odvaha bojovníků je podle něj ve válce klíčová. „Nejsilnější **zbraní** Ukrajinců je obrovská motivace a odhodlanost čelit nepříteli, bojují za svou zem. [...]“
*According to him, it is the courage of the fighters that is crucial in war. “The strongest **weapon** of the Ukrainians is the huge motivation and determination to face the enemy; they are fighting for their country. [...]”*

The example in (47) shows another modern-day weaponry: foreign exchange tools are depicted as the Czech Republic’s strategic weapons aimed at combating the economic consequences of the Russo-Ukrainian War.

(47)

„Devizové rezervy ČNB patří mezi nejvyšší na světě. Naše centrální banka tedy má dostatek **arzenálu** ...“
*“The ČNB’s foreign exchange reserves are among the highest in the world. Our central bank has an ample **arsenal**...”*

Finally, the Facebook posts in the example (48) might be seen as weapons of a “soft war” (see 5.2.1), where influence and persuasion replace traditional military actions. However, as the example demonstrates, these posts alone are insufficient to secure victory, as military actions remain essential.

(48)

Hrdinský boj Ukrajinců za svobodu a nezávislost je obdivuhodný, koho to nedojímá, není snad člověk. Válka se ale nevyhrává posty na Facebooku.

The Ukrainians' heroic struggle for freedom and independence is admirable: those who are not touched by their courage are not even human. However, Facebook posts do not win the war.

5.3 Comparison of CPiWC and RUWC

This section compares the use of words evoking the military terminology in the two corpora. First, I will compare the individual expressions with respect to the proportions of their metaphorical and literal uses in the two corpora; after that, I will ask which expressions found in the RUWC are infrequent in the CPiWC, i.e. which words evoking the military domain do not appear in discourse about the COVID-19 pandemic.

5.3.1 Source-domain concepts present in both RUWC and CPiWC: comparison of metaphorical versus literal uses

Both *válka* (war) and *boj* (fight) get mapped from the source-domain WAR onto the target domain COVID PANDEMIC. In the CPiWC corpus, *boj* (fight) appeared more frequently than *válka* (war), while in the RUWC corpus, the reverse was true. Both corpora, however, showed a higher incidence of metaphorical uses for *boj* (fight) than for *válka* (war). Specifically, in CPiWC, 73.97% of all occurrences of *boj* (fight) were covid-metaphorical, compared to 31.58% for *válka* (war). In RUWC, covid metaphors accounted for 10.95% of *boj* (fight) instances and 2% of *válka* (war). To illustrate, see the Figure 6 below.

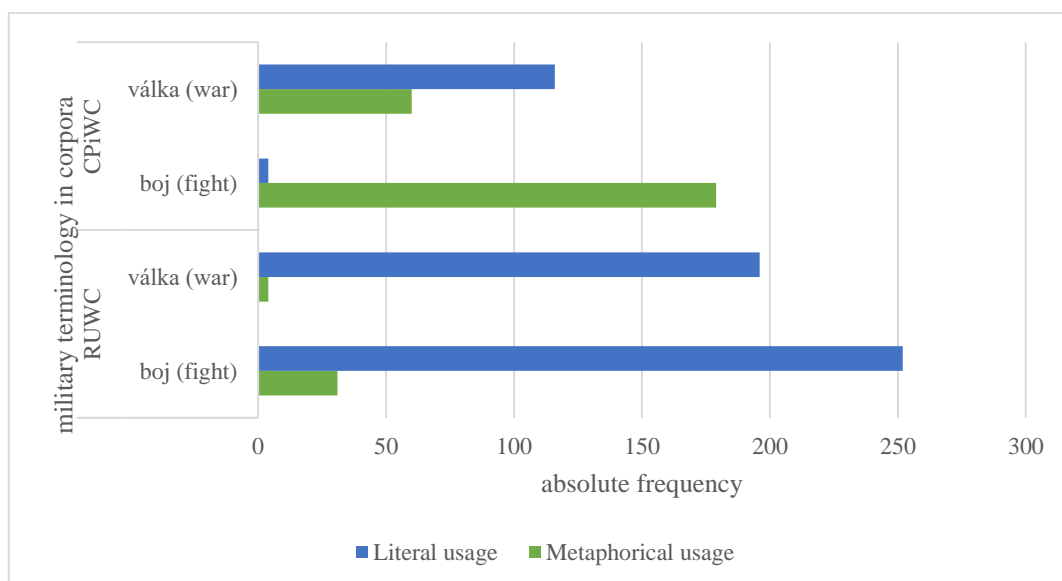


Figure 6. *Válka* (war) and *boj* (fight): comparison of metaphorical versus literal uses

The terms are closely related in meaning, and their definitions and nuanced differences were previously discussed in section 5.1.1. *Boj* (fight) is typically used to describe small-scale military actions, while *válka* (war) refers to large-scale, organised and often formal conflicts. The higher frequency of metaphorical *boj* (fight) may suggest that this word is more suitable for metaphorical mappings, as it lacks the structural complexity of the concept denoted by the noun *válka* (war), is more relatable to an “ordinary civilian” and can highlight the individual’s efforts taken in the pandemic, such as wearing a mask or staying at home.

