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Social And Linguistic Change: The Metaphorical Expressions Related to Covid-19 in English And Arabic

A B S T R A C T

Covid-19 has been conceptualised metaphorically being related to war, disaster, panic and stressful. This study is making use the Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1987), tackling metaphorization as a mechanism in representing and conceptualizing the fear of Coronavirus (COVID-19) and how to handle its spread. It is questionable, to what extent language users rely on metaphors in explaining their concerns towards this epidemic and what are the subjects or aspects the virus is assimilated to. It aims to seek the variant motorizations that represent this virus in English comparing them with Arabic in social media and news, depending on samples of electronic articles and posts in Arabic and English since 2020. Despite the slight variation between the two languages, it is observed that the 72 corpora are rich with covid-19 related metaphorical expressions. These conceptual metaphors are categorised into 12 themes, namely war, disaster, and climate change, mental models and emotions, what to do about the virus, person, crime, and punishment, spread, football, religion, politics, journey, and puzzle. This body of work consists of three parts: The introduction that encompasses the theoretical part which presents a review of the conceptual theory of metaphor alongside the updated theories related to it. Part two explains the research methodology that involves identifying metaphors from social media, news and articles. Then full account of findings is given. Finally, this study ends with the conclusions arrived at throughout this work.

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التغيير الاجتماعي واللغوي: التعبيرات المجازية المتعلقة بـ Covid-19 باللغتين الإنجليزية والعربية

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المخلص

تم تصور Covid-19 مجازًا على أنه مرتبط بالحرب والكوارث والذعر والتوتر. تستخدم هذه الدراسة نظرية الاستعارة المفاهيمية التي اقترحها لأكوف وجونسون (1987)، لمعالجة الاستعارة كآلية في تمثيل وتصور الخوف من فيروس كورونا (COVID-19) وكيفية التعامل مع انتشاره. تحاول هذه الدراسة الاجابة عن السؤال إلى أي مدى يعتمد مستخدمو اللغة على الاستعارات في شرح مخاوفهم تجاه هذا الوباء وما هي الموضوعات أو الجوانب التي يتم استيعاب الفيروس فيها. ويهدف إلى البحث عن هذه الاستعارات في اللغة الإنجليزية ومقارنتها باللغة العربية في وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي والأخبار، اعتمادًا على عينات من المقالات والمنشورات الإلكترونية باللغتين منذ عام 2020. توصلت الدراسة الى انه على الرغم من الاختلاف الطفيف بين اللغتين، فقد لوحظ أن المجموعتين غنيتان بالتعبير المجازية المتعلقة بفيروس كوفيد-19. يتم تصنيف هذه الاستعارات المفاهيمية إلى 12 موضوعًا، وهي الحرب، والكوارث، وتغير المناخ، والنماذج العقلية والمشاعر، وما يجب القيام به حيال الفيروس، والشخص، والجريمة، والعقاب، والانتشار، وكرة القدم، والدين، والسياسة، والرحلة، والألغاز. يتكون البحث من ثلاثة أجزاء: المقدمة التي تشمل الجزء النظري الذي يقدم مراجعة للنظرية المفاهيمية للاستعارة إلى جانب النظريات المحدثة المتعلقة بها. يشرح الجزء الثاني منهجية البحث التي تتضمن جمع البيانات من وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي والأخبار والمقالات. ثم يتم تقديم النتائج وأخيرًا، تنتهي هذه الدراسة بالاستنتاجات التي تم التوصل إليها خلال هذا العمل.

الكلمات المفتاحية: استعارة، COVID-19، تصور مفاهيمي، مقارن، بلاغة، وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي.

Introduction

The spread of coronavirus has radically altered the lives of billions of people. It closed businesses and transformed their working patterns. One of the positive outcomes is that this virus has led to the explosion of novel words and phrases added to our vocabulary in different languages. It is observed that journalists and politicians are keen on using rhetoric in referring to this crisis. It is questionable, though, why has the pandemic has been talked about metaphorically? To answer this question, the outpour of metaphors, neologisms, and lexical innovations refer to the fact that linguistic creativity is a key part of language; it reshapes people's ways of engaging with the world.

Metaphor has been viewed for many centuries as a rhetorical device that can be exploited for emphasizing an idea and for ornamental purposes (SharafEIDin & Sarhan, 2021). It is a figurative structure that is created by comparing the similarities and differences between two objects or concepts and transferring one to another (Palmquist, 2001). Likewise, Saban (2008) states that metaphor is a specific mental schema that is reflected on another mental schema via establishing a relationship between two phenomena which are not similar. In modern cognitive semantics metaphor is a conceptual modelling device, being a mental operation that cognize, conceptualize, categorize, evaluate, and explain the world by analogy

(Al Husain, 2020). For Cameron (1996) metaphors serve many different purposes and are highly effective in organizing information for individuals and societies. For the importance of metaphor in media headlines, Chen (2018) asserts that metaphor is employed as a rhetorical device for the sake of boosting the vividness of expression and the efficiency of meaning in the news.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose the conceptual metaphorical theory (Henceforth CMT) that aims to settle crucial cognitive problems. In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson published their seminal book ‘Metaphors We Live By’, in which they argue that metaphors are rhetorical device as well as a cognitive one. They are an intrinsic part of people’s thoughts and actions, saying, “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, p.12). They present many examples that manifest how concepts are governed by metaphors; without these metaphors they might be impossible to comprehend. The “target” domain that indicate an abstract, complex, sensitive, and subjective experiences as in death, life, emotions, and time becomes understandable in terms of the “source” domain that correspond to simpler experience that is concrete, image-rich, and more accessible as in motions, animals, and people. By mapping role from the source domain onto target domain metaphors work (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In this regard, the linguistic realization of the conceptual metaphor ‘life is journey’ is ‘I need some direction in my life’ Demjén & Semino (2017) and Tay (2017) indicate that both physical and mental illness is a type of subjective and sensitive experience that can be conceptualized and talked about metaphorically. Figure (1) shows how conceptual mapping work between target and source domain:

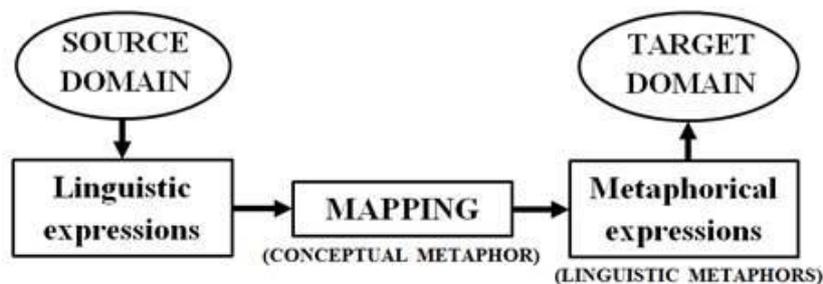


Figure (1) Conceptual mapping

For Lakoff and Johnson there are three types of conceptual metaphors: the structural metaphor, physical metaphor, and orientational metaphor. In the structural metaphor a concept is structured metaphorically in terms of another one. In our daily conversations, saying ‘argument is war’ might refer that an argument is linked to war indicating a verbal battle that can either be won or lost. When an argument is not spoken about as a war, the concept would cease having the meaning agreed-upon, i.e., “metaphorically structured”. Physical metaphor means “the projection of entity or substance status upon something that does not have that status inherently”. Thirdly, in the orientational metaphor, an entire system of concepts is organised with respect to one another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.461). Spatial orientations are given by relating sad to down and happy to up. In saying, ‘I’m feeling down’, it is understood that he is unhappy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Orientational metaphor also

applies when the “increase in quantity is understood in terms of motion upward” (Lakoff, 2009, p. 83).

