
¿El virus del dragón o un pequeño covicho?

**Variation and change in COVID-19 metaphors
across varieties of Spanish**

Elise Stickles, Ana Arrieta-Zamudio, Inés Lozano,
Yorka Olavarría, and Rodolfo Ortiz

RaAM 16 - June 30th, 2023

elise.stickles@ubc.ca
metanet.arts.ubc.ca



Overview

- Introduction and research question
- Methods and data collection
- Results and analysis
 - Overall findings
 - Regional variation
 - Temporal variation
- Conclusions

Introduction and research question

- Within-language variation in metaphor occurs across regional varieties (Kövecses 2005)
- Over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, attitudes and policies have changed, with corresponding changes in the metaphors used to conceptualize the pandemic
- Our study focuses on five varieties of Spanish:
 - Mexico, United States, Spain, Bolivia, and Chile
- Our research questions:
 - **How is COVID-19 conceptualized across these varieties of Spanish?**
 - **How do these metaphors change over time?**
 - **What factors influence variation in metaphoric expression of:**
 - **individual relationships to the virus at a personal level?**
 - **societal attitudes toward pandemic public policies?**

Methodology

- Part of a larger project studying COVID-19 metaphors in Spanish, French, and English (Stickles et al. 2022; Stickles & Browning 2022)
- Iterative data collection process (Sweetser et al. 2019)
 - Began by reading through news articles, social media, other online sources, collecting example sentences from a variety of genres and registers
 - Added data from ReFrameCOVID (Olza et al. 2021)
 - Organized initial data collection into broad categories of source domains
 - Example: virus as a **(harmful) living entity**; pandemic as a **natural disaster/force**
 - Continued to add data, focusing on searching for examples of variation within these categories
 - Organized broad categories into specific sub-categories
 - Example: pandemic as **natural disaster/force** can be divided into **ocean, wildfire, storm, avalanche...** each with its own inferential structure

Overall results and findings

- Data collection
 - 235 distinct example sentences
 - 7 broad metaphor categories; 33 specific categories
- How is COVID-19 conceptualized across these varieties of Spanish?
 - Broad, general metaphors are shared across all varieties
 - Example: PROGRESS IN REOPENING FROM LOCKDOWN IS FORWARD MOTION
 - Variation occurs in specific expression of the metaphor

Variation in specific metaphors

- General metaphor: PROGRESS IN REOPENING FROM LOCKDOWN IS FORWARD MOTION
- Variation occurs in specific expression of the metaphor

In Bolivia: PANDEMIC RECOVERY IS A JOURNEY;
RECOVERY STAGES ARE A ROAD

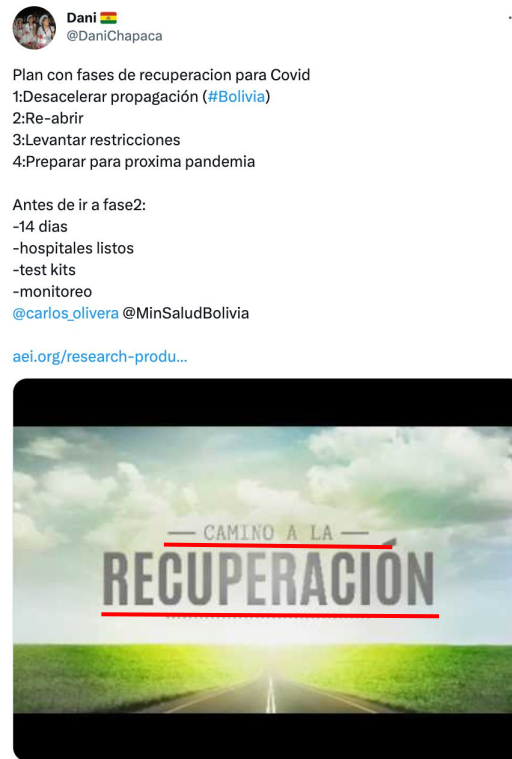
(1) Plan con fases de recuperación para Covid:

Camino a la recuperación ^[1]

'Plan with recovery phases for Covid:

Road to recovery'

[1] Chapaca, Dani. (7 April 2020). Twitter post.
<https://twitter.com/DaniChapaca/status/1247514809979097088/photo/1>



Comunicación del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia and 3 others

6:21 AM · Apr 7, 2020

Variation in specific metaphors

- General metaphor: PROGRESS IN REOPENING FROM LOCKDOWN IS FORWARD MOTION
- Variation occurs in specific expression of the metaphor

In California, USA: PANDEMIC RECOVERY IS A JOURNEY;
RECOVERY STAGES ARE A ROAD;
PLAN FOR RECOVERY IS A ROADMAP

(2) La **Hoja de Ruta** de Resiliencia Pandémica de California para la reapertura es un marco basado...^[1]

'The Pandemic Resiliency Roadmap of California for reopening is a risk-based framework...'