Another pair of military-domain concepts present in both the CPiWC and RUWC were the ones denoted by the words *strategie* (strategy) and *taktika* (tactics). Their distribution is illustrated in Figure 7. In both corpora, *strategie* (strategy) was more frequent and exhibited a higher percentage of metaphorical instances. Notably, 34.92% of all instances of *strategie* (strategy) in the RUWC (a corpus expected to contain primarily literal military terms) were metaphorical, while metaphorical uses of *taktika* (tactics) accounted for only 2% of the total.

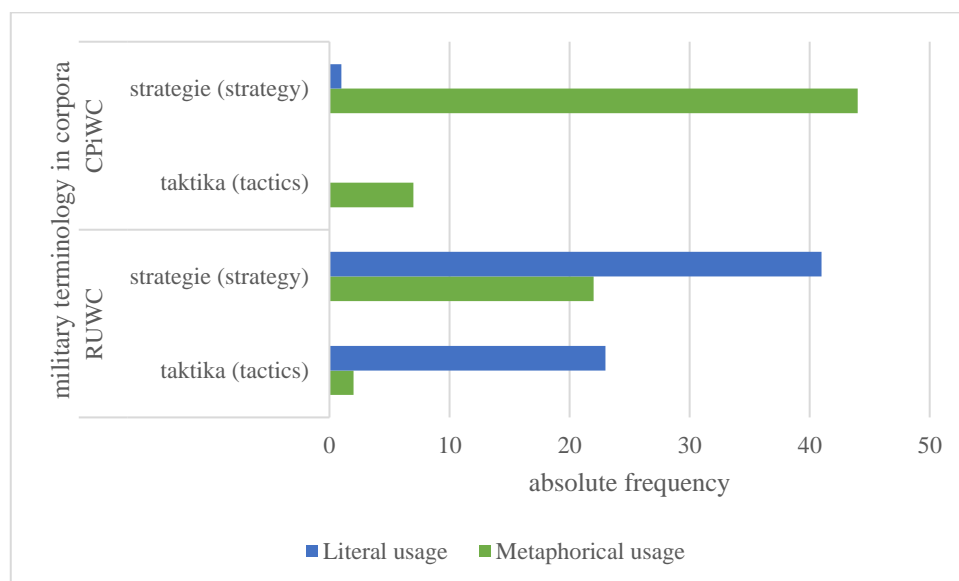


Figure 7. *Strategie* (strategy) and *taktika* (tactics): comparison of metaphorical versus literal uses

The high proportion of metaphorical uses of the noun *strategie* (strategy) may be linked to the evolving concept of a “prototypical war” discussed in section 5.2. In “modern” wars, the idea of strategy is no longer limited solely to the organisation of military actions; as a result, more strategy-related metaphors are used, even when discussing literal warfare. This suggests that the notion of a “prototypical strategy” is evolving as well. On the other hand, the low metaphorical usage of *taktika* (tactics)—just 2%—indicates that the term remains predominantly associated with traditional military actions.

5.3.2 Source-domain concepts infrequent in CPiWC

This section will focus on those concepts from the military domain that were not mapped onto the target domain (communication about the COVID-19 pandemic) and try to determine why. One such concept is that of a person fleeing from a country: *běželec* (fugitive) or *uprchlík* (refugee). While these words have slightly different meanings in English, the Czech language considers them synonymous. The ASSČ defines *běželec* (fugitive) as “člověk, který je na útěku ze své vlasti; zprav. kvůli špatné politické situaci, válce, hladomoru ap.” (a person who is on the run from his or her homeland because of a bad political situation, war, famine, etc.)¹⁹ In the RUWC, *uprchlík* (refugee) appeared 627 times, and *běželec* (fugitive) 230 times. In the CPiWC, both words were less frequent: *uprchlík* (refugee) appeared 17 times, *běželec* (fugitive) 18 times (see Figure 8), and all these instances were literal, describing issues of the Syrian Civil War²⁰.

