# The Conceptualization of COVID-19 in English and Kurdish Online Newspaper Articles: A Cognitive Semantic Approach

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#### **Abstract**

One of the principles of cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics is that human language is metaphorical in nature and meaning does not only reside in the linguistic items but also in the language users' conceptualizations against the situations and events. Metaphor is one means of conceptualization. The cognitive semantic theory of metaphors is known as Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory. According to this theory, metaphor is a mental process of understanding one domain in terms of another. Based on this, the present study is an attempt to examine the ways via which the novel coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) has been conceptualized in the Kurdish and English e-newspaper articles. The articles have been taken from the online English and Kurdish newspapers such as BBC, the New York Times, Rudaw, NRT, Kurdiu, Kurdistan24, and many others. It has been hypothesized that, like any other concepts, COVID-19 is metaphorically understood and its meaning does not only confine in the term. It has been concluded that this epidemic disease can be, based on the construals and perspectives the conceptualizers take, understood in terms of different concepts such as WAR, FIRE, ADVERSARY, GUEST, REVENGE, DARKNESS, JOURNEY, etc., each of which is based on the background of the subject matter of the online newspaper articles as well as culture and our experiences with COVID-19.

Keywords: COVID-19, conceptualization, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, online newspaper articles.

#### 1 Introduction

# 1.1 Conceptualization and the conceptual metaphors

COVID-19 has spread unexpectedly. It has spread in a way as if the world were a small village. Panic has occupied the world in a matter of few weeks. The matter of the outbreak of this disease has become the topic of the majority of various audio-visual media after it has spread in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States of America. It has caused changes to the lives of the people who just heard about its spread in their neighborhoods. People have started to wear masks, gloves, and wash their hands many times thoroughly every few hours and before and after dining, etc. Schools and universities have been shuttered world widely. Firms and businesses have come to a standstill. Most of the airliners have been parked in the airports. Markets have been emptied from the food and the everyday needed objects due to the 'stay home' and lockdowns and curfew regulations by the governments. Governments have declared emergency conditions. Committees have been made to encounter the crises. All of these actions are metaphorical in the sense that they are not normal. In this paper we check the same metaphorical reflection of the transmitted disease in the language of the Kurdish and

English e-newspaper articles amid the outbreak. The changes that this disease has brought about, as one of the University of Birmingham's Professors wrote (Hunston, 2020), include languages as well.

Since its emergence, cognitive semantics has been reinforcing the role of the human mind in meaning construction. According to cognitive semantics, it is hard to understand the abstract concepts without taking course to tangible or less abstract objects—the concrete ones. It is believed that, in the majority of the cases, the human mind does this unconsciously. This process is known as mapping the items of one domain onto the items of another domain. Basically, this mapping is the core or 'leaven of what is called conceptual metaphors. The cognitive semantic approach to metaphor is known as the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This mental faculty is reflected in human language. For instance, TIME IS MONEY is a conceptual metaphor in which the concept of time is conceived of in terms of that of money. This is on the abstract level of thought or cognition. This conceptual metaphor has different realizations in both action and language (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003, pp. 7-9).

In our everyday interactions we see that in English as well as Kurdish cultures people gain their wages or salaries on the basis of the number of the hours they spend on work. The rents are measured on the basis of time measuring units such as months and years. The costs of calling in our mobile services are all weighed according to the time we spend for makings phone calls. Furthermore, the extra money the instructors receive in the universities in Kurdistan is calculated against the extra hours the instructors spend in teaching.

By the same token, the reflection of the above metaphor is found in both Kurdish and English languages. The realization of this conceptual metaphor in these two languages is found in various expressions. The following English and Kurdish sentences are two examples.

(1) a. Don't waste your time.

b. اکاتم نسه]=I do not have time.]

The verbs *waste* and <code>about money</code> [=have/possess] are originally part of the vocabularies which are used for treating and about *money*, but in (1 a-b), are used to for time. This shows that the concept of time which is an abstract concept is understood in terms of the concept of money which is a concrete concept. According to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory we understand an abstract concept with the help of a concrete concept. The abstract concept is known as *target* domain, while the concrete concept is called the *source* domain (cf. Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p.118). The above English and Kurdish sentences show that in both languages the concept of time is conceptualized in terms of money. This conceptualization is based on a mental operation or process called mapping (see Evans, 2007, p. 130, 136, 137). There are correspondences between the two domains of time and money. They are both important. Through them one can gain purposes. Despite these correspondences, there are mismatches between them. For instance, money can be borrowed and given back while time cannot. One can save his/her money but there is no bank for time. So, conceptual metaphors highlight some semantic features and at the same time hide some others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the entire study, all the block capitals denote the conceptual metaphors. They represent the concepts in the mind of the people and are not to be confused for the metaphorical linguistic expressions similar to (1 a-b), exemplified above. This method is widely adopted by the majority of the cognitive semanticists (see, e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003; Dancygier & Sweester, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper, the English translation of Kurdish words, phrases, etc. are enclosed between square brackets [] with an equal = symbol before them.

pp. 10-13). The mapping between the two domains is based the highlighted not the hidden features which are eventually culture dependent.

A major principle of cognitive semantics is that meaning is conceptualization, and people can conceptualize or construe one thing from different perspectives. For instance, there are different conceptual metaphors for the concept of *love*. Some of them are LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS A FIRE, LOVE IS A CONTAINER, and LOVE IS MADNESS (for many others, see Kövecses, 2000, p. 26). The same is true of the conceptualization of COVID-19. Since its outbreak, the news agencies have described the disease from different perspectives according to the subject matter of their articles. Before tackling them, let us now see how the medical practitioners and virologist define the notion of COVID-19.

#### 1.2 COVID-19

COVID-19 is an epidemic or contagious illness caused by a virus which is a member of the family of coronaviruses (Ziebuhr, 2016, p. xiii). In humans, coronaviruses were first discovered in the 60s of the previous century (see Korsman et al, 2012, p.94; Wang, 2016, p.v). The coronaviruses are all from animals such as bats, civet cats, camels, etc. Two recent epidemic diseases caused by coronaviruses have been SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) in 2003 and MERS (Middle East Respiratory Syndrome) in 2012. COVID-19 is a zoonotic disease—first, spreads among animals then it is transmitted from animals to humans and then transmits from human to human. The virus that causes COVID-19 is known as the novel coronavirus or SARS-CoV2 (see KFF's COVID-19's online Glossary, 2020).