Variation in specific metaphors

- General metaphor: PROGRESS IN REOPENING FROM LOCKDOWN IS FORWARD MOTION
- Variation occurs in specific expression of the metaphor

In Mexico: PANDEMIC RECOVERY IS A JOURNEY;
RECOVERY STAGES ARE A ROAD;
STAGES OF LOCKDOWN ARE TRAFFIC LIGHTS

(3) *Even though there are still new cases of #Covid, the Health Department of Tamaulipas, @Tamaulipas Salud, keeps the traffic light on green, just like the rest of the country.*^[1]

(4) Campeche, primer estado **en cambiar a verde en semáforo** epidémico de Covid-19 ^[1]
'Campeche, the first state to turn green at the Covid-19 epidemic traffic light'

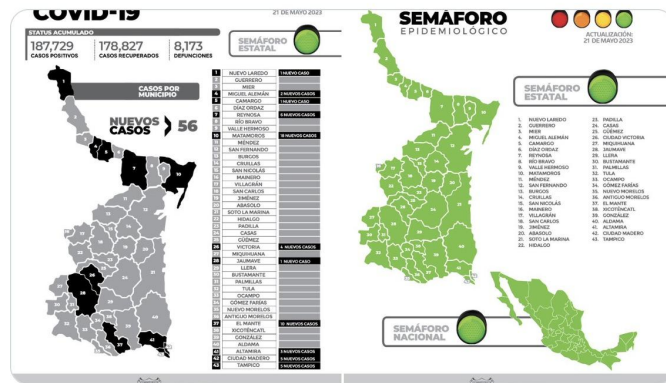


@vientosdelsur.mx
@billygtz

Aún cuando siguen habiendo nuevos casos de #Covid la Secretaria de Salud de #Tamaulipas, @TamaulipasSalud, mantiene el semáforo en verde, al igual que el resto del país.

#Tampico #Madero #Altamira #Mante #CdVictoria #Matamoros

● 187,729 positivos. 📊 178,827 recuperados. 📊



[1] SatelliteOnline.MX. (25 September 2020). Twitter post. https://twitter.com/online_satelite/status/1309695081113239555

[2] VientosdelSur MX. (29 May 2023). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/billygtz/status/1660740690597367841>

Variation in specific metaphors

- General metaphor: PROGRESS IN REOPENING FROM LOCKDOWN IS FORWARD MOTION
- Variation occurs in specific expression of the metaphor

In Chile: PANDEMIC RECOVERY IS A SEQUENCE OF MOVEMENTS;
PANDEMIC RECOVERY IS A DANCE

(5) Plan **Paso a Paso**

Nos cuidamos en marzo ^[1]

'Step by Step Plan

We take care of ourselves in March'

(6) Reporte sanitario de Ovalle parece canción:

"Un pasito p'aelante, un pasito pa' atrás" ^[2]

'Ovalle's health report is like a song:

"a step forward, a step back"



[1] Government of Chile. (28 February 2021). Gobierno presenta "Paso a Paso, Nos Cuidamos en Marzo", plan interministerial para fortalecer las medidas sanitarias en el inicio del año escolar. *Noticias*. <https://www.gob.cl/noticias/gobierno-presenta-paso-paso-nos-cuidamos-en-marzo-plan-interministerial-para-fortalecer-las-medidas-sanitarias-en-el-inicio-del-ano-escolar/>

[2] Equipo OvalleHOY. (8 July 2021). Reporte sanitario de Ovalle parece canción: "Un pasito p'aelante, un pasito pa' atrás". *Ovalle Hoy*. <https://ovallehoj.cl/reporte-sanitario-de-ovalle-parece-cancion-un-pasito-paelante-un-pasito-pa-atras/>