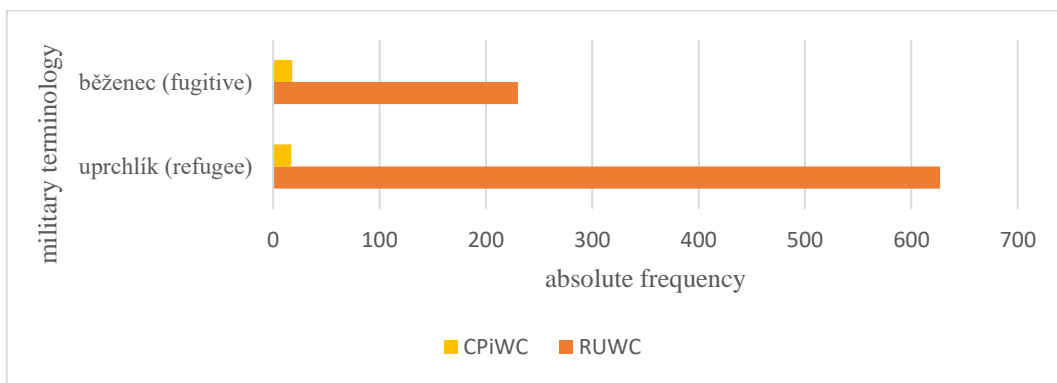


Figure 8. *Běželec* (fugitive) and *uprchlík* (refugee): frequency comparison

The absence of this concept in the COVID-19 discourse may indicate that in the pandemic, unlike in a “traditional” conflict, there was no option to flee or hide from the virus, as it was both omnipresent and invisible (see 5.1.2), and people could never be sure whether they evaded its reach.

Another military concept not used for metaphorical mappings in the COVID-19 discourse is that denoted by the word *konflikt* (conflict). There is a significant difference between the corpora: RUWC showed 384 instances of the word, while the CPiWC only 26; all uses were literal. This distribution can be observed in Figure 9.

¹⁹ Akademický Slovník Současné Češtiny, s.v. “běželec,” accessed October 22, 2024.
<https://slovníkcestiny.cz/heslo/b%C4%9B%C5%BEenec/0/3036>

²⁰ an ongoing conflict since 2011 (BBC 2023)

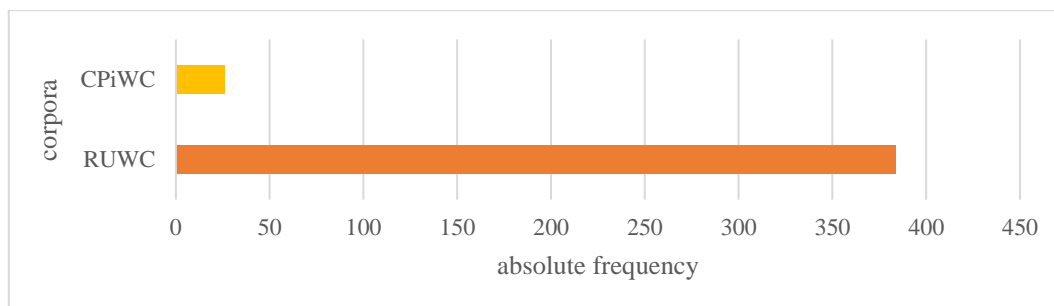


Figure 9. *Konflikt* (conflict): frequency comparison

In the ASSČ, the word *konflikt* (conflict)²¹ has multiple meanings, but two are crucial for understanding its low frequency in CPiWC: one referring to conflicting opinions (49a) and the other to opposing armies (49b).

(49)

- a. nesoulad způsobený odlišnými názory, zájmy, cíli ap., neshoda, spor
disagreement caused by differing opinions, interests, goals, etc., dissonance, dispute
- b. vojenský střet, válka
military conflict, war

The word *konflikt* (conflict) is polysemous, encompassing two main meanings: one referring to an abstract disagreement caused by differing opinions and the other denoting a concrete military conflict or war. This may partially explain why *konflikt* is infrequent in the COVID-19 discourse. Military metaphors often rely on specific imagery derived from tangible aspects of the source domain. The abstract sense of *konflikt* might lack the immediacy or specificity needed to convey the urgency or gravity of the pandemic effectively. Moreover, using *konflikt* could unintentionally downplay the severity of the health crisis by framing it as a mere disagreement rather than a collective fight. However, these interpretations are speculative and should be viewed as part of a broader discussion on metaphorical mappings and their communicative functions.

A detailed comparison of military-related vocabulary in the two corpora also revealed that the COVID-19 pandemic was never referred to as an invasion by the virus on the Czech Republic. In the RUWC, the word *invaze* (invasion) appeared 597 times, while in the CPiWC, it appeared only four times, and all these instances were literal. This is illustrated in Figure 10.