The first cases infected with the novel coronavirus were lea group of people in a wildlife animals market in Wuhan, a city in Hubei province of China, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2019. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 2020, the WHO (World Health Organization) officially named the infection *COVID-19* (an acronym coined from *coronavirus disease* 2019) (WHO, 2020a). On the 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2020, the WHO declared that "COVID-19 can be characterized as a pandemic" (WHO, 2020b).

Checking the 'situation reports' of the WHO about the new coronavirus infection, one will find that the organization had been calling it Novel Coronavirus (2019-nCoV). From the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2020 to the 11<sup>th</sup> of February, 2020, from the latter date onward, *COVID-19* has been used in the Situation Reports of the WHO. This is why in the English news reports, there are different expressions used to refer to COVID-19. *Wuhan virus* or *Wuhan Coronavirus* is another expression denoting the virus or even the disease, yet some people say it is a racist term. The last racist term which was used by the USA president was *Chinese Virus* (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). By the same token, true, Omar (2020) uses

The same holds true for the Kurdish language. The most widespread name denoting the disease is پەتاى كۆرۆنا [=corona]. The other names are پەتاى كۆرۆنا [=corona disease], نەخۆشى كۆرۆنا، كۆۋىد-۱۹۹۹, [=corona virus disease, COVID-19]. انەخۇشى قايرۆسى كۆرۈنا، كۆڤىد-۱۹۹۹, [=corona virus disease] دەخۇشى قايرۇسى كۆرۈنا، كۆۋىد-۱۹۹۹, [=corona virus disease]

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Far from racism, these uses are metaphorical. Cognitive semantically, they can be explained as example of both conceptual metaphors and metonymies. As we will see, in the majority of the cases the name of the disease, COVID-19, has been used for the name of the virus, SARS-CoV2 or novel coronavirus.

ا كۆڤىد نۆزدە [=Covid nineteen] is used. Likewise, in Kurdish the first 'o' in كۆڤىد نۆزدە [=corona] has been dropped in some texts and discourses to spell كرۆنا [crona] because it is a tongue-twister. The same phenomenon existed with the car brand called Corona; the Kurds mention this brand as Crona instead of Corona.

COVID-19 is a fatal disease as it infects the lungs and can cause pneumonia, cough, difficult breathing, and even kidney failure. This infection can be transmitted easily through direct contact to the infected people: getting the droplets of an infected sneezer, handshakes, etc. By the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 2020 almost COVID-19 has spread all over the world.

No. of infected Countries **Dates** COVID-19 cases 04 Jan. 2020 1 (Wuhan, China) 44 0 20 Jan. 2020 282 30 Jan. 2020 7818 15 Feb. 2020 50580 1 Mar. 2020 87137 20 Mar. 2020 >143 countries and territories 234 073 31 Mar. 2020 750890 200 countries and territories 12 Apr. 2020 200 countries and territories 1 696 588

Table 1: Global Statistics of COVID-19's cases and deaths (based on WHO, 2020c).

Based on the Situation Reports published in the WHO website, Table 1 summarizes the statistics of COVID-19's infections and death tolls in the world in eight different dates since the outbreak to the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 2020 (WHO, 2020 c; for the basics of the virus causing COVID-19, see CDC, 2020).

## 1.3 Online Newspaper Articles

For its primary data, this study highly depends on news articles. This is why it is necessary to shed light on the concept *news articles*. We will first begin with the definition of the concept of news. Musburger (2007, p. 93) defines *news* as "the distribution of information affecting people or information of an interest to the largest audience." A news article, on other hand (a. k. a., *newspaper article* or *news story*) is a form of writing which is meant to be published in a print or electronic medium. News articles report news or a current issue in the community. Usually news reports tackle a current or recent issue. This holds true for our case; COVID-19 has become the most popular news topic in the world widely. The electronic media are flooded with reports relevant to this disease. Nowadays, traditional newspapers are not preferable because it might be one way for the spread of the virus.

# 2 Previous Studies

During the previous recent epidemics like SARS in 2003 studies were conducted on the use of metaphor to talk about the infection in English and Chinese languages. Other studies were also conducted on ADIS and HIV metaphors. To our knowledge, no one has ever has made any study regarding this pandemic, COVID-19, neither in English nor in Kurdish. Thus, this study is a breakthrough and brand-new.

# 3 Hypotheses

The researcher hypothesizes that COVID-19 can be conceptualized from different perspectives. Another hypothesis is that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is applicable to the analysis of the metaphorical conceptualizations of COVID-19 newspaper discourses. As a result, the meaning of COVID-19 is metaphorical and its metaphors depend on personal experiences, culture, religion, etc.

# 4 Data Collection and Methodology

#### **4.1 Data**

The data of this study is collected from the most well-known newspapers and news websites affiliated to the world-widely or locally famous broadcasting corporations. The news articles under scrutiny are either in English or Kurdish. The news articles which are in English have been taken from various news sites such as the New York Times, BBC, Sky News, English Aljazeera, etc. Likewise, the Kurdish samples are from the well-known online newspapers such as Rudaw, NRT, Kurdistan 24, Payam, basnews, Kurdiu, etc.

The news articles used as data for this study are those which were published regarding COVID-19 since the start of the outbreak, the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2019 to the 12<sup>th</sup> of April 2020. In these 103 days, the spread of COVID-19 triggered many electronic English and Kurdish newspapers and news agencies to publish various articles on different aspects of the rampant disease. The mentioned newspapers and news agencies' websites are flooded with articles themed COVID-19 in one way or another.

The English variety of the news we analyze is the Standard English which is adopted by the world wide news agencies. The Kurdish variety is that which is known as Central Kurdish, i.e., Sorani, which is widely used in the Iraqi Kurdistan.

#### 4.2 Methodology

This study is a cognitive semantic analysis of the conceptual metaphors on which the news articles are based in order to conceptualize the real nature and effect of COVID-19 and its reflection in both English and Kurdish languages. The adopted model for this study is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed first by Lakoff and Johnson in book *Metaphors We Live by* (1980/2003).