Regional variation: Spain

- Severe lockdown measures (e.g. three months of strict confinement, over two months of confinement allowing limited out-of-home access), compulsory masks, highly encouraged vaccination.
- Negative reactions from the political opposition accusing the government of imposing oppressive and unnecessary restrictions and harming the economy, and consequently, the citizens of Spain.
- COVID is very frequently identified with a generic monster or a dragon, as a result of its connection with China

(7) El **monstruo** del coronavirus ya está aquí ^[1]
*'The coronavirus **monster** is already here'*

(8) El coronavirus ha irrumpido como un **dragón** en una cacharrería en el incipiente romance entre Italia y China. ^[2]
*'The coronavirus has stormed like a **dragon** in a kitchen-shop in the incipient romance between Italy and China.'*

- On the other hand, heavenly creatures are used to label people who work in the healthcare system:

(9) Los **ángeles** de **alas** verdes de los quirófanos ^[3]
*'the green **winged angels** at the operating room'*

[1] Vecteezy.

<https://es.vecteezy.com/arte-vectorial/957637-coronavirus-monstruo-con-virus-y-covid-19-text>

[2] Euronews en español. (2 July 2020). El coronavirus, un dragón que hace estragos en el turismo en Italia. Euronews.

<https://es.euronews.com/2020/02/07/el-coronavirus-un-dragon-que-hace-estragos-en-el-turismo-en-italia>

[3] Vetusta Morla. (7 May 2020). Youtube video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t_Lsd76Erfg

Regional variation: USA politics

- From the people: both pro- and anti-maskers are **sheep**
- Compare English **sheeple** (sheep+people)



Anoncandanga V
@candanga_anon

Como que no es el "virus chino" como dice Trump y sus borregos de dercha del mundo: La OMS pide revisar muestras de pacientes, tras detectarse en Francia un supuesto caso de covid-19 de diciembre (antes) sin relación con #China elpais.com/sociedad/2020-...

i2:06 p. m. · 5 may. 2020

(10) *'How this is not the "Chinese virus" as Trump and his right-wing **sheep** of the world say. The WHO asks to review patient samples, after an alleged case of covid-19 was detected in France in December (before) unrelated to #China'* [1]



Mike Saloomon
@Mike_Saloomon

Coronatimo bestia jajajaja
Sigan con el bozal borregos

Un fabricante de test para detectar el Covid-19 destruye parte de su producción tras una visita de Trump sin mascarilla
elmundo.es/internacional/...

(11) *'Coronatimo (corona-scam) **beast** hahahaha. Continue with the **muzzle**, **sheep**. A manufacturer of tests to detect Covid-19 destroys part of its production after a visit by Trump without a mask.'* [2]

[1] Candanga_anon. (5 May 2020). Twitter post. https://twitter.com/candanga_anon/status/1257748610806173696

[2] Mike_Salomon. (8 June 2020). Twitter post. https://twitter.com/Mike_Saloomon/status/1270034408335122433

Regional variation: Mexico Politics

- From the people: people following the government behaviour facing Covid are **sheep**

(12)



El rincon del deprimido

@rincondeldepri1

Los chairos q no utilizan [#Cubrebocas](#) son estupidos, y me tendria sin cuidado, si esas personas no fueran focos d contagio. Y hasta q el viejito necio d [#AMLO](#) no entienda q los fanáticos hacen lo q él diga como borregos, la [#Pandemia](#) d [#Covid_19](#) no mejorará.
[#LopezMexicoTeRepudia](#)

6:41 p. m. · 6 oct. 2020

*'The "chairos" who don't use #facemasks are stupid, and I wouldn't care if those people weren't a source of contagion. And until the stubborn old man #AMLO understands that his fanatics do whatever he says like **sheep**, the #Covid_19 pandemic won't improve..' [1]*

Regional variation: Chile Politics

- From the government: **paso a paso** 'step by step' lockdown policies
- From the people: **dictadura** sanitaria 'health dictatorship'



Cristián Contreras

@CCRadovic2012 · Seguir



Después de 2 años de vacaciones de todos los virus de invierno, ahora vuelven en gloria y son los protagonistas de los medios masivos. El objetivo: vender más inyecciones y control. La Dictadura Sanitaria sigue experimentando con Chile 🇨🇱 🇵🇷 🤔 👤 .
[#NoAlPaseDeMovilidad](#) [#ChaoPase](#)

10:01 a. m. · 14 jun. 2022



(14)

Es absurdo este **ballet de un pasito adelante, uno para atrás**. Las decisiones no las puede tomar un algoritmo.^[2]

*'This **step forward and back ballet** is absurd. The decisions cannot be taken by an algorithm'*

(13) *'The **health dictatorship** continues to experiment with Chile'* ^[1]

[1] (15 June 2022). "La dictadura sanitaria sigue experimentando con Chile": Dr. File arremetió contra el adelanto de las vacaciones de invierno. *ADN Radio*.

