Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci

Filozofická fakulta

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Metaphorical Framing of Discourse
about Coronavirus in the UK Online Press

(Bakalářská práce)

Autor: Monika Pařenicová

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Michaela Martinková, Ph.D.

Olomouc 2022

Metaphorical Framing of Discourse about Coronavirus in the UK Online Press

Koronavirus v metaforách – rámcování diskurzu v britském online médiu

(Bakalářská práce).

Autor: Monika Pařenicová

Studijní obor: Anglická filologie

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Michaela Martinková, Ph.D.

Počet stran: 59

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

V Olomouci dne ……………… Podpis ………………………………

Abstract

This bachelor's thesis deals with the study of metaphors that are related to the expression *coronavirus* retrieved from articles that were published in the UK online press *The Guardian*. The thesis is based on the conceptual metaphor theory which was formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and later modified by Kövecses (2010). The thesis describes military metaphors that are often used to metaphorically frame discourse about illness. The research part presents an analysis of metaphors that were identified in corpus data.

Keywords

metaphor, conceptual metaphor theory, military metaphor, illness discourse, corpus, coronavirus, Covid-19

Anotace

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá zkoumáním metafor, které se vztahují k výrazu *koronavirus* v článcích zveřejněných v britském online deníku *The Guardian*. Práce vychází z teorie pojmové metafory, kterou formulovali Lakoff a Johnson (1980) a později modifikoval Kövecses (2010). Práce následně popisuje válečné metafory, které často rámcují diskurz o nemoci. Výzkumná část představuje analýzu metafor, které byly v korpusu identifikovány.

Klíčová slova

metafora, teorie pojmové metafory, válečná metafora, diskurz o nemoci, korpus, koronavirus, Covid-19

Motto   Love is like war: easy to begin but very hard to stop.

— Mencken & Nathan, 1920, p. 132

Table of contents

1 Introduction

In the last two years, the global coronavirus pandemic has been the focus of public discussions and debates. Media were filled with articles bringing up to date information about the course of events. At the beginning of the year 2022 the British prime minister reacted to the rising number of covid cases with the following speech:

> Previous <u>waves</u> of the pandemic did not have a single day with more than 100,000 new cases reported. On one day last week, we had 200,000 people test positive. And the latest figure today is another 218,000, though that includes some delayed reports. So, anyone who thinks our <u>battle</u> with Covid is over is, I'm afraid, profoundly wrong.[1]

(Johnson, 2022)

In this excerpt from a Covid-19 press conference, the coronavirus pandemic is compared firstly to a natural disaster by the usage of the word *waves*—these are typically associated with a devastating tsunami that is preceded by the movement of tectonic plates under the sea[2]. And secondly, Johnson (2022) uses a military metaphor to frame the coronavirus as an enemy with whom the nation fights a long *battle*.

Generally, it is thought that metaphors are found mainly in fiction and poetry, where they are a part of artistic creativity. But as can be observed in the example above, the opposite is the truth. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) introduced in their publication *Metaphors We Live By* an innovative theory of conceptual metaphors. This theory proposes that "metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words"; instead, metaphors are rooted within our mind; "human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 6).

Since Lakoff and Johnson (1980), linguists have tried to apply the conceptual metaphor theory to various types of discourse, involving discourse about diseases. Studies examined various topics of metaphorically framed discourse such as the framing of SARS in British media and public responses it triggered (Wallis & Nerlich 2005) or the types of metaphors used by patients with dementia to communicate their experiences (Castaño 2019).

---

1 Speech delivered by the British Prime minister Boris Johnson on January 4, 2022.

2 (National Geographic, n.d.)

To my knowledge, the most comprehensive research was conducted by Semino et al. (2018), who studied the metaphorical framing of cancer. She was interested in how patients, doctors, and carers discuss sensitive topics such as cancer and the end of life. Semino and her colleagues compiled a corpus from interviews and online forums. Having analyzed this dataset, the findings of this research showed that violence and journey metaphors occurred most frequently (Semino et al. 2018, 83). Semino et al. (2018) raised a relevant question in their study; whether it is beneficial and appropriate to comprehend a disease in military metaphors, and what role plays their linguistic realizations. Although critique on this issue was presented by Susan Sontag as early as 1978, the answer is not definite.

The main objective of this thesis is to identify metaphors involving the expression *coronavirus* from a corpus compiled from online news articles, analyze their source, meaning, and purpose of use. Therefore, the main research question is what the most common types of metaphorical framings are and how they are used to communicate ideas and opinions about Covid-19 disease.

The thesis has been organized in the following way; the first chapters introduce the conceptual metaphor theory with a focus on Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Kövecses (2010). Next, I present an overview of current studies that examine how people frame discourse concerning coronavirus by using various types of metaphors and what effects these framings have. The chapter 4 consists in the analysis of conceptual metaphors used for the description of the coronavirus pandemics in British media, namely in the online press *The Guardian*. Articles from this source were collected to create a corpus[3] (Martinkova 2021) in the Sketch Engine software. The following step is to identify metaphors related to coronavirus within the given dataset and analyze them manually. Finally, the thesis closes with a discussion concerning the main findings of the practical part and suggests ideas for further research.

---

[3] The corpus was created and provided by Mgr. Michaela Martinková, Ph.D..

2   Literature review

This section aims to present literature concerned with metaphors. Firstly, I will provide an outline of a traditional approach to metaphors; after that, the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) will be discussed, with a focus on source and target domains. CMT was initially proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and later modified by Kövecses (2010). I will then zoom on military metaphors since they are prevalent in public discourse. They are also strongly criticized due to negative entailments. Lastly, the chapter closes with a discussion about metaphors used in discourse about illness and related current studies on the conceptualization of Covid-19.

2.1   Traditional conception of metaphor

When students are asked to find a metaphor in an excerpt from a literary work, they search for a novel relationship between individual words and their meanings. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* offers the following definition: "[metaphor is a] figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities". This suggests that metaphor is a literary device used intentionally by a (talented) writer or speaker to create a special effect upon a reader. Thus, students identify the example in (1) as a metaphor:

(1)   a.   "Hope" is the thing with feathers -

             That perches in the soul -

             And sings the tune without the words -

             And never stops - at all -

                                          (Emily Dickinson)

Hope is an abstract word that according to *The Macmillan Dictionary* denotes "the feeling or belief that something you want to happen is likely to happen" and this state of mind is compared with *a thing with feathers*—a bird, a little feathered and fragile creature that keeps the soul warm even in the worst circumstances. In other words, this metaphor explains *hope* as an essential part that exists within every human being that sustains us alive.

What people usually think of when they hear the word metaphor is also neatly summarized by Kövecses (2010)[4]:

1. metaphor is a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomenon
2. metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose
3. metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified
4. metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well
5. metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning

(Kövecses 2010, ix-x)

In a consequence of this approach, metaphors appear to be unrelated and non-systematic. However, Lakoff and Johnson opposed this traditional view of metaphor with their assertion that "metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words" (1980, 6), but instead, they attempted to explain metaphor as an important and systematic mechanism that structures human conceptual system and therefore influences our perception and actions we take in the world we live in. This is what will be discussed in the next section.

2.2 Conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) was developed by Lakoff and Johnson in their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) and since then it became a very influential work, especially in the branch of cognitive linguistics. The authors refused the traditional approach to metaphor, stating that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action" (1980, 3). This statement stresses the significance of acting and perceiving reality via mental processes that are metaphorical. The core idea of CMT is "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 5). An analogous definition of conceptual metaphor is provided by Kövecses (2010) who was inspired by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). He argues that "[a] conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another" (2010, 4). These are called *target* and *source domains*—the target domain A is more abstract

---

[4] Originally, the features of the traditional conception of metaphors are written in text, here they are listed in points for clarity.

or unfamiliar, and less delineated, which is the reason why it is defined and understood by the defining source domain B which is more concrete (Kövecses 2010, 4). To simplify it, some concepts are difficult to grasp in their own terms—e.g. LOVE or HOPE is not something we can see or touch—but there are more tangible domains that come from our experiences and which we use to make sense of abstract concepts, so we can then communicate about them. The following example in (2), adopted from Lakoff and Johnson, illustrates a conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.

(2)   ARGUMENT IS WAR

    a.   Your claims are *indefensible*.

    b.   He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

    c.   His criticisms were *right on target*.

    d.   I *demolished* his argument.

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

    f.   You disagree? Okay, *shoot*!

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

    h.   He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 4)

The examples in (2) reveal that although an ARGUMENT is not a poetic activity, but a situation known from daily life, it is still talked about metaphorically in a perfectly natural way. The conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is asserted to exist in our minds which means that it is not directly accessible. As Lakoff and Johnson point out, our conceptual system operates unconsciously and in order to study how the human mind works on the basis of metaphors, they were observing and thinking about language as evidence (1980, 4). So, when people produce language speaking about some abstract concepts, in this case ARGUMENT, they use the words and phrases from the more concrete source domain—WAR. These actual surface realizations of conceptual metaphors via words are called "linguistic metaphors" or "metaphorical linguistic expressions" (Kövecses 2010, 4). In this thesis the distinction between conceptual metaphors and their linguistic realizations is made by different graphics; conceptual metaphors are written in small capitals, while their respective realizations through language are presented in italics.

To summarize this section, the reason why the discourse is adjusted to the metaphorical framing of WAR is that the target domain ARGUMENT is mentally perceived (understood and reasoned about) as a source domain WAR[5], i.e. "[m]any of the things we do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 4). Therefore, participants of an ARGUMENT are seen as *opposing sides* engaged in a *conflict*, where each one *defends his position* and *attacks the position* of his *adversary*. To do so, a person may use various *tactics* or *strategies*, which may leave *the enemy disarmed* or *embattled*. And if an opponent is called upon to *shoot* as in example (2f), it is not meant to fire a gun literally when two people cannot agree, but instead, it is borrowed vocabulary from a WAR domain.

The next section provides a description of mappings between subparts of source and target domains.

2.2.1 Mappings between source and target domains

How does a conceptual metaphor arise in the human mind? Target and source domains display constituents or subdomains which are found in mutual relation that is called "a set of systematic correspondences" or a set of "mappings" (Kövecses 2010, 7).

The following examples in (3) illustrate linguistic expressions of a conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, and below in (4), you can see how mappings between constituents of the source and target domains work.

(3)   LOVE IS A JOURNEY

    a.   Look *how far we've come*.

    b.   We're *at a crossroads*.

    c.   We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.

    d.   I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 44)

---

[5] Interestingly, Lakoff and Johnson invite readers to imagine a culture in which ARGUMENT would be conceptually structured as DANCE, accordingly discourse would be framed metaphorically in the vocabulary from the dance domain (1980, 5). If it was the case, our culture (in which ARGUMENT IS WAR) would consequently not perceive them as arguing. This hypothesis assumes that conceptual systems differ across different cultures and throughout time.

(4)   Source: JOURNEY   Target: LOVE

        the travelers   ⇒   the lovers

        the vehicle   ⇒   the love relationship itself

        the journey   ⇒   events in the relationship

        the distance covered   ⇒   the progress made

        the obstacles encountered   ⇒   the difficulties experienced

        decisions about which way to go ⇒   choices about what to do

        the destination of the journey   ⇒   the goal(s) of the relationship

(Kövecses 2010, 9)

The example in (4) illustrates the systematic mappings between constituent elements of source domain JOURNEY and target domain LOVE. Knowing these correspondences (although unconsciously) allows people to comprehend the meaning of conceptual metaphors through their linguistic realizations. Thus, we understand that examples in (3) do not refer to traveling to a literal destination with a companion, instead these metaphorical statements concern a love relationship in terms of a JOURNEY[6].

However, the source domain is not completely identical to the target domain which means that "[o]nly a part of concept B is mapped onto target A and only a part of target A is involved in the mappings from B" (Kövecses 2010, 91). Lakoff and Johnson used the term "partial structuring" to describe a process in which some aspects of a concept are highlighted by a metaphor, while others are hidden (1980, 10). Take as an example again the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR; the WAR frame in discourse highlights the military elements that are mapped onto the target domain, such as an adversarial relation in which a person *attacks* or *defends a ground,* either *wins* or *loses,* depending on his *strategy*, etc. At the same time, it hides cooperative efforts; the fact, that the arguing opponent is still a human being who spends time and energy to solve the situation and gain mutual understanding.

---

6 I would like to also point out that the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY is also found in the Czech language. An example of its linguistic metaphor is presented below:

(1)   a.   *Chodíme spolu už pět let.*

                Walk3rd person plural together already five years.

                'We have been dating for five years already.'