A very common metaphor, ‘love is Journey’, shows concept mapping in CMT. This metaphor assimilates love to journey with regard to lovers, its progress, difficulties encountered, and the goal of the relationship. It represents journey as a source, and love is a target, see figure (2):

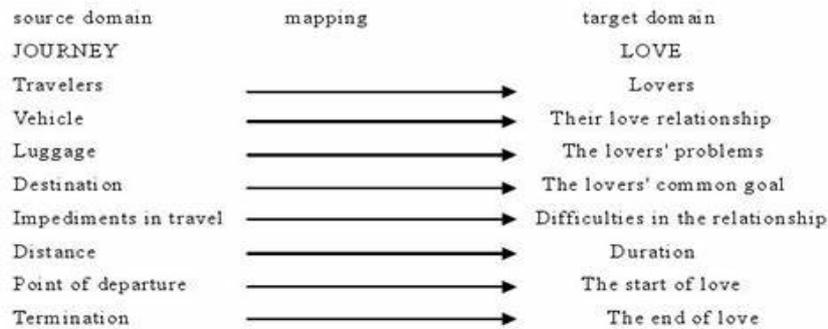


Figure (2): Cross-domain mapping in LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff, 1993)

Later, the CMT has been elaborated by Zoltán Kövecses in several works and developed the interlocking metaphor hierarchies (Kövecses 2017). For him, the principles of similarity, comparison, and analogy are the basis for metaphor formation. Kövecses states that metaphors allow to comprehend certain areas of reality in terms of conceptual structures through using the experience achieved in other areas. Metaphors are based on establishing associative similarities, connections, and differences between the phenomena of the world to create new personal meanings that represent the subjective attitude of the individual to the world, his vision, his interpretation of a certain fragment of reality (Kövecses, 2010).

In Charteris-Black’s (2004) approach, metaphors understanding refers to the processes of building syntactic models which is based on structural similarities between two domains, the source and target ones. The conceptualization of metaphor is built according to dynamic mappings of transferred information from the source domain to the target domain in order to come up with innovative emergent conceptual structures. This method of metaphorical analysis is called Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth CMA). It is a politically oriented analytical framework that drawn on the insights of Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005, 2014). CMA, a cognitive based approach, presumes that metaphor is a cognitive device that has the capacity of structuring our conceptual system and present certain understanding of the world via the correspondence between source domain and target domain. Two levels of metaphors are provided in this approach: conceptual metaphor, which is the semantic mapping (target domain/source domain), and linguistic metaphor, which is the surface realisations of the cross-domain mappings. It is assumed that metaphor is a cross-domain mapping in conceptual structure. However, it goes further beyond Lakoff’s approach, arguing that the application of cognitive theory to metaphor use might give insights into the reason why political leaders’ rhetoric is successful (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 197). To support this view,

Evan and Green (2006) assume that conceptual mapping is a significant concern in cognitive semantics.

In the cognitive approach to metaphor, linguistic metaphors used in the political discourse are perceived in terms of language and more importantly in terms of thought that has communicative impact and perform specific rhetorical purpose. Charteris-Black states that critical aspects of language use are related to cognitive assumptions in order to identify the metaphors chosen in persuasive genres as political speeches, press reports, party political manifestos and explaining why these metaphors are chosen (2014, p.174). Similarly, Steen (2011, p. 59) proposes three-dimensional model of metaphor for whom metaphor is defined theoretically as a matter of conceptual structure, and empirically it works in language, communication, or thought. The key in Charteris-Black's framework is the analysis of metaphor as a persuasive strategy. The notion of purposeful metaphor is presented to explain the effect intended by the metaphor within a "theory of metaphor in communication where there is linguistic and contextual evidence of purpose" (2012, p. 2). Adopting a discourse standpoint leads to interpreting metaphor in relation to the intended outcome. This interpretation involves reflections of authorship, audience, occasion of language use and communicative purpose. Hence, it can be realised that there is strong similarity between, Charteris-Black's approach and Steen's (2015) notion of deliberate metaphor that give insight into the use and rhetorical impact of figurative language in political discourse in which speeches are carefully constructed and purpose-oriented with persuasive goals in mind.

Metaphors, nevertheless, are not neutral ways of representing and perceiving reality since the source domain highlights certain aspects in the target and backgrounding the others and, thus, facilitating variant evaluations and inferences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). War metaphors for illness, for example, highlights the necessity to eliminate it via swift action. At the same time, it backgrounds the possibility of living with it and adapting to it. As such, in communication, metaphors are relevant rhetorical devices, particularly if the aim is persuasion or explanation. Thus, if a new virus that causes illness and death throughout the world and requires radical and urgent responses both from citizens and governments, it is not surprising to be talked about through metaphors (Semino, 2020).

The current evens bring back the analysis that Susan Sontag's put forward in *Illness as Metaphor* (1978) and *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (1989). *Illness as Metaphor* is written by Sontag where she explains her experience as a cancer patient. She asserts that the cultural myths of isolating cancer patients, make them suffer due to the meaning attributed to their illness by society. After one decade, Sontag observes that cancer have become more open to talk about because attitudes about the disease are changed. At that time, a new illness (AIDS) arose carrying forward the metaphorical explanation. She noticed that AIDS is discussed metaphorically, bringing two powerful metaphors. Firstly, it develops the theme of disease, which is seen earlier in cancer, as invader: the enemy that invades the patient and destroys them from within. This is true of a virus infection as well. When it comes from the outside, it infects a person and makes them sick. Hence, then the invader should be battled. AIDS consolidates military metaphors in medicine; the war against cancer is similar to the war against AIDS. She affirms that diseases are battled and no longer suffered. Thus, metaphors through which illness has often been discussed militarily by portraying the suffering of it as

warfare. This language is not harmless because succumbing to illness means to be defeated in war, capitulated, and humiliated. The second metaphor provoked by AIDS is that this disease is sexually transmitted, evoking the theme of plague-as-punishment.

During the recent two years, many researchers have investigated the conceptualization of coronavirus metaphorically. Crespo-Fernández (2021) has compared the metaphorical expressions related to covid-19 used by the British and Spanish Prime Ministers in declaring the state of emergency and gaining an insight into an affective and persuasive effects. The results obtained indicate that in times of crisis, metaphor is employed to help people face the pandemic, to enhance hope and courage as well as serves as a technique of positive self-presentation via which political actors gain the approval of public opinion.

