TRABAJO FIN DE GRADO

GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES: LENGUA, LITERATURA Y CULTURA

FRAMING THE PANDEMIC:

A COGNITIVE POETIC APPROACH TO HEALTH COMMUNICATION

ANA GALLEGO BORDALLO

AGALLEGO357@ALUMNO.UNED.ES

ABSTRACT

Cognitive Poetics has allowed academia and public institutions to analyse and, most importantly, to provide relevant recommendations for the use of language in health and illness-related contexts. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemics has soared the interest regarding this sort of discourses in an unprecedented way and has given rise to a series of studies that have evaluated the adequateness and the impact of such communications. In this dissertation we will do an analysis of a public statement by Boris Johnson delivered within the first stage of the pandemics, in which we will employ the research findings regarding the linguistic aspects of Health communication from a Cognitive Linguistic standpoint, with a focus on metaphors and whether the war framing could be adequate in an illness-related context.

Keywords: Health communication, cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphors, framing.

RESUMEN

La Poética Cognitiva ha permitido a las instituciones públicas y el mundo académico analizar y aportar recomendaciones relevantes acerca del uso del lenguaje en contextos sanitarios. El comienzo de la pandemia de COVID-19 ha hecho que aumentara el interés por este tipo de discursos de una manera sin precedentes y ha permitido que surgieran una serie de estudios que han evaluado la adecuación y el impacto de esta clase de mensajes. En este trabajo analizaremos una conferencia de prensa de Boris Johnson realizada en la primera fase de la pandemia, poniendo en práctica las conclusiones de las investigaciones sobre los aspectos lingüísticos de comunicación sanitaria desde una perspectiva de Lingüística Cognitiva, centrándonos en el uso de metáforas y si el marco bélico es adecuado en un contexto sanitario.

Palabras clave: Comunicación en el ámbito sanitario, lingüística cognitiva, metáforas conceptuales, marcos.

Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Academic Interest

Health communication refers 'to all aspects and modes of communication that take place within medical contexts or broadly relate to the subject of health and illness' (Harvey & Adolphs, 2012). Thus, this concept takes into consideration a broad spectrum of discourses that has been object of discussion from a myriad of disciplines such as health services, ethics, psychology, social sciences to name just a few. In this essay, however, we will consider these discourses from a linguistic standpoint, within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics (CL). Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors we Live By* has marked the beginning of the 'Cognitive turn', changing the linguistic paradigm forever. The influence of this work, that has entailed the birth of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has contributed to give rise to Cognitive Poetics (CP) a relatively modern discipline whose tenets have been used in a wide range of literary and non-literary discourses, such as Health communication.

1.2 Aim and Scope

Broadly speaking, the purpose of this Bachelor's dissertation is to discuss linguistic aspects in Health communication. While our main approach will be from an essentially Cognitive Linguistic perspective, with a focus on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), it will be necessary to also provide some hints from other disciplines, such as social pragmatics, that are paramount to examine illness-related discourses. Finally, another aspect worth mentioning is that not only will we discuss the cognitive implications of the linguistic features in such contexts, but also their impact on the audience's emotions or 'emotional valence' (Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau, 2018)

The aim of this paper is by no means to achieve a comprehensive, final conclusion that would apply in every single utterance, dealing with health discourses; but rather to explore how the Cognitive Poetic approach may provide pertinent insights on the mental and emotional processes involved in communication dealing with illness, a context that might be especially challenging. We will provide findings achieved by academic research that have concluded that language does have a role in people's experience with highly

distressful situations such as being a Cancer patient or living in the midst of a pandemic, and how communication can help prevent this audience from disempowerment, contributing to the improvement of their well-being. In our analysis of the 17th March 2020 Boris Johnson's speech we will try to examine its Cognitive Poetics-related aspects and their adequacy, bearing in mind that the statement was delivered within the first stage of the COVID-19 pandemics.

Lastly, our conclusions regarding these cognitive and linguistics mechanisms may be especially relevant not only in our current pandemic context but they may also trigger further research on the matter through a systematic approach within a larger scope, including the implementation of good practices aiming at improving health communications at large, from statements and press releases dealing with public health emergencies to one-to-one communications within the healthcare practice. All in all, we consider that research should aim at delivering productive communication, always bearing in mind the recipients' well-being as the top priority.

1.3 Structure

Chapter Two will introduce the concept of Cognitive Poetics and examine the main tenets of the Cognitive Linguistic framework, focusing on the Idealized Cognitive Models with an emphasis on image schemas, metaphor and metonymic mappings and frame semantics.

We will follow by explaining the findings that research on Health communication has revealed regarding its linguistics features and the evaluation of such discourses. We will find that studies have been essentially focused on metaphors (having Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory as their theoretical base) and especially concerned with their impact on the recipients' well-being. The second part of Chapter Three will cover research whose topic is public communication regarding COVID-19 pandemics.

Finally, we will analyse one of the many public statements delivered by Boris Johnson in the COVID-19 health crisis and we will attempt to examine this discourse from a Cognitive Poetic standpoint, bearing in mind all the features tackled on the previous sections of this dissertation.

1.4 Methodology

The methodology for the analysis of this public speech will be qualitative in nature. Significant metaphorical language will be examined bearing MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse proposed by Pragglejaz Group (2007)

1.5 State of the Matter

The first attempt to define Cognitive Poetics (CP) was made by Reuven Tsur, who had been working on this new perspective from the 1970s and coined this term in the preface of his 1983 paper *What is Cognitive Poetics?* Here, Cognitive Poetics is defined as "an interdisciplinary approach to the study of literature employing the tools offered by Cognitive Sciences". Nevertheless, perhaps the most well-rounded definition of this perspective is reformulated by Tsur again as "an exploration of how cognitive processes shape and constrain literary response and poetic structure" (1992)

Over the last decades, many scholars have studied this relatively new field, focusing on different aspects. However, Semino and Culpeper point out that the common aim of all these frameworks is to provide a linguistic analysis "systematically based on theories that relate linguistic choices to cognitive structures and processes" (2002) Therefore, this theory is an interface between linguistics, literary criticism and cognitive sciences.

Thus, research has employed the CP framework to examine all sort of texts, oral or written, literary or not. Health communication has been one of the most analysed discourses, being projects such as Metaphor in end-of-life care (MELC) and #ReframeCovid initiatives dealing with providing a better understanding and implementation of best practices of the use of language in such contexts.