Furthermore, Kövecses claims that the logical construction of conceptual metaphors follows the principle of unidirectionality, which means that "in most cases of everyday metaphors the source and target domains are not reversible" (2010, 7). This is exemplified in (5):

(5) IDEAS ARE FOOD

a. What he said *left a bad taste in my mouth*.

b. There are too many facts here for me to *digest* them all.

c. I just can't *swallow* that claim.

d. That's *food for thought*.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 46-47)

In this conceptual metaphor the target domain IDEAS maps on the source domain FOOD. IDEAS are highly abstract concepts and to conceive them, people employ linguistic expressions from the domain of FOOD, such as *digest* or *swallow*. FOOD represents an apt, accessible source domain as it comes from our everyday experience—humans need to receive adequate nutrition from food to survive. However, the process of conceptualization cannot be switched vice versa because people do not talk about food as an idea. Consequently, there is not a conceptual metaphor FOOD IS AN IDEA, it would deny the logic where "we typically conceptualize the nonphysical in terms of the physical—that is, we conceptualize the less clearly delineated in terms of the more clearly delineated" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 59).

In the next section, the common sources of experience that often become source and target domains of conceptual metaphors will be discussed in more detail.

2.2.2 Common source and target domains

From the has been already discussed is apparent that some concepts are more suitable to become source domains, especially if they come from everyday experiences we get by interaction with the environment that surrounds us, as Lakoff and Johnson stress (1980, 57-59). Furthermore, one concept may become a source domain for more target domains, even though these target domains differ in meaning (Kövecses 2010, 13). For example, the concept of JOURNEY serves as a source domain in the conceptual metaphors LOVE IS A JOURNEY and also in LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Kövecses conducted research using various

dictionaries[7] and publications on metaphors to find out what the most common concepts that assume the role of source and target domains are (2010, 17-28). I present some of them here to demonstrate the principles of the conceptual metaphor theory.

Among the most common concepts that often serve as source domain is the HUMAN BODY. This is not surprising— human existence in space-time requires the physical form, it has clear boundaries to define what is inside and outside, what is up and down. It is accessible to us as we experience it directly. Despite our supposition that we know our body well, we do not use all the body parts metaphorically in discourse to talk about elusive target domains—there are relevant parts that became a conventional way of speaking such as *head*, *back*, and *heart* while other parts are not used.

(6) a. the *heart* of the problem

  b. *to shoulder* a responsibility

  c. the *head* of the department

(Kövecses 2010, 18)

Another human experience that influences the way people conceptualize the world is the natural world—ANIMALS and PLANTS. Creatures that surround us are thought to possess particular qualities and on their bases, people use names of animals as metaphors to call other people, Kövecses lists for example "*a brute, a tiger, a dog, a sly fox, a bitch, a cow, a snake, and so on*" (2010, 19).

The domain of PLANTS is very useful as it offers a variety of aspects that are employed in metaphors. Firstly, there are various parts of plants such as roots, stem, bud, seed, fruit, or branch. Secondly, plants go through different phases during their growth. And finally, people use plants for various purposes—cultivating them, producing, harvesting, etc. Due to this complexity and richness, plants are found as a common source domain in our conceptual systems. See some examples are given below in (7):

(7) a. a *budding* beauty

  b. He *cultivated* his friendship with her.

  c. the *fruit* of her labor

---

[7] Among the sources Kövecses used for his study are mentioned *Master Metaphor List*, Collins Cobuild metaphor dictionary, Rodale's *Phrase Finder*, the *Metaphors Dictionary*, the *Dictionary of Everyday English Metaphors*, and *Roget's Thesaurus* (2010, 17).

d.   Exports *flourished* last year.

<div align="right">(Kövecses 2010, 19)</div>

In (7) the examples are the following linguistic metaphors from the domain of PLANTS; *a budding beauty* is used metaphorically to refer to a girl who becomes pretty. *Fruit of labor* does not mean the literal fruit of successful farming, but rather the positive results or outcomes of hard work, and finally, exports may *flourish* even if they are not necessarily plants.

Kövecses proposes another common source domain—BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION (2010, 19). This source of experience comes from human nature to construct buildings for various purposes such as a comfortable dwelling to protect its occupants from inclement weather conditions, to store products, etc. Linguistic expressions of a conceptual metaphor where elements of source domain BUILDINGS are mapped onto the target domain THEORIES are provided in (8):

(8)   THEORIES (and ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS

a.   Is that the *foundation* for your theory?

b.   The theory needs more *support*.

c.   We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*.

d.   We need to *construct* strong argument for that.

<div align="right">(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 46)</div>

As can be observed in (8), partial structuring by which we choose only some parts of the source domain is used to make us understand the abstract target domain of THEORIES. Lakoff and Johnson demonstrated that "used parts" of the concept of a BUILDING include *foundation* and *outer walls*, while *rooms, stairways, roofs* fall under the "unused part" of the metaphor (1980, 52).

To have a body means that we are created to move through space-time. A MOVEMENT that involves a change of location (up, down, backward, and forward) is thus another important basic source of experience for people to conceptualize the abstract source domain of CHANGE (Kövecses 2010, 22). For example, we have already discussed the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, where the journey is a subkind of movement forward on which various events may happen. Other examples of undergoing emotional, situational, and financial changes are illustrated in (9) below, respectively:

<div align="center">15</div>

(9)   a.   He *went* crazy

       b.   She solved the problem *step by step.*

       c.   Our economy is *galloping ahead.*

(Kövecses 2010, 22)

As can be seen in (9), there are typical concepts that often serve the purpose of the source domain owing to the concreteness, accessibility, and rich images they offer. On the other hand, there are also common sources of target domains that are "abstract, diffuse, and lack clear delineation; as a result, they "cry out" for metaphorical conceptualization" (Kövecses 2010, 23). Some of them are presented in the rest of this section.

Human EMOTIONS such as fear, disgust, happiness, sadness, anger, and surprise are highly abstract and subjective experiences, and the way how a person experiences them may differ due to different characters and temperament types. Thus, they become a common target domain to be conceptualized in terms of FORCES (Kövecses 2010, 23) as in these examples:

(10)   a.   She was deeply *moved*

       b.   He was *bursting* with joy

       c.   He *unleashed* his anger

(Kövecses 2010, 23)

Another common target domain (analogous to EMOTIONS) is THOUGHT—the inability to directly observe the human mind and the fact that we know very little about it makes us perceive thoughts metaphorically as manual work, e.g. "the manipulation of objects in a workshop", while "[l]ess-active aspects of thought are understood in terms of perception" (Kövecses 2010, 24). This is exemplified in (11):

(11)   a.   She's *grinding out* new ideas.

       b.   He *hammered* the point home.

       c.   He *searched for* the memory.

       d.   I *see* your point.

(Kövecses 2010, 24)

Last but not least common target domain on Kövecses' list is LIFE and DEATH (2010, 26). Both are elusive concepts that are hard to comprehend without a metaphorical

16

conceptualization. In order to understand LIFE, people conceptualize it as a JOURNEY, traveling from one place to another, encountering various obstacles, and other travelers as well. But it can be conceptualized in other ways, depending on what aspects of life a person wants to emphasize, and which aspects are to be backgrounded. Accordingly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose different source domains to conceptualize LIFE—A CONTAINER or A GAMBLING GAME (51). On the contrary, DEATH as an unknown experience is viewed more negatively as leaving this world, oftentimes compared to the DARK and COLD (Kövecses 2010, 26). Examples of these conceptual metaphors and their realizations through language are written down below:

(12)   LIFE IS A JOURNEY and DEATH IS THE END OF THE JOURNEY

  a.   The baby will *arrive* soon.

  b.   Grandpa is *gone*.

  c.   His father *passed away*.

(Kövecses 2010, 26)

(13)   LIFE IS A CONTAINER

  a.   I've had *a full* life

  b.   Life is *empty* for him.

  c.   There's *not much left* for him in life.

(14)   LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME

  a.   I'll *take my chances*.

  b.   I've got an *ace up my sleeve*.

  c.   If you *play your cards right*, you can do it.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 51)

The examples of common source and target domains listed above are just a brief illustration of experiences that structure and are structured through metaphors in the human mind. The phenomenon of being affected by basic experiences to conceptualize abstract concepts is explained in the following quote adopted from Kövecses:

In this world, it seems, there are people, animals, and plants; the people live in houses, they have bodies, they eat, they get sick and get better; they move around and travel; they live in a

17

physical environment with all kinds of objects and substances in it; the objects and substances have all kinds of properties; the physical environment affects the people; and the people make tools, work, and engage in various other transactions with other people. This is an extremely simplified world, but it is exactly the simplified nature of this world that enables us to make use of parts of it in creating more complex abstract ones.

(Kövecses 2010, 22-23)

Finally, considering the common target domains, they can be sorted out into the following categories: "psychological and mental states and events (emotion, desire, morality, thought), social groups and processes (society, politics, economy, human relationships, communication), and personal experiences and events (time, life, death, religion)" (Kövecses 2010, 27).

2.3   Military metaphors

Military metaphors are conceptual metaphors that describe various target domains (TRADE, CLIMATE CHANGE, POLITICS) in terms of WAR. The core of war metaphors constitutes "an adversarial relationship between two sides" (Flusberg et al. 2018, 7). But why are military metaphors used often in public discourse? Flusberg et al. (2018, 3-4) argue that war metaphors are common and conventional in communication because they offer a complex structural frame and also elicit a strong emotional response by fulfilling the following functions. Firstly, they draw a clear image in the human mind:

It involves a fight between opposing forces with a clear distinction between an in-group (us, "good") and out-group (the enemy, "evil"), who are engaged in a struggle to achieve different goals; there are strategic decisions to be made about how to use resources for attack and defense; there is a hierarchy to military force with roles for a leader like a general, lower-level fighters like ground troops, and a support staff like medics, as well as a role for people who have a stake in the outcome even though they are not actively involved in combat (civilians); and there is a hierarchy of events that unfold over time and space, since a war typically involves more than a single battle, with the ultimate goal of harming or even obliterating the opposing side.

(Flusberg et al. 2018, 4)

This picture also conveys negative emotions, such as anxiety from violence and suffering. Additionally, the serious danger and urgency of the situation get communicated.

18

Secondly, wars are common in human experience as people are exposed to them often; considering the direct experience, many people serve in the army or fight in wars for various reasons; among them faith, gaining power or natural resources. Those who do not have a first-hand account of wars are still thought at school about major military conflicts and how they shaped the development of society to date. Warfare is also the major theme in many video games people play to entertain themselves.

Lastly, many events and concepts structurally resemble war, such as sports events or political debates, where participants oppose each other. So, due to these reasons listed above, we encounter figurative wars in discourse often and this prevalence is what "makes war metaphors effective" (Flusberg et al. 2018, 4).

To illustrate what is regarded as an effect of a metaphor, I will present a study conducted by Flusberg et al. (2017) who were interested in a response to different metaphorical framings of discourse about climate change. The authors wrote a fictional newspaper article about reducing carbon emissions and released it in different versions; one version was metaphorically framed as WAR, while the second sample of the text was formulated as RACE. Participants read one of the versions and were supposed to answer questions related to the article where they expressed their attitudes toward climate change. Results of the study indicated that respondents who read the text framed in WAR metaphors showed a higher perception of the seriousness of the problem and expressed tendencies to change their behavior to reduce their carbon footprint than participants who were exposed to the text framed as RACE (Flusberg et al. 2017, 779).

This experiment illustrates that the power of metaphor lies in shaping the way how we perceive reality as we are put into thinking in a particular way about an issue and its solutions. It is worth noting that the framing effect is an unconscious process because people do not recognize that metaphors affect the actions they take (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011).

2.4 Illness in metaphors

Military metaphors are also often found to structure the discourse about illness (Wicke & Bolognesi 2020, 1). This is also confirmed by many studies that were carried out to analyze military framing and its effects. Hendricks et al. (2018) undertook research to survey how different metaphorical frames of illness affect people's perception and emotional reactions toward an issue. The research team created a series of experiments in which they studied

how participants[8] would respond to a text about a person diagnosed with cancer which was formulated in either BATTLE or JOURNEY metaphor. The authors discovered that the use of the military frame caused respondents to believe that the patient would feel more guilty if he failed to recover than in the case when the text about the illness was framed as a JOURNEY (Hendricks et al. 2018, 267).

Similar corpus-based research that focused on the metaphorical framing of discourse about cancer and the end of life was carried out by Semino et. al (2018). The authors compiled a corpus of 1.5 million words. Data were collected from interviews and written posts from online forums used by patients, healthcare professionals, and unpaid carers. Their study revealed that participants used most frequently violence[9] and journey metaphors when discussing cancer and death (Semino et al. 2018, 83). More precisely, they found out that violence metaphors occurred more frequently in online data (2,043 occurrences) than in the interviews (only 225), which Semino et al. (2018, 108) explain by the difference in the genre; discussion forums are friendly environments where people encourage each other (regularly), there is a high level of intimacy, while the interviews possess a certain degree of formality on one-time sitting. Violence metaphors were also most frequently found in discourse from patients and carers, whereas healthcare professionals used them less frequently "because they are aware of their potentially detrimental effects for patients" (Semino et al. 2018, 123). Turning to the lexical choices, they identified that the motivational expression *fighter* was used positively by patients to refer to themselves with an empowering effect, filled with praise and optimism, on the other hand, healthcare professionals resort to the use of defensive word *protect*, and instead of an expression *fight*, they preferred the word *struggle* (Semino et al. 2018, 123).