Through metaphor analysis, Bilgin and Yeşilyurt (2021) explore the perception of university students in the Education Faculty of a university regarding the concept of Coronavirus. In a Phenomenology research design with a qualitative research pattern, 186 students participated in the study. An open-ended questionnaire that starts with the expression “Coronavirus is like...because...” the attitudes of those students have been analysed. The study resulted in 133 well-structured metaphors related to the concept of coronavirus.

Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Conceptual Metaphorical Theory, Sarjono and Bram (2021) investigate how Coronavirus metaphor in online mass media headlines can affect the public’s minds. Consisting of 30 headlines, a qualitative approach has been adopted in data analysis. It is found that 10 types of metaphors are used that carry either be negative or positive view towards Coronavirus. The most frequent ones are war metaphors, considering the virus as Enemy. They state that these metaphors can function as a preventive rhetorical tool to educate people about the virus.

Further, Olimat (2020) follows the sociolinguistic approach in studying euphemism and dysphemism in the Jordanian society for dealing with COVID-19. With 200 Jordanian participants who responded to a questionnaire that include demographic information and closed-ended and open-ended questions, The research is framed mainly within the Theory of Euphemism and Dysphemism proposed by Allan and Burrige (1991; 2006) alongside Warren’s model of euphemism (1992). It also adopts Lakoff and Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980). It is shown that the Jordanians use different techniques in dealing with COVID-19, namely, metaphor, shift from Arabic into English, medical terms, and abbreviation.

In his article, Craig (2020) updates the framework of AIDS metaphors developed by Susan Sontag to the COVID-19 era. He states that the rhetoric about the pandemic evoked by journalists and politicians bring us back to that of prior diseases and epidemics. Alongside the damage brought by the virus itself, these discourses can also inflict greater damage and thrust into relief the ongoing critical concerns around socio-cultural power and injustice.

On the other hand, SharafEIDin and Sarhan (2021) have tried to answer the questions of how memes can employ pictorial metaphors related to covid-19 in the American and Egyptian society, what are the kinds of narratives that are presented in these memes, does cultural difference affect the employed tools and the presented narratives? Forceville’s (2016) model of multimodal and pictorial metaphors and Baker’s (2006) narrative theory are

adopted. in analysing 20 memes (10 in Arabic and 10 in English) a mixed approach that basically examines qualitatively how internet memes writers present their narratives and analyses quantitatively the most common tools employed and the most prominent aspects of the narrative in each language.

Negro and Alousque (2021) have followed a cognitive approach in analysing the metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 in the speeches made by the French president, Emmanuel Macron, and the Spanish prime minister, Pedro Sánchez, between March and June 2020. It is revealed that the virus has been conceptually referred to as an animate being or a natural disaster, and an action to stop its spread as a war. These are three purposes behind this metaphorical network, namely, highlighting the devastating effect of COVID-19, instilling courage and hope, and making appeals for union in order to contain the pandemic.

As to Alkhatib's (2022) study, it compares coronavirus discourse in American newspapers between March and May 2020 when the fatality rate was at its peak in the United States, and between January and March 2022, when it was at its lowest. The two have been compared by exploring the dominant themes and conceptual metaphors that describe the virus from the discursive expressions. After adopting Discourse Analysis to the themes, different dominant themes in both corpora are revealed. The most dominant themes in Corpus (2020) were the lack of response to the virus in Trump's Administration with no knowledge of the it while the pandemic was on a rise. In Corpus's (2022), on the other hand, the Biden's Administration efficiently response to coronavirus was the dominant theme.

Rohela et al (2020) argue that frequent public pronouncements of metaphors of war do more harm than good in particular when they percolate through the healthcare system and the societal psyche. At a time of immense crisis, the authors describe how war narratives have dented social cohesion, which is a very important social determinant of health. It also created a rift in the healthcare system. They also express their concern that these metaphors might drive a deeper wedge into the precarious physician-patient relationship and stake the future of medicine. Finally, they suggest gentler metaphors that are drawn from sports and ecology, which emphasise cooperation and solidarity at multiple levels.

Al Husain (2020) addresses the metaphorical expressions of Coronavirus by exploring the Infosphere Online News (INFON) articles and stories. After cognitive semantic analysis of the language of this news, it is found that INFON articles embody knowledge between two active parties (News Authorship and Readership). The results have shown that the predominant perception of covid-19 in INFON discourse is that the virus being an "ENEMY". There are two images about the virus: positive and negative. The former objectively informs the readers about the world and the latter manipulate its conceptualization creating an aggressive image of world, and thus spreading fear, anxiety, and panic.

In Semino's (2021) article there is an overview of the different metaphors related to the pandemic, explaining the reason why they are used and why they matter. In this study besides, war metaphors, which is the first and most frequent one, the alternative metaphors are provided. It is suggested that fire metaphors are versatile and appropriate in communication about different aspects of the pandemic such as contagion and public health measures that aims at reducing it.

Seva and Lingga (2020) study metaphors related to Coronavirus in Indonesian media headlines, concluding that there are nine types of conceptual metaphors. The most frequent of which is that of war. It is revealed that the virus metaphor is used as a reminder to the danger of the virus.

Framing theory in Lahlou & AbdulRahim's (2022) research on conceptual metaphors that describe the coronavirus. It is found that the virus has been framed as a disaster, war, and killer.

Panzeri et al. (2021) mention that the use of the war metaphor is widely used and can be adopted for different discourses. For them, the target domain 'pandemic' is associated with the source domain of the word war, providing a rich cluster, creating positive consequences against the emergent situation and threat encountered leading the society to act accordingly.

It is found, in light of reviewing the related studies, that more research is needed to explore the conceptualization of coronavirus through metaphors in Arabic online media compared to the English one highlighting the similarities and mismatches between the two languages.

Aim of the Study

By exploring mass media, this research aims to find the dominant conceptual metaphors related to covid-19 in Arabic and English, highlighting the differences and similarities between the two languages, and to analyse how online comments and mass media headlines portray this virus through metaphors. It also intends to trace the different types of conceptual metaphors that are implemented.

Research Questions

The study tries to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the conceptual metaphors of coronavirus In English and Arabic?
2. To what extent Arabic and English differ in conceptualising covid-19 through metaphors?

Methodological Background

This section presents the methodological part in this research that includes data collection and its interpretation. Starting with data collection, I adopted Corpus Linguistics methodology which is "the study of language based on examples of real-life language use" (Wilson & McEnery, 2001, p. 1). The corpus encompasses news headlines, speeches delivered by presidents and prime ministers, articles, stakeholders' description of the virus, Tweets, and Facebook comments, comprising Covid-19 metaphors.

To perform this task, "bottom-up" approach is followed in examining the data, starting from the linguistic data and exploring the functioned by the metaphor in texts gathered.

As to data analysis, since the data gathered and analysed non-numerically, the qualitative technique was the method of data analysis (Ary, Jacobs, and Sorensen, 2010). To perform this task, after gathering in-depth insights into conceptual metaphors usage, written data was taken from online websites, then document analysis is applied as the tool in interpreting this data. It focuses on apprehending a document, both printed and electronic, to obtain elicited meaning and to develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2019; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007).