# 5 Findings and Discussions

As mentioned earlier, *COVID-19* has been coined from *coronavirus disease 2019* and the name of the virus is technically novel coronavirus (abbreviated as 2019-nCov) or SARS-CoV2. Cognitive semantically, the name of the virus, *corona*, is metaphorical. The word *corona* means *crown*, so called because the virus appears under microscope like the solar or eye corona. This is why the name is based on the fact that the virus's outlook is metaphorized in a way demonstrated in Figure 1. In cognitive semantics, this type of metaphor is called *image metaphor* (Lakoff, 1987).



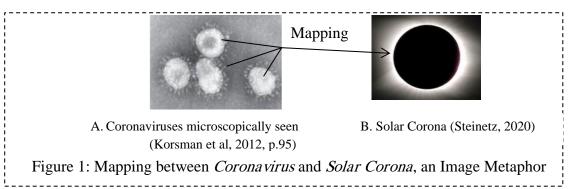


Figure 1 illustrates that we understand the conceptual image of the viruses in A in terms of the mental image of the outer part of the sun during an eclipse, shown in B. An Image metaphor, as in Figure 1 A and B, is based on physical resemblance of the two items that are mapped onto one another. Strangely, I remember, when we were children, and children are still, we used to draw the image of the sun in a way resembling the shape of a coronavirus.

Literally, COVID-19 per se occupies a subdomain in the domain of diseases. However, to understand and explicate the impact and danger of COVID-19 on human life, community, economy, etc., the news articles of this study have taken course to metaphors and comprehended COVID-19 in terms of different domains. In the reset of this section, we refer to many conceptual metaphors with their linguistic realizations within the e-newspaper articles. In the analysis, COVID-19 has been conceived of in terms of orientational, ontological, and structural conceptual metaphors (for a detailed account of the three types of conceptual metaphors, see Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003, pp. 14-74).

One of distinctive features of human language is that it is creative. By creativity of language, linguists mean that speakers of any language have the ability to utter and understand novel utterances—unheard-unsaid-before expressions. *My hair is a den for ideas* is an example. Actually, I have never heard and never said it before. In cognitive semantics, creativity also means the ability to look at one scene or situation from different perspectives and accordingly structuring it with different linguistic expressions (cf. Hamawand, 2020, pp. 5, 29). This holds true for the pandemic disease COVID-19. As we will see, COVID-19 has been conceptualized from many different angles and this phenomenon is reflected in the language of the online newspaper articles.

# 5.1

# 5.2 COVID-19 IS AN ADVERSARY

Reading the majority of the of the online articles written regarding the novel coronavirus causing COVID-19, one can find many vocabularies used for describing the disease which are originally items in the domain of enemies. Accordingly, COVID-19 is comprehended as a foe—a foe to humanity or the patients. The following are some examples.

- (2) a. "Come together as one against a common enemy: an enemy against humanity." (Channel News Asia, 2020)
  - b. له بهرهنگاربوونهوهی جهنگیک کهتیایدا ئهمان تهنیا سهربازن بهرامبهر ئهو دوژمنه نهبینراوه. [=Involving in a war in which they (the nurses and doctors) are the only soldiers against the invisible enemy (i.e, coronavirus)] (Muhammad, 2020a)

c. Despite the 1918-20 Spanish flu devouring 50 million people, largely human-triggered pandemics like SARS, swine flu, Ebola, MERS and COVID-19 repeatedly **invade** the community of civilised human beings. (Lama, 2020)

So, in (2) the notion of COVID-19 has been cognized in terms of an enemy. One can trace this conceptual metaphor to a more comprehensive personification metaphor. COVID-19 IS A PERSON. COVID-19 has stopped all the progresses and developments in the world. The emergence of COVID-19 has brought all human developments into a standstill. What COVID-19 has done is what you expect from an enemy. COVID-19 has been an enemy to humans, in general, and to the doctors and health and medical staff, in particular. The boldfaced portions in (2a-c) indicate. The reflection of this metaphor is also found in reactions the states take against COVID-19. The same holds true for the second part of (3a) below, the enemy remains invisible. There, the virus is said to be invisible in the sense that its effects are not seen in patients in the USA. The virus has been described as invisible because it can't be a seen with naked eyes. Usually, cities or countries are invaded by their enemies. The verb invade is in (2c) reveals that COVID-19's, as well as the other pandemics like Spanish flue in the second decade of the previous century, and recently SARS, MERS, Ebola, swine and bird flus', being an invader or enemy of humanity. Furthermore, invade reveals its relation to the next conceptual metaphor—COVID-19 IS A WAR.

#### 5.3 COVID-19 IS A WAR

Another widely conceptualization of the virus and the disease caused by it is the WAR metaphor. All the governments of the world declare 'war' against COVID-19.

- (3) a. Donald Trump says he now considers himself a "wartime president". But, for now, the enemy remains invisible. (The Economist, 2020)
  - b. Sri Lanka extends nationwide **curfew** to **fight** coronavirus pandemic (Thasleem, 2020)
  - c. سەرۆكى رێكحراوى تەندروستى جيھانى رايگەيان، "نابێت تەنھا بەرگرى بكەين، بەڵكو بۆ بردنەوە، پێويستە بە تۆكمەيى ھێرش بكەينە سەرڠايرۆسەكە"

[=The WHO director-general announced: we should not only protect, in order to **win** (the war), we should **strongly attack** the virus.] (NRT, 2020a)

The boldfaced expressions in (3a-c) are originally words and phrases which are literally used to talk about war. There are many other commonly used linguistic metaphors that realize COVID-19 IS WAR. In the news articles, there are many war terms used for the conceptualization the pandemic. Some of them are *outbreak*, *combat*, *frontline*, *battle*, *battlefield*, *victims*, *martyrs* (e.g., see Hanson, 2020; NRT, 2020b; Lo, 2020), and their translations in Kurdish—as we will see in the coming sections. The fighters of this war are the health practitioners (physicians and nurses). At Salahaddin University-Hawler, a committee has been made under the name ليژنهي بهرونگاربونهوي ڤايروٽسي كوّروٽيا [=Coronavirus Combat Committee] I call it *triple C* (Muhammad, 2020b).