The appropriateness of framing discourse about illness in terms of WARFARE has been questioned, due to the shortcomings and negative features which these frames express. Semino (2021, 51) explains the highlighting and hiding aspects of a WAR frame where the

---

[8] Hendricks et al. chose respondents from Amazon Mechanical Turk and students from the University of San Diego (2018, 270).

[9] Violence metaphors is a broader domain than military metaphors; Semino et al. 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" (2018, 100).

illness is an *enemy* who must be *utterly defeated* and thus overshadows the option of trying to live with it or adapt. This view is also shared by Flusberg et al. who claim that literal wars come to an end, while "many figurative conflicts do not have a clear path to victory or means of assessing winners and losers" (2018, 10). Another problematic part is mappings identified by Wicke and Bolognesi (2020, 4-5) in which "the diseased cells are enemy combatants, medical professionals are the army of allies, the body is [reduced to] the battlefield, medical tools are weapons, and applying a treatment is fighting".

These negative entailments of military metaphors are the main reasons that lead people to criticize WAR framing of discourse about illness. In the next section, I will present some of the critiques of military metaphors.

2.4.1 Criticism of military metaphors

"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)[10]

This quote by a terminally-cancer ill patient describes a negative emotional reaction and critique of the military frame. In this scenario, the patient is in the role of a *fighter* against an *enemy*—illness (in fact her own body cells)—which captures the disempowering effect of failing to fight hard enough to win the war (Semino et al. 2018, 109).

However, using illness as a part of metaphor was heavily criticized already in the last century by Susan Sontag (1978), who (herself being diagnosed with cancer at that time) in her essay radically opposed the use of cancer as a metaphor as she noticed negative effects of metaphorical framings. The author identified that the reason for the usage of cancer as a metaphor lies in its mysterious nature; cancer being "an unsolved riddle" therefore attracting attention (Sontag 1978, 60). Additionally, she describes the evil perception of the illness: "whatever seemed ruthless, implacable, predatory could be analogized to cancer" (1978, 61). Without a doubt, this negative perception of the illness would also influence the actual cancer

---

[10] Kate Granger was a geriatrician and terminally ill cancer patient. The *Guardian* published her opinion on the military framing of cancer in public discourse.

patients. Sontag also hoped for the future, in which the illness metaphor will be outdated and "nobody will want any longer to compare anything awful to cancer" (1978, 87-88).

Despite the negative emotions military metaphors trigger (such as fear), there are some positives to be stressed. Flusberg et al. (2018, 6-7) argue that using WAR metaphors attracts people's attention to the issue being discussed and may lead to positive outcomes such as launching governmental programs to improve poverty or raising money to fund cancer research. Additionally, Semino (2021, 52) advocates that not only does the way how we formulate the relationship between the target and source domain on the surface (linguistic metaphors) matter, but also the context is important; "what makes a metaphor appropriate or inappropriate, helpful or unhelpful, empowering, or disempowering is not the type of metaphor itself but the way in which it is used in a specific context for a specific purpose for a specific audience". This means that also heavily criticized military metaphors can be used effectively and should not be perceived as inherently bad, although Sontag would probably disagree.

As can be seen, the violence framing of cancer as *fighting an enemy* communicates that this disease is dangerous to an individual's health. By contrast, pandemics and epidemics are different because they involve a disease that is highly contagious and thus poses a threat to all humankind. In the next section, I move on to discuss studies conducted on the metaphorical framing of discourse about epidemics.

2.5 AIDS, SARS and Covid-19

For two years, we have been facing the Covid-19 pandemic, but in the last century (the 80s) it was the crisis of AIDS that arose and still represents an ongoing health issue in some regions[11]. Craig (2020, 1026) notices the difference in the framing of discourse in *The New York Times* between AIDS and Covid-19; "[w]hereas coronavirus is figured as a global blight afflicting all of humanity, the media discourses at the peak of the AIDS crisis signified the opposite." As the author emphasizes, there was a crucially different perception of stigmatized patients who died of AIDS—mentioned in "byline and without victims' names"

---

[11] Since the beginning of the epidemic, 36.3 million people have died from AIDS (UNAIDS).

back in 1991, and how media today tries to bring their readers closer to the victims of coronavirus (described as *us*) and thus influence emotional response (Craig 2020, 1026).

When the epidemic of SARS broke out in China in 2003, it was an unknown and highly contagious disease, but the spread of the virus was successfully stemmed within months of the outbreak (Wallis & Nerlich 2005, 2629). The metaphorical framing discourse about the epidemic of SARS in the UK press was studied by Wallis and Nerlich (2005). They were interested in the use of military metaphors in particular. Nevertheless, findings of their research showed that discourse about SARS was scarcely framed as a WAR. The explanation for this result lies in the area affected by this disease; the danger of infection in the UK was low, unlike in China where it originated. Instead, the authors identified the conceptual metaphor SARS IS A KILLER; "a single, unified entity, not an army or force; it had no tactics, campaigns, or generals" (Wallis & Nerlich 2005, 2634).

As can be seen, the use of military metaphors used in discourse is influenced by the degree of danger and risk of infection. When the risk was lower, the media coverage did not contain military metaphors because they did not need to convey the urgency of the situation. Conversely, the Covid-19 pandemic placed the whole world into a danger zone, and thus the military framed discourse about coronavirus reflects this phenomenon.

2.5.1 Metaphorical framing of discourse about Covid-19

Military metaphors were used very commonly in discourse to compare the Covid-19 pandemic to WAR—including politicians such as Boris Johnson, Donald Trump, or Emmanuel Macron[12]—and consequently, the usage of the WAR frames met with harsh critique due to predominantly negative implications; "[…] for inappropriately personifying the virus as a malevolent opponent, creating excessive anxiety, potentially legitimizing authoritarian governmental measures, and implying that those who die did not fight hard enough." (Semino 2021, 50).

---

12 *BBC News* reported that former American president Donald Trump (2020) said: "[w]e we are going to defeat the invisible enemy. I think we are going to do it even faster than we thought, and it'll be a complete victory. It'll be a total victory." In a similar vein, *BBC News* posted a video where the French president Emmanuel Macron (2020) delivers a speech to the French nation stating: "We are at war. Certainly, in a healthcare war. We are not fighting an army, nor we are fighting another nation. But the enemy is here—invisible, elusive, it progresses. It thus requires a call to arms."

The high frequency of military metaphors was also found in discourse on social media platforms. Wicke and Bolognesi (2020) in their corpus-based study of tweets related to the Covid-19 pandemic also analyzed the WAR framing as very frequent; 5.32% of all tweets[13] (that is 10,846 tweets) contained a military metaphor—the most commonly used lexical items were *fight, fighting, war, combat, threat,* and *battle*—as Wicke and Bolognesi point out "[a]ll these words carry a very negative valence and denote aspects of the war that relate to actions and events" (2020, 14). Furthermore, the authors also identified that the military metaphors occurred most frequently in topics related to diagnosing and curing the disease, on the other hand, military vocabulary was not found often in a topic called "community and social compassion" (Wicke and Bolognesi 2020, 14-15). This is reasonable because people express their social awareness and sympathy for those who suffer.

Concerning the potential negative consequences that metaphors may cause, Semino (2021) raised a relevant question of whether it is possible not to speak metaphorically to reduce its damaging emotional effects. However, the conscious process of excluding metaphors from communication cannot be employed as people speak and think in metaphors ordinarily, i.e. metaphors are rooted in human intellect (Semino 2021, 52). In addition, it was argued in section 2.2 that metaphor is a great instrument that allows us to express our ideas about abstract concepts in vocabulary from more easily accessible realms (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2010). Taken together, we cannot avoid using metaphors, but what we can do is cha(lle)nge the way we think, and this is where alternative metaphorical framings come in.

2.5.2 Alternative framings for discourse about Covid-19

Wicke and Bolognesi (2020) searched for an alternative framing of discourse about Covid-19. They analyzed three figurative frames in their corpus from Twitter; STORM frame was found in 3,036 tweets (1.49% of all tweets), vocabulary from TSUNAMI framing was used in 2,304 tweets (1.13% of all tweets), and finally, the conceptualization of Covid-19 as a MONSTER occurred in 1,382 tweets (0.68% of all tweets)[14] (2020, 17).

---

13 In total, the corpus comprised 203,756 tweets from unique tweeters, collected from March 20 to April 2, 2020.

14 The particular linguistic expressions from the STORM and TSUNAMI frame (*wave, storm, tide, tsunami, disaster, tornado)* were used in most cases to refer to the process of arriving and spreading the virus. On the other hand, THE CORONAVIRUS IS THE MONSTER metaphor highlighted the negative aspects of the illness,

24

A more qualitative approach was initiated by a group of linguists—initially Paula Pérez-Sobrino and Inés Olza, later joined by Veronika Koller and Elena Semino— who came up with an interesting idea; to substitute war-related metaphors to frame the discourse around the Covid-19 pandemic, they created a shared document where anyone can add their non-military metaphors[15] (Semino, 2021, 53). This project called #ReframeCovid served together with *the English Coronavirus Corpus*[16] of press articles as a source from which Semino derived suitable metaphors to describe the Covid-19 pandem*ic*—FIRE metaphors, and specifically FOREST FIRE framing (2021, 53).

Covid-19 became a global problem and to talk about it requires sophisticated language to capture various dimensions of the pandemic. So, what makes the FOREST FIRE metaphor an apt and useful alternative to the WAR frame? Semino (2021, 54-56) proposes the fire metaphors as beneficial to describe the coronavirus pandemic in a complex way:

Firstly, the image of conflagration is powerful and easily accessible, although people do not have direct experience with it. When a fire starts, fire containment and the following firefighting must be executed immediately to prevent it from spreading and causing further damage. This fearful threat calls for an alert because of it its seriousness. Thus, the CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IS FIRE, which spreads rapidly and out of control (especially in the case of forest fire) and requires immediate action (*firefighting*).

Another reason why fire metaphors represent a useful framing of discourse about Covid-19 is the fact that fire goes through different stages[17], and the coronavirus pandemic is not constant either. Semino draws the similarity between the peak of the fully developed fire and the phase during which the spread of the virus in the population reaches its peak as the highest number of daily new cases is reported. Semino also identifies metaphorical *embers* as an apt expression to describe the stage when the virus' transmit slower and the

---

attacking and killing infected people. The limit to these findings is that they found only the alternative metaphors they searched for.

[15] Proposed metaphors involved the conceptualization of the COVID-19 PANDEMIC as a MARATHON, which stresses the long-term nature of the issue. Another original metaphor compared HEROES OF THE TIMES to a HEDGEHOG who "roll up in a ball and wait, hope for better times", this framing highlights the importance of following governmental measures and limiting self in order to stop spreading the virus (Semino 2021, 53)

[16] News articles were collected from January 2020 to September 2020 and in total, the corpus had over 600 million words. https://www.english-corpora.org/corona/

[17] ignition, growth, fully developed, and burnout phase (National Fire Protection Association, n.d.)

number of infected people is reduced, but at the same time the potential danger is still present.

Thirdly, Semino discusses the distribution of different roles that the fire metaphors offer. As fire ignites, it needs *kindles* and *fuel* (*trees* in the case of forest fire) to keep burning. This role is assumed by patients who contracted coronavirus—they are consumed by the *fire*. On the other hand, *firefighters* who *extinguish the fire* and *rescue* the ones who need it, become a metaphor for medical staff members. The act of *firefighting* (involving bravery) goes hand in hand with attributes that define firefighters—strong, protective, heroes risking their own lives.

Finally, Semino points out that the FIRE frame is also helpful in understanding the future post-covid situation. The current experience with the vast disastrous *fire* (virus) we have gained could serve as a model. And in the case that another pandemic or another comparable crisis occurred in the future, we would (hopefully) know how to deal with it more appropriately.

However, despite the assets of framing discourse in terms of FIRE listed above, Semino is also aware of shortcomings related to this metaphor. She highlights that not only mappings between the source (FIRE) and target (COVID-19) itself are important, but also the context in which it is used, matters. For instance, speaking metaphorically about CORONAVIRUS AS A FOREST FIRE would not be proper in areas where this natural disaster frequently and literally occurs. Another important aspect of context is the participants of discourse. The particular emotional effect would not be reached among people who are not afraid of fires—they would lack respect, or not perceive the urgency of the problem, etc. Fire metaphors also cannot serve to describe the peril of spreading the virus unknowingly by already infected people who do not have any symptoms. Despite these weak points, Semino believes that it captures the coronavirus pandemic more aptly than military metaphors (2021, 54-56).

3   Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology that was applied to address the aim of this thesis—to identify and analyze metaphors related to the expression *coronavirus* used in the British online press *The Guardian*.