²¹ Akademický Slovník Současné Češtiny, s.v. “konflikt,” accessed November 4, 2024.
<https://slovníkcestiny.cz/heslo/konflikt/0/48892>

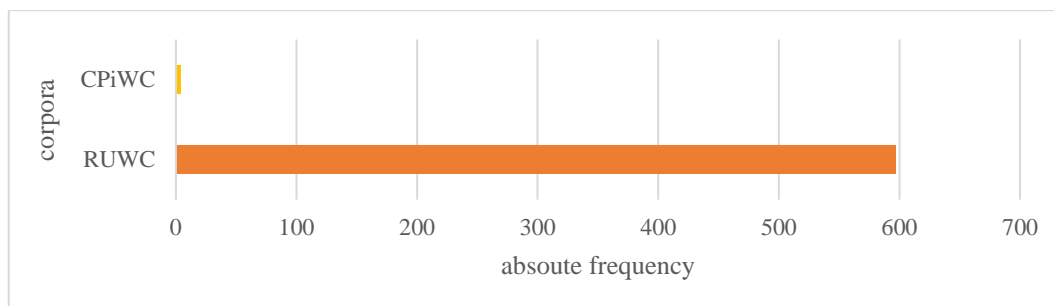


Figure 10. *Invaze* (invasion): frequency comparison

The term *invaze* (invasion) as defined by *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (ASCS), refers to a “překvapivý, násilný, hromadný vpád (zprav. vojenský na cizí území), vniknutí” (a surprising, violent, mass incursion (usually a military incursion into foreign territory), an intrusion)²². However, the Czech experience of the virus’s emergence does not align with this definition. The virus’s emergence in the Czech Republic was not perceived as a sudden mass incursion, as its gradual spread from China to other countries was observed well before reaching Czech territory. Nor was the spread of the virus described as a violent intrusion. Due to its invisibility, people did not liken the virus to a mass army invading the country but rather to an invisible enemy creeping among us. In Czech media, the virus’s emergence was framed more as a simple arrival (50a –b) or as a predator lurking for its prey (50c).

(50)

- a. Virus přijíždí z Itálie, ...
The virus arrives from Italy...
- b. VIRUS PŘICHÁZÍ!
THE VIRUS IS COMING.
- c. Rozhodně to není tak, že v podzemce číhá virus a napadne každého, kdo zvolí tento způsob dopravy. Jen je dobré vědět, že riziko je v metru pravděpodobně poněkud větší.
It is certainly not true that there is a virus lurking in the underground that will attack anyone who chooses this mode of transport. It is just good to know that the risk of infection is probably a bit higher there.

Another military-domain concept only rarely used in the discourse about the COVID-19 pandemic is the notion of “peace”. As demonstrated in Figure 11, the word *mír* (peace) appeared 101 times in the RUWC but only four times in the CPiWC, with all instances being literal.

²² Akademický Slovník Cizích Slov, s.v. “invaze,” accessed November 4, 2024.
<https://slovníkcestiny.cz/heslo/konflikt/0/48892>

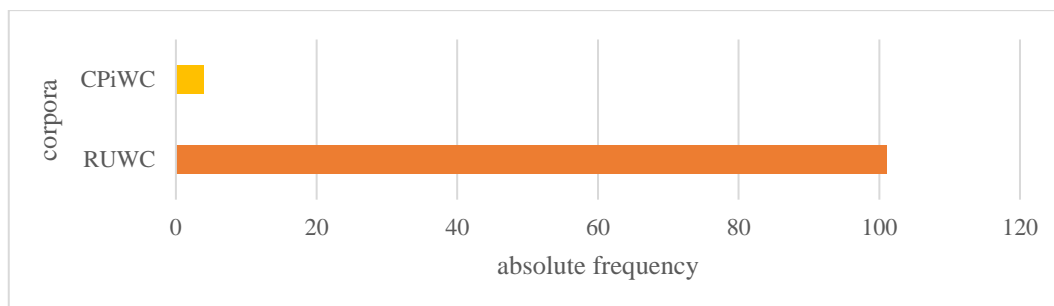


Figure 11. *Mír* (peace): frequency comparison

The reasons for the low frequency of the noun *mír* (peace) in the CPiWC are related to how the concept of the end of the COVID-19 pandemic is conceptualised and what “victory” possibly means in this context: whether a complete elimination of the virus or at least a control of its spread. It was noted in section 5.1.6 that the likelihood of achieving peace with the virus is low, and instead of peace, people will likely have to learn how to coexist with it. Moreover, the notion of peace often implies a willingness (by at least one party) to compromise. The idea of compromising with the virus was, however, problematic, as the virus represented a lethal threat capable of infecting and killing people. Allowing it to continue spreading was not something the world was willing to permit. Today, though, with the virus becoming less lethal in many cases, one might metaphorically describe the current situation as a “ceasefire” between humanity and the virus.

Only literal use is also attested for the military term *civilista* (civilian) and the corresponding adjective; the numbers are given in Figure 12.