COVID-19 pandemics has given rise to explore the impact of language on public discourse by research groups that have published many studies on the matter. We are in the hope that their findings may help public and private institutions to handle these communications in an adequate way, preventing undesirable shortcomings for the citizens involved.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework. The Cognitive Approach

2.1 Introduction

Cognitive Poetics cannot be understood without the rising of Cognitive Linguistics, that emerged as a multifaceted response to some of the prevalent principles from other very influential linguistics traditions, namely formal approaches to language. As such, objectivism relies on the correspondence theory of truth and language (the metaphysical belief that categories exist in an objective reality, independently of consciousness). Following these formalist approaches, Generative Grammar postulates the separation or modularity between the linguistic faculty and other mental processes of attention, memory and reasoning. As Saeed (2016) points out, this external view of an independent linguistic module is often combined with a view of internal modularity, meaning that different levels of linguistic analysis such as phonology, syntax and semantic form independent modules.

These tenets are rejected by the Cognitive Linguistic framework, which has developed different theories that share the approach that language is not the product of a separate mental ability within the brain, but part of the general cognitive processes which allow humans to conceptualize experience (Peña, 1998). Thus, meaning is not to be regarded as isolated from human consciousness but as a product of our interaction with the world through mental processes that Cognitive Linguistics labels as "embodied understanding" (Johnson, 1987)

The first consequence of this postulate is that, as Saeed (2016) points out, we have no access to reality independent of human categorization and that, therefore, the structure of reality as reflected in language is a product of the human mind. Thus, the 'correspondence theory of truth', the cornerstone of Objectivism; must be rejected.

Secondly, this connection between language and cognition implies that studies in cognitive semantics have tended to blur, if not ignore, the boundaries between encyclopedic and linguistic knowledge and the strict division between the different aspects of language analysis. If Generative Grammar focuses on syntax, Cognitive Linguistics argues that grammar cannot be autonomous from

semantics. Language, according to Cognitive Linguistics, involves processes that are not isolated from other mental faculties, and that linguistic aspects should not be analysed separately.

All in all, following Croft and Cruse (2012), we can consider that the cognitive approach to language has three significant hypotheses. First, language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty; second, grammar is the conceptualization; and third, knowledge of language emerges from language use.

2.2 Idealized Cognitive Models-ICMs

Reality is conceptualized in terms of different cognitive constructs called Idealized Cognitive Models or ICMs, concept coined by George Lakoff (1987). Lakoff and other proponents of Cognitive Semantics have shown that such constructs pervade our experience to such an extent that we make unconscious use of them in our everyday life. Lakoff (1987) states that each ICM uses four kinds of structuring principles: **propositional structure**, as in Fillmore's frames, **image-schematic structure**, as in Langacker's cognitive grammar, **metaphoric mappings**, as described by Lakoff and Johnson and **metonymic mappings**, as described by Lakoff and Johnson.

Therefore, Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) are the way in which human beings organize our knowledge. ICMs may be defined as cognitive structures whose purpose is to represent reality from a certain perspective, in such a way that they result in a process of idealization of reality (Lakoff 1987, 1989, and Peña 1996, as cited by Peña, 1998) Following our research, we will focus on providing an explanation for image schemas, metaphor and metonymy mappings and frame semantics.

2.2.1 Image schemas

'An image schema is a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience' (Johnson 1987: xiv). Following Peña (1998) that provides an insightful classification of these cognitive constructs as well as a thorough explanation of image schemas:

> Image-schema is defined as a generic-level conceptual construct. Image-schemas have been found to structure several semantic domains and to lie at the base of a great number of metaphorical constructions […]. These constructs have been studied in detail, among others, by such authors as Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1989, 1990, 1993) who define them as abstractions or generalizations over spatial concepts.

We shall include among these the CONTAINER, the PATH and ORIENTATION schemas. Each image schema consists of a number of structural elements and a basic logic which can be applied to abstract reasoning. Peña (1997) postulates that there are two kinds of image-schema, the basic and the subsidiary:

> FORCE is a subsidiary to the PATH schema. But other image-schemas such as COMPULSION, OBSTACLE, COUNTERFORCE, DIVERSION, REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT, ENABLEMENT, ATTRACTION and REPULSION depend on the FORCE image-schema, which is in turn dependent on the PATH schema for their understanding and development. (Peña, 1998, p.5)

Image schemas are derived from bodily experience, as they stem from perceptual and motor interactions i. e. between body, mind, and environment (Johnson 1987, p.19−21), are nonpropositional (non represented in sentences): they are identifying patterns traced and sublimated from numerous experiences, perceptions, and image formations (Johnson 1987, p.28). They function as a bridge between concrete, sensorimotor experience and abstract reasoning (Lakoff 1987, p.440; Johnson 1987, p.29) Mandler (2004) points out that image schemas are non-innate 'schematic spatial representation' that arise from sensory experiences in the early stages of human development and precede concepts' formation. Once sensory information patterns have been extracted and stored as an image schema, sensory experience gives rise to conceptual representations.

Moreover, Mandler postulates that (image schemas) not only (do) 'create the meanings that supply the foundations of the conceptual system', but also 'allow language to be learned'. He continues by stating that it is the image schemas' abstractness the quality that allows us

> to generalize from a known example to a structurally similar example in a new and perhaps even unseeable domain. This kind of analogical learning, ubiquitous in human life, begins in infancy. It also enables the **later metaphorical extension of infants' concepts about space to social and metaphysical realms**. (p.138)

Therefore, according to the statements above, image schemas are of paramount importance *per se*, but also because they can give rise to more specific concepts

such as conceptual metaphor mappings. Thus, through our interaction with the world, we store these mental representations that may give rise to metaphors. For example, the PATH schema would motivate the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Works such as Evans and Green (2006) study how prepositions in, into, out, out of and out from are all thought to relate to the CONTAINER schema.

Tsung (2007) deepens the study of the image schemas and provides us with five features that they possess:

> (1) their serving as a bridge between concrete, sensorimotor experience and abstract reasoning; (2) their being emergent patterns created and evoked when people engage in understanding language; (3) their function of superimposition (i. e. interactions among image schemas); (4) their insinuation of a plus-minus parameter (i. e. the tendency of the opposing parts of an image schema to be more positively or negatively valued); and (5) their static and dynamic nature (p. 1)

Regarding Cognitive Poetics, the study of image schemas has been used to enhance our understanding and interpretation of literary works. Freeman (2002, p.74) argues that image schemas 'can help to identify and articulate a poet's poetics and thus contribute to an explanatory account that distinguishes one poet's poetics from another'. In her essay, she compares the dominant schemas in Emily Dickinson's and Robert Frost's work and concludes that PATH AND BALANCE is predominant in Frost, while Dickinson uses CONTAINER and CHANGE the most. Regarding prose, Kimmel (2005) sees an insightful connection between image schemas and story macrostructure, thus contributing to a better understanding of how image schemas figure in the poetics of narrative.