We can say that DOCTORS/NURSES ARE FIGHTERS AGAINST COVID-19 is a micometaphor of above megametaphor (for definition of *megametaphor* and *micrometaphor*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Arabic word for the diseases that spread easily is عدوى which is literally derived from عدو, meaning adversary.

see Stockwell, 2002). The COVID-19 IS WAR metaphor is also realized in the measures the governments take such as mobilizing the army (in China, and in Italy for burying and burning the bodies of those died for the novel coronavirus) and in the case of Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) the (traffic) police, security forces, and many other official forces all involved in the process of performing and maintaining the general curfew imposed on the people of Kurdistan to stay indoors and implement health measurements in order to turn the tide of the spread of the virus in the Region (e.g., see Kiani, 2020). The declaration of the state of emergencies by the countries officials world-widely is another evidence for the metaphoricity of COVID-19's being a WAR (e.g., see 4c below). The pictures encompassed in Figure 2 are visual representations of COVID-19 IS WAR metaphor. The victory gestures the medical staffs do during the media footages world widely is another evidence of COVID-19's being a WAR.







Figure 2: visualization of COVID-19 IS WAR metaphor (China Daily, 2020; Shwan, 2020)

The weapons used in used in this 'war' are what the medical practitioners use such as medicine, ventilators, medical masks, gloves, gowns, etc. We can say that COVID-19 IS WAR is itself a derived form of another well-known metaphor which likens diseases or medicine, in general, to a war (see Fleischman, 2003, pp. 445 ff.). In addition to this conceptualization of COVID-19 as a battle, it is worth mentioning that some people conceptualize the outbreak of COVID-19 as the World War III or a biological war among the world's great powers.

#### 5.4 COVID-19 IS FIRE

The virus that causes this COVID-19 spreads very fast. It spreads like a fire. There are many fire terms which are used for describing the spread of COVID-19. Some of them are spread, outbreak, fuel up, contain, control, set the world on fire or even دوّنه [=hell(fire)] in Kurdish (see NasKurd, 2020). The following examples display this metaphor more.

- (4) a. The virus, in addition to its real-world implications, was a match for financial markets that had become the equivalent of dry tinder. The ingredients for a **conflagration** were there, and all it took was a **spark**. (Zachary, 2020)
  - b. When Wuhan began **burning** with infections in December, the U.S. government took only illogical, inadequate actions to **stop** the virus's **spread**: [...] When the **sparks** of this **conflagration hit**, Seattle was **aflame** before anyone at the CDC had started to **reach for water** (Madrigal & Meyer, 2020).
  - c. The World Health Organization has stepped up its calls for intensified action to fight the coronavirus pandemic, imploring countries "not to let this **fire burn**", as Spain said it would declare a 15-day state of emergency from Saturday. (Henley & Jones, 2020)

d. In short, instead of accusing each other of playing with matches, these two powerhouse countries could help **put out the fire.** (Bremer, 2020)

The words and phrases that have been highlighted in (4) are originally used for talking about the concept *fire*, but they have been metaphorically used for construing COVID-19. If COVID-19 is regarded as a fire, what is the fuel of this fire, then? Actually, the infected people are fuels of this fire. So people are the wood or the petroleum of conflagration. First the fire was ignited in the city of Wuhan whose zero-patient has not been identified yet.



Figure 3: visual metaphor of COVID-19 IS FIRE and Social Distancing

In Figure 3, the spread of this virus has been represented in terms of some match sticks five of which are set on fire and because one of the sticks has distanced itself from the last inflame stick, the rest of the other sticks stand safe. This picture has been put in the majority of the local social and mass media to represent the role of social distancing for cutting the chain of the spread of COVID-19 among the members of the community.

# 5.5 COVID-19 IS A WILD ANIMAL; THE PEOPLE INFECTED WITH COVID-19 ARE BIRDS OF PREY

Thinking deeply, one can say that coronavirus is tearing the life of the people from all its aspects. This virus can be considered as a wild animal taking the lives of some people and deforms the life of the others. This metaphor has linguistically reflected in the following linguistic metaphorical expressions.

(5) a. It is not the moment for prejudices, accusations and politicizing COVID-19 as **it devours lives** around the world, said Xulio Rios, the Director of the Observatory of Chinese Politics in Spain in a recent interview. (Xinhua, 2020)

b. چۆنگ نانچان، گەورە راوێژكارى تەندروستى حكومەتى چين، لە لێدوانێكيدابۆ ئاژانسى ھەواڵى رۆيتەرز، ورايگەياند: "لەم مانگەدا ڤايرۆسى كۆرۆنا **زياتر درەندەتر** دەبێت و ئەگەرى ھەيە ژمارەى تووشبووان بە نەخۆشسەكە زباتر ىٽت."

وتيشى: "به لام پيشبينى دەكريت له مانگى نيسانى داهاتوودا ئاستى **دړندەيى** ڤايرۆسەكە وردە وردە بەرەو وتيشى: "به لام پيشبينى دەكريت له مانگى نيسانى داهاتوودا ئاستى **دړندەيى** ڤايرۆسەكە وردە بروات". [= Zhong Nanshan, the senior health consultant of China government, in a statement for Routers Agency announced: "In this month, corona virus will be become more **fierce** and it probably increases the number of the infected." He also added "But we expect that in April the rate of the **ferocity** of the virus will decrease step by step]. (Naskurd, 2020)

c. يُهو **دەعبا** فيچقه گولەيەى كە زيږەى بەو عالەمەى كردووە و پێى ئەڵێن ڤايرۆسى كۆرۆنا: [=This bullet like dragon that has harassed this world is called corona virus:] (Abdullah, 2020)



To some extent, especially to the Muslim Kurds, understanding COVID-19 as wild or predatory animal is based on a hadith from the Prophet Muhammad (peace be up on him) part of which says "and one should run away from the leper as one runs away from a lion." (Al-Bukhari, 2020). One of measures that world-widely governments take in order to prevent and contain the spread of the virus is almost similar to the advice of the prophet of Islam (peace be upon him). Now people run away from each other fearing of catching the coronavirus and stay at home. Governments lockdown cities, apply curfews. All of these indicate COVID-19's resemblance to a wild animal. Devour lives in (5a), 

[=fierce/savage] and 

[=ferocity], in (5b), are terms which are literally used for animals of prey. The same is true for the word 

[=dragon] in (5c) is a realization of the conceptualization of COVID-19 as a WILD ANIMAL. The omnipresent visual representations of COVID-19's virus in the electronic media outlets, in which the virus is likened to wild animals, are evidences of this metaphor.