3.1 Corpus

In order to examine the different types of conceptual metaphors and their surface realizations in language, I used a corpus of newspaper articles from the online press *The Guardian* (Martinkova 2021),—2.1 million words in total. The textual data were gathered during a six-month period spanning from September 2020 to February 2021. This corresponds to the rise and fall of the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, which is illustrated in the charts in Figure 1 and Figure 2.
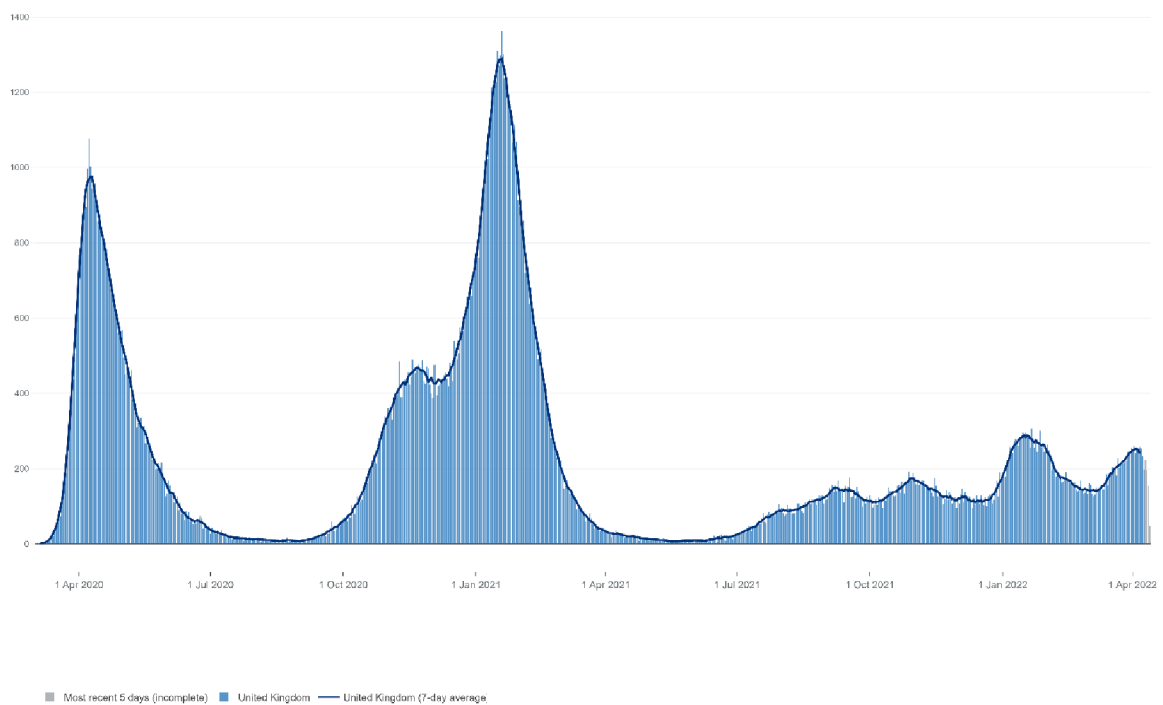

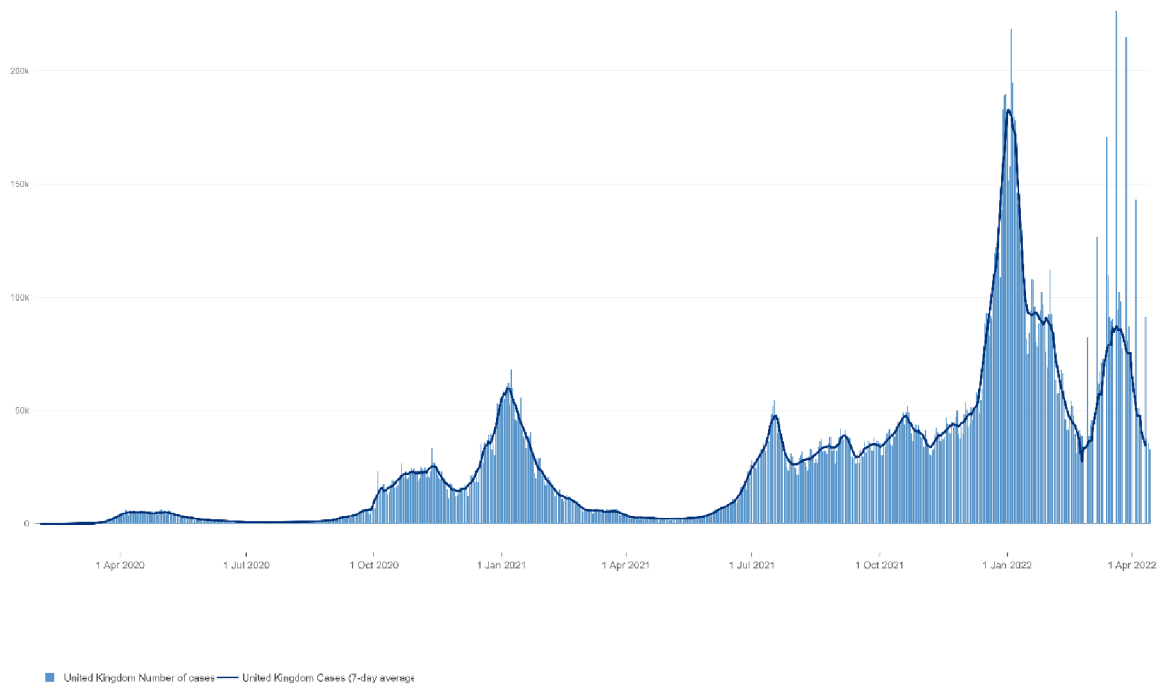Figure 1: Deaths within 28 days of a positive test by the date of death

Figure 2: Cases by the date reported[18]

3.2 Identification of metaphors

The dataset was then examined in the Sketch Engine software. I used the tool Concordance to retrieve all the occurrences of the given word *coronavirus* in the corpus. The total number of hits[19] was 1,464. Then, the process of identifying metaphors was carried out manually, in other words, I analyzed the text and determined whether the keyword *coronavirus* was used literally or as a part of a linguistic metaphor. The linguistic metaphors thus identified were then classified into different types of conceptual metaphors based on their source and target domains, and mappings between them.

---

18 Charts were downloaded from GOV.UK Coronavirus.

19 I included the expression coronavirus (1,424 occurrences) and also its version Coronavirus with the capital C (40 hits).

The major reason for using this method is that manual analysis allows an analyst to process all data, which means that a researcher will identify all metaphorical uses, not only the metaphors he or she searches for (limited by chosen lexical units, frequency range, etc.).

Apart from using my intuition[20], I consulted *the Oxford English Dictionary, the Macmillan Dictionary, and the Online Etymology Dictionary*. In addition, I was inspired by the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) which was proposed by a group of linguists called Pragglejaz Group (2007). The main points of MIP are illustrated below:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse

3. (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.

(c) 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)

In the next chapter, I present a detailed analysis of metaphors and the findings of my research.

---

[20] The methodology would not be complete without the following note; Pragglejaz Group (2007, 13) stressed that determining whether a word is part of a metaphor depends on the analyst who conducts the research, i.e. when a researcher decides that a particular expression is used metaphorically according to him (providing arguments for his claim), another linguist may still disagree and propose his evidence to support his opinion, therefore the ensuing discussion may resolve e.g. marginal cases.

4   Discussion

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of metaphors identified in the corpus. Firstly, I will focus on violence metaphors because they comprise almost one-third of all metaphorical tokens. Furthermore, violence metaphors offered the most complex framing of the discourse about coronavirus. Then, I will move on to describe force metaphors which were the most frequent. However, these metaphors constitute a broad category, therefore it was challenging to establish concrete mappings. Finally, I discuss nature, container, and obstacle metaphors which had lower frequencies in the corpus. In 33 tokens were found also combined linguistic metaphors from different target domains, and on that account, I labeled this group as complex metaphors.

In order to differentiate between conceptual metaphors and their mappings, conceptual metaphors are written *A **is** B*, while mappings are presented as *A **as** B*.
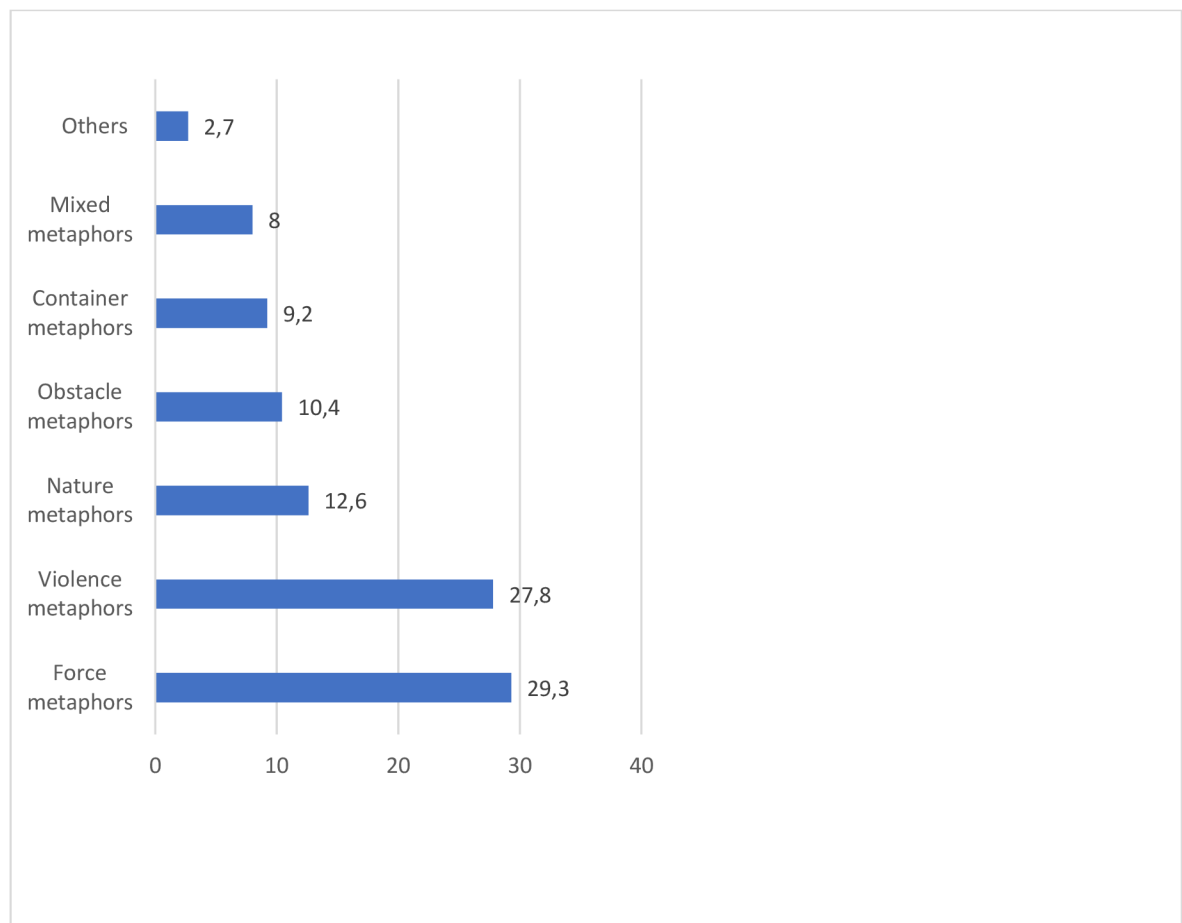

Figure 3: The percentage of individual classified metaphors

4.1 Violence metaphors

In this analysis, I adopted the definition of violence metaphors which was proposed by Semino et al. and it is repeated here for convenience:

> [Violence metaphors are] 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)

The analysis opens with military metaphors which are complex in the structure because they display detailed mappings between elements of source and target domains. Their surface realization is based on lexical items from the WAR source domain. In the next section, I focus on violence metaphors that were not tied to the WAR frame specifically.

4.1.1 THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IS A WAR

The most frequent violence metaphor found in data was one that frames the discourse about the CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC as WAR, although the word *war* was scarcely used in relation to the expression *coronavirus*. An example is shown in (15).

(15)

a. "We quickly achieved initial success in **the people's war against the coronavirus**," Xi said in a 70-minute speech at the ceremony on Tuesday.

The speaker in (15a.) is a leader of China Xi Jinping who explains progress in dealing with coronavirus which is related to the introduction of vaccines. The speaker directly compares the PANDEMIC to WARFARE, where people are involved in an armed conflict with coronavirus. Consequently, the VIRUS is mapped on an ENEMY from the source domain. This mapping is further described in the next section below.

4.1.2 CORONAVIRUS AS AN ENEMY

There are (at least) two opposing military forces in a war, where they represent mutual enemies. The mapping where CORONAVIRUS corresponds to an ENEMY was identified, even though the expression *enemy* was never used to describe coronavirus as such. This adversary relation was inferred from data. An example is given in (16) below:

31

(16)

    a. "We are entering **a critical phase in our fight against coronavirus**, with winter on the horizon," said Hancock.