In Metaphor analysis three stages are followed: identification, interpretation and explanation. The stages are proposed by Charteris-Black (2014). Firstly, metaphorical items are selected from the corpus. Secondly, the selected metaphorical units are assigned to their corresponding conceptual network. Thirdly, the ideological intentions are explained. As Kovecses (2010) states, to comprehend metaphors is by mapping conceptual source domain to the conceptual target domain.

Regarding analysing the metaphorical words and expressions, thematic analysis is used to reveal the themes. Braun & Clarke (2006) refer that thematic analysis is used in qualitative data to find patterns. Kiger & Varpio add that “it also involves interpretation in the processes of selecting codes and constructing themes” (2020, p. 2). Thus, after manually reading the articles to find the ideas and codes, I compiled them to see what themes were created, and what discourses were shaped; then thematic analysis was used to explore and compare the discourses in both corpora. Finally, the classifications are mapped based on the conceptual metaphorical theory.

Findings and Discussion

After exploring metaphorical expressions related to covid-19 in mass media, the expressions related to the virus are classified into the concept of metaphor through the application of conceptual metaphorical theory (CMT). The following section demonstrates the concepts obtained and the expressions in both Arabic and English are war, disaster, and climate change, mental models and emotions, what to do about the virus, person, crime, and punishment, spread, football, religion, politics, journey, and puzzle.

1. War Metaphor

War metaphor is widely utilised to communicate about in times of crisis and illness resembling the situation to havoc wartime. Grady (1997) states that “difficulties are opponents” which can be talked about metaphorically. The most extreme opponent are aggressive military powers and invaders that are dealt with via fighting. This metaphor involves many expressions related to this domain such as weapon, victory, defeat, enemy, fight, etc. Obviously, the two things are variant, but similarities can be perceived. They both are dangerous and difficult, involving harm to people, demanding effort, and sometimes depriving the patient of survive (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2017; Semino et al., 2018b). Ling (2010) refers that activities in war often include attacking defending, the disease would be the attacking enemy and the patient would be the defending, whereas the doctors are the soldiers, and the weapon is the medicine to fight with. Handling the virus is imagined as if we are fighting an enemy in terms of a violent physical confrontation with an opponent in a battle.

Below are examples of war metaphor in English and Arabic identified in the corpus of this study:

- (1) *Boris Johnson's briefing where he stated that: "This **enemy** can be **deadly**, but it is also **beatable**"*¹
- (2) *Boris Johnson: "your government is working night and day to **repel** this virus, and we will succeed, just as this country has seen off every alien **invader** for the last thousand years"*²
- (3) *Trump calls Americans '**warriors**' in **fight** to open the economy*³
- (4) *'**Invisible Enemy** Will Be Soon In Full **Retreat**: Donald Trump On **Fight** Against Coronavirus*⁴
- (5) *Not **Soldiers** but **Fire-fighters***
- (6) *Firefighters drafted in to retrieve bodies as our British **heroes** join coronavirus **battle**. Firefighters are set to join the **frontline** in the UK's battle **against** coronavirus tasked with a number of key responsibilities - including retrieving the bodies of COVID-19 **victims**.*⁵

In the Above examples, the words 'enemy, deadly, beatable, worriers, retreat, fight, against, soldiers, frontline, victims, battle, heroes' are all related to the war situation being employed by both Donald trump and Boris Johnson to provoke the citizens positive attitude that the life will come back to normal.

In Arabic, Muhamad Bin Rashid's speech, the Prince of Dubai, is rich with war metaphor:

(7) محمد بن راشد: فخرون **بجيشنا الإنساني** في **معركته** ضد كورونا وقال سموه: مجتمعنا مطالب بالوقوف صفاً واحداً خلف كوادرنا الطبية، الذين يمثلون **خط دفاعنا الأول** في **حربنا** ضد الوباء العالمي، مخاطباً سموه الفرق الطبية في الدولة بالقول: «شكراً خط دفاعنا الأول، شكراً **لتضحياتكم**، وسهركم، **وبذلكم من أجل الوطن** وأضاف سموه: كادرنا الطبي اليوم هم **حماة الوطن**، وهم **سياج المجتمع**، وهم يخوضون المعركة ضد **أكبر عدو للبشرية**، لهم الشكر والتقدير، يستحقون منا كل التشجيع والثناء، ندعو الجميع لشكر **جنود الوطن** المخلصين من الكوادر الطبية، من أطباء وممرضين ومسعفين وإداريين، في قطاعنا الصحي في دولة الإمارات⁶

Mohammed bin Rashid: We are proud of our humanitarian army in its battle against Corona His Highness said, "Our society is required to stand united behind our medical cadres, who represent our frontline of defence in our war against the global epidemic. His Highness addressed the medical teams in the country by saying: "Thank you, our first line of defence, thank you for your sacrifices and staying up late, and for doing so for the sake of the country. His Highness added: Our medical staff today are the protectors of the nation, and they are the fence of society. They are fighting the battle against the greatest enemy of humanity. They deserve our thanks and appreciation. They deserve all our encouragement and praise. We invite everyone to thank the loyal soldiers of the country from the medical cadres, including doctors, nurses, paramedics and administrators, in our health sector in the UAE.

The above instances in Arabic include metaphors such as: ابطال (heroes), جيش (army), معركة (battle), جبهة (front), مكافحة (fight), تضحيات (sacrifice), ضحايا (victims), شهداء (martyrs), خط الدفاع الأول (frontline), حماة الوطن (protectors of the homeland), سياج المجتمع (fence of the society), جنود (soldiers).

Interestingly, the above metaphors describe the health system in their endeavours in protecting the citizens and treating the patients. It is observed that the aim behind using these metaphors is not only negative to spread panic and chaos but also to make people aware of

the danger of Coronavirus. There is a notable similarity between the English and Arabic metaphors in the speech of presidents.

2. Disaster and Climate Change

In addition to war metaphors, the virus, the number of positive cases, and the speed of its spread have been talked about using metaphors that associate it to weather events and natural disasters. These metaphors focus on the consequences caused by Covid-19 on health systems, economy, and society (Semino, 2020).

- (8) *Coronavirus: Europe now **epicentre** of the pandemic, says WHO*⁷
 (9) *The next stage of the EU's coronavirus **meltdown***⁸
 (10) *Here's how Covid-19 ranks among the worst **plagues** in history*⁹
 (11) *COVID-19: '**Tsunami**' of cases will push health systems to 'brink of collapse', says WHO chief*¹⁰
 (12) *COVID-19 has created 'perfect **storm**' of health inequalities*¹¹
 (13) *COVID-19 Is More like a **Wildfire** Than a Wave*¹²
 (14) *Victoria fights virus '**embers**' as NSW offers support ahead of longer lockdown*¹³
 (15) *Coronavirus could flare up again or burn out like a **firework***¹⁴
 (16) *"What we're seeing globally is a **house on fire**"*¹⁵

Epicentre, meltdown, plague, tsunami, storm, wildfire, embers, firework, and house on fire are all example of disasters that attack the earth which covid-19 is assimilated to. Besides disasters, climate change has also been used associated with coronavirus and referred to metaphorically. See (17) below:

- (17) *Forget black swans. We're getting run over by two **gray rhinos**: coronavirus and climate change.*¹⁶

The above example brings us to a rather strange metaphors: gray rhinos and black swans. This metaphor is coined by Michele Wucker, risk expert, describing dangers that are 'highly obvious, highly probable, but still neglected'. Gray rhino is opposed to the metaphor of black swans that usually refers to highly improbable and unforeseeable risks. Just like climate change impacts financial markets, coronavirus that spreads infections and fear around the world prompts black swan references from investors and the media. However, he indicates that decision-makers need to view risks as gray rhino rather than black swans saying that black swans are unforeseeable, but we can see gray rhinos in front of us and we have chance to do something about it.

