

*Supplement to Article:*

# **When the Going Gets Tough, Leaders Use Metaphors and Storytelling: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study on Communication in the Context of Covid-19 and Ukraine Crises**

Katerina Gkalitsiou <sup>1</sup>, and Dimosthenis Kotsopoulos <sup>1,\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Management Science and Technology, Athens University of Economics and Business, Greece; {gkalikate; dkotsopoulos}@aueb.gr

\* Correspondence: dkotsopoulos@aueb.gr

## **Extended list of Metaphors and Stories (Supplement)\*\***

### **Table of Contents**

1. Representative Examples of Metaphors & Stories Employed by the Greek PM in his statements in the context of the Covid-19 Crisis (original Greek excerpts and English translation).....	2
1.1. Conceptual Metaphors.....	2
1.2. Theme-Based Metaphors .....	3
1.3. Stories .....	4
2. Representative Examples of Metaphors & Stories Employed by the President of the Ukraine in his statements in the context of the ongoing (2022-2023) conflict .....	5
2.1. Conceptual Metaphors.....	5
2.2. Stories .....	7

---

*\*\* The full inventory of metaphors and stories identified in this research is available upon request to the authors*

## 1. Representative Examples of Metaphors & Stories Employed by the Greek PM in his statements in the context of the Covid-19 Crisis (original Greek excerpts and English translation)

### 1.1. Conceptual Metaphors

- Structural Metaphors:
  - *"We are at war"* (Είμαστε σε πόλεμο)
  - *"War conditions"* (Συνθήκες πολέμου)
  - *"Invisible enemy"* (Αόρατος εχθρός)
  - *"Treacherous enemy"* (Υπουλος εχθρός)
  - *"Hospital fighters"* (Μαχητές των νοσοκομείων)
  - *"Heroes in white and green shirts"* (Ηρώες με τις λευκές και πράσινες μπλούζες)
  - *"Weapons against coronavirus"* (Όπλο κατά το κορονοϊού)
  - *"Weapons in our quiver"* (Όπλα στη φαρέτρα μας)
  - *"Armory of measures"* (Οπλοστάσιο μέτρων)
  - *"The crisis is hurting us"* (Η κρίση μας πληγώνει)
  - *"Shield of responsibility"* (Ασπίδα ευθύνης)
  - *"The vaccine is our shield"* (Το εμβόλιο είναι η ασπίδα μας)
  - *"I am closing the door to the virus"* (Κλείνω την πόρτα στον ιό)
- Orientational Metaphors:
  - *"Upright in duty"* (Όρθια στο καθήκον)
  - *"We raise our own front"* (Ορθώνουμε το δικό μας μέτωπο)
  - *"We lift the burden of the fatherland"* (Σηκώνουμε το βάρος της πατρίδας)
- Ontological Metaphors:
  - *"Fend off the coronavirus health threat"* (Αποκρούσουμε την υγειονομική απειλή του κορονοϊού)
  - *"Gatherings are traps"* (Οι συναθροίσεις είναι παγίδες)
  - *"Chain of Terror"* (Αλυσίδα του τρόμου)
  - *"Security Bridge"* (Γέφυρα ασφάλειας)
  - *"Fan of Restrictions"* (Βεντάλια περιορισμών)
- Absolute Metaphors:
  - *"Immunity wall"* (Τείχος ανοσίας)
  - *"Sanitary siege"* (Υγειονομική πολιορκία)
  - *"The coronavirus is a symmetrical shock"* (Ο κορονοϊός αποτελεί ένα συμμετρικό σοκ)
  - *"The evil needs a link to spread"* (Το κακό θέλει έναν κρίκο να απλωθεί)
- Extended Metaphors:
  - *"As fast as the virus travels, so will the cooperation of the international scientific community, which will bring the vaccine and the cure for the disease."* (Όσο γρήγορα ταξιδεύει ο ιός, τόσο γρήγορα θα ταξιδέψει και η συνεργασία της διεθνούς επιστημονικής κοινότητας, που θα φέρει το εμβόλιο και τη θεραπεία της νόσου.)
  - *"Let us be alone, but not lonely! Protected, not besieged! And isolated, but not alienated."* (Ας μείνουμε μόνοι, αλλά όχι μοναχικοί! Προστατευμένοι, όχι πολιορκημένοι! Και απομονωμένοι, αλλά όχι αποξενωμένοι.)