#### 5.6 COVID-19 IS A JOURNEY/TRAVELER

This conceptualization is based on the fact that there are some similarities between the two domains of treatment and a journey. The treatment, like a journey, has a beginning and an end. The infected people are the travelers. Recovering from COVID-19 is a destination that the travelers of that journey are longing and waiting for. The difficulties hindering the process or the curing and healing from the infection are the problems that a traveler may encounter in the course of his/her journey. If the patient recovered fully, it means s/he achieved and reached their end, otherwise, like a traveler, they may fail to do so—when the patients with COVID-19 fail to recover and end up with their death. The linguistic expressions in the following example realize this conceptual metaphor.

(6) a. As COVID-19 has **hitchhiked** around the globe, causing lockdowns, pneumonia and fear, scientists have been racing to determine where the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus has **come from**. (Bowler, 2020).

توێژەرانى ئىسرائلى: له دۆزىنەوەى چارەسەرى كۆرۆنا نزىكبووينەتەوە..b

[=Israeli Researchers: we have approached the discovery of coronavirus treatment] (NRT, 2020c)

c. كۆرۆنا چۆن ھاتووہ ھەرواش دەروات. خۆشبەختانە ژمارەى چاكبووەكان زۆر زياترە لە مردووەكان جا با . ازۆر خۆمانى پيوه سەرقال نەكەين [=Corona, as it has come, likewise, will go. Fortunately, the number of the recovered cases surpasses that of the deaths; thus, let's not preoccupy ourselves with it]. (Halabjay, 2020)

This tells us that COVID-19 is understood in terms of a traveler who does not pay a penny for transportation. The people with COVID-19 are vehicle that give a lift to the disease to spread around the world. Finding a treatment for COVID-19, in (6b) is understood in terms of a destination of a traveler in their journey. While in (6c), the sentence in bold typeface indicates a conceptualization in which COVID-19, like a traveler in a journey who can only stay for a while, will go as it has come; it will only last or stay for a very short time. In Kurdish news outlets, the expression اقايروس كۆرۈنا گەيشتە... [Coronavirus has arrived at...], or its derivative forms, is widely used which is originally used to talk about humans or animals arriving at a destination in their journey.

#### 5.7 COVID-19 IS A GUEST

Construing COVID-19 as a guest is based on several common features between the source domain *guest* and the target domain COVID-19. Guests have hosts. The hosts of this sickness are the infected people or the human races in general. This can be interpreted from a biological or immunological perspective that viruses cannot survive if it is not invited by any living cells. This is why in biology the cells are considered as 'hosts' for the viruses—their guests. Another reason behind intellectualizing this disease in terms of a guest is because disease will stay for, in the majority of the cases, 14 days, and then it will leave the infected people. The following explicates this conceptual metaphor.

- (7) a. Coronavirus: an **unwelcome guest** at a bad time (Lorié, 2020)
  - b. الهههوادا بۆماوەى ٢٤ كاتژمێر بهرگه ناگرێ ئهگهر خانهخوێيهك نهدوٚزدێتهوه. [= in the air, it (corona virus) can only survive for 24 hours if it did not get a **host**] (Ali, 2020)
  - c. ئەم نەخۆشىيە ميوانىكە ھاتووە، بەلام ميوانىكى زۆر كوشندە نىيە [=This disease is a **guest**, that will stay for a while, but it is not a **fatal guest**] (Abdulwahid, 2020).

From a biological perspective, this virus, and any other viruses need to have a 'habitat' to live in an increase. That place in humans is the cells of human body. Technically, the cell in which the virus contained is called a *host*. If it is a host, what is the guest, then? Of course, it is the virus. The Kurdish word for *guest* is مِيّوان is for *host*. (7c) shows a clear and direct conceptualization of COVID-19 as a GUEST. This metaphor can be regarded as one subtype of the COVID-19 IS A PERSON metaphor which is the topic of the upcoming subsection.

# 5.8 COVID-19 IS A PERSON

COVID-19 is a non-human being; nevertheless, it has been treated as a human being in the online newspaper articles. Conceptualizing a non-human thing in terms of human attributes makes up one of the subtypes of the ontological metaphors—personification metaphor. The linguistic evidences of this conceptualization can be seen in the examples of COVID-19's being an ADVERSARY, a TRAVELLER, or a GUEST, in both English and Kurdish. So, COVID-19 IS A PERSON is a megametaphor subsuming the above mentioned micrometaphors. Another personification metaphor of COVID-19 is in the fact that it has been likened to an emperor in the following example.

ئىمپراتۆريەتى كۆرۆنا/ئەوۋايرۆسە بچوكە بى چەك و تەكنەلۆجيايە، پووبەرى ئىمپراتۆريەتەكەى زۆر فراوانترە لە پووبەرى ئىمپراتۆريەتەكەى ئۆر فراوانترە لە ۋوبەرى ئىمپراتۆريەتەكەى ئەسكەندەرى مەقدۆنى و جەنگىزخان. ئەو ۋايرۆسە بى چەك و تەكنەلۆجيايە، خۆى [=Coronavirus Empire/The empire of this armless, technology-free virus is larger than that of Alexander, the Great's, and that of Genghis Khan's. This virus has neither weapon nor technology; it is itself a biological weapon of America and China.] (Jihany, 2020)

The notion of era, in English, and سامردهم/ئيمر [=era/empire], in Kurdish, are vocabularies used to talk about the time when an authority is ruling a place. These very words are used for talking about the time the pandemic disease is spreading and imposing its power

over the world in a way as if it were occupying the world with its force—so understood because it has almost overwhelmed the ordinary ways of life from the lay and ruling people. The above extract exemplifies COVID-19's being an EMPEROR of the world. This example is evidence for both COVID-19's being a PERSON and an EMPEROR.

# 5.9 COVID-19 IS A HORROR MOVIE

During the curfew amid coronavirus outbreak we can see different scenes that we have never seen in the actual life. These are just like the scenes of a horror movie. The elements of a horror movie are *ghosts*, *vacant towns*, *face masks*, *gloves*, *panic*, *stress*, *tragic death*, *escaping*, etc. If we check carefully, we can see these things happening around the world during the pandemic COVID-19. The impact of this conceptualization can be seen in the Kurdish and English COVID-19 newspaper discourses. The following are some examples.