In (16) is coronavirus depicted as an enemy against whom people wage a war. The purpose of the personal pronoun *we* is to unite a community—draw a distinction between the "good us" (including the reader) and the "bad army outside". Moreover, complexity of war is highlighted by the word *phase*—it denotes the winter period during which the spread of the virus accelerates. This suggests that the armed conflict goes through different stages that alter. In this case, the *critical phase* is interpreted as having the enemy advancing, attacking, and gaining ground.

    Other examples in (17) contain the verbs *to battle against* and *to combat* from the military vocabulary to address the direct armed confrontation with the virus.

(17)

    a. "The public needs to know where taxpayers' money has been spent in **our ongoing battle against coronavirus** so that we can be sure those who have been paid, deliver what they promised."

    b. The monthly borrowing figure - a record for August - follows unprecedented spending by the **government to combat the coronavirus** and sent the accumulated borrowing for the first five months of the fiscal year to almost £174bn.

Both examples in (17a-b) represent the confrontation with coronavirus as a costly war. Funding the battle corresponds to buying protective equipment, vaccines and also launching governmental programs to financially support citizens who need it. In another example (18) below are used expressions from the WAR domain, but in this case, the expression *army* is not used metaphorically. Instead, it denotes the real military forces:

(18)

    a. [S]enior Tory MPs on the powerful liaison committee have drawn up a draft letter to Johnson asking that he considers **using the army more extensively in the fight against coronavirus** - as concerns grow about shortages in testing capacity and manpower.

This sentence in (18) demonstrates an appeal to the British PM to let the armed forces get involved and help the government to solve the coronavirus crisis. In armed conflict, it is the Ministry of Defense that assumes responsibility for fighting the enemy, developing strategic plans, and commanding. Thus, this metaphor, which combines literal armed forces with figurative use of the verb to *fight*, evokes a clear image of a real battle between two armies.

All of these metaphors (16-18) express the threatening nature of CORONAVIRUS that is metaphorically structured as an ENEMY. It suggests that the following characteristics: violent, dangerous, powerful or deadly are ascribed to coronavirus. Therefore, the sense of threat and need for urgent action is conveyed in order to stop the virus from advancing.

4.1.3 HEALTH CARE WORKERS AS SOLDIERS WHO FIGHT THE ENEMY

Another mapping between elements of source (WAR) and target (CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC) domains presents that the HEALTHCARE STAFF members are mapped onto SOLDIERS fighting the enemy. In this case, this direct confrontation of adversary expresses treating patients infected with severe coronavirus in hospitals (*battlefields*) or the process of delivering vaccines. Frontline workers were never directly addressed as "troops of soldiers" or "an army". Instead, they were frontline agents of the military actions performed. Examples are provided in (19):

(19)

    a.   Earlier this year the Home Office announced that **NHS and care workers** whose visas were due to expire in the next few months would have them extended for a year free of charge so they **could "focus on fighting coronavirus".**

    b.   "It is also great news that we will be able to begin vaccinating **NHS staff serving on the frontline to protect them against coronavirus**."

In (19a.) NHS workers from abroad are offered to extend their visas in order to stay and *focus on fighting* the enemy who invaded the UK. The speaker in example (19b.) is the Medical Director of Primary Care of NHS England who stresses the importance and priority of vaccination of the employees of NHS because *serving on the frontline* means that these soldiers are at the foremost part of the army, i.e. they come in direct contact with the enemy on the battlefield.

Fighting coronavirus is considered a life-threatening activity. Thus, these metaphors consequently portray the frontline workers as heroic and brave men, and the overall tone is celebratory. In all examples, doctors, nurses, and carers are represented as a large, organized group. On the other hand, there were also examples where individuals are combatants in a personal battle against coronavirus. These are presented in the section below.

4.1.4 PATIENTS WITH SEVERE COVID-19 SYMPTOMS AS FIGHTERS

This mapping is very violent as it takes an INDIVIDUAL who contracted coronavirus that caused the severe disease Covid-19 as a FIGHTER or a warrior from an army, who has a duel with an inimical opponent—*coronavirus*. This metaphor is exemplified in (20):

(20)

  a. Prof Jayanthi Shastri and her team at Kasturba hospital for infectious disease in Mumbai describe a 25-year-old nurse who suffered more with a reinfection two months after **her first battle with coronavirus.**

  b. After spending 47 days in intensive care **fighting coronavirus,** Michael Rosen is bringing out a book about his experiences with the illness […]

In (20a.) a young nurse already *fought* a single duel with coronavirus which she has won. Yet the adversary reappeared, and she had to enter combat again. But this time, it was harder, because she was left weakened and did not recover well from the first encounter. Similarly, the sentence in (20b.) describes a patient who had also severe symptoms and was *fighting* for many days. These metaphors try to convey a message that patients regardless of age may suffer hardship caused by coronavirus, but they are depicted as brave because they fight hard.

Another example (21) given below contains the verb *to beat* that suggests that the patient is eventually defeating the enemy, i.e. the patient is winning the duel over the opponent.

(21)

  a. Seven doctors in face masks emerged from Walter Reed military hospital outside Washington attempting to assure a skeptical world that its most famous **patient [Donald Trump] was beating the coronavirus.**

Having described the process of *fighting* the enemy, in the next section I turn to describe protective equipment and weapons used.

4.1.5 VACCINE AS PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT

People who contradict coronavirus and fight with it need protective equipment or a shield that will keep them protected from the enemy's attack. The following mapping was identified: the constituent from the target domain VACCINE maps on PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT from the source domain. Its linguistic realization is shown in (22):

(22)

    a. It is the country that developed the first diagnostic test to detect the coronavirus, and the first **vaccine approved** in the west **to shield people against the disease.**

    b. The coronavirus vaccine is safe and effective. It gives you **the best protection against coronavirus.**

In (22a.) is used the verb *to shield* which I interpret as being protected from some harmful and dangerous enemy. This is linked to the noun "shield" which denotes the medieval part of armor used to protect the warriors against their adversaries. The sentence in (22b.) contains the word *protection* which highlights the purpose of the vaccination. Another example is provided below in (23):

(23)

    a. A government spokesperson said: "An **effective vaccine will be the best way to protect the most vulnerable from coronavirus** and the biggest breakthrough since the pandemic began, **potentially saving thousands of lives."**

(23) shows that the initial priority was to vaccinate those people who were at high risk of contracting coronavirus, i.e. frontline workers or people with underlying health conditions, as these should not be left to face the enemy barehanded. The framing function of this metaphor is to highlight the danger imposed by coronavirus and to propose vaccination as protection against this formidable enemy.

4.1.6 VACCINE AS A WEAPON

In several examples, I identified that a VACCINE—a biological material that protects against severe symptoms of the disease—was used as a part of a metaphor where it corresponds to a WEAPON. Examples in (24) demonstrate this metaphor:

(24)

    a.   Redfield also told the Senate he believed face masks were "the most important, powerful public health **tool we have" to combat coronavirus, including a potential vaccine.**

Speaker in example (24) is the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in the US, who stressed the importance of wearing face masks because he did not believe that vaccine against Covid-19 would be developed within months. In this excerpt, *face masks* and a *vaccine* are called *tools to combat coronavirus*. I interpret this expression *tool* as a euphemism for "weapons" because that is the "tool" fighters use to combat. In this sense, *masks* and the *vaccine* appear to be rather offensive arms than defensive, protective equipment.

    Other examples in (25) describes the launching of a vaccination program:

(25)

    a.   This is the biggest global health challenge in generations and Maggie aged 90 from Coventry getting the very first jab, and so **kickstarting the biggest vaccination programme** in NHS history, marks a significant turning point in **our fight against coronavirus**.

    b.   Global **vaccination coverage is essential to beating coronavirus** […]

In (25a.) the speaker is the chief vaccine officer of NHS who is proud of how people managed to develop a *vaccine* to *fight against coronavirus* actively and valiantly. The whole process of the *vaccination program* can be thus understood as a process of providing people with arms, whereas healthcare staff are arms dealers. Also, the use of the phrase *turning point* marks that up to now, coronavirus was in a better position (*advancing, attacking*), but since the *weapon* (vaccine) is being distributed, people can be offensive, and the situation will turn better for them. The function of this metaphor is to motivate people to get

vaccinated, because it is trying to say that humans need the vaccine (get armed with weapons) to successfully defeat coronavirus.

The following example in (26) is about the development of medication called REGN-COV2 which would be prescribed to patients with severe coronavirus symptoms after successful tests.

(26)

    a. [W]e now have the opportunity to rigorously assess the impact of a drug specifically designed to **target this coronavirus**.

I perceived this example in (26) similarly as the VACCINE IS A WEAPON in (24-25) due to the expression *target*. The original meaning of this word was "shield" but over centuries it changed its meaning into "round object to be aimed at in shooting" (Online Etymology Dictionary). This meaning was then transferred to more generally "a person, building, or area that someone intends to attack" (Macmillan Dictionary). Therefore, I analyzed this as a mapping: DRUG AS A WEAPON we use to shoot at the *target*—that is *coronavirus*.

4.1.7 GOVERNMENTAL MEASURES AS MILITARY STRATEGIES TO COMBAT CORONAVIRUS

The hierarchy within the WAR frame offers as the highest position generals who develop strategic plans, tactics, and command troops. These MILITARY STRATEGIES correspond to the GOVERNMENTAL MEASURES AND RESTRICTIONS that are applied to slow the spread of coronavirus (*combat*). This is exemplified in (27):

(27)

    a. [R]educing the number of visitors to the centre is **one of our most effective tools in the battle against coronavirus** […]

    b. "This is a wartime undertaking" Joe Biden urges Americans to 'mask up' for 100 days […] At a White House event on Thursday afternoon, Biden unveiled **a new "wartime" strategy to combat the coronavirus**, vowing: "Help is on the way."

In (27a.) is illustrated one of the most frequent restrictions adopted—social distancing—here described as a *tool in the battle*. An analogy is found in (27b.) where the US president Joe Biden urged Americans to follow *wartime strategy,* by which he meant wearing a face mask and following recommended health guidelines. Despite the fact that these regulations may

be hard to follow for some people, there are still stricter rules that can be implemented in order to *combat coronavirus*. An example (28) is given below:

(28)

       a.   There are grave concerns that the surveillance technology it has rolled out as **part of the effort to combat the coronavirus** could be used to further stifle dissent and violate human rights," said Benedict Rogers, chief executive of Hong Kong Watch.

In (28) is described a special technology that controls whether people follow governmental measures such as wearing face masks. Additionally, the device also measures body temperature and verifies identity. Thus, it is questionable to what extent this governmental measure functions as a *strategy to combat coronavirus* or whether it is a spy tool collecting personal data, being used "against its own side". However, all examples in (27-28) share the presupposition that sticking to these effective tactics and strategies will combat and eventually defeat coronavirus. Accordingly, this attitude reflects the persuasive function of these metaphors.

4.1.8 DEFEATING CORONAVIRUS AS THE VICTORIOUS END OF THE WAR

In an armed conflict stands two sides whose main aim is to win the war over the enemy. This scenario is also found in the conceptualization of coronavirus. Three different points of view on this issue are provided in (29-31) below:

(29)

       a.   "I don't think we're going to **eradicate coronavirus**, ever; I think it's going to be with humankind forever," he said. "Do I think there will come a big moment where we have a massive party, and throw away our masks and hand sanitiser, and say: 'That's it, it's behind us!' like **the end of the war**?" No, I don't.

Example (29) illustrates a realistic point of view on the situation in a speech delivered by a deputy chief medical officer in the UK, Johnathan Van-Tam. He openly states that this is not a clear-cut situation, and implies that humans should rather "seek a truce" and find an alternative way how to adapt to this new situation, than attempt *to win* this *war*. The opposite opinion has Donald Trump in (30):

(30)

    a. Perhaps worse for Trump than the factcheckers, however, were his multiple visible descents into confusion on stage, such as when he described **how "herd mentality" could defeat the coronavirus** - when he seemed to mean "herd immunity".

The American ex-president proposed a strategy that could lead to the *defeat of the enemy*—herd immunity. This can be interpreted as that the result of this conflict (whether humans will win successfully against coronavirus) depends on collective responsibility that rests with all people. Similarly, in the last metaphor in (31) coronavirus is seen as an enemy over whom humankind could win over.

(31)

    a. Tokyo Olympics: definitely going ahead unless cancelled again? Billed as a **celebration of humankind's victory over coronavirus**, Games could fall foul of pandemic for a second time.