<https://www.adnradio.cl/espectaculos/2022/06/15/la-dictadura-sanitaria-sigue-experimentando-con-chile-dr-file-arremetio-contra-el-adelanto-de-las-vacaciones-de-invierno.html>

[2] Toro, Daniela. (24 June 2021). Las Condes, Ñuñoa, Puente Alto y otras 21 comunas de la Región Metropolitana avanzan a Transición. *Emol*. <https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2021/06/24/1024823/paso-a-paso-24-junio.html>

Regional variation: Bolivia Politics

- From political leaders: PANDEMIC IS WARFARE AGAINST THE POOR

POLÍTICA



Evo Morales: “Estoy convencido que esta pandemia es parte de una guerra biológica”

El expresidente de Bolivia consideró que “para el capitalismo la gente pobre es innecesaria para el Estado” y responsabilizó al “Nuevo Orden Mundial” del COVID-19.



“Para el capitalismo la gente pobre es innecesaria para el Estado y esta pandemia primero mata a la gente que menos tiene”, señaló Morales. (Foto: Hugo Perez / @photo.gec)

(15)

‘Evo Morales: “I am convinced that this pandemic is part of a biological warfare.”

The former president of Bolivia thought that “for capitalism, poor people are necessary for the State” and blamed the “New World Order” for COVID-19.’^[1]

[1] Redacción Gestión. (08 December 2021). Evo Morales: “Estoy convencido que esta pandemia es parte de una guerra biológica”. *Gestión*. <https://gestion.pe/peru/politica/evo-morales-estoy-convencido-que-esta-pandemia-es-parte-de-una-guerra-biologica-nndc-noticia/>

Regional variation: Religion

| Country | Religious profile |
|------------------------------|--|
| Spain ^[1] | Catholic: 53.7%; Other religion: 3.0%; Atheist/agnostic: 41.4% |
| Mexico ^[2] | Catholic: 78%; 11% Protestant/Christian Evangelical |
| United States ^[3] | Hispanic Catholics: 8%; Hispanic Protestants: 4% (of all US) |
| Bolivia ^[4] | Catholic: 65%; Evangelical Protestant: 19% |
| Chile ^[5] | Catholic: 42%; Evangelical Protestant: 37% |

[1] Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (2023)

[2] Office of Religious Freedom (2021)

[3] PRRI Staff (2021)

[4] Romero (2022)

[5] Centro de Políticas Públicas Universidad Católica (2021)

Regional variation: Spain and Mexico - Religion

- In Spain, there were very few religion-based conspiracy metaphors
- In Mexico, some religious people in social media believe on religion-based conspiracy metaphors, such as that the *vaccine is satanic*:

(16) No, la **vacuna antiCOVID** de Moderna no es **satánica**. Usuarios de redes sociales creen que el biológico de la farmacéutica estadounidense tienen **vínculos con Lucifer**^[1]

*'No, the Moderna **anti-COVID vaccine** is not **satanic**. Users on social media believe that the vaccine from the American pharmaceutical company has **ties to Lucifer**'*

Regional variation: USA - Religion

- Anti-vaccine conspiracies draw from a wide range of domains (c.f. Wallace & Sweetser's talk yesterday); heavy influence/borrowing from English-language media, such as "plandemic" / "plandemia"
- Religious conspiracies appear more common than in Spain or Mexico

(17) Un alto funcionario del Comité Nacional Republicano en Florida difunde conspiraciones sobre el covid-19, llamando a las vacunas la "**marca de la bestia**"^[1]

*'A high-ranking official from the Florida Republican National Committee spreads conspiracy theories about COVID-19, referring to vaccines as the "**mark of the beast.**"*

Regional variation: Chile - Religion



debatidor bipolar

@DebatidorB

[#DictaduraSanitaria](#) nadie pudiera comprar ni vender, a menos que llevara la marca, que es el nombre de la bestia ..la vacuna de la bestia que no te deja entrar a lugares ni viajar