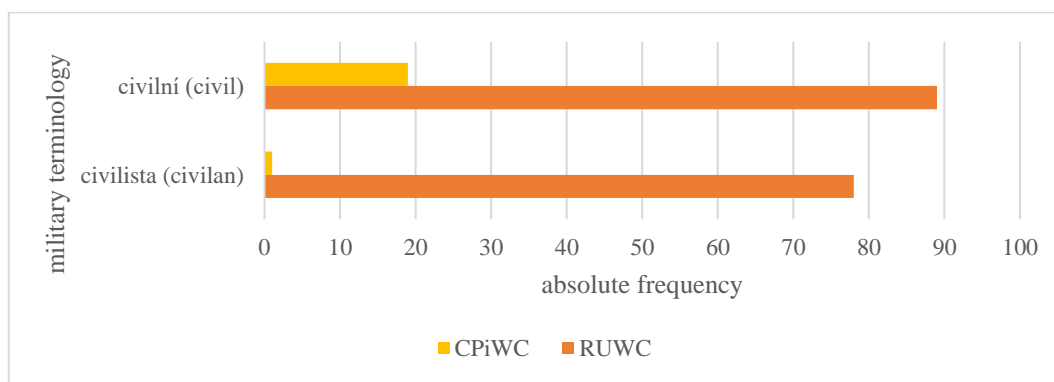


Figure 12. *Civilista* (civilian) and *civilní* (civil): frequency comparison

The word *civilista* (civilian) is often used to refer to non-military individuals, as opposed to those serving in the armed forces. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, there was no distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Although healthcare workers were often referred to as “soldiers” (see 5.1.3), everyone, regardless of

profession, was affected by the virus and had to “fight” it. One of the primary goals of using military metaphors during the COVID-19 pandemic was to promote unity and emphasise the importance of individual actions, such as staying home or wearing masks. The term *civilista* (civilian) would be counterproductive in this context, as it implies that only the soldiers (healthcare workers) are responsible for fighting the virus (e.g., by wearing masks and staying home), while the “civilians” are exempt from this duty.

6 Conclusion

This diploma thesis aimed to investigate the degree of isomorphism between literal and metaphorical uses of words from the military domain. Building on Semino's work on war metaphors in various types of discourse, I created two text corpora using articles from the Czech newspaper *Lidové noviny*. The first corpus, referred to as the "Covid Pandemic is War Corpus" (CPiWC), included articles about the COVID-19 pandemic. The second, the "Russo-Ukrainian War Corpus" (RUWC), contained articles about the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War. While comparing these corpora, specific research questions were formulated, focusing on the distribution of military-domain vocabulary.

First, I sought to examine which words from the military domain appear in discussions about the Russo-Ukrainian War and which are metaphorically mapped on the target domain of COVID-19 pandemic communication. In the CPiWC, I identified 86 distinct military-domain nouns, 13 military-domain adjectives and 38 military-domain verbs. As expected, the RUWC contained more military terminology, namely 164 distinct nouns, 65 adjectives and 65 verbs. Frequency lists in Chapter 4 display the specific nouns, adjectives and verbs found in each corpus, along with their absolute frequencies in literal and metaphorical contexts.

The second research question aimed to identify the specific mappings the military metaphors display in the COVID-19 discourse. Section 5.1 explored such mappings in CPiWC, identifying the most frequent mappings for the COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR metaphor, such as CORONAVIRUS AS AN ENEMY, HEALTHCARE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS, and COVID-19 PATIENTS AS VICTIMS. The government was often framed as military leadership, with its measures portrayed as strategies to combat the virus. Common strategies included quarantine, wearing protective masks, and information campaigns to limit the spread of fake news. Some government officials were labelled as "dictators", potentially contributing to public perceptions of COVID-19 restrictions as freedom limitations rather than protective measures. In addition, media coverage frequently referred to the end of the pandemic as a "victory against an enemy", though interpretations of "victory" ranged from the virus's complete elimination to coexistence with it. Finally, less conventional framings emerged, such as PANIC/LONELINESS/FAKE NEWS AS AN ENEMY, SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS AS FIGHTERS, and PROTECTIVE GEAR/STAYING AT HOME/TWEETS AS WEAPONS. Interestingly, vaccination, despite being a widely debated and promoted

topic during the pandemic, was not identified among the weapon frames in the analysed data. This might be attributed to the fact that the articles were collected during the early stages of the pandemic when discussions about vaccination and its rollout were not yet as prominent or widespread.