2.2.2 Metaphors

Research on both metonymical and, especially, metaphorical mappings have been profuse from the 1981 ground-breaking work by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson *Metaphors we live by*. In its Preface, the authors state that they have discovered linguistic evidence that challenge traditionally held notions in the Western philosophical tradition regarding meaning that defies the possibility of any objective or absolute truth and consequently, they propose that human experience and understanding play the central role while studying meaning. The authors state that experientialist approach has been followed and that they have

analysed issues of language, truth and understanding but also question 'about the meaningfulness of our everyday experience' (1981, p. X)

As opposed to Classical tradition, that had the view that metaphors were basically a rhetorical device, as defined in Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetorics*; an embellishment in literary texts not apt for ordinary language*,* The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) postulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1981) suggests a whole new vision of metaphors:

> Moreover, metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought of action. […] We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (p.3)

Therefore, contrary to the Aristotelian theory that state that metaphors can only '*describe* preexisting similarities' Lakoff and Johnson (1981) postulate that metaphors can actually '*create* similarities' (p.153, italics are mine) Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson postulate that 'metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action' (p.156) We will go over this aspect further in our dissertation.

For Cognitive Linguistics, the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one thing (conceptual domain) in terms of another. A conceptual domain can be any mental organization of human experience. Thus, according to Panther and Thornburg (2017), the word or expression that triggers the metaphor is called the linguistic vehicle, which conveys a conventional ("literal") meaning, the source meaning, and secondly, the target domain, the conceptual domain we try to understand. Therefore, through mappings, we describe mental organizations of information in domains. Source and target domains relate closely to image schemas, as we have seen above.

Lakoff and Johnson (1981), provide a taxonomy of what they call 'conventional metaphors' according to the nature of the source domain: (1) in structural metaphors one concept is structured and understood in terms of another concept; for example, ARGUMENT IS WAR. (2) Orientational metaphors are those that organize a whole system of concepts in terms of physical orientation. For

example, happiness is UP, while sadness is DOWN. (3) Finally, ontological metaphors are the ones who allow us to deal with abstract entities as if they were physical objects or substances such as INFLATION IS AN ENTITY; THE MIND IS A MACHINE. Personifications, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is 'perhaps the most obvious ontological metaphors (which) are those where the physical object is further specified as being a person […] This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities' (p.33) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS or PEOPLE ARE PLANTS are examples of this last type of metaphor.

Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal Campo (2002) add the changes this typology has experienced in Lakoff and Turner (1989): in this classification, any kind of image-schema is included in the orientational group: 'In this fashion, the concept of 'container' -originally conceived as a source for ontological metaphors in examples such as He is in love, where 'states' are viewed as 'containers'- is now regarded as a source for an image-schema metaphor' (p.43) Another innovation is the inclusion of 'The Great Chain of Being' model into the ontological metaphors.

Mirroring the conclusions regarding the consistency between metaphors and cultural values held by Lakoff and Johnson (1981), Tsung (2007) also highlights the intertwining of image schemas, metaphors and socio-cultural values. His study on images schemas on Zen poetry is a very insightful analysis about this correlation of elements in these traditional Chinese literary works[1].

2.2.3 Metonymies

This phenomenon has been treated rather briefly in Lakoff and Johnson (1981), and it has been promoted, as well as metaphor, in the Cognitive Linguistic tradition from a mere trope to the status of a mental mechanism underlying many aspects of human conceptualization.

---

[1] In which metaphorical mappings are also featured such as THE MIND IS FARMING.

Although a consensus has not been reached regarding a single definition in CL, Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal Campo (2002) state that 'all of them share the central assumption that metonymy is a domain- internal mapping', as opposed to metaphor, that as we have seen above, establishes a connection between two domains. Following Lakoff and Johnson (2002), both phenomena have in common that 'they can be explained as conceptual mappings, since there is a connection or correspondence between two things, and both can be conventionalized' (Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal Campo, 2002). However, as we mentioned earlier, they also point to some important differences between them:

> a) In metaphor there are two conceptual domains, while metonymy involves only one. b) In metaphor a whole schematic structure (with its logic), called the source domain, is mapped onto another whole schematic structure (with its logic), called the target domain; the function of the mapping is to allow us to understand and reason about the target in terms of the source […]. Metonymy, on the other hand, is primarily used for reference: we refer to an entity in a schema (or cognitive model) by referring to another entity in the same schema. c) Finally, metonymies, but not metaphors, involve a 'stands for' relationship between the source and target domains (p.25)

According to Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal Campo, however, this taxonomy fails to include the non-referential predicative use of metonymies such as *She is a real brain*. Or *She's (just) a pretty face.* (p.26)

We provide the types of metonymic relations featured in Saeed (2016)

PART FOR WHOLE (synecdoque)

There are a lot of new faces in the squad.

WHOLE FOR PART (synecdoque)

Germany won the world cup.

CONTAINER FOR CONTENT

I don´t drink more than two bottles.

MATERIAL FOR OBJECT

She needs a glass.

PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT

She always wears Stella McCartney.

PLACE FOR INSTITUTION

Downing Street has made no comment.

INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE

The Senate isn´t happy with this bill.

PLACE FOR EVENT

Hiroshima changed our view of war.

CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER

All the hospitals are on strike.

CAUSE FOR EFFECT

His native tongue is Hausa.

2.3 Frame Semantics

Another theory within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics that is worth considering for this essay's purpose is Frame Semantics postulated by Charles Fillmore. This proposal shares with the Idealized Cognitive Models discussed above that 'they both make similar claims that speakers have folk theories around the world, based on their experience and rooted in their culture' (Saeed, 2016, p.35) Frames are, therefore, the 'specific unified frameworks of experience or coherent schematizations of experience that hold words groups together, as they are being motivated by them, founded on them, and co-structured with them' (Fillmore,1985) As Semino, Demjén and Demmen (2018) point out, Lakoff and Johnson's notion of conceptual domains owes much to Fillmore's concept of 'frames', since in their conceptual theory of metaphor discussed above, 'metaphors are seen, first and foremost, as mappings (or sets of correspondences) across different domains in conceptual structure' (p.4) As we will see later on, this notion of 'frame' and 'framing' have been used in a range of different fields and we will have the chance to discuss their implication on health discourses.