- *"The virus knows no borders and no distance. The smaller the island where someone thinks they will take refuge to protect themselves, the more difficult, if not impossible, it will be to treat them if they get sick there."* (Ο ιός δεν γνωρίζει σύνορα και αποστάσεις. Όσο πιο μικρό είναι το νησί όπου κάποιος πιστεύει ότι θα καταφύγει για να προστατευθεί, τόσο πιο δύσκολη, αν όχι αδύνατη, θα είναι και η περιθαλψή του αν αρρωστήσει εκεί.)
- *"The light of the Resurrection will light our way until life returns, step by step, to its normal rhythm"* (Το φως της Ανάστασης θα φωτίζει το δρόμο μας μέχρι η ζωή να επιστρέψει, βήμα-βήμα, στους κανονικούς της ρυθμούς)
- *"The virus is here, it is present. It has not ceased to circulate among us."* (Ο ιός είναι εδώ, είναι παρών. Δεν έπαψε να κυκλοφορεί ανάμεσά μας.)
- Dead (cliché) Metaphors:
  - *"Front of the economy"* (Μέτωπο της οικονομίας)
  - *"Public health front"* (Μέτωπο της δημόσιας υγείας)
  - *"It's in our hands"* (Είναι στο χέρι μας)
  - *"The virus keeps us at home"* (Ο ιός μας κρατάει στο σπίτι)
  - *"Key to success"* (Κλειδί για την επιτυχία)
  - *"Exit from quarantine"* (Εξοδος από την καραντίνα)
  - *"Freezing activities"* (Παγώνουν οι δραστηριότητες)
  - *"To face the truth right in the eye"* (Να δούμε την αλήθεια κατάματα)

## 1.2. Theme-Based Metaphors

- War Metaphors: reference to 'battle', 'war', 'soldiers', 'heroes', 'guns' against virus
  - *"To date, our country, has not been hit as hard as other countries"* (Η χώρα μας, μέχρι σήμερα, δεν χτυπήθηκε όσο άλλες)
  - *"We are at war with an enemy that is invisible but not invincible"* (Είμαστε σε πόλεμο με έναν εχθρό που είναι αόρατος αλλά δεν είναι ανίκητος)
  - *"The hospital fighters"* (Οι μαχητές των νοσοκομείων)
  - *"Health threat"* (υγειονομική απειλή)
  - *"The white- and green- shirted heroes"* (οι ήρωες με τις λευκές και πράσινες μπλούζες)
  - *"A weapon against coronavirus"* (όπλο κατά του κορωνοϊού)
  - *"Let's be alone, but not lonely! Protected, not besieged!"* (Ας μείνουμε μόνοι, αλλά όχι μοναχικοί! Προστατευμένοι, όχι πολιορκημένοι!)
  - *"Disciplined soldiers"* (πειθαρχημένοι στρατιώτες)
  - *"A fight for life"* (πόλεμος ζωής)
  - *"Arsenal of containment measures"* (οπλοστάσιο των μέτρων περιορισμού)
  - *"Weapons in our quiver"* (όπλα στη φαρέτρα μας), *"Fortress of life"* (οχυρό ζωής)
  - *"A pandemic that besieges the whole planet"* (πανδημία που πολιορκεί ολόκληρο τον πλανήτη).
- Religious Metaphors: reference to 'faith', and 'beliefs'
  - *"Faith often begins where science ends"* (η πίστη αρχίζει, συχνά, εκεί που τελειώνει η επιστήμη)
  - *"Today, it is not our 'beliefs' that are being tested, but our faith in the health of man"* (σήμερα, δεν δοκιμάζονται τα «πιστεύω» μας, αλλά η πίστη μας στην υγεία του ανθρώπου)