8:34 AM · Jan 6, 2022

(19) "La vacuna no me ha Puesto un **microchip** ni he recibido la **marca de la bestia**", remarcó el Gobierno, arremetiendo contra las "fake news" [2]

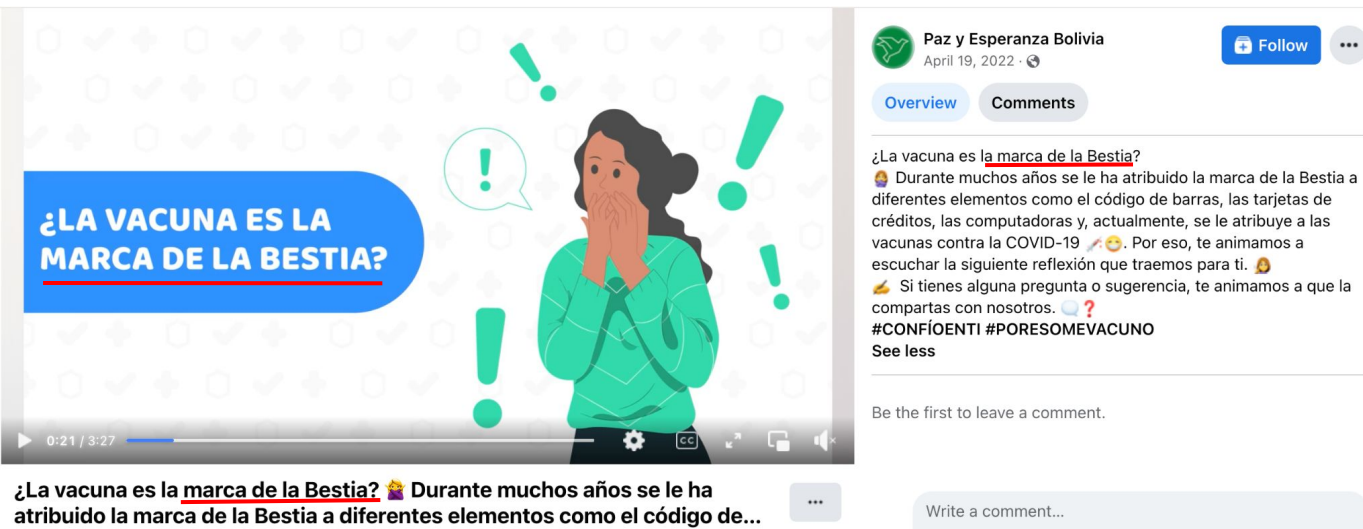
(18) *'#HealthDictatorship no one could buy or sell, unless they carried the **mark**, which is the **name of the beast**...the vaccine of the **beast** which will not let you enter places or travel'* [1]

*'The vaccine has not given me a **microchip** nor have I received the **mark of the beast**', remarked the Governor, attacking the "fake news"*

[1] @DebatidorB. (6 January 2022). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/DebatidorB/status/1479129280218951685>
[2] Cooperativa.cl. (9 July 2021). "Sin vacuna, no hay trabajo", advirtió el Gobierno de Fiji a los empleados públicos y privados. *Radio Cooperativa*. <https://cooperativa.cl/noticias/sociedad/salud/coronavirus/sin-vacuna-no-hay-trabajo-advirtio-el-gobierno-de-fiji-a-los/2021-07-09/005214.html>

Regional variation: Bolivia - Religion

- (21) La asambleísta Claribel Sandoval aseguró que iglesias evangélicas le dicen a la gente que las dosis contra el coronavirus dejan la **"marca de la bestia"**.^[2]



¿LA VACUNA ES LA MARCA DE LA BESTIA?

¿La vacuna es la marca de la Bestia?
👉 Durante muchos años se le ha atribuido la marca de la Bestia a diferentes elementos como el código de barras, las tarjetas de créditos, las computadoras y, actualmente, se le atribuye a las vacunas contra la COVID-19 🤔. Por eso, te animamos a escuchar la siguiente reflexión que traemos para ti. 🙏
👉 Si tienes alguna pregunta o sugerencia, te animamos a que la compartas con nosotros. 🗨️?
#CONFÍOENTI #PORESOMEVACUNO
See less

Be the first to leave a comment.

Write a comment...