Chapter III: The Poetics of Health communication

3.1 Introduction

Over the research process for this dissertation we have found that there has been a significant academic and institutional interest regarding linguistic and discursive aspects in Illness and Public Health-related contexts with the aim to understand and enhance such communication in healthcare practice (Semino, Demjén and Demmen, 2018; Hendricks, Demjén, Semino et alt, 2018), the media (Flusberg, Matlock and Thibodeau, 2018) and public health messages (Semino, 2021; McClaughlin, Nichele, Adolphs et alt, 2021). This common scope of improvement in communication has a wide spectrum since it does not only aim at providing a purely linguistic understanding of these discourses or discuss if its use is effective in communication, but also to analyse their cognitive and emotional impact on the audience and even, as stated in Semino, Demjén and Demmen (2018), to provide 'an adaptable blueprint of good practice in framing analysis'.

Such research has both a qualitative and quantitative methodology. As pointed out by Janda (2013), 'the existence of electronic corpora has also given rise to what some cognitive linguists call the 'quantitative turn' in linguistics; since it allows research to work on real-life language (either written texts or a transcription of recorded speech) which can be used as a starting point of linguistic description or as a means of verifying hypotheses about a language.

3.2 A Study on Metaphors

One of the greatest changes of paradigm that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has introduced, as stated by Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal Campo (2002), is that not only metaphor (and metonymy) are purely linguistic phenomena, but 'are given a higher status as two of the mental strategies involved in human reasoning and the use of language' (p.10) According to Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau (2018), 'metaphors are useful because they allow us to talk and think about complex or abstract information in terms of comparatively simple and more concrete information' Thus, when we speak or, potentially, think about something (target domain) in terms of another (source domain) we make a choice to

'highlight some aspects of the target and background others, facilitating different inferences and evaluations' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1981)

Therefore, this choice implies that metaphors are not neutral ways of perceiving and representing reality. As we have discussed above, even if they were only considered a purely rhetorical device, metaphors are ubiquitous in all sorts of discourses. Different studies, using broadly similar identification methods, have found them to occur, on average, between 3 and 18 times per 100 words (Semino, 2021) Moreover, in communication, Semino (2021) argues that 'metaphors are important rhetorical devices, especially when the aim is *explanation* or *persuasion*' (p.51, italics mine). To what extent are metaphors used in these contexts? Do they have any effects in the audience? Are there "bad" metaphors to be avoided altogether?

However, research has found that, to answer these questions, the traditionally held concept of 'domain' as defined in Lakoff and Johnson's 1981 seminal work *Metaphors we Live by* is way too general and it has been necessary to develop additional concepts that would allow more specific conceptual structures. Another significant drawback, as pointed out by Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau (2018) is that original Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CLT) does not 'adequately capture the importance of social pragmatics in metaphoric communications' (p.12) According to this article, another aspect understated by theorists on metaphors is their 'power of emotion' or 'emotional valence', which will be of paramount importance while analysing health communication. In order to tackle these deficiencies, 'An Integrated Approach to Metaphor and Framing in Cognition, Discourse, and Practice, with an Application to Metaphors for Cancer' by Semino, Demjén and Demmen (2018), attempts at examining the concept of 'framing' or 'frame' from various perspectives that will allow us to draw conclusions about the impact of Metaphors in Health communication.

According to this article, the concept of 'frame' or 'framing' has been approached not only from a semantics standpoint, but also from sociology and artificial intelligence. They provide a definition stating that a frame can be defined as

> a portion of background knowledge that (i) concerns a particular aspect of the world, (ii) generates expectations and inferences in communication and action, and (iii) tends to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language (p.627)

In this study, the framing effect of metaphors are considered from three different and interrelated perspectives:

- **Cognitive**, which we already discussed above, in which the notion of 'conceptual domain' is featured, a term used in CMT rather broadly to 'refer to the chunks of conceptual structure involved in metaphorical mappings' such as LIFE, MONEY, DEATH…However, these categories are fairly general and research has been forced to develop more specific conceptual structures that represent particular situations such as 'scenes' (Grady, 1997) and 'frames' (e.g Sullivan 2013). Therefore, according to this taxonomy, domains can be split into sub-domains, also known as 'frames' or 'scenes' e.g 'the BODY domain includes frames such as EXERCISE, INGESTION and many others' (p.626)

- **Discourse-based** in which 'scholars investigate in detail the forms and functions of metaphors in authentic language use, taking into account who uses them, why, in what contexts, and with what possible effects and consequences' Participants and context are therefore key to examine the metaphors used. From a discourse-based standpoint, the power of metaphors does not only depend on the conceptual structures involved, but also emerges in the dynamic interaction of people 'talking and thinking'. The communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture also play a role in the framing structure in this level of analysis and the concept of Mussolff's 'scenarios' is preferred, since we use it 'to refer to (knowledge about) a specific setting, which includes: entities/participants, roles and relationships, possible goals, actions and events, and evaluations, attitudes, emotions, and the like' This definition of 'scenario' is compatible with the notion of 'frame' from the cognitive studies that we have just approached in the previous perspective, only taking into account discourse-based aspects. The example featured in the article is a scenario

from the broad domain of MARRIAGE, e.g END OF THE HONEYMOON and ADULTERY (p.629)

- Finally, **practice-based** perspective is considered, whose focus is on 'how metaphors can help or hinder communication in particular institutional settings (e.g. healthcare or education), and the goal is to make recommendations or policy decisions about which metaphors should be adopted and which should be avoided.'

All in all, 'An Integrated Approach to Metaphor and Framing in Cognition, Discourse, and Practice, with an Application to Metaphors for Cancer' proposes a 'broad' notion of 'framing', including aspects such as agency, evaluation and emotion which enlarges the original CMT theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson, which is very pertinent for our focus on Health discourses. This article provides an insightful examination of highly interrelated concepts such as 'domain', 'frame' and 'scenario'. However, in our research process for writing this essay, we have found that most works dealing with our topic use both 'framing', 'frame' and 'domain' without taking into consideration the nuances of meaning we have just discussed above, so we will follow suit accordingly. Thus, for instance, in a discourse about Infertility, if we frame the patients' experience as a job (Palmer-Wackerly, 2012), INFERTILITY IS A JOB, we will foreground the aspects of the source domain (JOB) to think or to speak about the target, e.g 'It can become a *job* for people because there's so much *you have to learn*, *trying to find* the right physician, really *knowing* what your body is doing every month. And, so *not getting stressed out* about it.' (p.20) We will discuss in the following sections the implications of choosing a given framing or other in especially challenging situations such as health practice or public health communication.

3.2.1 Study of prevalent framings in Health communication. War vs Journey

Four features can be drawn from the research on health discourses from a Cognitive standpoint in Pre-COVID times: (1) they are mainly focused on Cancer-related contexts (2) they mostly deal with metaphors about this illness and its

process (3) they analyse the impact of the language used in such discourses and, finally, (4) they propose general best practices or recommendations.