Another objective was to identify the military terms used metaphorically in discussions about the Russo-Ukrainian War. Since literature (Flusberg et al. 2018, 10) suggests that metaphorical mappings are based on so-called prototypical wars, the research question also explored the extent to which the Russo-Ukrainian War can be labelled as prototypical. Section 5.2 examined RUWC, where terms such as *válka* (war), *boj* (fight), *strategie* (strategy), etc., appeared in both literal and metaphorical contexts. The use of military metaphors in texts discussing literal war may be attributed to the evolving nature of war. If we compare contemporary wars with those of the past, we can observe developments across various domains. While wars once took place solely on physical battlefields, today's conflicts extend into digital spaces, with hacker "armies" engaging in cyber warfare. Equally significant is the battle for power in the information space, where leaders of opposing countries fight for control of the global narrative. These shifts suggest that modern wars diverge from the traditional definition of a "prototypical war".

Finally, in Section 5.3, the two corpora were compared, focusing on shared military terminology. The terms *válka* (war) and *boj* (fight) were most frequent in both corpora, with *boj* (fight) showing a higher frequency of metaphorical use. This suggests that *boj* (fight) is more suitable for metaphorical mappings, as it lacks the complexity of *válka* (war) and is easier for people to relate to. Other shared terms included *strategie* (strategy) and *taktika* (tactics). Contemporary military strategies have expanded beyond military actions, which contribute to the evolving concept of a "prototypical war". However, terms unique to the communication about the Russo-Ukrainian War were also identified. Words such as *uprchlík* (refugee) or *běženec* (fugitive) were irrelevant in the COVID-19 context, as escaping the virus (the enemy) was not possible. Similarly, the virus's emergence in the Czech Republic was not described as *invaze* (invasion), given its gradual progression from China. As a result, people did not perceive the virus as a mass army invading the country but rather as an invisible creeping enemy. Other words were excluded from the discourse due to unsuitable framings. For instance, *konflikt* (conflict) is primarily used to describe political disputes or international relations. Framing the COVID-19 pandemic in terms of a mere disagreement could undermine the

urgency of the health crisis. Likewise, the word *mír* (peace) was excluded from the COVID-19 pandemic discourse. Since the concept of peace implies compromise and compromising with a lethal virus would mean allowing it to continue spreading, *mír* (peace) was thus unsuitable in this context. Finally, terms like *civilista* (civilian) and *civilní* (civil) were also found to be ill-suited, as distinguishing combatants from non-combatants in the COVID-19 context could imply that only “soldiers” are responsible for fighting the virus (e.g., by wearing masks or staying home).

In conclusion, this thesis provided a comprehensive analysis of the literal and metaphorical uses of words from the military domain in Czech media discourse. Its significance lies in its clear visualisation of how military-domain terms map onto the communication about metaphorical war (COVID-19 pandemic) while identifying terms exclusive to the literal war context (Russo-Ukrainian War). Since the data for the corpora were collected from the early stages of the pandemic, future research may focus on its later stages, the so-called second wave. In the early stages of the pandemic, vaccination was not identified among the weapon frames in the analysed data. However, during the second wave, vaccination gained importance as the primary solution to stop the disease and might, therefore, be framed as a weapon in later discourse. Additionally, this thesis argued that the term *mír* (peace) was unsuitable in the early pandemic context because it implied compromising with the virus. However, the decline in the death toll during the second wave could be interpreted as the virus making a compromise. Thus, people may be inclined to frame the situation as a form of peace with the virus.

7 Resumé

Tato diplomová práce zkoumá války doslovné a metaforické pohledem korpusové lingvistiky. V úvodu této práce byly stanoveny výzkumné otázky, jejichž cílem bylo zjistit, 1) které pojmy zdrojové domény (pramenící z vojenské slovní zásoby) se objevují v textech o rusko-ukrajinské válce a které pojmy zdrojové domény jsou mapovány na doménu cílovou (texty o koronavirové pandemii); 2) jaká konkrétní mapování vojenských metafor můžeme v diskurzu o COVID-19 najít a 3) které vojenské pojmy se vyskytují v diskusích o rusko-ukrajinské válce, ale jsou užívány metaforicky. Vzhledem k tomu, že Flusberg (2018, 10) uvádí, že metaforická mapování jsou založena na tzv. prototypických válkách, které se vyznačují například jasně identifikovatelným vítězstvím, bude tato práce také zkoumat, do jaké míry lze rusko-ukrajinskou válku označit za prototypickou. Následně měla tato práce za cíl oba typy textů porovnat, přičemž zvláštní pozornost byla věnována vojenské terminologii, která se vyskytuje jak v obou typech textů, tak pouze v textech o rusko-ukrajinské válce. V neposlední řadě se tato diplomová práce zabývala otázkou, proč se některé vojenské termíny v komunikaci o koronavirové pandemii neodrážejí.