(9) a. On 25 March, Adil's family received a call from the hospital. Things were very bad, and they should come now. They raced there to be with him. Adil's children watched their father die through a glass window. They weren't allowed in the room, because of the risk of contagion.

"That was the most difficult thing," says Osman. "Having to watch him. I always knew that one day my father would die. But I thought I would be there, holding his hand. I never imagined I would be looking at him through a window, on a ventilator." (BBC, 2020)

Excerpt (9a) talks about the tragic death of a British-Sudanese physician who died for coronavirus, while Cab, in (9b), narrates the first days of the outbreak in China. The boldface items in both quotations realize COVID-19's conceptualization as a HORROR MOVIE.

#### 5.10 COVID-19 IS A REVENGE/GOD'S WRATH

Understanding COVID-19 as revenge, punishment, or the wrath of Allah reflects some basic cultural or religious backgrounds. Some people interpreted COVID-19 as a revenge that the animals take against the humans. Or the revenge that God takes against those who wronged the poor people or did not obey Him, in general, and against the Chinese government for torturing the Uighur Muslims, particularly—this is the attitude of some

Muslims. The followings are some examples reflecting this sort of conceptualization of COVID-19. Coronavirus may take the revenge of its relatives on human beings... or wild animal from humans as shown in the following examples

- (10) a. Coronavirus, a soldier of Allah (Cohen, 2020).
  - b. Corona Virus Is God unhappy with Mankind? (Siddiqui, 2020)
  - c. The corona virus pandemic is no accident. Like past global epidemics, it's a **warning** that nature has had it with the ecocidal **proclivities** of man. These outrageous actions are changing climate and are warming and threatening planet Earth. Nature (the Earth) is fighting back. Climate change is sowing pandemic diseases. (Vallianatos, 2020)
  - d. Did pangolins transmit the coronavirus to humans? Is Covid-19 their revenge on us for bringing them to the edge of extinction? (Yu, 2020)
  - e. ھەندىك لە مىدىاكان ...دەيانەوىت...كۆرۆنا ببەستنەوە بەوەى كە مادام دەسەلاتدارانى چىن ئەشكەنجە و ئازارى ئىوگۆرىيە موسلامانەكانى ولاتەكەيان دەدەن و گۆشتى بەراز و مارى كۆبرا دەخۆن، بەو ھۆيەشەوە خوداوەند ...want to tie the coronavirus (outbreak in China) to the Chinese Regime's torturing of the Uighur Muslims of their country and since they eat pork, cobra meat, God has sent down the corona epidemic to them] (Azeez, 2020)

Describing coronavirus as the solider of Allah in (10a) indicates that that soldier of Allah is to take revenge against those who are not obeying Allah's orders, as this is very clear in (10b). Revenge metaphor is attributed to the earth in (10c), and to pangolin, while in (10e) it is tied to the fact that the revenge, or God's wrath, is an outcome of the transgression acted by the Chinese regime against its Muslims in Uighur. To the Muslims, this conceptualization is based on a verse from the Glorious Quran (30:41) that states " ظهر الفساد في البر والبحر بما كسبت [= Corruption has appeared throughout the land and sea by [reason of] what the hands of people have earned so He may let them taste part of they have done that perhaps they will return [to righteousness]].

# 5.11 COVID-19 IS AN EARTHQUAKE/A NATURAL DISASTER

Pandemics in general can be thought of as natural disasters such as floods, famines, droughts, earthquakes because their effects are equal or similar to that of the natural disasters. This holds true for the conceptualization of COVID-19 in some English and Kurdish newspaper articles some of which are mentioned in (11).

- (11)a. Covid-19 hits emerging markets (Financial Times, 2020)
  - b. Coronavirus: Asian nations face second wave of imported cases. (Bicker, 2020)

  - d. پەتاى كۆرۆنا...: " ئەو تسۆنامىيەى ھەموومانى داگىركرد [Corona Epidemic...the tsunami that occupied all of us] (Muhammad, 2020a)

The use of the word *epicenter* to refer to the place or country from where COVID-19 outbreak started is in itself metaphorical. Originally, this word is used to talk about the center of an earthquake (see Hornby, 1998, p. 387). Other conceptualizers compare the spread of COVID-19 to the story of the Storm or Floods of Noah (see Siddiqui, 2020). Other verbs of natural disasters have been used in the news articles such as *hit*, *rattle*, *strike*, *shake*, *quake*, *damage*, etc. to talk about COVID-19.

#### 5.12 COVID-19 IS A UNITY

This disease is a unity in several aspects. On an international level, COVID-19 has unified the world against one common enemy. It has brought about a unity which no one could have ever brought. On the national level of each country, all the governmental institutions have unified to contain the disease in their country. The people all cooperate with each other on this basis. Family reunions have occurred due to the curfews and lockdowns. These are all on the level of action and practice. Let us see the reflection of this metaphor in language.

- (12) a. COVID-19: Now, we are either a Union or we are nothing. (European Economic and Social Committee, 2020)
  - b. We need **unity** in the G20 countries, who have more than 80% of global GDP. Political commitment at the G20 means strong **solidarity** that can help us to move forward and fight this pandemic in the **strongest** way possible. (WHO, 2020d)
  - c. کۆرۆنا جیهانی کرد به **یهک خیزانی** ترساو له مهترسییهکی نهبینراو [=corona made the world one family which is afraid of an invisible enemy] (Chalabi, 2020)
  - با (كۆرۆنا) كۆمانېكات!/يەك دوژمن و يەك ھەلوپست.رۆژ دواي رۆژ قايرۆسى كۆرۆنا ولات دواي ولات دەبەزىنى و d. بەرەو پەكە پەكەي شار و دەۋەركان ھەڭدەكشپت و جيھانى كردۆتە گوندېكى بچووك، ھاوكات ئېستا ھەموو جيھان و تەواوي مرۆۋايەتى سەرقاڵي رێوشوێني خوٚياراستن و گەرانن بەدواي چارەسەرى نەخوٚشىيەكە، بەجوٚرێک بوٚ يەكەمىن جاره لهمێژوودا که ههموو مروٚڤايهتي لهسهر پهک پرسدا هاورا و هاوسهنگهرن، روٚژئاوا و روٚژههڵات، وڵاتاني ههژار و وڵاتاني پێشكەوتوو، دەوڵەمەند و گەداكان، ھەۋار و نەداران، نەياران و تەباكان، رەشپێست و زەرديێست و سپي پێست و ئەسمەرەكان، نەزان و تېگەيشتووان، دز و خراپ و چاكخوازان، دەسەلاتى حكومەت و نەيار و ئۆپۆسپۆنەكان، ھەر يه دوژمن، يه دوژمن، يه و يه چارهنووس، راسته وخوّ كوّيان ده کاتهوه. [=Let Corona  $\mathbf{Unify}\ \mathbf{Us}!$ One Enemy, **One Stance**. Day after day, coronavirus trespasses country after country and arrives at each city and province. It has made the world as small as a village; meanwhile, the whole world and the entire humanity is engaged in taking the selfprevention measures and seek to find a remedy for the disease in a way that has never occurred in the history that the entire humanity is harmonious and has one common battlefield. The East, the West, the underprivileged countries, the well-developed countries, the rich, the poor, friends, foes, the black, the white, the brown, the ignorant, the educated, the evil, the good, the regimes and their oppositions, all of these, one risk and **one destination** directly **combines them**.] (Jundiani, 2020)