 As pointed out by Sontag (1979) in her seminal work *Illness as Metaphor,* perhaps the earliest attack we know about metaphorical thinking about illness and health was done by Lucretius in *De Rerum Natura*, that scorned the use of concepts such as harmony (therefore a musical source domain) in order to describe the human body mechanisms[2]. Sontag, therefore, is critical of the use of the metaphors altogether but, is this actually desirable or even feasible?

Additionally, research shows that, according to Casarett et al. (2010), oncologists used metaphors 'in roughly two thirds of their conversations with patients' and 'patients also rated physicians who used more metaphors (based on the previous definition) as better communicators and easier to understand than those who used fewer'(p.256)

The aforementioned article 'An Integrated Approach to Metaphor and Framing in Cognition, Discourse, and Practice, with an Application to Metaphors for Cancer' carried out a corpora-based[3] case study consisting in the manual analysis of 15,000 words following the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) proposed by Pragglejaz Group (2007) and MIPVU extension (2010). Cancer patients represented in those data use a wide variety of data 'including metaphors to do with machinery, sports, animals, fairground rides, and so on. The most frequent patterns, however, involve violence-related metaphors (including cancer as a 'battle', 'fight', etc.) and journey-related metaphors (e.g. 'cancer journey', cancer as a 'hard road')'(p.633) This is consistent with the intuition that seems to be deeply ingrained in British and American cultures, that 'metaphors comparing cancer experience to a 'battle' or a 'fight' have been widely described as dominant

---

[2] I speak of harmony. Whatever it is,
Give it back to the musicians
De Rerum Natura, III, 124–35
trans. Rolfe Humphries

[3] The case study data come from the project [anonymized] ESRC-funded 'Metaphor in End-of-Life Care' project at Lancaster University (http://ucrel. lancs.ac.uk/melc/). It consists of a corpus containing 500,134 words from online forum posts by 56 different contributors to a publicly available UK- based website for people with cancer

in English' (Hendricks, Demjén, Semino et alt, 2018) The findings of this study can be summarised as follows:

- From a cognitive perspective, 899 words have been found that refer to WAR as the source domain, that can be labelled as BEING ILL WITH CANCER AS A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WITH DISEASE, and even at most basic level DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS. This finding is consistent with the tenet mentioned in Semino (2021) that states that 'the most frequent and conventional metaphors tend to draw from basic, embodied, sensorimotor experiences', which links image schemas, as we discussed in Chapter II of this essay, with metaphors. Semino states that when we are being faced with an obstacle that hinders our ability to achieve our goals 'or, at worst, to survive', this 'constitutes a basic, physical and image-rich "problem" scenario, with strong emotional associations. This OBSTACLE image schema gives rise to the "primary" metaphorical mapping DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS from which WAR domain is derived, which is pervasive in cancer-related communication, among other discourses such as climate change.

- From a discourse-based standpoint, the study has drawn several 'scenarios', in which linguistic patterns can be observed, for instance 'the patient's attempt to get better tends to be expressed in terms of PREPARING FOR BATTLE, ENGAGING IN BATTLE, ENGAGING IN A FIGHT, and PHYSICAL ATTACK ON AN EXTERNAL AGENT. In contrast, the effects of both the disease and the treatment on the patient tend to be expressed in terms of PHYSICAL ATTACK FROM AN EXTERNAL AGENT.' (p.636) Aspects such as empowerment or disempowerment of the patient (related to the notion of a larger degree of agency) and the implications on the patients and the context are taken into consideration. For instance, the use of this framing with terminal patients, the OUTCOME OF BATTLE scenario 'present the patient as unsuccessful, and can reflect and reinforce low self-esteem and feelings of guilt for something that is not the person's fault' (p.638). This perspective allows us, as we stated above,

to examine the use of specific metaphors in particular contexts, so we can draw more specific conclusions.

- Finally, the analysis at the level of specific linguistic expressions, the term 'fighter' has appeared 15 times in this study, which, according to it, can be considered as a metaphoreme since

  > 'it has very specific semantic, affective, and pragmatic qualities that do not apply in the same way to other apparently similar expressions, such as 'fight' or 'battle', or to non-metaphorical uses of the noun' (p.639)

  The findings of this study show that the use of fighter generally involves a positive use. However, it might not be used to indicate 'unrealistic expectations about treatment, or external pressures to 'never give up' (p.641), for instance, in the case of a terminal cancer patient.

One important conclusion is that, in spite of general intuition, the 'battle' framing is not inherently bad. Rather, different people used each of the metaphors in both empowering and disempowering ways.

Another meaningful study on Metaphors and Cancer was carried out in order to try to enhance our understanding about the emotional impact on both 'battle' and 'journey' frameworks. In 'Emotional Implications of Metaphor: Consequences of Metaphor Framing for Mindset about Cancer', the authors focus on the role of linguistics metaphors in coping with difficult situations, such as being a patient of Cancer. Can metaphors help us with hardships? Is the pervasive use of battle-framed metaphors a 'inherently violent, masculine, and power-based' (p.268) productive in a cancer-based context? An aspect highlighted in the case that we have found particularly unsettling (and pertinent) is the view that, within a war frame in a cancer-related context, the battlefield is not against an enemy invader, but instead 'one's cells are the enemies' Should an alternative to this framing be proposed on the grounds of its emotional impact?

In the five experiments reported in the article, volunteers are asked to give account of their expectations when a cancer experience is framed using either 'battle' or 'journey'. The conclusions of these experiments sustain that if a cancer

experience is framed as a 'journey', people tend to believe that the patient is more likely to 'make peace with this situation than to feel guilty to 'a greater extent' than those who read about the same disease as a 'battle' (p.276) Another aspect that is worth mentioning is that the study did not find a correlation between the impact of metaphor framing and the degree of experience with cancer undertaken by the volunteers. We could have the intuition that people who had struggled first-hand with cancer might be less influential to metaphor framing than other audience with lack of experience with this illness. However, the results of this experiment could not prove a difference in the metaphor framing effect for these two groups of people (p. 273) Another relevant finding is the subjects' tendency to communicate a cancer experience using the same frame to the one they have been exposed to. This might be relevant especially in a health practice context, since this suggests that the positive or the negative implications of a specific framework are easily and (possibly) unconsciously spread by the participants within a given scenario.