Druhá kapitola je věnována přehledu literatury, zabývající se válečnými metaforami, výhodami a nevýhodami jejich užívání, a to především v diskurzích o nemocech jako je rakovina nebo koronavirus.

Třetí kapitola popisuje použitou metodologii. Protože se tato práce zabývá porovnáním metaforické a doslovné války, byly pro tento účel vybrány dva typy textů: o koronavirové pandemii a o rusko-ukrajinské válce. Zdrojem pro tyto texty byl český deník *Lidové Noviny* a pro jejich zpracování byl použit online software *Sketch Engine* a jeho anotační nástroje. Jednotlivé články, pojednávající o koronavirové pandemii a o rusko-ukrajinské válce, byly vloženy do tohoto softwaru a následně byly vytvořeny dva korpusy. CPiWC (korpus o koronavirové pandemii) čítal 500 362 slov a RUWC (korpus o rusko-ukrajinské válce) 497 368 slov. Aby bylo možné identifikovat válečné koncepty objevující se v těchto korpusech, bylo nejdříve nutné stanovit kritéria pro to, jaká slova patří k válečné terminologii. K tomu posloužil jak *Tezaurus jazyka českého*, tak dostupné české slovníky, jako je *Slovník spisovné češtiny*, *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, *Akademický slovník současné češtiny* nebo *Akademický slovník cizích slov*. Pomocí nástrojů *Sketch Engine* byly vytvořeny seznamy slov (podstatných jmen, přídavných jmen a sloves) seřazené podle frekvence jejich výskytu v jednotlivých korpusech. Tyto

seznamy jsem manuálně vyhodnotila a slova patřící k válečné terminologii extrahovala. Tento postup byl aplikován pro oba korpusy. V CPiWC korpusu byly navíc byly zkoumány výskyty jednotlivých válečných pojmů v jejich kontextech. Pomocí strategie MIPVU (Steen a kol. 2010) tak bylo možné identifikovat, které z těchto výskytů jsou metaforické a mohou sloužit pro další analýzu.

Čtvrtá kapitola se skládá z výsledků analýzy obou korpusů. Frekvenční tabulky výskytu válečné terminologie a kvantitativní analýza obou korpusů pak slouží jako základ pro diskuzi následující kapitoly.

Pátá kapitola je rozdělena do tří sekcí. Sekce 5.1 se detailně věnuje válečné terminologii nalezené v korpusu CPiWC, především pak konkrétním mapováním válečné metafory KORONAVIROVÁ PANDEMIE JE JAKO VÁLKA. Mapování jako KORONAVIRUS JE JAKO NEPŘÍTEL, ZDRAVOTNÍCI JSOU JAKO VOJÁCI nebo VLÁDNÍ OPATŘENÍ JSOU JAKO VÁLEČNÉ STRATEGIE jsou pak demonstrovány na jednotlivých příkladech.

V sekci 5.2 je opět zkoumána válečná terminologie, tentokrát ale ta nalezená v korpusu RUWC. Protože se texty tohoto korpusu zabývaly výhradně rusko-ukrajinskou válkou, předpokládala jsem, že válečná terminologie bude většinou použita doslovně. Pomocí příkladů však tato kapitola dokazuje, že i zde byly nalezeny válečné metafory. Jedním z důvodů pro výskyt válečných metafor v textech, které se zabývají doslovnou válkou, je její historický vývoj. Srovnáme-li války dnešního světa s válkami minulých století, můžeme vidět vývoj v různých oblastech. Válka se kdysi odehrávala výhradně na fyzických bojištích, v dnešní době se však může odehrávat také v digitálním prostoru, kdy proti sobě bojují „armády“ hackerů. Neméně důležitá je dnes i válka informačního prostoru, kdy představitelé válčících zemí bojují o kontrolu narativu ve světě.

Sekce 5.3 se pak zabývá vojenskou terminologií, která se vyskytuje v obou korpusech. Cílem této sekce bylo porovnat vojenské pojmy přítomné v RUWC i CPiWC se zaměřením na případy, které přinesly zajímavé výsledky, jako je procentuální poměr metaforických a doslovných užití (kdy např. slovo boj vykazovalo vyšší metaforické užití než slovo válka). Kromě toho také zkoumala, které pojmy z válečné domény se objevují v korpusu RUWC, ale chybějí v korpusu CPiWC, tj. ty válečné koncepty, které se neobjevily v textech o koronavirové pandemii.