.....

Figure 3: Visualized COVID-19 as UNITY metaphor (China Daily, 2020)

The highlighted parts in the above extractions from the online newspaper articles are linguistic realizations of the conceptualization of the notion of COVID-19 as a UNITY. Figure 3, and the pictures in Figure 2, can be considered as a visual representation of COVID-19 IS A UNITY metaphor in which people from various complexions hold each other's arms in circle and together directing their fists at the corona virus. Humanity has never agreed or unified upon any other issue throughout the history in a way that it has regarding this pandemic.

# **5.13COVID-19 A GAME.**

The WHO director, Tedros, has described measures to contain the spread of the virus and cure COVID-19 patients as a football match. The reporters of (15a) quote him as follows:

(13)a. "You can't win a football game only by defending. You have to attack as well," Tedros said.

Physical distancing could buy time by slowing down the spread, "but they are **defensive measures** that will not help us to **win**," he **warned**.

"To win, we need to attack the virus with aggressive and targeted tactics," he said, reiterating a call for "testing every suspected case, isolating and caring for every confirmed case and tracing and quarantining every close contact." (Larson & Millard, 2020)

b. China and America's **Blame Game** Over COVID-19 Hurts Everyone (Bremer, 2020)

c. گەمەى سياسەت وئەفسانەى شەرىكا – ئىران [=**Political Game** the myth of the US-Iran War] (Ahmed, 2020)

In (15 b-c) COVID-19 has also been understood as a game. This time, it is a different game—a political one. In a game, a football match, there are players who play different roles. The same holds true of COVID-19. The boldface items in (15) are originally game terms but they are used here for COVID-19 issues.

#### 5.14 COVID-19 IS DARKNESS

Donald Trump, in (14a) has described being in the crisis of COVID-19 as being in a tunnel at whose other side, he can see the light. The following examples indicate that the Kurdish and English writers or these reports construe COVID-19 in terms darkness.

سەرۆک ترامپ، لە كۆنفرانسە پۆژنامەوانيە پۆۋانەييەكەيدا لە كۆشكى سپى، جەختى كردەوە لەوەى ئەم دوو ... (14) مەفتەيەى ئايندە زۆر قورس دەبيّت، بەلام دواى ئەم دوو ھەفتەيە لەوسەرى تونيّلەكەوە پوناكى دەبينريّت [=President Trump, in his daily press conference in the White House, stressed that

these two coming weeks be very hard. But after these two weeks the **light** will be seen at the end of **tunnel**.] (Dengiamerika/VOA, 2020)

- b. While the combined public-health and economic catastrophes of the moment are commanding attention, the China-U.S. interaction may have moved in a distinctly darker direction. (Fallow, 2020)
- c. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has urged citizens to switch off the lights in their homes and light candles and oil lamps instead on Sunday night to dispel the "darkness" of the coronavirus epidemic and look forward with hope. (Lazarus, 2020)

Seeing light at the other side of a tunnel indicates being in a darkness—the darkness of COVID-19. In our day experience when we are in a tunnel, no matter how long the tunnel is, the light of the open area will appear. This is understood from the current context—no matter how long the pandemic will last, the people of the US should not lose hope. *Darker*, in (14b), signifies the current state's being dark because of corona virus and other economic issues. In (14c), COVID-19 has been overtly described as darkness.

# **5.15 Other Conceptual Metaphors of COVID-19**

There are other metaphors in the online newspaper articles. Because of the shortage of space and publication regulations, examples have not been mentioned here. Among them are the following.

COVID-19 IS DOWN	COVID-19 IS A WEAPON
COVID-19 IS A SCHOOL	COVID-19 IS A HINDRANCE
COVID-19 IS A REVELATION	COVID-19 IS A REAPER
COVID-19 IS AN OPPORTUNITY	COVID-19 IS A REST
COVID-19 IS A TEACHER	COVID-19 IS A BURDEN
COVID-19 IS A SOCIAL DISTANCER	COVID-19 IS A CONTAINER
COVID-19 IS AN OBJECT/A PRODUCT	COVID-19 IS A FAMILY COMBINER
COVID-19 IS A PLAY	COVID-19 IS A SAVIOR

#### 6. Conclusions

In the previous section, it is found out that COVID-19 and the virus causing it have been conceptualized in an array of ways. In light of these findings the following concluding points can be derived.

- 1. The language of COVID-19 discourse is metaphorical. The meaning of COVID-19, in the newspaper articles, confined in the different conceptualizations the conceptualizers (i.e., the writers of the articles) took. The different conceptualizations are based on personal experiences, culture and social aspects.
- 2. The conceptualizations of COVID-19 are conventional in the sense that they are easily and automatically understood by the writers and readers automatically and subconsciously.
- 3. COVID-19 has been understood in different ways and from different perspectives. Each of the conceptualizations is based on some facts which differ from community to community, etc.
- 4. There is a strong relation between language and medicine. This study reinforces the applicability of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in every aspects of life in general

- and in medicine in particular; the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in cognitive semantics emerged 40 years ago, in 1980, but its principles are still applicable to the interpretation of the meanings of an omnipresent concept like COVID-19 in 2020.
- 5. COVID-19's various conceptualizations show language creativity since COVID-19 is one term but it has been seen from different perspectives which are highly dependent on culture and personal experience. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the conceptual metaphors embraced in the current study are by no means absolute. One can even derive further conceptual metaphors from the very texts of this current paper. This is also creative.
- 6. There is a strong relation between conceptual metaphors, metaphorical linguistic expressions, and visual metaphors found in many online newspapers in both Kurdish and English languages.
- 7. This study reinforces the universality of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as it has been applicable for the metaphors found in the discourses of both Kurdish and English languages pertained to COVID-19 pandemic.