*'Assemblywoman Claribel Sandoval stated that evangelical churches are telling people that the doses against the coronavirus leave **the "mark of the beast"**.'*

- (20) *'Is the vaccine **the mark of the beast**?'^[1]*

[1] Paz y Esperanza Bolivia. (19 April 2022). Facebook post. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=988242061829071>

[2] Redacción Diario Página Siete. (23 April 2021). *En Riberalta denuncian campaña religiosa contra las vacunas anticovid*. Página Siete. <https://www.paginasiete.bo/sociedad/en-riberalta-denuncian-campana-religiosa-contra-las-vacunas-anticovid-DIPS292771>

Summary of findings: Regional variation

- Variation reflects specific sociocultural contexts
- Politics:
 - Variation in governmental lockdown policies
 - Public distrust of government due to political upheavals in Bolivia and Chile prior to the pandemic (Diario UChile Internacional 2020)
- Religion:
 - Religious conspiracy metaphors are more common in countries with more Evangelical Protestants

Temporal variation

Throughout the pandemic: VIRUS IS A LIVING ENTITY;

Early stages of the pandemic: VIRUS IS A MONSTER

(22) Los que no quieren tomar seriamente el COVID-19, les digo una cosa, este virus es un **monstruo**^[1] - 2020, USA

*'Those that don't want to take COVID-19 seriously, I tell you one thing, this virus is a **monster**'*

(23) Pandemia de Covid-19, **monstruo de las mil cabezas**^[2] - 2020, Mexico

*'Covid-19 pandemic, a **thousand-headed monster**'*

(24) El coronavirus, un **dragón** que hace estragos en el turismo en Italia^[3] - 2020, Spain

*'The coronavirus, a **dragon** that wreaks havoc on Italy's tourism'*

[1] La Opinion. (16 April 2020). Sobrevivió: Un policía hispano de Texas se enfrentó al “monstruo” del COVID-19 por más de un mes. *La Opinion*.

<https://laopinion.com/2020/04/16/sobrevivio-un-policia-hispano-de-texas-se-enfrento-al-monstruo-del-covid-19-por-mas-de-un-mes/>

[2] Universo UV. (08 July 2020). Pandemia de Covid-19, monstruo de las mil cabezas: Alejandro Escalante. *Universo*. <https://www.uv.mx/prensa/banner/pandemia-de-covid-19-monstruo-de-las-mil-cabezas-alejandra-escalante/>

[3] Euronews en español. (02 July 2020). El coronavirus, un dragón que hace estragos en el turismo en Italia. *EuroNews*. <https://es.euronews.com/embed/1012558>

Temporal variation

Throughout the pandemic: VIRUS IS A LIVING ENTITY;

Early stages of the pandemic: VIRUS IS A MONSTER

- (25) Castro vio en la pandemia del Covid - al que llamaba "el cuco"-, una oportunidad para cambiar el mundo^[1] - 2021, Chile

'Castro saw in the Covid pandemic—which he called "the bogeyman"—an opportunity to change the world'

- (26) El problema es cultural: sabido es que entre los aymaras "corre la voz" de que el COVID 19 es producto del **KARI-KARI**^[2] - 2021, Bolivia

'The problem is cultural: it is known that among the Aymaras "the word spreads" that COVID 19 is the product of Kari-Kari'



karikari, aka kharisiri is a mythical beast indigenous to Bolivia and Peru

Photo credit: Benjamin Chavez

[1] Mensaje. (17 June 2021). «Óscar Castro: El eterno vuelo de «el cuervo» Castro (1947-2021)». *Mensaje*. <https://www.mensaje.cl/revista-mensaje-n-699-oscar-castro-el-eterno-vuelo-de-el-cuervo-castro-1947-2021>

[2] @HERI1221955. (14 September 2021). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/HERI1221955/status/1437806466572898305>

Temporal variation

Throughout the pandemic: VIRUS IS A LIVING ENTITY;
As the pandemic progressed: VIRUS IS A HARMLESS ENTITY

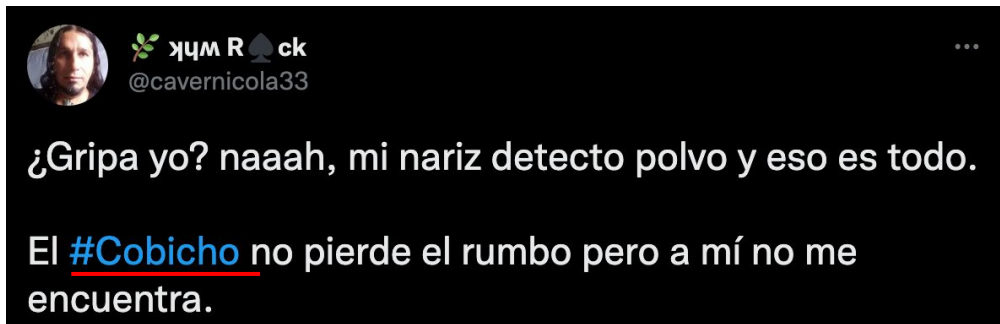


(27) 'I think I got the COVID-bug again, I still don't give a damn'^[1]