In exploring Arabic headlines and Articles, the following conceptual metaphors are found:

- (18) *إعصار كوفيد 19 على الرياضة*¹⁷
Hurricane Covid 19 on sports !..
 (19) *انهيار كورونا في مصر و الشرق الاوسط و قصة الامراض الجديدة*¹⁸
Corona meltdown in Egypt and the Middle East and the story of new diseases
 (20) *كوريا الشمالية.. في عين عاصفة كوفيد*¹⁹
North Korea... in the eye of the Covid storm
 (21) *طاعون كورونا وثوران البراكين و هجوم مدمر على البيئة والانسان والمناخ*²⁰
The Corona plague (Covid-19), the eruption of volcanoes, and a devastating attack on the environment, humans and the climate
 (22) *أسوأ كابوس.. بعد مرور ستة أشهر لماذا لا يزال كورونا يجتاح العالم كالنار في الهشيم؟*²¹
The worst nightmare. Six months later, why is Corona still sweeping the world like wildfire?

As in English, Arabic headlines adopts many disaster metaphors such as إعصار Hurricane, انهيار meltdown, عاصفة storm, طاعون plague, وثوران البراكين eruption of volcanoes,

wildfire. It is noted, however, that English headlines are richer with disaster assimilations than Arabic.

3. Mental Models and Emotions

Collective trauma is rationalised via mental order and emotions. Within sensemaking theory, mental models are cognitive images related to social reality (Weick, 1995) that serve as cognitive frames which individuals can apply to their future actions and decisions (Stanley et al, 2021); (Weick et al., 2005)

These mental models and collective emotions that are deeply felt associated with collective traumatic events and experiences are not always apparent. Therefore, they need to be discussed in daily life, otherwise there is a challenge to document them (Manstead & Fischer, 2000). Since coronavirus is a stress test for the species, it has been talked about emotionally and mentally by presidents, stakeholders and writers reflecting the traumatic influence of this experience. After examining many news headlines and articles, the following anxiety and trouble metaphors in English and Arabic are documented:

(23) ***Panic, Pandemic, and the Body Politic***²²

(24) *The coronavirus is a **stress** test for the species.*²³

(25) *It's a **struggle**: the small business owners trying to survive coronavirus lockdown*²⁴

(26) ***Patience, Empathy, Communication: COVID-19's Leadership Lessons***²⁵

(27) *The impact of the coronavirus (COVID-19) **crisis** on development finance*²⁶

(28) *COVID-19 reflections: the **lessons** learnt from the pandemic*²⁷

(29) *United States: A COVID-19 **nightmare***²⁸

(30) *COVID-19 Is a Global **Problem** That Needs a Global Solution*²⁹

(31) *COVID-19 **Calamity**: How powerful countries have failed on strategy*³⁰

(32) *Covid: Why is coronavirus such a **threat**?*³¹

(33) *Is Covid-19 a **disaster**?*³²

(34) كيف ساهمت أزمة كورونا في تيسير الزواج وتقليل تكاليفه خليجياً؟³³

How has the Corona crisis contributed to facilitating marriage and reducing its costs in the Gulf?

(35) كوفيد 19 بلاءٌ وإبتلاءٌ وكشفٌ للإفتاح³⁴

Corona is a calamity and an affliction, and a reveal for the mask

(36) أسوأ كابوس.. بعد مرور ستة أشهر لماذا لا يزال كورونا يجتاح العالم كالنار في الهشيم؟³⁵

The worst nightmare. Six months later, why is Corona still sweeping the world like wildfire?

(37) كوفيد-19: هل خرجنا من محنة الجائحة؟³⁶

COVID-19: Are we out of the hardship of the pandemic

(38) كوفيد 19: السرقة في زمن الكارثة³⁷

COVID-19: Theft in a Time of Disaster

(39) عانى منه كثيرون.. طريقة للتخلص من قلق "كوفيد-19"³⁸

Many suffered from it. A way to get rid of Covid's anxiety

It worth mentioning that Arabic and English are rich with negative attitudes towards covid-19 due to the hardship experience by people throughout the world. The above quotes include some of these metaphors such as "panic, stress, struggle, patience, empathy, lesson, crisis, nightmare, problem, calamity, threat, disaster. Also, Arabic data involves similar conceptual metaphors that expresses the stressful attitude towards the virus, namely, أزمة (crisis), البلاء (the affliction), مصيبة (calamity), محنة hardship, كابوس (nightmare), كارثة (disaster), عانى (suffer), قلق (anxiety).

4. What to Do About the Virus

Nerlich (2020) lists several metaphors that are adopted to slow the spread of infections including: “take the heat out transmission, breaking chains of infection, controlled burn, starving the virus of fuel, slow it in its tracks and push it back, send the coronavirus packing, remove the invisibility cloak from the invisible virus through testing, turn the tide, and keeping the lid on.” The following metaphors express the same idea of suppressing the spread of the coronavirus:

(40) ***Flattening the curve*** to curb an epidemic³⁹

The phrase ‘flatten the curve’ appeared alongside other expressions such as stretching, extending, pushing down, drawing out the curve to mean that if the peak of the epidemic is lowered, delayed and/or slowed down for a while, hospitals buy time to manage admitting patients.

(41) ***Skate not to where the puck is but to where the puck is going to be***⁴⁰

This metaphor is used by Anthony Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. It is taken from one of the fastest-moving sports, describing the strategy of controlling the outbreak of the cases. He advocates simultaneous containment of the virus to maintain its spread. This can be achieved via immediate efforts to increase testing as well as developing treatments and vaccines.

(42) ***Will we squash the sombrero or endure a plateau of Covid pain?***⁴¹

Related to the hat-shaped curve of the flattening-the-curve graph which became famous, Boris Johnson coins the metaphor of ‘squash this sombrero’ to encourage the British people to put their foot on the high point of the curve and squash it.

(43) ***Coronavirus: The Hammer and the Dance***⁴²

Quite associated with the metaphors mentioned earlier in what to do about the virus, here this control is associated with dancing and playing games. In (43), strong action to suppress the virus and keep the rise in the number of infections under control is assimilated to dancing with it.

(44) ***Whack-a-mole*** is a lousy crisis strategy⁴³

“Whack-a-mole” is a game in which the player hits the mole on the head when it appears, then it comes from a different place. This metaphor refers to lousy crisis strategy to contain covid-19 outbreaks. Until a vaccine is produced, playing whack-a-mole is the only possibility to suppress it.