#### 7. Suggestions for further research

Since COVID-19 is a fruitful area for conducting research studies in linguistics, the current researcher suggests the following points for further research.

- 1. These conceptual metaphors can be checked in other media outlets such as TV news broadcasts, health commentaries, TV panels, etc.
- 2. In cognitive semantics it can be studied in terms of Frame Semantics, Conceptual Blending, Conceptual Metonymy, Image-Metaphors, Construal, to name but a few cognitive semantic theories (for a neat summary of these and other major theories of cognitive semantics, see Abdulla, 2019, pp. 25-37).

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#### وێناکردنی کۆڤید-۱۹ له ووتاری رۆژنامه ئەلیکترۆنییه ئینگلیزی و کوردییهکاندا: بهگوێرهی رێبازی واتاسازی درکی

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#### پوخته

یهکتک لهبنهماکانی زمانهوانی درکی و واتاسازی درکی بریتییه لهوهی که زمانی مروّق بهسروشتی خوّی مهجازییه؛ بوّیه ناکریّ (واتا) ته نها لهناو پیّکهاتهکانی زماند(وه ک ووشه و فرهیز وکلوّز و رسته و دهق) دا ههبیّ، به لّکو (واتا) لهناو ویّناکردن و بینین و تیّپاوانینی کهسهکان بوّ بارودوّخ و رووداوهکانیشدا ههیه. میتافوّر (خوازه) یهکتکه له نامپازهکانی ویّناکردن. تیوّری واتاسازی درکی بو میتافوّر به تیوّری میتافوّر په تیمکتک له نامپازهکانی ویّناکردن. تیوّری واتاسازی درکی بو میتافوّر به تیوّری میتافوّر پپوّسهیه کی عهقلّییه کهبههوّیهوه تیگهیشتن له چهمیّک بهگویّرهی چهمکتیکی ترهوه دهبیّت. بهپشت بهستن بهم تیوّره، نهو تویّژینهوهیه همولیّکه بو شیکردنهوهی نهو ریّگهیانهی که بههوّیانهوه چهمکی نهخوّشی قایروّسی کوّروّنای نویّ۱۰۹ (کوّقید-۱۹) لهناو ووتاره پوّژنامهوانییه نهلیکتپوّنییه کوردی و ئینگلیزییهکانی وهکو (BBC و Pork Times) و New York Times و کوردی و ئینگلیزییها دهامای نهوه کراوه که، وهکو ههر چهمکتیکی تر، چهمکی کوّقید-۱۹ بهشیّوهی میّتافوّر لهلایهن بهکاربهرانی زمانی و کوردی و ئینگلیزییدا دهفامریّتهوه، بوّیه واتاکهشی تهنها لهناو ووشهی کوّقید-۱۹ دا دهره نهم تویّژیینهوهدا دهرکهوت که مانای نهم نه خوّشییه درمه، به پنی تیّپوانین و دیدگه و ویّناکردنی کهسهکان، به چهندین چهمکی جیاجیای وهکو جهنگ و ، ئاگر و ، دوژمن و ، میّوان و ، توّله و ، تاریکی و ، گهشت، تد ، لیّکدراونه تهوه رایکدانهوه و ویّناکردانهش پشت به پاشخانی جیاجیای وهکو جهنگ و ، ئاگر و ، دوژمن و ، ئهزموونمان لهگهل گوّقید-۱۹دا دهبهستن.

ووشه گرنگهکان: کوٚڤید-۱۹، وێناکردن، تیوٚری مێتافوٚری چهمکی، ووتاری روٚژنامه ئەلیکتروٚنییهکان

#### تصور كوفيد-١٩ في مقالات الصحف الإلكترونية الإنكليزية والكوردية: نهج الدلالة المعرفية

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#### ملخص

أحد مبادئ علم اللغة المعرفي وعلم الدلالة المعرفية هو أن لغة الانسان بطبيعتها مجازية ، ولا يكمن المعنى في العناصر اللغوية فقط ولكن أيضًا في تصورات مستخدمي اللغة اتجاه المواقف والأحداث. وفي علم الدلالة المعرفية ان الاستعارة هي إحدى وسائل التصور. تُعرف النظرية الدلالية المعرفية للاستعارات باسم نظرية (لاكوف) و(جونسون) الاستعارة المفاهيمية. وفقًا لهذه النظرية ، فإن الاستعارة هي عملية عقلية لتصور مفهوم من منظور مفهوم آخر. بناءً على ذلك ، فإن الدراسة الحالية هي محاولة لفحص الطرق التي تم من خلالها تصور مرض فيروس كورونا الجديد 2019 (COVID-19) في مقالات الصحف الإلكترونية الإنجليزية والكوردية. تم أخذ المقالات من الصحف الإنجليزية والكردية على الإنترنت مثل BBC و New York Times و Rudaw و New York Times و فيرو الكترونية الإنجليزية والكوردية. تم أخذ المقالات من الصحف الإنجليزية والكردية على الإنترنت مثل COVID-19) مفهوم مجازي ولا يقتصر معناه على هذا المصطلح فقط. وقد استنتج أن هذا المرض الوبائي يمكن أن يكون ، بناءً على التفسيرات ووجهات النظر التي يتخذها المفكرون ، مفهومة من منظور مفاهيم مختلفة مثل الحرب، والعدو ، والضيف ، والانتعاش ، والظلام ، والرحلة ، وإلخ، استنادًا على خلفية موضوع مقالات الصحف الإلكترونية وكذلك الثقافة و تجاربتنا مع كوفيد-١٩.

الكلمات الأساسية: كوفيد-١٩، تصور، نظرية الاستعارة المفاهيمية، مقالات الصحف الإلكترونية