All in all, we can conclude from the findings of research of this topic that although there is not a perfect, valid in every context metaphorical framing to emotionally appraise difficult situations such as an illness, it has been examined that people are encouraged to believe that paramount issues such patients' sense of (dis)empowerment and guilt are impacted by the way we reconceptualize a cancer-related experience and, consequently, they do have an effect on the subject's well-being. Regarding war metaphors; in the light of the findings of the research discussed in this dissertation, health practitioners, institutions and the media in general might consider whether the battle framing is productive or not for every given context, and employ other strategies in their communication that might not hinder the patients' emotional health and help them cope with their situation. Nevertheless, this framing could be a force for good regarding prevention: studies have shed light to patterns that may help to enhance a change of mindset as the one carried out by Hauser and Schwarz (2015) that states that:

> When a war metaphor is used to describe cancer, people are less willing to engage in behaviors that would prevent the disease (e.g., eat less red meat, quit smoking). However, when a war metaphor is used to describe cancer *and* preventative behaviors are framed as a way to fight the disease, people are more likely to engage in them. (Flusberg, Matlock and Thibodeau, 2018, italics mine)

Finally, based on the research regarding metaphors and Cancer, Semino el alt (2018b) have developed a 'Metaphor Menu for People Living with Cancer', within the Metaphor and End-of-Life Care (MELC) project 'a collection of different metaphors based on the language used by patients, to provide a variety of alternative framings and encourage people to develop their own[4]'Both *'journey'* (*Some journeys with cancer will be longer and others short, but what matters most is how we walk that journey*) and 'battle' *(No I want to fight. I don't want it to beat me, I want to beat it.*) framing or even a combination of the two of them (*I compare life after cancer to walking with a stone in your shoe. If you let the stone rest right under the sole of your foot, it hurts every time you take a step and it is hard to move forward*) are included as examples that may help patients dealing with cancer. We have found this a fitting example of the fact that a metaphor is not productive or unfitting *per se* (not even war-related), but scenario-dependent.

3.3 The Poetics of a Pandemic. COVID-19 public communication

According to Allam (2020), 'the earliest date of symptoms for COVID-19, according to a study performed by Huang et al. (2020) and published in the Lancet journal, was December 1, 2019.' However, on 31 December 2019, the World Health Organization (WHO) was informed of a cluster of cases of pneumonia of unknown cause detected in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China. The WHO declared COVID-19 a pandemic on March 11th, due to the rapid increase in the number of cases outside China. On March 17th, five days before a lockdown was put under the United Kingdom, The Prime Minister Boris Johnson addressed the nation informing about the situation.

As stated by Olza et al. (2021):

> From the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, governments, health agencies, public institutions and the media around the world have made use of metaphors to talk about the virus, its effects and the measures needed to reduce its spread. Dominant among these metaphors have been war metaphors to talk about the virus, its effects and the measures needed to reduce its spread.

Again, we find battle framed metaphors in this pandemic context, 'much in line with what happened in public discourse during the influenza pandemic of 1918-

---

[4] Available here: http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/melc/files/2019/10/Metaphor-Menu-for-People-Living-with-Cancer-A4-Leaflet.pdf

1919' (p.100) Is this a productive framing for an exceptional context as a global pandemic like the one we are still living in?

Concerning the issue of whether a metaphor is effective or not, Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau (2018) provide the following criteria that a metaphor has to meet in order to be considered useful for thinking:

> (a) the source domain calls to mind a salient knowledge structure (or feeling); (b) this knowledge is well known to speakers of the linguistic community; and (c) the comparison of the target to the source domain is apt in a given culture. (p.4)

The authors state that war metaphors comply with these requisites since: (a) 'there is well-defined schematic knowledge for a prototypical war' (b) 'knowledge of a prototypical war is widespread' and (c) 'many common topics of discussion resemble war.' Olza et al. (2021) also state that 'at least to some extent, these metaphors may be apt and useful to talk about such crises, especially in their early stages.' For instance, wars convey a sense of risk and urgency that might trigger citizens to follow instructions aiming at controlling contagion. It has also been pointed out that 'the socio-economic effects of a pandemic are found to be similar to those of a war (e.g. acute increase of death rates; severe economic recession; loss of social wellbeing, etc…' that we have found very pertinent. 'However, war metaphors can also be inappropriate and counterproductive' especially if war is 'a dominant and (almost) exclusive frame to talk about a pandemic.' (p. 102)

The authors provide most of the reasons of the shortcomings of war framings that we have discussed in previous sections, additional problems being:

> In academia, war metaphors on the coronavirus have already been analysed as a tool **to justify and legitimise unprecedented legislative responses to the pandemic led by governments across the world** (Gillis, 2020). **Negative psychological effects of COVID-19 war rhetoric** on the population have been reported by Sabucedo, Alzate & Hur (2020) and Benziman (2020), including **unmet social expectations** (e.g. the virus cannot be rapidly beaten but will remain among us for a long time). (p.104)

Due to the unparalleled global impact of the coronavirus, the language used in the pandemic communication has raised an unprecedented interest from diverse social agents, including ordinary citizens.

> In reaction, #ReframeCovid was born as an open, collaborative and non-prescriptive initiative to collect alternatives to war metaphors for COVID-19 in any language, and to (critically) reflect on the use of figurative language about the virus, its impact and the measures taken in response. (Olza et al.,2021)

Although it was launched in late March 2020 by a linguistics thread on Twitter, whose content criticised the overuse of war metaphors and encouraged alternative framings on discourses dealing with the pandemics. This led to an improvised "menu of metaphors" mirroring the one dealing with cancer contexts discussed on the previous epigraph, only in this occasion it was contained in a collaborative document open to whoever wishing to contribute to the discussion. The alternatives[5] contributors suggested most were: Journeys, Sports, Natural Forces/Disasters and People and Animals. Semino (2021) finds Fire metaphors particularly appropriate and versatile about the Covid-19 pandemics.

> Fire metaphors are used flexibly and creatively for multiple purposes, particularly to:
>
> ● convey danger and urgency;
>
> ● distinguish between different phases of the pandemic;
>
> ● explain how contagion happens and the role of individuals within that;
>
> ● explain measures for reducing contagion;
>
> ● portray the role of health workers;
>
> ● connect the pandemic with health inequalities and other
>
> problems; and
>
> ● outline post-pandemic futures. (Semino, 2021, p.54)

---

[5] The collection is available on an open-source document
https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/139iY5kn1tCuHOQ2Y1q2LjVQrs27jFoBLGJHAEJagtDA/edit#gid=496446171

Chapter IV: Analysis of Boris Johnson's statement on coronavirus (COVID-19) 17 March 2020

In such a complex context, most European countries addressed citizens around this time in order to announce severe measures with the scope of reducing the effects of the Covid-19 disease. The common aims of these communications, which are also for the speech object of our analysis were

> (a) conveying the (sudden) seriousness of the virus spread across countries
>
> (b) calling for unity and responsibility, and
>
> (c) convincing citizens to accept unprecedented restrictive measures to lower infection rates' (Olza et al., 2021).