Interestingly, the Arabic corpus do not include many concepts that refer to how the virus is handled. The popular metaphor is منع انتشار فايروس كورونا preventing the spread of coronavirus. Also, in ‘Extra’ news the reporter uses the metaphors of حجم ولجم فايروس كورونا, meaning to maintain the size of the virus.

5. Person

In the person metaphor, the Great Chain of Being is useful to understand how the person metaphor is employed. The cultural model places four orders or entities on a vertical scale, namely, humans, animals, plants and objects. Humans are at the top and physical things are at the bottom (Lakoff and Turner 1989, p.166-167). Person domain is used to target covid-19

when it is conceived as a person, the personification of the virus usually carries negative connotations. This metaphor treats the disease as an animal (malign creature) or a human being whose job is to harm the population (Crespo-Fernández, 2021). Negative personification of the virus that specifies it as an enemy or killer follows a long-established political tradition that personifies the enemies of the country (Charteris-Black, 2005).

Beside the portrait of the virus as enemy in war metaphor, the corpus of this study demonstrates that the virus is personified in variable ways. Consider the following quotations:

(45) *Covid-19 is like unexpected invisible **mugger***⁴⁴

(46) *The **cunning** and **elusive** Coronavirus that is giving the world a real wakeup call*⁴⁵

(47) *Unwelcome **visitor***

(48) *How Covid-19 Is **Teaching** Us to Rethink Business Strategy*⁴⁶

In the above quotations, the virus is personified as an invisible mugger, cunning and elusive, unwelcomed visitor. It is also personified positively as a teacher as well as a person who gives a lesson to rethink business strategy.

A lower level in the hierarchy, the virus is mapped to the concept of animals. In the following headlines the target domain is comprehended as a wild and fierce animal:

(49) *This **beast** is moving very fast. Will the new coronavirus be contained or go pandemic?*⁴⁷

(50) *COVID-19 daily update: COVID is a **snake bite, monkeypox a bedbug***

The words beast, snake bite, monkeypox, and bedbugs are all used to represent the hurt of these animals implying that coronavirus can hurt and harm people with its attack.

As to Arabic the virus personification can be seen in the following headlines:

(51) *رئيس الوزراء: فيروس كورونا سيظل **متوطنا** وعلينا التعايش معه*⁴⁸

The Prime Minister: "The Corona virus will remain endemic, and we have to live with it

(52) *كانت محنة قاسية سقطت فيها في براثن فيروس كورونا **اللعين***⁴⁹

It was a severe ordeal in which I fell into the claws of the damned Corona virus

(53) *العالم VS **وحش** كورونا .. بعد 6 أشهر على الجائحة هل أصبحنا قادرين على مواجهة كوفيد 19؟*

The world VS Corona monster .. After 6 months of the pandemic, are we able to confront Covid-19?

In these quotations the virus is assimilated to a person who remains endemic, to an animal that has claws, damned, and a beast.

6. Crime and Punishment

Most societies regard illness and crime as forms of social deviance. Those who commit crimes and those who are sick disrupt normal social functioning and thus are considered undesirable. Medical professionals function as gatekeepers for the sick; and the police for criminals. They define their status and control their actions in which significant social control is exercised (Hanne, 2016).

The metaphor of crime as disease is prevalent and has been found to be productive in many circumstances. A Crime is viewed as contagious disease and similar strategies are used to overcome it and limit the epidemic (Hanne, 2016).

Flattening the curve depends on two measures: social distancing, vaccination, and treatment. metaphors of imprisonment have been used in distancing languages (Nerlich

2020). Public interest research centre (PIRC) indicate that crime metaphors are similar to the war ones, but they are a little more subtle. In the following quotes are the crime metaphors that are associated the virus:

(54) *Coronavirus: The world in **lockdown** in maps and charts*⁵⁰

(55) *Coronavirus **curfew**: Here's how law enforcement agencies will — or won't — **enforce it***⁵¹

(56) *Coping with life in **isolation** and **confinement** during the Covid-19 pandemic*⁵²

(57) *Are People Experiencing the 'Pains of **Imprisonment**' During the COVID-19 Lockdown?*⁵³

To compare the usage of the same metaphors in Arabic, the following headlines demonstrate the similarity in using crime metaphors:

(58) *بعد زيادة إصابات كورونا.. مسؤول بـ"الصحة": 3 حالات لعودة إجراءات **الغلق***⁵⁴
After the increase in Corona's case, a "Health" official: 3 cases of the return of lockdown procedures

(59) *فيروس كورونا: عدوى كوفيد 19 **حبستني** في المنزل لأكثر من سبعة أشهر*⁵⁵
Corona Virus: Covid 19 infection imprisoned me at home for more than seven months

(60) *كورونا في إثيوبيا: **الحبس** عامين **لمنتهكي** قواعد العزل العام*⁵⁶
Corona in Ethiopia: two years in prison for violators of the rules of general isolation

(61) *إجراءات جديدة وصارمة لفرض **حظر التجوال** لمحاصرة كوفيد 19*⁵⁷
New and strict measures to impose a curfew to besiege Covid 19

Expressions such as lockdown, confinement, barriers, isolation, Imprisonment, and curfew are all associated with crime and prisoners. 'lockdown' is a term that is usually used in talking about confining prisoners. Being under lockdown carries the implication that we have done something wrong which needs punishment. Likewise, curfew has similar connotation when guidelines and rules are applied for certain activities, the language of criminality is adopted by the media have been very quickly (Public interest research centre).

7. Spread

The speedy spread of the virus has been described using many interesting conceptual metaphors. Below it is mapped to Domino Effect, bullet train, and a firecracker:

(62) *COVID-19's deadly **domino effect**: It's killing people with other health problems, too*⁵⁸

The domino effect metaphor indicates that large gatherings can be exposed to the virus in a very short period of time as to dominoes when the tree expands into branches.

(63) *Coronavirus spreading in New York like a **bullet train***⁵⁹

A bullet train metaphor is used in March 2020, when the New York Governor, Andrew Cuomo, said that with 25,665 cases in New York, every three days, the number of confirmed cases is doubling, showing no sign of slowing down. The state accounts for more than half of all US infections.

(64) *Asymptomatic spread as a **firecracker with an invisible fuse***⁶⁰

In Alexis C. Madrigal and Robinson Meyer's article, they state that the spread of covid-19 is like an explosion caused by invisible fuse that might sets off the burst of disease. Because of the great uncertainty, every six days, the number of infected people doubles. This is because when a person is infected with the virus, he/she may be contagious without showing symptoms.

Another metaphor that indicates where the virus spread is assimilates it to 'petri dish', see (65):

(65) *Media falls for "Petri dish" as its go-to cliché*⁶¹.

A petri dish is a place where (or upon which) experiments are conducted. However, it is used metaphorically quite often. In the above quotation, it has been employed several times asserting that schools, day-care, and cruise ship environments are great breeding grounds for bugs.