The particular expression *humankind* is used aptly in example (31), considering that it is related to the Olympic Games; highlighting the unity of all nations[21]. Initially, I wanted to include this metaphor within sport metaphors but the keyword *victory* comes from the military domain with its original meaning "[the] state of having overcome an enemy or adversary in combat, battle, or war; supremacy or superiority achieved as the result of armed conflict" (OED) and later was applied to the field of competitions and contests where opponents face each other. Examples (30-31) share duality; if humankind wins the victory, then coronavirus will "suffer defeat", but this "winning" is not so clear in reality. It is rather an obscure and elusive aim because it is difficult to assess what it means to win the war and utterly defeat coronavirus. For this reason, military framings background other options.

4.1.9 *THE HUMAN BODY IS A BATTLEFIELD*

Another type of conceptual metaphor that is listed under military metaphors is the HUMAN BODY IS A BATTLEFIELD where two armies fight. When a person contracts coronavirus, the good army, which is represented by the human immune system, detects the bad invader—

---

21 The motto of the Olympic Games is "Faster, Higher, Stronger – Together" (International Olympic Committee 2022).

coronavirus—and feels threatened. The response is immediate; receiving a positive Covid-19 test could be seen as an official declaration of war on the invading army, followed by a counterattack. Surface realizations of this conceptual metaphor are exmplified in (32):

(32)

    a.   Protruding like **red flags**, the immune system swiftly spots them [spike proteins of coronavirus]. It **raises an army** of antibodies and T-cells that are then **primed to fight the coronavirus.**

    b.   The **immune system's battle against coronavirus is unleashed in several waves. The first line of defence**, the innate immune system, is imprecise but fast. **Invading** pathogens prompt cells to churn out signalling proteins called cytokines which call in an **army of white blood cells** that engulf and disrupt the virus. Next to gear up is the adaptive immune system, a more **specialised attacking force.** This unleashes T-cells, which **destroy** infected cells, and prompts B-cells to make antibodies that stick to viruses and **stop them spreading further**. If and when the **infection is beaten**, the T- and B-cells stand down, but some should be stored in the body for years […]

So, as can be observed in (32a-b) the workings of the human immune system is described in military vocabulary borrowed from the WAR domain. Considering the word choice the *red flag* in (32a.) signals the danger and threat imposed by coronavirus, thus it can be perceived as a "call to arms" that requires a fast response. This is carried out by human cells that correspond to armies—*attacking forces*. The goal of the immune system is described in (32b.)—*to beat* the enemy. The reason why military metaphors are employed is that they describe (otherwise) technically difficult chemical-biological processes in a simplified, visual way, so readers will comprehend them more easily. On the other hand, what this WAR frame backgrounds are human emotions; after all these metaphors describe violence that happens inside of a human body.

4.1.10 CORONAVIRUS IS A WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION

In the data, there was only one occurrence of a metaphor identified as CORONAVIRUS IS A WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION, however, I found this sentence very powerful. This metaphor is listed under military metaphors for the reason, that this type of aggressive

weapon cannot be employed anywhere else than in a war conflict. The following example in (33) illustrates the metaphor:

(33)

    a.   We are in the hands of a government that attaches no value to life and trivialises death. An insensitive, irresponsible and incompetent government that flouted World Health Organization guidelines and **turned the coronavirus into a weapon of mass destruction**.

The speaker in (33) is the Brazil's former president Lula da Silva who criticizes the current government and president, and blames their policies adopted to stop the spread of coronavirus. The mappings I could identify are the following: as the name suggests, the *weapon of mass destruction* is used to cause harm and loss of life to a great number of civilians, similarly, there is an extraordinarily high number of people[22] who died of covid-19. The use of the weapon of mass destruction has a devastating impact on psychology; instills fear and dread, provokes anxiety as it throws the world into chaos—an analogy can be found for coronavirus, although it is a virus causing disease. However, any weapon needs a person behind it to fire, but coronavirus spreads out of control. Only in the case if it was proved it is a biological weapon, then it would not be a metaphor.

4.1.11 CORONAVIRUS IS A KILLER

The first non-military violence metaphor to be discussed is a personification: CORONAVIRUS IS A KILLER. This is a very violent and negative framing in which coronavirus is compared to a person who deprives another person of life. Furthermore, to kill a human is an unacceptable phenomenon in society—a crime that is severely punished by law. But in this case, the killer cannot be justly punished, which makes people even more frustrated. It is worth noting that the noun *killer* was never used to refer to *coronavirus*, instead, the expression *coronavirus* was used as an agent of the verb *to kill*. Examples of this metaphor are provided in (34):

---

22 From the start of the coronavirus pandemic, over 6,200,000 people have died up to April 21, 2022 (Worldometer).

(34)

    a. Strictly speaking, it was a separate matter, unrelated to Covid, but it was grimly fitting that the other great upheaval of 2020 - the Black Lives Matter protests […] - had a slogan that carried an unintended echo of **coronavirus and the way it kills**. The phrase in question consisted of George Floyd's last words, as he was beaten to death by Minneapolis police: I can't breathe.

    b. The **coronavirus has now killed more than 2 million people** and infected at least 100 million globally.

    c. The **number of people killed by coronavirus** in the UK passed 60,000 on Tuesday as the country hit a 200-a-day death toll weeks earlier than feared by the government's chief scientific adviser.

The example in (34a.) maps a DEATH caused by coronavirus to the DEATH OF GEORGE FLOYD[23]. The topic being addressed by this metaphor is the way in which *coronavirus kills*; patients who suffer from severe coronavirus infections cannot breathe easily and are in need of oxygen support. Thus, coronavirus suffocates infected people because the major organ that gets affected by this disease are the lungs. However, this particular framing creates a powerful and rich image, it is attention-catching because it is related to a particular incident during which Floyd was killed, and therefore resonates strongly.

    Examples in (34b-c) show that disocurse about CORONAVIRUS is metaphorically framed as a KILLER often when an article reveals statistics about the number of patients who died of coronavirus—these people are perceived as the killers' *victims*. In (34b.), coronavirus is an agent of the sentence who is found guilty of the deaths of more than 2 million people. A similar scenario is depicted in (34c.), which states that this *killer* instills one of the strongest human emotions—*fear*. To convey anxiety and state the very high numbers of victims makes CORONAVIRUS even A MASS KILLER, and consequently, it certainly affects the way we see, feel and reason about coronavirus itself.

---

[23] George Floyd died on May 25, 2020 due to a lack of oxygen as one of the police officers compressed his neck and back (BBC 2020).

4.1.12 *PATIENTS WHO SUFFER OR DIE FROM CORONAVIRUS AS VICTIMS*

How to define a *victim*? The word victim originally denotes "[a] living creature killed and offered as a sacrifice to some deity or supernatural power" (OED) in which case it serves a higher purpose. But today, a *victim* can be defined as a person against whom is deliberately committed violence, that resulted in physical or mental harm, and eventually death. PATIENTS WHO SUFFER OR DIE FROM CORONAVIRUS AS VICTIMS can be a mapping of the military metaphor THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IS WAR, and at the same time it also applies to the conceptual metaphor CORONAVIRUS IS A KILLER.

The mapping is exemplified in (35):

(35)

    a.   The discovery may help to explain why **coronavirus leaves some sufferers sick or dying** in intensive care, while others remain barely affected.

    b.   [T]he number of people who have died within 28 days of a positive Covid test approaches 60,000, we pay tribute to some of the more recent victims. Fehzan Jamil, 10, is believed to be **one of the youngest victims of coronavirus** in the UK.

Sentence (35a.) comes from an article that explains that genetic predispositions affect the progression of the disease. The keyword *sufferers* can be also used as a synonym to the word victim. (35b.) has a *child* as a *victim* of violence caused by the coronavirus. This example confirms what was suggested by Craig (2020)—the fact that people who die from coronavirus are described in detail and presented as *victims* to a reader by the media. Using the full name, age and any other personal information draws a reader closer to the life of the person which means that the reader's emotional response to this metaphor will be greater, than if the article generalizes. Furthermore, the use of the superlative form of the adjective *youngest* makes readers' emotions (empathy and sadness) stirred. The duality between a vulnerable, innocent child, who cannot defend himself and the threatening virus is depicted.

4.1.13 Other violence metaphors

In the corpus were also identified other nonmilitary violence metaphors. However, they lack the complexity of WAR frame, so it was difficult to categorize them as individual conceptual

metaphors and mappings. The following examples (36) illustrate the metaphor CORONAVIRUS AS AN ASSAILANT.

(36)

    a. For years, I repressed thinking about three things that shaped my life and my body. But **the fourth blow of coronavirus** pushed it all out into the open.

Sentences in (36) is about a woman who suffered hardship throughout her life. Finally, when she thought her suffering was over, she received a blow from CORONAVIRUS—personified as an ASSAILANT—who deliberately commits violent acts.

4.2 Force metaphors

4.2.1 *CORONAVIRUS IS STRONG FORCE*

Literally, coronavirus has a direct impact on bodily functions, in particular, it infects the lungs and causes respiratory disease. But in the data, CORONAVIRUS was most frequently conceptualized as FORCE that hits[24] various areas of human life (apart from health) and consequently causes a sgnificant impact on the world on a global scale. Thus, coronavirus created a new reality we live in. However, it was difficult to determine correspondences between source and target domains because FORCE is a broad concept.

The following examples in (37-39) illustrate this metaphor CORONAVIRUS IS STRONG FORCE that changed our life:

(37)

    a. What might be the enduring symbol of the **coronavirus that turned our world upside down in 2020?**

In (37) CORONAVIRUS is conceptualized as FORCE. In this case, it suggests that coronavirus is an active rational agent that wilfully uses its power to negatively ifluence society. This results in changes in society that have occurred. The examples below depict the particular areas of human life affected.

---

[24] Wallis and Nerlich (2005) in their study classified the occurrence of expressions *hit* and *impact* related to SARS under FORCE metaphors, thus I adopted this categorization.

(38)

    a.   Boris Johnson said he wanted to extend the use of one-to-one tuition currently being planned to help pupils catch-up with **the learning lost because of the coronavirus.**

    b.   [T]he general secretary of the Association of School and College Leaders, said: "It is not perfect - nothing can be given the fact that **learning has been so disrupted by coronavirus** and that **pupils have been affected** to vastly different extents.

As exemples in (38a-b) demonstrates, CORONAVIRUS IS FORCE that influenced the face-to-face lectures at schools, so that pupils and students had to study from home. This was the reason why the British PM wanted to fund private tuition for pupils. Furthermore (38b.) also suggests that distance learning caused (apart from the lost classes) changes in social interactions and psychology.

(39)

    a.   Meanwhile, **capacity** at the Queen's film theatre in Belfast, like elsewhere, **has been reduced because of coronavirus**.

    b.   923) **Aviation** has been one of the sectors **hardest hit by coronavirus**, and the airport operator said it had seen a more than 90% fall in demand from passengers between April and August.

(39a-b) describe how force changed the way people spend leisure time; restrictions either limited the capacity of visitors due to social distancing or eventually canceled them. Travel bans imposed by countries disrupted the ordinary running of airport making from coronavirus an agent whose power cancels flights and closes runways.

As can be seen in (38-39), the examples showed various areas of human life that were influenced by the coronavirus in a negative way, or more precisely, by the restrictions that were applied by the government. In the next section, I move from the general classification of FORCE to specific NATURAL FORCES and metaphors related to them.

4.2.2 Nature disaster metaphors

Nature disaster is understood as force of nature that happens out of human's control and causes loss of lives and widespread devastation of the place it hits. Nature disasters serve as a source domain because they are an innate part of the world we observe and experience. In

this metaphorical framing, CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC is thus conceptualized as NATURE DISASTER that occurs out of control, therefore people cannot prevent the disaster from happening. What people can attempt to do is to curb its effects to some extent.

The majority of the nature metaphors contained the expressions *wave*. The original sense of the word *wave* attested from the 1520s was "moving billow of water" (Etymology Dictionary). In the transferred sense relating to the Covid-19, the expression *wave* denotes a rapidly rising number of people who get infected with coronavirus, the peak of the wave, and also the improvement of the situation as the figures drop. Interestingly, also the diagram in Figure 1, which visually depicts the number of daily new cases tested positive for covid, resemble waves of water in the ocean. The identified metaphor is: THE RISING NUMBER, THE PEAK, AND THE FALLING NUMBER OF INFECTED PEOPLE AS A WAVE.

Linguistic realizations of this metaphor are exemplified in (40):

(40)

    a.   The prime minister will tell parliament that without the draconian new measures, which will come into force across England on Thursday, **deaths** from coronavirus over the winter could be "**twice as bad or even worse" than in the first wave.**

    b.   The strict rules are a reflection of how Australia has dealt with coronavirus and the determination to **hold off another wave.**

In (40a.) coronavirus infects people and this number of people either raises, reaches its peak, or falls, representing the *wave*. So, I interpret coronavirus as a large wave, or a tsunami that hits the ground. This nature disaster happens beyond control, but people can attempt to slow down the huge wave by building "anti-tsunami barriers" at the shore. These barriers correspond to the *draconian new measures* in (40a.). and to *strict rules* in (40b.) that are implemented in order to protect people from infection, thus reducing the rising number of coronavirus cases. Furthermore (40a.). also suggests that we cannot determine how large or small a *wave* is until another *wave* strikes—only retrospectively they can be compared.