For instance, Spain announced a severe lockdown on 13th March. The United Kingdom started a similar process on 23rd March, so the speech we will analyse has been delivered previously to the most severe restrictions were imposed by the British government.

The Pragglejaz Group Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse (MIP) has been used in order to analyse this speech delivered by the United Kingdom's Prime Minister. We have also found pertinent to locate any metonymies we might find, since the approach of this dissertation is essentially Cognitive.

799 lexical units have been located with 30 metaphorically used words and expressions and 11 metonymies.

26
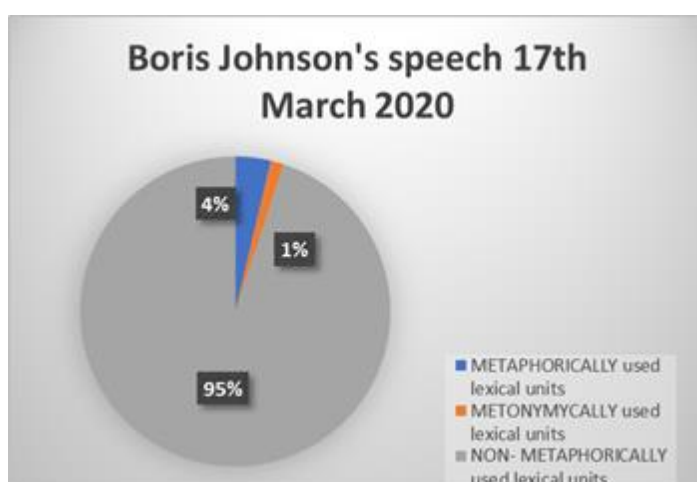
We have found that, from a Cognitive standpoint, this text is consistent with the findings of studies in both health communication and Covid-19-related academic articles that we have examined in the previous chapters.

Regarding metaphorical framing, we have encountered various instances of battle frame metaphorical uses of lexical units:

> Yes this **enemy** can be **deadly**, but it is also **beatable**.

The emphasis giving to "ending" the virus is evident, since the word 'beat' and its derivates appear no less than five times in the speech, and it appears mostly at its end, which is consistent with the effect the institutions wished to achieve with this statement.

> And however tough the months ahead we have the resolve and the resources to **win the fight**.

Which is the last sentence the Prime Minister pronounces prior to hand the conference over to Rishi Sunak, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Regarding the adequacy of the use of war framing in this speech, we could argue that although the speech is profuse in battle-related metaphors, the fact that it was delivered at an early stage of the virus spread, when citizens were starting to acknowledge the spread and effects of the virus; unseen in generations and that the priority was to convince residents to accept and undertake unprecedented restrictive measures, were conditions in which war framing was not only effective, but also advisable.

Another trend that was also described in the previous chapters, is the inclusion of journey frame metaphorical uses, all of them having a PATH image-schema:

> we may well have to **go further** and **faster** in the coming days to protect lives and the NHS

and OBSTACLE, such as the metaphorical use of 'stop':

> First, we must **stop** the disease **spreading** to a **point** where it overwhelms our NHS.

A very poignant (and specific) metaphorical use we have encountered is the INSTITUTION IS A MACHINE 'government machine' ontological metaphor.

We have found expressions linked to CONTAINER image-schema particularly pertinent to convey to the audience the stress public institutions such as the United Kingdom National Health Service (NHS) were starting to face at the time of the speech. It does not only convey the desired sense of urgency to the population but also it is able to offer an explanation to the preventative measures proposed by Johnson in his message. We are of the opinion that they can also have an emotional impact on the audience, who might feel sympathy for the NHS workers and, hopefully, persuade them to follow the instructions for preventing the spread of the virus. The fact that both the terms 'overwhelmed' and 'under great pressure' were both repeated reinforces this willingness of provoking an emotional response from the audience.

> All institutions will be **under great pressure** and we will therefore invest hugely in the people that we all rely on.

As for metonymic mapping, the NHS is named four times as well as 'country' or 'countries', we have considered both INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE. We might infer that this is consistent with the scope of the speech: to convey a sense of personal responsibility and unity to British citizens in order to undertake the restrictive measures announced by the public institutions.

All in all, we are on the opinion that the use of Cognitive Poetics elements such as image schemas, metaphors and metonymies in this speech in the aforementioned context is effective and appropriate. Perhaps it would be advisable to avoid war-framing in the following stages of the pandemic, and choose other metaphorical mappings such as journey or fire-fighting one, as we have discussed above.

REFERENCES

Allam, Z. (2020). The First 50 days of COVID-19: A Detailed Chronological Timeline and Extensive Review of Literature Documenting the Pandemic. *Surveying the Covid-19 Pandemic and its Implications*, 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-824313-8.00001-2

Benziman, Y. (2020). "Winning" the "battle" and "beating" the COVID-19 "enemy": Leaders' use of war frames to define the pandemic. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *26*(3), 247–256. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000494

Casarett, D., Pickard, A., Fishman, J. M., Alexander, S. C., Arnold, R. M., Pollak, K. I., & Tulsky, J. A. (2010). Can metaphors and analogies improve communication with seriously ill patients? *Journal of Palliative Medicine*, *13*(3), 255–260. doi:10.1089/jpm.2009.0221

Croft, W., & Cruse, D. (2004). *Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, V., & Green, M. (2006). *Cognitive linguistics: An introduction*. Edinbugh: Edinburgh University Press.

Flusberg, S., Matlock, T., and Thibodeau, P. (2018). War metaphors in public discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol, 33*(1), 1-18.

Freeman, M. (2002). Momentary stays, exploding forces: A cognitive linguistic approach to the poetics of Emily Dickson and Robert Frost. *Journal of English Linguistics 30*(1): 73−90

Gillis, M. (2020). Ventilators, missiles, doctors, troops. The justification of legislative responses to COVID-19 through military metaphors. *Law and Humanities*, *14*(2), 135–159 https://doi.org/10.1080/17521483.2020.1801950

Harvey, K., & Adolphs, S. (2012). Discourse and healthcare. In *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 496-507). Routledge.

Hauser, D. J., & Schwarz, N. (2015). The war on prevention: Bellicose cancer metaphors hurt (some) prevention intentions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *41*(1), 66–77. doi:10.1177/0146167214557006

Hendricks, R., Demjén, Z., Semino, E., & Boroditsky, L. (2018). Emotional Implications of Metaphor: Consequences of Metaphor Framing for Mindset about Cancer. *Metaphor and Symbol*, *33*(4), 267-279.