- *"The holy resurrection now lights the way for the joyful exit from the storm of the pandemic"* (Ανάσταση φωτίζει, πλέον, το δρόμο για τη χαρμόσυνη έξοδο από την καταιγίδα της πανδημίας.)
- *"The light of the Resurrection will light our way until life returns, step by step, to its normal rhythms"* (Το φως της Ανάστασης θα φωτίζει το δρόμο μας μέχρι η ζωή να επιστρέψει, βήμα-βήμα, στους κανονικούς της ρυθμούς.)
- Game Metaphors: reference to 'political games'
  - *"Some seem to be playing political games"* (Κάποιοι παίζουν πολιτικά παιχνίδια)

### 1.3. Stories

- Positive stories:
  - *"Once I went to church alone, lit a candle, made my cross and said what I had to say to myself."* (Μια φορά πήγα μόνος μου στην εκκλησία, άναψα ένα κερί, έκανα το σταυρό μου και είπα αυτά τα οποία έπρεπε να πω στον εαυτό μου.)
  - *"It is certain that, when the crisis is over, we will see the people who fill the supermarket shelves differently. We'll be worried if the man on the motorbike isn't wearing his helmet. And we'll say good morning to the women and men who empty our neighborhood dumpsters. They will no longer be invisible as they perhaps were to some. Many have had to wear the protective mask so that their bright face would shine behind it. It is the face of progress and solidarity. Of tomorrow's Greece."* (Είναι σίγουρο πως, όταν περάσει η κρίση, θα βλέπουμε αλλιώς τους ανθρώπους που γεμίζουν τα ράφια των σούπερ μάρκετ. Θα ανησυχούμε αν το παλικάρι στο μηχανάκι δεν φοράει το κράνος του. Και θα λέμε καλημέρα στις γυναίκες και στους άντρες που θα αδειάζουν τους κάδους της γειτονιάς μας. Δεν θα είναι πια αόρατοι όπως ήταν, ίσως, για κάποιους. Πολλοί έπρεπε να βάλουν την προστατευτική μάσκα για να λάμψει από πίσω της το φωτεινό τους πρόσωπο. Είναι το πρόσωπο της προκοπής και της αλληλεγγύης. Της αυριανής Ελλάδας.)
  - *"I have a child at school, and I know. I completely understand the backlash from the citizens: "Are you all going to shut us in again?" they ask me, every now and then. "Not many people 'shut us in', but only one," I reply. And that is the Coronavirus that we must defeat. Drawing strength from what we have achieved and faith from what we can achieve. For whatever sacrifices we are called upon to make now, it is up to us to make them be the last ones."* (Έχω και εγώ παιδί στο σχολείο και ξέρω. Καταλαβαίνω απόλυτα την αντίδραση των πολιτών: «Θα μας ξανακλείσετε;», με ρωτούν, κάθε τόσο. «Δεν είναι πολλοί αυτοί που μας «κλείνουν», αλλά μόνον ένας», απαντώ. Και αυτός είναι ο Κορωνοϊός, που πρέπει να νικήσουμε. Αντλώντας δύναμη από αυτά που πετύχαμε και πίστη από αυτά που μπορούμε να πετύχουμε. Γιατί όποιες θυσίες καλούμαστε να κάνουμε τώρα, είναι στο χέρι μας να είναι και οι τελευταίες.)
  - *"Two centuries ago, a handful of determined fighters, inside and outside Greece, raised the banner of independence. They set in motion a process whose end even they themselves could not have dreamed of. With the help of their allies, they fought heroically and earned their freedom."* (Πριν από δύο αιώνες, μια χούφτα αποφασισμένων αγωνιστών, μέσα και έξω από την Ελλάδα, ύψωσαν το λάβαρο της ανεξαρτησίας. Έθεσαν σε κίνηση μια διαδικασία, το τέλος της οποίας ούτε και οι ίδιοι μπορούσαν να ονειρευτούν. Με τη βοήθεια των συμμάχων τους, πολέμησαν ηρωικά και κέρδισαν την ελευθερία τους.)
- Negative stories
  - *"Doctors tell us, after all: "We are standing tall in the hospitals for you. And you must stay at home for us"."* (Μας το λένε, άλλωστε, και οι γιατροί: «Εμείς μένουμε όρθιοι στα νοσοκομεία για εσάς. Και εσείς πρέπει να μείνετε στο σπίτι για εμάς».)