More examples are provided below in (41):

(41)

    a.   When the **first wave of the coronavirus hit Canada, it struck** heavily populated Ontario and Quebec **the hardest**.

46

b. From the moment **coronavirus reached UK shores**, public health advice stressed the importance of washing hands and deep-cleaning surfaces to reduce the risk of becoming infected

c. Drakeford also said holiday businesses could not honour half-term bookings from people in areas of the UK **with high levels of coronavirus**

In (41a.) the keyword *wave* is also combined with verbs to *hit* and *strike*, which means that a wave reached a location adversely. The superlative form *the hardest* stresses the intensity of the *wave*, meaning that in Ontario and Quebec was a rapid growth of people who either tested positive for coronavirus or died from it. (41b.) does not contain the expression *wave*, however, the phrase *reach[ing] UK shores* represents the movement of waves. Finally, in (41c.) the metaphor could be modified to CORONAVIRUS IS A FLOOD, because when a place is flooded, it is defined by the water level rising. In this case, it is used to refer to the increase in positive Covid-19 tests. These metaphors give the impression, that when a nature disaster occurs people cannot escape it.

Another nature disaster metaphor identified: CORONAVIRUS IS A TORNADO is based on the verbs of movement it contained. Consider the examples in (42) below:

(42)

a. **[C]oronavirus tore through the UK** […]

b. Ominous warnings came as Donald Trump appeared to admit that **coronavirus is "running wild" across the US**,

These metaphors in (42) suggest that coronavirus is a destructive natural power that moves across vast regions and devastates them. The destructive aspect of coronavirus, which can be understood as the high mortality the virus causes, is highlighted in these realizations.

Finally, I will comment on a conceptual metaphor CORONAVIRUS IS FOREST FIRE. The surface realization is exemplified in (43):

(43)

a. The Welsh first minister, Mark Drakeford, who **imposed a strict "firebreak**" last month, warned on Friday: "If we do have a period of relaxation around Christmas ... coronavirus will thrive.

(43) contains the word *firebreak* which denotes a process when firefighters cut down trees that are not in flames yet, clear the land, and thus prevent the spread of fire. So, *firebreak* corresponds to the strict rules and restrictions implemented in order to prevent the fire (coronavirus) from further spreading and consuming more trees (humans). The anticipated consequence is to reduce the number of Covid-19 positive patients.

4.3 Obstacle metaphors

In the literature review was discussed the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY on which we encounter many impediments that need to be surmounted. Expression *coronavirus* was often found as an object of verbs *to tackle, handle, deal with* or *cope with*. This formulation places coronavirus as an obstacle[25], a difficulty to be overcome. Surface realization of the conceptual metaphor CORONAVIRUS AS AN OBSTACLE ON LIFE'S JOURNEY is given in (44):

(44)

    a. **The journey** through the hopes, dreams and anxieties of British society began in January, when "Covid-19" wasn't a word, and even **coronavirus seemed like a distant and abstract problem.**

    b. [T]he World Health Organization had a simple message to countries on **how to tackle the spread of coronavirus**: test, test, test.

In (44a.) CORONAVIRUS maps on an OBSTACLE on a journey that stands at a distance in front of us, therefore it did not receive much attention until travelers advanced closer to this obstacle. This statement looks back in time when nobody knew how serious impact this virus will cause. The sentence in (44b.) proposes an increase of testing capacity as a way how to surmount the obstacle that blocks the journey. Furthermore, the verb *to tackle* suggests that the process will take effort and time.

The following example in (45) describes efforts of medical workers who represent tired and exhausted travelers to overcome this difficulty.

(45)

---

[25] I draw on the study on the metaphorical framing of discourse about cancer, where Semino et. al (2018, 92) proposed this classification.

a. Growing numbers of hospitals in England are running short of beds and having to divert patients elsewhere and cancel operations as the **NHS struggles to cope with the resurgence of coronavirus**.

In (45) CORONAVIRUS is presented as an OBSTACLE that was once overcome but came up again. As can be seen, this metaphorical framing does not exhibit violence and danger found in military framings. Consequently, the pandemic may not be perceived as an urgent crisis s in the case of the WAR frame.

4.4 Container metaphors

A container metaphor is a type of metaphor that allows us to understand concepts in terms of a container—it has clear boundaries, differentiates between inside and outside orientation, and is able to hold a substance (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 29). The conceptual metaphor identified is the following: CORONAVIRUS AS A HARMFUL SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. Its linguistic realization is exemplified in (46):

(46)

a. [T]here has been **an outbreak of coronavirus**, with just over a third of the workforce testing positive in December and January.

In (46) is used the word *outbreak* which is used to refer to the state when there is a sudden rise of positive Covid-19 tests. Considering the metaphor, the infected HUMAN BODY maps on a CONTAINER as a source domain. This container is capable of holding the substance—coronavirus—which is perceived as toxic or harmful content and consequently cause damage to the container. When the container holding this substance is not isolated or secured (by governmental measures) substance of this container may break out and affect negatively other containers (people).

Other examples are provided in (47):

(47)

a. Boris Johnson has warned the weary British public to summon their resolve for a tough winter ahead, as he refused to rule out a second **national lockdown to contain the spread of the coronavirus.**

49

b. From the moment **the coronavirus spilled out of China** and spread around the world, the great hope for the return of normal life lay with safe and effective vaccines.

The example (47a.) contains the expression *lockdown* which indicates that government imposed this measure to prevent people from moving freely in order to stop the spread of coronavirus. The container metaphor explains this state as isolating, keeping these containers safe from the dangerous substance. In (47b.) the sense of the container is extended from the human body to the whole state, thus COUNTRY maps on a CONTAINER, from which the substance spilled out, i.e. got over the edge of the container (beyond the state borders). Effective government measures were not applied, additionally, the world operates globally, so it was an impossible task to keep the coronavirus only within this particular container. As can be seen, the container metaphor relates to the topic of transmission of the virus and applying governmental measures to curb it.

4.5 Complex metaphors

This categorization consists of metaphors related to the expression *coronavirus* which combined words from different target domains (semantic fields) that created complex metaphors. Some of them are presented here.

The first complex metaphor combines expressions from NATURE and JOURNEY target domain. An example is provided in (48):

(48)

a. Hungary and Portugal have become the latest countries in Europe to impose tough new restrictions to **stem the second wave of the coronavirus**, as the first signs of **light at the end of the tunnel** emerged in France, Germany and Belgium.

This metaphorical mapping in (48) would be CORONAVIRUS AS AN OBSTACLE ON LIFE'S JOURNEY. As people undertake their journey there appears obstacles that need to be overcome. To advance means to be closer to the *light at the end of the tunnel* which signals hope and an end to the difficult road that was flooded for the second time by the *wave* of coronavirus.

Another metaphor in (49) is related to the SPORTS domain and at the same time exhibits the mapping VACCINE AS PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT discussed above.

(49)

    a.   The Oxford University/AstraZeneca vaccine against Covid has barely been out of the news from the moment **the race to protect the world's population from the novel coronavirus** began.

In (49) the conceptual metaphor can be formulated as THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IS A RACE where CORONAVIRUS is manifested as an OPPONENT in a race, against whom other runners compete. The aim is to overtake the opponent (to develop a vaccine) and finish the race in the first place, i.e. to win over coronavirus. However, considering the duration of the coronavirus pandemic, it is rather a marathon than a sprint.

    The last complex metaphor in (50) combines violence aspects and also uses vocabulary from the target domain of a GAME.

(50)

    a.   A vaccine that works is seen as a **game-changer in the battle against coronavirus**, **which has killed** more than 1.15 million people, **shuttered swathes** of the global economy and **turned normal life upside down** for billions of people.

This sentence in (50) reflects the conceptualization of CORONAVIRUS AS PURE EVIL— an enemy, against whom people fight a battle, a killer, and also a force that had a great impact on everyday life. Salvation comes with a vaccine that is understood as a *gamechanger*, i.e. a factor that will significantly influence the result of the course of events in this battle or a game.

4.6 Other metaphors

Apart from the most frequently used violence and force metaphors discussed above, I also detected some novel metaphors in the corpus which I will present. They had only a few occurrences, and usually were found in a single article, i.e. their dispersion was rather low. However, they were interesting because they bring a unique perspective—the major benefit of rare metaphors is that they offer fresh mappings between source and target domains and thus make people think about the issue outside of the box.

    The first is the metaphor: CORONAVIRUS AS A PERSONA NON GRATA, i.e. someone who stays and does not want to leave, a person who is not welcomed or wanted due to various

reasons. Coronavirus is perceived as a harmful being to its environment which makes it undesirable in society. Examples are provided in (51):

(51)

    a.   The manager said panic went through her mind as she had been able to **keep coronavirus out of her care home** during the first wave of the virus. […] "You expect to lose residents periodically but not that quickly and in that number."

In (51) the speaker is a manager of a care house where a higher number of residents infected with Covid-19 died over a short period of time during the second wave. The responsibility for the rising number of deaths in the care house falls on *coronavirus*—an unwelcome visitor, whom the manager would like to prevent from entering the care house in the same ways she did during the first wave. But this time, the unwanted PERSONA NON GRATA succeeded to enter, stays and does not want to leave the home for the elderly. This metaphor evokes a sense of powerlessness.

Another notable metaphor I identified is CORONAVIRUS AS A MAGNIFYING GLASS, exemplified in (52) below:

(52)

    a.   The coronavirus also **placed a magnifying lens** over one fact that was true but perhaps not quite so vividly clear before the pandemic: that this is a disunited kingdom.

    b.   Coronavirus was unforgiving like that, **magnifying the blemishes on the skin of our society, showing up** the deep lines that divide it.

In (52a-b) this innovative metaphor compares CORONAVIRUS to a MAGNIFYING GLASS— through which we see the world. It backgrounds the aspects of the infectious disease itself, thus coronavirus is not perceived as negatively as in the case of violence metaphors. A magnifying glass rather zooms in on the society and shows that there were present problems before the pandemic occured (such as racial inequality, class division, poverty, etc.)—things we ignored but which we get to see now more clearly thanks to this lens.

Example (52a.) shows that thanks to the *magnifying lens* one can better see the negative results of decentralization in the UK, namely differences in the regulations issued across the country. For example, in England, to minimize social contacts, the maximum of

people who could gather was settled to six including children. But in Wales and Scotland, children under twelve were excluded from this count.

In (52b.) due to coronavirus, inequalities always present in the British society became more visible: the death rate was higher among black, Asian and minority ethnic groups than among white people. This is explained by the fact that people from minority backgrounds work more frequently in public-facing jobs and could not work from a home office. Overall, this contemplative metaphor makes us think about the whole situation in a new light.

Another metaphorical mapping can perhaps be postulated as: CORONAVIRUS AS GRINCH WHO WANTS TO STEAL OUR CHRISTMAS. This is related to the atmosphere that surrounded Christmas of 2020 which we were limited to enjoy due to governmental restrictions.

(53)

    a. **Coronavirus may be doing its best to cancel Christmas** but, for the time being anyway, shoppers are carrying on regardless, with this week's Black Friday online sales expected to reach new heights.

    b. The development came after scientists and public health advisers said imposing new national measures could "**save Christmas from the coronavirus**" and allow families to meet during the festive season.

The correspondences can be found between CORONAVIRUS and the fictional character GRINCH; an ugly, mean, and disliked creature that wants to prevent people from having merry Christmas by stealing their presents. Similarly, coronavirus is an 'ugly' disease that spreads widely during winter, making more people infected and frustrated, thus leading to tougher restrictions that further prevent people from enjoying feasts. In (53a.) PRESENTS is mapped on the PRECIOUS TIME people spend with their families during Christmas. Considering the surface realization, example (53a.) *coronavirus* is an active agent, while in (53b.) the active participation is rather on the side of *scientists* and *advisers* who wants to *save* the feast and allow people to engage in social interactions that are valued over material presents. Therefore, the feeling it attempts to convey is hope.

The last metaphor is CORONAVIRUS AS A SPECTER.

(54)

a. In the distant archipelago of the Cook Islands, **coronavirus has been a spectre** that never emerged from the shadows.

Sentence in (54) is about a Covid-19 free areas in the South Pacific. The threat was not imminent and therefore coronavirus is viewed as a ghost that actually did not appear.

4.7 Quantification of data

The Concordance tool in the Sketch Engine software retrieved 1.464 tokens of the expression *coronavirus* from the corpus (Martinkova 2021). 56 tokens were excluded because they were unsuitable[26]. Out of the 1.408 tokens 413 were used metaphorically (i.e. *29,3%*). The following Table 1 provides the frequencies of all metaphorical tokens identified in the data.