Huang C, Wang Y, Li X, et al. (2020). 'Clinical Features of Patients Infected With 2019 Novel Coronavirus in Wuhan, China.' *The Lancet 395*: 497–506.

Janda, Laura A. (ed.). (2013). *Cognitive Linguistics: The Quantitative Turn: The Essential Reader.* Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110335255.

Johnson, B. (2020). 'Speech: PM Statement on coronavirus', 17 March 2020. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-coronavirus-17-march-2020

Johnson, M. (1987). *The Body in the Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason.* University of Chicago Press.

Kimmel, M. (2005a). From metaphor to the "mental sketchpad": Literary macrostructure and compound image schemas in Heart of Darkness. *Metaphor and Symbol 20*(3): 199−238.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind.* University of Chicago Press

Lakoff, G. (1989). Some empirical results about the nature of concepts, *Mind and Language, 4,* 123-129.

Lakoff, G. (1990). The Invariance Hypothesis: is abstract reason based on image-schemas? *Cognitive Linguistics 1*-1: 39-74.

Lakoff, G. (1993). "The contemporary theory of metaphor". ORTONY, A. (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1981). *Metaphors we live by* (Paperback ed.). Chicago [etc.]: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than Cool Reason. A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Mairal Usón. R. (2015). *Teoría lingüística : Métodos, herramientas y paradigmas* (2ª ed., 2ª reimp. ed.). Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces : Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.

Mandler, J. M. (2004). *The Foundations of Mind: Origins of Conceptual thought.* Oxford University Press.

Olza, I., Koller, V., Ibarretxe-Antuñano ,I.,Pérez-Sobrino,P., Semino, E. (2021) The #ReframeCovid initiative. From Twitter to society via metaphor. *Metaphor and the Social World 11*: 98-120

Palmer-Wackerly, A. (2012). *Dancing Around Infertility: The Use of Metaphors in a Complex Medical Situation.*

Panther, K., & Thornburg, L. L. (2017). Metaphor and metonymy in language and thought: A cognitive linguistic approach. *Synthesis Philosophica, 64*(2), 271-294.

Peña Cervel, M.S. (1997). *Esquemas de imagen básicos y subsidiarios: análisis del esquema de camino. Los distintos dominios de la Lingüística Aplicada desde la perspectiva de la Pragmática.* Zaragoza: ANUBAR Ediciones

Peña Cervel, M.S. (1998). Pride and prejudice: A cognitive analysis. *Cuadernos De Investigación Filológica, 23,* 233-255.

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J. & Otal Campo, J. L. (2002). *Metonymy, Grammar and Communication.* Granada: Comares.

Sabucedo, J.M., Alzate, M., & Hur, D. (2020). COVID-19 y la metáfora de la guerra. *Revista de Psicología Social*, *35*, 618–624*.* https://doi.org/10.1080/02134748.2020.1783840 Saeed, J. I. (2016). *Semantics.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Semino, E. (2021). "Not Soldiers but Fire-fighters" - Metaphors and Covid-19*. Health Communication, 36*(1), 50-58.

Semino, E. & Culpeper, J. (2002). *Cognitive Stylistics*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Semino, E., Demjén, Z., & Demmen, J. (2018). An Integrated Approach to Metaphor and Framing in Cognition, Discourse, and Practice, with an Application to Metaphors for Cancer. *Applied Linguistics, 39*(5), 625-645.

Semino, E., Demjén, Z., Hardie, A., Rayson, P., & Payne, S. (2018b). *Metaphor, cancer and the end of life: A corpus-based study*. Routledge.

Sontag, S. (2002). *Illness as metaphor and ; Aids and its Metaphors* (Repr 2002. ed., Penguin Classics). London [etc]: Penguin.

Tseng, M. (2007). Exploring Image Schemas as a Critical Concept: Toward a Critical-Cognitive Linguistic Account of Image-Schematic Interactions. *Journal of Literary Semantics, 36*(2), 135-157. doi:10.1515/JLS.2007.008

Tsur, R. (1984). What Is Cognitive Poetics? *Poetics Today, 5*(1), 219.

Tsur, R. (1992). *Toward a theory of cognitive poetics.* Amsterdam; New York: North-Holland

ANNEXES

Prime Minister Boris Johnson made a statement on coronavirus.

Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-coronavirus-17-march-2020

I want to go through our overall plan for beating this new coronavirus.

First, we must stop the disease spreading to a point where it overwhelms our NHS. Every country in the world has the same problem.

This is a disease that is so dangerous and so infectious that without drastic measures to check its progress it would overwhelm any health system in the world.

I have used the Italian health system, it is excellent, and the problem is not the health system, it's the numbers of sufferance.

That is why we announced the steps yesterday that we did – advising against all unnecessary contact – steps that are unprecedented since World War 2.

They will have an effect on the spread of the disease.

The shielding of vulnerable groups will also reduce suffering, and I want to thank everybody at this stage for what we're all doing to follow this advice.

I stress that although the measures announced are already extreme, we may well have to go further and faster in the coming days to protect lives and the NHS.

Secondly, we are doing all we can and as quickly as we can to increase the capacity of the NHS. That means more testing, more beds, more ventilators and more trained staff. It means greater support for NHS and other staff. And it means much better data and much better technology.

Third, we must do all we can to boost science and research. We must study this disease, test drugs that already exist and have been through medical trials to

see what helps treat severe cases, and search for a vaccine. Fourth, we must act like any wartime government and do whatever it takes to support our economy. That's the main purpose of this press conference this afternoon.

We must support millions of businesses and tens of millions of families and individuals through the coming months. And to do that the government machine must and will respond with a profound sense of urgency. Thousands of brilliant officials are already working round the clock but we must do more and faster. The Chancellor will be saying much more about this in a moment, with further announcements in the coming days.

Fifth, we will need to strengthen other public services that will be under great pressure from the direct and indirect effects of the disease, such as the effects of staff shortages, and from the economic pressures. All institutions will be under great pressure and we will therefore invest hugely in the people that we all rely on, and again I want to thank all our public servants for what they are already doing.

Ultimately, to beat this crisis we will need a combination of better science, technology, medicine, data, government operations, economic support, learning from other countries and social support. As time goes on we will learn more and more about the disease and the effects of our actions. And while we need national unity, we also need international cooperation. And although we now need to impose physical distance between ourselves, we must at the same time have closer social support for each other.

Yes this enemy can be deadly, but it is also beatable – and we know how to beat it and we know that if as a country we follow the scientific advice that is now being given we know that we will beat it.

And however tough the months ahead we have the resolve and the resources to win the fight.

And, to repeat, this government will do whatever it takes.

I will now handover for more on that to Rishi Sunak, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.