As to Arabic two metaphors are identified in this context: the first one is *تفشي*, referring to the outbreak of the virus and the other is *يجتاح*, meaning to sweep. This metaphor has been relatedly used in many headlines:

(66) *عودة تفشي فيروس كورونا في عدد من الدول يثير القلق*⁶²

The return of the outbreak of the Corona virus in a number of countries raises concern

(67) *أسوأ كابوس.. بعد مرور ستة أشهر لماذا لا يزال كورونا يجتاح العالم كالنار في الهشيم؟*

The worst nightmare. Six months later, why is Corona still sweeping the world like wildfire

Interestingly, the two languages differ in conceptualising the spread of the virus. Unlike Arabic, English speakers incline to use similarities that are sometimes not associated with the virus.

8. Football Metaphor

England's deputy chief medical officer, Professor Jonathan Van-Tam, is well-known for using football analogies that assists in explaining aspects of the virus. In his latest metaphor, Van-Tam compared the delivery Government's vaccine delivery to defensive players who watch everybody's back. He said:

(68) *Covid-19 vaccine rollout is defenders' tracking back during a football match.*⁶³

In another instance he said:

(69) *Covid 'is a goalkeeper that can be beaten'*⁶⁴

Here, UK's stage of the pandemic is compared to the 70th minute of a football match when the other side team gives an absolute battering in the first half and in the 70th minute, we get the equaliser.

(70) *It's a bit like being three nil up in a game and thinking well we can't possibly lose this now but how many times have you seen the other side take it 4-3 do not wreck this now it is too early to relax just continue to maintain discipline and hang on just a few more months do not wreck this now we are so close.*⁶⁵

After rolling out Covid-19 vaccine, Van Tam asks people not to break the lockdown rules even if they have received it, saying that the country is not in the right place yet.

There are more analogies with of football metaphors, but I am satisfied with the above three examples. On the contrary, all the effort to identify Arabic metaphors in this domain were in vain.

9. Religion

It is observed in Arab Muslim communities that religious expression and the lexicon of Allah interfere in the daily communication. Since coronavirus has cause an impact on the life of the whole universe, Muslims started to allude that to the possibility of being a punishment

from Allah due to the immerse in sins. IN Arabic, significant number of religious metaphors associated with the virus shown below:

(71) هل انتشار فيروس كورونا عقاب وبلاء من الله؟ الإفتاء تجيب وتنصح بـ 3 أمور⁶⁶

Is the spread of the Corona virus a punishment and a scourge from God? Iftaa answers and advises 3 things

(72) ابتلاء من الله a test from God⁶⁷

(73) هل فيروس كورونا غضب من الله؟ .. على جمعة يرد بالحجة والبرهان

Is Coronavirus a wrath of God? Ali Jumaa responds with argument and proof

(74) هل كورونا من جند الله؟⁶⁸ *Is Corona a soldier of God?*

(75) تحذير من الله a warning from God

In the above examples, the virus has been thought as a punishment and waning from Allah, or soldier and wrath of Allah. This can either be due to mankind's sins or it can be a test that Allah want to see whether we will be patient or not. However, other Islamic scholars deny the possibility that the virus is a punishment; rather they think that it is a warning and Allah must have a purpose behind.

Such association between the virus and religion with the possibility of being either test or punishment by Allah is observed differently in English:

(76) *Do you think Coronavirus is a **punishment from God** for mankind for our sins and immorality?*⁶⁹

(77) *Coronavirus is a natural **evil** from living in a fallen world*⁷⁰

To answer the question in example (77), people do not accept the idea that Allah can punish all mankind for sins that they might have not done. In an article posted by Pastor Todd Roberts wherein he questions whether covid-19 is a punishment from Allah, he distinguishes between two evils: natural and moral. The formal results from wicked choices that people make such as hatred, violence, greed, selfishness. They usually result in causing suffer for others or ourselves. The latter, on the other hand, refers to diseases, disasters, i.e., the evils which people are not directly responsible for. He indicates that covid-19 is like earthquakes, tsunamis, floods, pandemic, and birth defects result from the human sins that contaminated the nature. Hence such association between religion and the virus is dealt in a different way.

10. Politics

According to Wikipedia Fascism is “a far-right, authoritarian, ultranationalist political ideology and movement, characterized by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition, belief in a natural social hierarchy, subordination of individual interests for the good of the nation, and strong regimentation of society and the economy that rose to prominence in early 20th-century Europe” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fascism>). Both Arabic and English assimilate the spread of Covid-19 to fascism, see the following examples:

(78) *The Global Spread of **Fascism** is as Real as the Spread of COVID-19*⁷¹

Without getting deeper into political issues, Walden Bello likens the spread of fascism nowadays to the spread of coronavirus, a truth that cannot be denied.

(79) *فأشوية كوفيد - 19 .. ومحاذير ما بعد الجائحة*⁷²

The fascism of Covid-19.. and post-pandemic warnings

The Arabic example displays the negative influence of covid-19 and the possible consequences that follow this pandemic which is assimilated to these of fascism.

11. Journey

Derived from the general metaphor, life is a journey, the crisis of coronavirus can be viewed metaphorically in terms of physical movement from one place to another. According to Lakoff, “complex events in general are also understood in terms of a source-path-goal schema: complex events have initial states (source), a sequence of intermediate stages (path) and a final stage (destination)” (1987, p. 275). The major meaning of the journey metaphor focuses on the idea of progress, reaching the goal in the journey towards a destination (Crespo-Fernández, 2021). Examples of this path metaphor is demonstrated in the speech of Boris Johnson addressing the nation:

(80) *The way ahead is hard [...] And yet it is also true that there is a clear way through.*⁷³

Assimilating the struggle during covid-19 crisis to a path, Johnson emphasises the way is hard, yet to get the nations goal will be by moving forward arriving to a clear way. It indicates a positive change from one state to another, leaving the crisis behind and embracing a better future (Crespo-Fernández, 2021).

In Arabic on the other hand, path metaphor is represented in the destination of the virus and its spread throughout the countries:

(81) *فيروس كورونا: تعرف على 10 دول في العالم لم يصل إليها كوفيد-19*⁷⁴

Corona Virus: Learn about 10 countries in the world that Covid-19 has not reached

Several examples that adopt path or journey metaphor state that the virus has a path whose destination is the whole world, suggested by 81. As Al Husain (2020) states, continuity is a mental image that represents the journey metaphor through transferring the structure of well-known events and activities, moving along a path, for example.

12. Puzzle

The virus has also referred to by both Arabic and English news headlines and speeches by stakeholders as a puzzle that needs to be unsolved.

(82) *Testing will unlock the puzzle*⁷⁵

In a video message that Boris Johnson posted on his Twitter account, the Prime minister states that a massively ramp up tests are needed so as people, particular NHS staff, can figure out if they need to self-isolating themselves or not, so they can return to work.

Upon collecting the Arabic data, it observed that most news headlines and articles that carry the puzzle metaphor are translated from other languages, English in particular. Since my target is the Arabic written data, all these corpora have been neglected.

(83) *لغز فيروس كورونا طويل الأمد*⁷⁶ *The long-term puzzle of Coronavirus*

In (83) Hussain Kassab writes a report wherein he uses the puzzle metaphor indicating that long-term corona virus results in serious complications which baffled doctors and researchers.