Type	Subtype	Metaphor	Tokens
Violence	Military	THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IS A WAR	74
		THE BODY IS A BATTLEFIELD	4
		CORONAVIRUS IS A WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION	1
	Non-military	CORONAVIRUS IS A KILLER	6
		PATIENTS WHO SUFFER OR DIE OF CORONAVIRUS AS VICTIMS	10
		OTHERS	20
Force	General	CORONAVIRUS IS A STRONG FORCE	121
	Nature disaster	CORONAVIRUS IS A WAVE	47
		CORONAVIRUS IS A TORNADO	4
		CORONAVIRUS IS A FOREST FIRE	1
Obstacle		CORONAVIRUS AS AN OBSTACLE ON LIFE'S JOURNEY	43
Container		CORONAVIRUS AS A HARMFUL SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	38
Others		CORONAVIRUS AS A MAGNIFYING LENS	3
		CORONAVIRUS AS PERSONA NON GRATA	2
		CORONAVIRUS AS GRINCH	3
		CORONAVIRUS AS A SPECTER	3
Complex			33

Table 1: The frequencies of metaphors identified in the corpus

---

[26] Tokens were excluded in the case of wrong tagging or when the expression *coronavirus* was not related to the disease Covid-19.

5 Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis was to analyze corpus data, in particular, identify metaphors related to the expression *coronavirus* in articles from the online daily *The Guardian*, and classify them according to source domains through which coronavirus was conceptualized.

Various metaphors were used to discuss the nature of the novel coronavirus. The most frequent type of metaphor identified was CORONAVIRUS IS STRONG FORCE (29,3%). These force metaphors stressed the devastating impact of coronavirus on various areas of human life (e.g. economy, schooling, leisure, employment, etc.). Nevertheless, the wide scope of this metaphor did not allow me to analyze mappings between the source and target domains.

The second type of metaphors with the highest occurrence was violence metaphors (27,8%), namely CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IS A WAR (74 tokens) where CORONAVIRUS is mapped on an ENEMY—a dangerous adversary against whom must be taken military actions. These metaphors were used to attract readers' attention, and presented coronavirus as a threat. Thus their purpose can be interpreted as conveying the need of urgent response, showing the importance of following governmental measures and promoting vaccination as a *tool to defeat* coronavirus.

Nature disaster metaphors comprise 12,6% of all the metaphorical tokens identified in the corpus. CORONAVIRUS was most frequently conceptualized as a WAVE (47 tokens) that *reaches shores* and *hits* areas—which corresponds to the rising number of Covid-19 positive patients. Nature metaphors highlighted the destructive aspects of coronavirus. This metaphorical framing also suggests that virus is beyond human control. People can attempt to curb its impacts (by implementing governmental measures) but cannot prevent it from happening.

A less violent scenario is involved in the obstacle metaphor CORONAVIRUS AS AN OBSTACLE ON A LIFE'S JOURNEY (10,4%). Coronavirus became an object of verbs *to handle, deal with or cope with*, i.e. a difficulty that needs to be overcome with much effort and patience, instead of being perceived as a violent *enemy* to be *fought*.

CORONAVIRUS was also conceptualized as A HARMFUL SUBSTANCE (9,2%). In this metaphor, the HUMAN BODY is viewed as a CONTAINER that is capable of holding the substance. This perception can be extended to areas that do not have clear physical

boundaries (such as regions in a country). These metaphors addressed the *outbreak* of coronavirus and also the way how to *contain* the spread by imposing *lockdowns*.

Finally, 11 tokens (2,7%) displayed rare metaphors which offered a new point of view on coronavirus. One of the fresh metaphors was CORONAVIRUS as a MAGNIFYING LENS. This metaphor allows us to reason about coronavirus as an instrument which enabled us to see that society always had its problematic issues (e.g. inequality) but as a result of coronavirus they crystallized and were made more visible to us.

Future studies can focus on comparing metaphorical framings of discourse about coronavirus across different langauges. Considering the fact that literal war in Ukraine broke out, future studies could compare whether this military conflict led to the reduction of using WAR framings in the discourse about the coronavirus pandemic.

6 Resumé

Cílem této bakalářské práce bylo analyzovat metafory související s výrazem *koronavirus* – přesněji řečeno interpretovat jejich význam a funkci, a také objasnit vztahy mezi zdrojovými a cílovými doménami.

Přehled literatury se soustředí na pojmovou teorii metafory. Tuto teorii představila dvojice George Lakoff a Mark Johnson (1980) v publikaci *Metafory, kterými žijeme*. Metafora v jejich pojetí není pouze básnická figura, nýbrž je to nástroj, prostřednictvím kterého lidé vnímají svět, protože lidské myšlení je metaforické.

Další kapitola se věnuje válečným metaforám, které jsou často používány v diskurzu o nemoci. Jsou zde popsány korpusové studie, které byly provedeny za účelem vyhodnocení efektu metafor – jak metaforické rámcování textu ovlivňuje uvažování o dané problematice. Právě nemoc bývá často konceptualizována jako nepřítel v boji. I proto se stávají válečné metafory terčem kritiky (Sontag 1978). Druhá část kapitoly se zabývá současným rámcováním diskurzu o Covidu-19.

Metodologie popisuje postup zpracování dat. Z korpusu, který byl vytvořen z článků britského online deníku *The Guardian* byl prostřednictvím nástroje Konkordance vyhledán výraz *koronavirus*. Celkový počet tokenů byl 1.424, z nichž bylo použito 1.408. Následně byla provedena manuální analýza dat za použití slovníků.

Praktická část se zabývá analýzou metafor, které se vztahovaly k výrazu *koronavirus*. Výrazy, které byly identifikovány jako metafory (413 tokenů) byly následně klasifikovány podle zdrojových a cílových domén do jednotlivých skupin. Nejčastěji byl KORONAVIRUS konceptualizován jako SÍLA, jejímž působením došlo ke změnám ve společnosti. Nicméně, tato doména je příliš obecná, a tak nebylo možné detailně popsat korespondence mezi elementy zdrojové a cílové domény.

Metafory násilí byly druhé nejčastější, zejména pak válečná konceptuální metafora KORONAVIROVÁ PANDEMIE JE VÁLKA, kde je KORONAVIRUS chápan jako NEPŘÍTEL v boji. Tyto metafory zdůrazňovaly vážnost situace a podněcovaly k okamžité reakci, tj. přijímání opatření k zamezení šíření viru a podporování vakcinace jakožto „nástroje pro boj s koronavirem".

Další zdrojovou doménu tvořily přírodní katastrofy – KORONAVIRUS byl vnímán jako VLNA, která zasáhla společnost, nebo TORNÁDO které se přehnalo napříč územím a zanechalo po sobě četné ztráty. Menší procentuální zastoupení pak měly metafory, ve kterých byl KORONAVIRUS formulován jako PŘEKÁŽKA v životě, nebo LÁTKA v nádobě.

Nakonec bylo v korpusu identifikováno i několik originálních metafor. Jako příklad uvedu metaforu, kde byl KORONAVIRUS přirovnán k LUPĚ, která přiblížila společnosti to, jaké má chyby a nedostatky, jinými slovy, ve společnosti existovaly problémy (jako nerovnost, diskriminace, etc.) již před vypuknutím koronavirové pandemie, které se „díky" této lupě covidu staly více viditelnějšími pro pozorovatele.

7 References

Castaño, Emilia. 2019. "Discourse Analysis as a Tool for Uncovering the Lived Experience of Dementia: Metaphor Framing and Well-Being in Early-Onset Dementia Narratives." *Discourse & Communication* 14: 115–132. doi.org/10.1177/1750481319890385.

"Coronavirus Death Toll." *Worldometer*. Accessed April 21, 2022. https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/coronavirus-death-toll/.

"Coronavirus: Trump puts US on war footing to combat outbreak." 2020. *BBC News*, March 19. Accessed April 8, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-51955450.

Craig, David. 2020. "Pandemic and Its Metaphors: Sontag Revisited in the COVID-19 Era." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 23:1025-1032. doi:10.1177/1367549420938403.

Dickinson, Emily. "'Hope' Is the Thing with Feathers - (314)." Poetry Foundation. Accessed March 3, 2022. https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/42889/hope-is-the-thing-with-feathers-314.

Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "metaphor," accessed March 3, 2022. https://www.britannica.com/art/metaphor.

Flusberg, Stephen J., Teenie Matlock, and Paul H. Thibodeau. 2017. "Metaphors for the War (or Race) against Climate Change." *Environmental Communication* 11:769–783. https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2017.1289111.

Flusberg, Stephen J., Teenie Matlock, and Paul H. Thibodeau. 2018. "War metaphors in public discourse." *Metaphor and Symbol* 33:1-18. doi:10.1080/10926488.2018.1407992.

"George Floyd Death Homicide, Official Post-Mortem Declares." 2020. *BBC News*, June 2. Accessed April 19, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52886593.

"Global HIV & AIDS Statistics—Fact Sheet." n.d. UNAIDS. Accessed April 20, 2022. https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/fact-sheet.

Granger, Kate. 2014. "Having cancer is not a fight or a battle." *The Guardian*, April 25. Accessed February 2, 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/apr/25/having-cancer-not-fight-or-battle

Hendricks, Rose K., Zsófia Demjén, Elena Semino, and Lera Boroditsky. 2018. "Emotional Implications of Metaphor: Consequences of Metaphor Framing for Mindset about Cancer." *Metaphor and Symbol* 33:267–279. doi.org/10.1080/10926488.2018.1549835.

Johnson, Boris. 2022. "PM Opening Statement at Covid-19 Press Conference: 4 January 2022." *GOV.UK*. January 5. Accessed February 8, 2022. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-opening-statement-at-covid-19-press-conference-4-january-2022.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2010. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, 2nd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Macmillan Dictionary, s. v. "hope," accessed April 1, 2022. https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/hope_1.

Macmillan Dictionary, s. v. "target," accessed April 17, 2022. https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/target_1.

Macron, Emmanuel. 2020. "Coronavirus: 'We are at War' - Macron." *BBC News*, March 16. Accessed April 8, 2022. https://www.bbc.com/news/av/51917380.

Mencken, Henry Louis, and George Jean Nathan. 1920. "Heliogabalus: A Buffoonery in Three Acts." Project Gutenberg, January 31, 2020. Accessed March 28, 2022. https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/61281.

Online Etymology Dictionary, s.v. "wave," accessed April 23, 2022. https://www.etymonline.com/word/wave#etymonline_v_4859.

Online Etymology Dictionary, s.v. "target," accessed April 17, 2022.
    https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=target.

Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "victim," accessed April 17, 2022.
    https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/223196?rskey=A5agXw&result=1#eid.

Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "victory," accessed April 22, 2022.
    https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/223235?rskey=rYvBdz&result=1#eid.

Pragglejaz Group. 2007 "MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in
    Discourse." *Metaphor and Symbol* 22: 1–39.
    https://doi.org/10.1080/10926480709336752.

"#ReframeCovid collection." Accessed April 27, 2022.
    https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/139iY5kn1tCuHOQ2Y1q2LjVQrs27jFoBLG
    JHAEJagtDA/edit#gid=496446171.

"Reporter's Guide: All about Fire." n.d. *National Fire Protection Association.* Accessed
    January 30, 2022. https://www.nfpa.org/News-and-Research/Publications-and-
    media/Press-Room/Reporters-Guide-to-Fire-and-NFPA/All-about-fire

Semino, Elena, Zsófia Demjén, Andrew Hardie, Sheila Payne, and Paul Rayson. 2018.
    Metaphor, Cancer and the End of Life: A Corpus-Based Study. London, UK:
    Routledge.

Semino, Elena. 2021. "Not Soldiers but Fire-fighters" – Metaphors and Covid-19." *Health
    Communication* 36:50-58. doi:10.1080/10410236.2020.1844989.

Sontag, Susan. 1978. *Illness as Metaphor.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Thibodeau, Paul H., and Lera Boroditsky. 2011. "Metaphors We Think with: The Role of
    Metaphor in Reasoning." *PLoS ONE* 6:1–11. doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0016782.

"Tsunami Facts and Information." n.d. *Environment*, National Geographic. Accessed
    February 8, 2022.
    https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/article/tsunamis.

"UK Summary." Coronavirus (COVID-19) in the UK. Accessed April 19, 2022.
    https://coronavirus.data.gov.uk/.

Wallis, Patrick, and Brigitte Nerlich. 2005. "Disease Metaphors in New Epidemics: The
    UK Media Framing of the 2003 SARS Epidemic." *Social Science & Medicine* 60:
    2629–2039. doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.11.031.

Wicke, Phillip, and Marianna M. Bolognesi. 2020. "Framing COVID-19: How we
    conceptualize and discuss the pandemic on Twitter." *PLOS ONE* 15 (9).
    doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0240010.

"What Is the Olympic Motto?" 2022. International Olympic Committee, April 4. Accessed
    April 22, 2022. https://olympics.com/ioc/faq/olympic-symbol-and-identity/what-is-
    the-olympic-motto.

Corpora

Martinková, Michaela. 2021. *Martinkova 2021.*