- *"And they (the doctors) advise us: don't act like healthy people who don't go out, so they won't get sick. But think differently: Like you already have contracted the virus, and you shouldn't pass it on to others."* (Και μας συμβουλεύουν (οι γιατροί): Μην φέρεστε ως υγιείς που δεν βγαίνουν για να μην νοσήσουν. Αλλά σκεφτείτε διαφορετικά: Σαν να έχετε ήδη τον ιό και δεν πρέπει να τον μεταφέρετε σε άλλους.)
- *"In Italy they have no coffins to bury their dead. A person is sadly lost every two minutes. And the situation is getting worse and worse all over the world."* (Στην Ιταλία δεν έχουν φέρετρα να θάψουν τους νεκρούς τους. Χάνεται, δυστυχώς, ένας άνθρωπος κάθε δύο λεπτά. Και η κατάσταση γίνεται όλο και χειρότερη παντού στον κόσμο.)
- *"I conclude with the words of the American President Theodore Roosevelt, which I think are fitting for those who are already fighting against the threat and will be called upon to do much more in the days to come: "The praise belongs to the man who is really in the arena, with a face full of sweat and blood. But who has enthusiasm and commitment. Because he spends himself in a worthy cause"."* (Κλείνω με τα λόγια του Αμερικάνου προέδρου Θεόδωρου Ρούζβελτ, που ταιριάζουν, νομίζω, σε αυτούς που ήδη μάχονται εναντίον της απειλής και θα κληθούν να κάνουν πολύ περισσότερα στις επόμενες μέρες: «Ο έπαινος ανήκει στον άνθρωπο που είναι πραγματικά στην αρένα, με πρόσωπο γεμάτο ιδρώτα και αίμα. Που έχει, όμως, ενθουσιασμό και αφοσίωση. Γιατί ξοδεύει τον εαυτό του σε ένα άξιο σκοπό».)

## 2. Representative Examples of Metaphors & Stories Employed by the President of the Ukraine in his statements in the context of the ongoing (2022-2023) conflict

### 2.1. Conceptual Metaphors

- Structural metaphors:
  - *"Black Pages of history"* (frequent repetition)
  - *"The warm light of candles is a synonym of home comfort"*
  - *"Like a glimmer of hope"*
  - *"Dark month"*
  - *"Darkest time"* (frequent repetition)
  - *"We have equally warm hearts", "Echoes with pain in your hearts"*
  - *"Sky black from planes"*
  - *"Protect our sky"*
  - *"Open sky"*
  - *"Sky safe"*
  - *"Today my age stopped when the hearts of more than 100 children stopped beating"*
  - *"Understand most of all our pain from the war"*
  - *"Warm attitude"* (frequent repetition)
- Orientational Metaphors:
  - *"Hide their heads in the sand now"*
  - *"Travel in time"*
  - *"Hide under other countries' flags"*
- Ontological Metaphors:
  - *"It is hell"*
  - *"The world is destabilized"* (frequent repetition)
  - *"They will always live side by side, and they will feel both joy and pain together"*