After this thematic analysis of Covid-19 conceptual metaphors, the following table summarises the conceptual mapping of metaphors for the categories identified in the corpus:

Table (1): Metaphorical mapping in online English and Arabic media

No.	Metaphor	English	Arabic
1.	War	enemy, deadly, beatable, repel, invader, warriors (people or doctors), fight, retreat, soldiers, fire-fighters, heroes, battle, victims, protect, save, weapon, victory, frontline, against	انتصار (victory), ابطال (heroes), جيش (army), معركة (battle), جبهة (front), مكافحة (fight), تضحيات (sacrifices), ضحايا (victims), شهداء (martyrs), عدو (enemy), خط الدفاع الأول (defeat), حماية الوطن (frontline), حماة الوطن (protectors of the homeland), سياج المجتمع (fence of the society), جنود (soldiers)
2.	Disaster, and climate change	epicentre, meltdown, plague, tsunami, storm, wildfire, embers, firework, house on fire, a gray rhino, black swans	اعصار (Hurricane), انهيار (meltdown), وثوران (storm), طاعون (plague), كالنار في البراكين (eruption of volcanoes), كالهشيم (wildfire)
3.	Mental models and emotions	Panic, Stress, struggle, Patience, Empathy, lesson, crisis, nightmare, problem, calamity, threat, disaster,	أزمة (crisis), البلاء (the affliction), مصيبة (calamity), كابوس (nightmare), محنة (hardship), عانى (disaster), كارثة (disaster), قلق (anxiety), (suffer)
4.	What to do about the virus	Flattening the curve, take the heat out transmission, breaking chains of infection, controlled burn, starving the virus of fuel, slow it in its tracks and push it back, send the coronavirus packing, Remove the invisibility cloak from the invisible virus through testing, turn the tide, keeping the lid on, Skate not to where the puck Squash the sombrero The hammer and the dance Playing whack-a-mole	منع انتشار (prevent the spread) حجم ولجم فايروس كورونا (maintain the size)
5.	Person	Invisible mugger, cunning, elusive, trickster, unwelcome visitor, teacher, killer, beast, snake bite, monkeypox, bedbug	برائن (damned), اللعين (damned), متوطن (endemic), وحش (beast), وحش (beast)
6.	crime, and punishment	lockdown, curfew, isolation, confinement, imprisonment,	الغلق (lockdown), حضر التجوال (curfew), منتهكي (violators), حبس (imprison)
7.	Spread	The domino effect, A bullet train Firecracker with an invisible fuse, petri dish	تفشي (outbreak), يجتاح (sweep)
8.	Football metaphor	defenders' tracking back, goalkeeper, three nil, lose, other side,	

9.	Religious	Evil Punishment	عقاب و بلاء من الله (punishment and a scourge from God), ابتلاء من الله (a test from God), غضب الله (Wrath of God), جنود الله (Soldiers of God), تحذير من الله (a warning from God)
10.	Politics	Fascism	فاشية (Fascism)
11.	Journey	way	يصل (reaches)
12.	Puzzle	Puzzle	لغز (puzzle, mystery)

Concluding Remarks

This research explored and compared metaphorical conceptualisation of covid-19 in 72 Arabic and English articles, speeches, and tweets, headlines, and YouTube titles. The tool used to collect the data, analysing them, and showing the results was through manual readings of the contexts to identify the dominant themes, compare the two data and indicate the differences. 12 kinds of conceptual metaphors in this online mass media are found, namely, war, disaster, and climate change, mental models and emotions, what to do about the virus, person, crime, and punishment, spread, football metaphor, religion, politics, journey, and puzzle. Despite the slight variation between the corpus of the two data, they are quite similar. The rhetorical tools are used to affect people's views to emphasize the danger of the virus.

Warfare metaphors is notable both Arabic and English in the sense that the virus is conceptualised as an enemy with a preference to fight it and get rid of it. Some of these expressions are deadly, beatable, repel, invader, warriors (people or doctors), fight, retreat, soldiers, fire-fighters, heroes, battle, victims, protect, save, weapon, victory, frontline. This tendency is to create a positive effect and understand the threat of the situation. The same result is achieved in many works conducted by researchers who explored war metaphors in many languages as in Olimat (2020), Bolognesi (2020) and Fernández-Pedemonte et al. (2020) who demonstrated that war related metaphors are commonly used to frame the discourse around covid-19.

Interestingly, Covid-19 in Arabic is thought to be a punishment and a scourge, test, and warn from God, or it can be a soldier and wrath of Allah. This conceptual metaphor, even when it is used in English thinking questioning whether the virus is a devil or if it is a punishment from Allah, is denied asserting the Allah will never abuse his innocent creatures for sins that they have not done. This associate between covid-19 and religion is also found in Olimat's (2020) euphemism and dysphemism in the Jordanian society for dealing with COVID-19.

Another notable difference is in football metaphor wherein coronavirus in English data, but not in Arabic, is thought to be a goalkeeper that can be beaten, the vaccine delivery to defensive players who watch everybody's back. Handling covid 19 is linked to a game referring to the virus as the other sided, imagining the whole society after rolling the vaccine beating the virus three nil, but it is too early to relax and reduce the breakdown rules because

the other side, i.e. the virus, might take it 4-3. This same metaphor is found in Bilgin and Yeşilyurt (2021) who explore the perception of university students in the Education Faculty of a university regarding the concept of Coronavirus.

Both Arabic and English data include Metaphors related to Mental models and emotions towards the spread of the virus stating it as panic, stress, struggle, patience, empathy, lesson, crisis, nightmare, problem, calamity, threat, disaster, etc. such tendency is also found in Apresjan's (1997) work who studies emotions and mental models in collective trauma.

A significant variation between Arabic and English is the metaphors adopted in English that refer to how to handle the virus and how fast the virus is spread. It is associated with domino effect, firecracker, and bullet train. Also petri dish metaphor is used to refer to where covid-19 can widely spread. As to suppressing the virus, also English is richer in using lots of strange associations such as 'skate not to where the puck, squash the sombrero, the hammer and the dance, laying whack-a-mole, etc. This result is also found in a review of covid-19 metaphorical conceptualisations carried by Nerlich (2020).

As to person metaphor, the two languages personalise the virus to be a mugger, cunning, elusive, trickster, visitor, teacher, and killer. Animal metaphor withing the same hierarchy is also found assimilating the virus to a beast, snake bite (English), monkeypox (English), bedbug (English).

In addition, both Arabic and English involve crime metaphors stating social deviance to be similar to lockdown, isolation, confinement, imprisonment. Such connotation is also exploited by Hanne, M. (2016) in treating patients and society as prisoners.

Finally, although English is richer than Arabic in this regard, the pandemic is similar to disasters that attack the earth such as epicentre, meltdown, plague, floods and tides, tsunami, storm, wildfire, embers, firework, house on fire. Such result is also arrived at in Negro and Alousque (2021) work who compares the metaphorical concepts in English and Spanish. ⁷⁷

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