- covicho/cobicho: a blend of *covid* and *bicho* 'bug'
- Attested across Mexico, Central, and South America
- covicho/cobicho does not appear to be common in USA/Spain

[1] Miralva, Alex. (29 July 2021). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/AlexMiralva/status/1420802538656260097>

Temporal variation



(28) *'The flu, me? Nah, my nose detects dust and that's all.*

The #Cobicho doesn't lose its way, but it can't find me' ^[1]

(29) Porque todo #CierreMañanero tiene un comienzo temprano así que cáiganle a cotorrear lo que el **covicho** nos dejó en @codigo21_radio con la pristina visita de #AntonioTranquilono con @thesmallestboy @elAleGuarrero y mijares ^[2]

*'Because every #MorningShutdown has an early start, so come and laugh about what the **covicho** left us on @codigo21_radio with the pristine visit of #AntonioTranquilono, alongside @thesmallestboy, @elAleGuerrero, and Mijares.'*

[1] Cavernicola33. (17 January 2023). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/cavernicola33/status/1615557355088887808>

[2] EsKevinVega. (8 May 2023). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/EsKevinVega/status/1655572517753352199>

Conclusions

How is COVID-19 conceptualized across these varieties of Spanish?

- General-level metaphors are shared across varieties:
 - PROGRESS IN REOPENING FROM LOCKDOWN IS FORWARD MOTION
 - COVID VIRUS IS AN ENTITY
 - These metaphors inherit from primary, generic metaphors:
 - PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION
 - DISEASES ARE ENTITIES; ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE
- Variation across varieties occurs at the specific expression of the metaphor:
 - RECOVERY STAGES ARE A ROAD
 - PLAN FOR RECOVERY IS A ROADMAP
 - STAGES OF LOCKDOWN ARE TRAFFIC LIGHTS
 - CHANGE IN REOPENING PROGRESS IS A DANCE

Conclusions

How do these metaphors change over time?

- General metaphor is maintained over time: VIRUS IS AN ENTITY
- Specific expression of the metaphor changes as a reflection of changing attitudes towards the pandemic:
 - VIRUS IS A HARMFUL ENTITY -> VIRUS IS A MONSTER
 - VIRUS IS A HARMLESS ENTITY

Conclusions

What factors influence variation in metaphoric expression?

- Demographic variation
 - Here, we focused on religion; Kövecses (2005) discusses variation in other dimensions, such as gender, social class, and ethnicity
- Individual attitudes/opinions
- Political context

Take home message

Investigation of metaphoric expression in public discourse should attend to the following...

- Dialect
- Demographics
- Social, cultural, political contexts
- Genre and register