- *"Listen to what is sounding now in Moscow"*
- *"Now the fate of our state is being decided"* (frequent repetition)
- *"Russia has attacked more than just our land and our cities. It went on a brutal offensive against our values. Basic human values."* (frequent repetition about values)
- *"Sacrificing our lives in the name of the future"*
- *"Bare hands"*
- *"Tear our country apart"* (frequent repetition).
- Absolute Metaphors:
  - *"Weapon of victory"*
  - *"If you had to find the complete opposite of what is called the 'Law of Jante' in your country, it would be the 'Law of Russian Oil'"*
  - *"Especially profit on blood"*
  - *"Leave this market flooded with our blood"* (frequent use of the word "blood")
- Extended Metaphors:
  - *"Peace that is worth more than anything, more than any values, more than any diamonds"*
  - *"They have accumulated as many resources to spend on war, on death, as not every European country can spend on life."*
  - *"No. It burned the plane, it burned the iron. It destroyed matter, not soul. The shell, not the essence. Not freedom. Not dignity. Not independence."*
  - *"Because, as they say, if a rock breaks off from Europe, Europe becomes smaller. So, we must do everything to ensure that a rock like Ukraine is always with Europe."*
  - *"Now the blue and yellow flag in the world is probably the most popular. These colors are associated with freedom. This is true for different people on different continents. And of course in Europe."*
  - *"Our capitals are separated by a distance of 8 thousand 193 kilometers. On average, it's 15 hours on a plane. Depending on the route. But what is the distance between our feelings of freedom? Between our desires to live? Between our aspirations for peace?"*
  - *"Even a millimeter between our capitals. Even a second between our feelings."*
  - *"You are like behind the wall again. Not the Berlin Wall. But in the middle of Europe. Between freedom and slavery. And this wall grows stronger with each bomb that falls on our land, on Ukraine. With every decision that is not made for the sake of peace. Not approved by you, although it may help."*
  - *"When there is someone who beats like a savage, it is very important to have someone who will lend a hand. And when the foot of the enemy enters your house, he will lend you a helping hand."* (frequent use of "Beats like a savage", "lend a hand")
  - *"If someone tried to snatch Greek roots from Ukrainian history and culture we would lose a fundamental part of ourselves."*
  - *"Everyone in Europe must simply stop being afraid. Stop being weak. They have to become strong. Put values and democracy above the threats that Russia spreads."*
  - *"Because democracy should not fear. Freedom must be protected. Human rights must be above all calculations. The right to peace. The right to life. The right to happiness, to free development. The right to family security. The right to the future of children. The right to a decent old age of parents. The right to respect for every community. The right to be with you, Spain, together in a European family."* (frequent use of the word "fear", "future of children", "life", "peace")

- *"Because our destiny is to be as close as we can. Our destiny is to be defenders of freedom in our region. Our destiny is to be together in the European family."*
- Dead (Cliché) Metaphors:
  - *"Historic steps, next step in our planet"*
  - *"In front of eyes of entire planet"*
  - *"De ja vu"*
  - *"Brothers and sisters" (e.g., Polish, etc.).*

## 2.2. Stories

- Positive stories
  - *"Like a thousand years ago, when the Norwegian Vikings were frequent visitors in Kyiv and participated in the formation of the first Kyiv state."*
  - *"Back in 2019, literally six months after I became President of Ukraine, my wife Olena took part in a project for children with visual impairments. In the project to create audiobooks. And she voiced Japanese fairy tales. In Ukrainian. Because they are understandable for us, for children. And it was only a drop in the huge sea of our attention, the Ukrainian attention, to your attainment."*
  - *"I'm sure each of you has photos of your loved ones. At home or just on the phone so you can watch when your heart asks for that. Photos of children, photos of parents. Photos of your loved ones."*
  - *"Filiki Eteria, founded in our Odesa, has played a role in the history of your country, which cannot be overestimated. And I urge you now, openly, to create such a new union of friends, which will be able to save the Ukrainians and Greeks of the south of our state. Which will be able to help Mariupol."*
- Negative Stories
  - *"Four days ago, cruise missiles, planes, helicopters, and equipment came from Belarusian territory. They hit our homes, they hit our lives."*
  - *"So much has been done since World War II so that what Ukraine is experiencing right now never happens again. But everything repeats."*
  - *"Mariupol. It was a peaceful city in the south of Ukraine. Absolutely peaceful - until Russian troops approached and besieged it, as in the Middle Ages. Until they began to torture people with famine, thirst, kill with fire."*
  - *"Europe has never known such a dark month since World War II. It has not seen such destruction and such war crimes. The list of those killed already reaches thousands. Dozens of our cities and communities were destroyed. Russian troops do not distinguish between civilian and military targets. They destroy everything. They burn residential neighborhoods and houses. They blow up hospitals. They even fire at kindergartens with rocket artillery! Hundreds of educational facilities and more than 200 schools were destroyed. Russian troops bombed universities."*
  - *"Remember Pearl Harbor. Terrible morning of December 7, 1941. When your sky was black from the planes attacking you. Just remember that."*
  - *"Remember September 11th. A terrible day in 2001, when evil tried to turn your cities into a battlefield. When innocent people were attacked. Attacked from the air. In a way no one expected."*
  - *"And what would you feel if you saw your flag in every city where they pass, how your flag in Montreal is removed... Removed to be thrown away and replaced with a Russian one."*