Šestá kapitola shrnuje výsledky této diplomové práce a odpovídá na výzkumné otázky stanovené v úvodu. Konkrétně tedy uvádí, že mezi nejčastější rámcování pro metaforu COVID-19 PANDEMIE JE JAKO VÁLKA patřily KORONAVIRUS JE

JAKO NEPŘÍTEL, ZDRAVOTNÍCI JSOU JAKO VOJÁCI a PACIENTI TRPÍCÍ KORONAVIREM JSOU JAKO OBĚTI VÁLKY. Objevilo se také rámcování vlády jako vojenského vedení a jejich opatření jako bojové strategie proti viru nebo rámcování konce pandemie jako „vítězství nad nepřítelem“. Nakonec byly představeny i méně obvyklé rámce, jako je PANIKA/OSAMĚLOST/FAKE NEWS JSOU JAKO NEPŘÍTEL nebo MAJITELÉ MALÝCH FIREM JSOU JAKO BOJOVNÍCI. Dále se tato práce zaměřila na texty o rusko-ukrajinské válce a zkoumala, do jaké míry ji lze označit za válku prototypickou. V průběhu zkoumání RUWC se výrazy jako *válka*, *boj*, *strategie* apod., běžně užívané pro popis vojenských pojmů objevovaly nejen v doslovném významu, ale i metaforicky. Příklady ukázaly, že tato válka se neodehrává pouze na „prototypickém“ fyzickém bojišti, ale také v lidských myslích, v politické sféře a v digitálním prostoru. Kromě toho byl rozšířen koncept prototypické zbraně. Mezi zbraně dnes totiž patří i motivace, odvaha nebo psychologické „zbraně“, kdy se nepřítel snaží zlomit vůli vojáků. Nakonec byly oba korpusy porovnány. Nejčastějšími vojenskými termíny v obou korpusech byla slova *válka* a *boj*. Slovo *boj* v přeneseném významu bylo častější *válka*, což naznačuje, že je vhodnější pro metaforické mapování, protože postrádá složitost termínu *válka* a je pro lidi snáze představitelné. Mezi další termíny vyskytující se v obou korpusech patřily *strategie* a *taktika*. Vzhledem k tomu, že dnešní strategie již nejsou limitovány pouze na organizaci vojenských akcí, jsou metaforické strategie běžně používány v textech o doslovné válce. Během zkoumání RUWC korpusu však byly identifikovány i výrazy, které se vyskytovaly pouze v komunikaci o rusko-ukrajinské válce. Některá slova, jako *uprchlík* nebo *běžec*, byla v kontextu o koronavirové pandemii irelevantní, protože útěk před virem nebyl možný. Stejně tak výskyt viru v České republice nebyl popisován jako *invaze*, kvůli jeho postupnému šíření z Číny až na české území. V důsledku toho lidé nevnímali virus invazi armády, ale spíše jako neviditelného plíživého nepřítele. Další slova v textech o koronavirové pandemii chyběla kvůli nevhodnému rámcování. Například slovo *konflikt* se obvykle používá k popisu politických sporů nebo mezinárodních vztahů. Kdybychom koronavirovou pandemii přirovnali k pouhému sporu, mohlo by to snížit její vážnost a naléhavost. Stejně tak i pojem *mír*, který naznačuje ochotu ke kompromisu, byl pro tento diskurz nevhodný, protože kompromis s virem by znamenal umožnit mu, aby se dále šířil a zabíjel lidi. Dalšími nevhodnými pojmy byly *civilista* a *civilní*. Rozlišování mezi bojujícími a nebojujícími by bylo v době koronavirové pandemie kontraproduktivní, protože by

naznačovalo, že pouze „vojáci“ jsou zodpovědní za boj s virem (např. tím, že nosí masky nebo zůstávají doma).

Tato diplomová práce tak nabízí přehlednou vizualizaci toho, jak se válečné termíny mapují na diskuzi o metaforické válce (koronavirová pandemie) a zároveň identifikuje termíny objevující se pouze v diskuzi o válce doslovné (rusko-ukrajinská válka). Vzhledem k tomu, že data pro korpusy byla shromážděna v raných fázích pandemie COVID-19, budoucí výzkum by se mohl zaměřit na její pozdější fáze, na tzv. druhou vlnu. V počátečních fázích pandemie nebylo očkování v analyzovaných datech rámcováno jako zbraň proti koronaviru. Během druhé vlny však bylo očkování považováno za nejúčinnější řešení proti koronaviru, a proto by se její rámcování jako zbraň v pozdějších textech mohlo objevit. Kromě toho tato práce zjistila, že výraz *mír*, který implikuje ochotu ke kompromisu, byl v kontextu rané pandemie nevhodný. Pokud by lidé byli ochotni udělat kompromis se smrtícím virem, znamenalo by to totiž, že jsou také ochotni nechat jej dále zabíjet. Pokles počtu úmrtí, který jsme mohli během druhé vlny pozorovat, však může být interpretován jako jistý kompromis s virem a lidé tak mohli mít tendenci situaci rámcovat jako nastolení jistého míru s virem.

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