References

- Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas. (2023). Estudio CIS N° 3390: Barómetro de Enero 2023. https://datos.cis.es/pdf/Es3390mar_A.pdf
- Centro de Políticas Públicas Universidad Católica. (2021). Anhelos y Expectativas de la Sociedad Chilena. Resultados. Encuesta Nacional Bicentenario UC 2021. <https://encuestabicentenario.uc.cl/resultados/>
- Diario UChile Internacional. (14 May 2020). COVID-19 en Bolivia: la crisis sanitaria agrava la desconfianza ciudadana. *Radio Universidad de Chile*. <https://radio.uchile.cl/2020/05/14/covid-19-en-bolivia-la-crisis-sanitaria-agrava-la-desconfianza-ciudadana/>
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: Universality and variation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Olza, I., Koller, V., Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I., Pérez-Sobrino, P., & Semino, E. (2021). The #ReframeCovid initiative: From Twitter to society via metaphor. *Metaphor and the Social World*, 11(1), 98-120.
- Office of Religious Freedom. (12 May 2021). 2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Mexico. *U.S. State Department*. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/mexico/>
- PRRI Staff. (8 July 2021). The 2020 Census of American Religion. Public Religion Research Institute. <https://www.prrri.org/research/2020-census-of-american-religion/>
- Romero, T. (21 June 2022). Religion affiliation in Bolivia as of 2020, by type. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1066911/religious-affiliation-in-bolivia/>
- Stickles, E., Laparle, S., Browning, C., Du, V., Jones, K., Lahouli, A., Lozano, I., & Sweetser, E. (21 September 2022). Challenges for multilingual metaphor corpora: Methods and guiding principles. Paper presented at *Researching and Applying Metaphor*, Białystok, Poland.
- Stickles, E., & Browning, C. (21 September 2022). Microvariation in Inner Circle Englishes: COVID-19 Metaphors in Canadian and American English. Paper presented at *Researching and Applying Metaphor*, Białystok, Poland.
- Sweetser, E., David, O., & Stickles, E. (2019). MetaNet: Automated metaphor identification across languages and domains. In M. Bolognesi, M. Brdar, & K. Despot (Eds.), *Metaphor and Metonymy in the Digital Age: Theory and Methods for Building Repositories of Figurative Language*, pp. 23-47. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Wallace, B., & Sweetser, E. (29 June 2023). Anti-Vax framings and metaphors. Paper presented at *Researching and Applying Metaphor*, Alcalá de Henares, Spain.

Thank you!

This project is supported in part by funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.



Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada

Canada 

Temporal variation

2. Within a country

Mexico:

2020: Covid as a monster

COVID-19 es finalmente el **monstruo** en la puerta. Los investigadores trabajan día y noche para caracterizar el brote, pero se enfrentan a tres grandes desafíos. ^[x]

'COVID-19 is finally the **monster** at the door. Researchers are working day and night to characterize the outbreak, but they face three major challenges.'

2023: Covid as a bug

Porque todo #CierreMañanero tiene un comienzo temprano así que cáiganle a **cotorrear** lo que el **covicho** nos dejó en @codigo21_radio con la pristina visita de #AntonioTranquilono con @thesmallestboy @elAleGuerrero y mijares ^[x]

'Because every #MorningShutdown has an early start, so come and **laugh about** what the **covicho** left us on @codigo21_radio with the pristine visit of #AntonioTranquilono, alongside @thesmallestboy, @elAleGuerrero, and Mijares.'

[x] La Izquierda Diario Mx. (12 March 2020).

<https://www.laizquierdadiario.mx/Mike-Davis-sobre-COVID-19-el-monstruo-finalmente-esta-en-la-puerta>

[x] EsKevinVega. (8 May 2023). Twitter post. <https://twitter.com/EsKevinVega/status/1655572517753352199>

Temporal variation

2. Within a country

Chile:

2021: Covid was seen as a threat, a killer, and a monster: Castro vio en la pandemia del Covid —al que llamaba “el **cuco**”—, una oportunidad para cambiar el mundo “Castro saw in the Covid pandemic -which he called “the **bogeyman**”- an opportunity to change the world”

<https://www.mensaje.cl/revista-mensaje-n-699-oscar-castro-el-eterno-vuelo-de-el-cuervo-castro-1947-2021/>

2023: Covid tends to be seen as either a governmental control mechanism or as a conspiracy (religion): “Siempre esas cifras estuvieron groseramente infladas con el fin de asustar al **ganado**.” “Those number were rudely exaggerated as a way to scare the **sheep**”

<https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2023/05/09/1094593/chile-no-reporta-fallecidos-covid19.html>

Temporal variation

2. Within a country

Bolivia:

2021, January: Covid as a bug

Evo Morales dio positivo a Covid. Pues ojalá el bicho libere a Bolivia de la escoria, cosa que sus ciudadanos no pueden.^[x]

“Evo Morales tested positive for Covid. Well, hopefully the bug will free Bolivia from the scum, which its citizens cannot.”

2021, September: Covid as a monster

El problema es cultural: sabido es que entre los aymaras "corre la voz" de que el COVID 19 es producto del KARI - KARI!: ese es el obstaculo al cual se suman los "cosnpiranoicos"!!!!!!^[y]

“The problem is cultural: it is known that among the Aymaras "the word spreads" that COVID 19 is the product of KARI - KARI!: that is the obstacle to which the "conspirators" add themselves!!!!!!”

[x] Twitter: <https://twitter.com/Naihtirc192/status/1349338801663983616>

[y] Twitter: <https://twitter.com/HERI1221955/status/1437806466572898305>