

Terrorism in German and Italian Press Headlines

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Abstract:

This paper illustrates the phenomenon of Islamic terrorism by applying frame semantics and metaphor analysis to German and Italian press headlines of the two online weekly publications *Der Spiegel* and *L'Espresso* between 2014 and 2017. The study identifies conceptual metaphors that confirm previous research constituting *terrorism as war*, *terrorism as a criminal organisation* both in German and Italian press headlines. The concepts of *terrorism as a natural event*, *as a disease* and *terrorists as animals* are represented in Italian headlines, while the contrasting metaphorical concepts of *antiterrorist groups as family and / or friends* are present in both publications and languages. The paper shed light to new results constituting *terrorism as a dramatic play* in the German and Italian languages and *terrorism as a game and wares* in the Italian language. In addition, the research illustrates how media discourse – through the use of conceptual metaphors – triggers a particular perception of the phenomenon among the general public so that governmental strategies and policies are accepted and terrorists are perceived as evildoers. This implies regarding them as members of an uncivilised group “other” opposed to the civilised group “we”. Media discourse about terrorism produces an intensive emotion of fear that is remarkable in both German and Italian language taking into account all similarities and differences.

Keywords: *Cognitive linguistics, Contrastive linguistics, Frame semantics, Islamic terrorism, Metaphor analysis*

1. Introduction

Since the 9/11 terrorist attack, the media have played an important role in the representation of terrorism. As Schwarz-Friesel and Skirl (2011: 3) point out: “Terrorism, in its destructive activity and reach, depends on the dissemi-

nation of news through the media. [...] This creates the danger that mass media reporting allows itself to be manipulated for terrorist ends". The Islamic State, also known as the IS Caliphate, was declared on 29 June 2014 (cf. Von Sikorski, Matthes and Schmuck 2018: 1). Compared to the preceding period when there was talk of the Al-Qaeda's Organization, the scenario changes, because the West, for the first time, is pitted against an enemy described as a State. Ballardini (2015: 8) criticizes the term "State" and supports rather the term "anti-State": "Se ci ritroviamo di fronte all'Antistato per antonomasia, dunque, è assolutamente folle attribuire all'ISIS la dignità di Stato, come hanno fatto già alcuni autori, perché significherebbe legittimarlo". The focus of this paper is the phenomenon of Islamic State's terrorism reported on the basis of the German and Italian press headlines in the online weekly publications of *Der Spiegel* and *L'Espresso*. The term terrorism used in this study refers to the Islamist terrorist attacks that took place between December 2014 and January 2017. The choice of this time span depends on the self-proclamation of the IS and on the conspicuous number of terrorist attacks in Europe. The press headlines are analysed on the basis of Lakoff and Johnson's conceptualisation of metaphor and Konev's frame semantics in order to focus on the categories, or the matrix frames, in which each metaphor is settled, by identifying if and how *actors/roles, reasons, consequences, conditions/circumstances, phases, goals, strategies, properties* are lexicalized. This paper concentrates on the textual aspect of discourse and, in particular, on the rhetorical figure of speech of metaphor. The paper conducts a qualitative and contrastive analysis and the aim will be to investigate how Islamic terrorism is conceptualized in German and Italian on the basis of the above mentioned media by identifying the similarities and the differences that are present in both languages. Since this study is based on two weekly publications, the limited focus cannot claim to represent a complete picture of the discourse on terrorism, it does bring to light new and interesting results that contribute to the ones that have been explored by previous research. By way of example, the study explores how the frame of *terrorism as a dramatic play* is conceptualised in both languages, while terrorism as metaphors of *game* and *wares* are conveyed in Italian. In both languages, the contrasting frames such as *antiterrorist groups* are conceptualized as *family and friends*.

The content of the study is presented as follows. First, conceptual metaphors will be presented, followed by a brief overview of the previous relevant research regarding conceptual metaphors of Islamic terrorism. The next section contains a detailed explanation of the corpus and methodology that was used for the analysis, and the presentation and discussion of the results. The paper will close with a brief recapitulation of the research goals and the insights outlined from the corpus analysis.

2. Conceptual metaphors

The traditional approach to metaphors as language embellishment, used in poetry and rhetoric with a persuasive purpose, has undergone several modifications owing to the seminal work by Lakoff and Johnson *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). These authors argue that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and that metaphors are a central part of language, pervasive in life and cannot, therefore, be considered just an embellishment of the text. This cognitive approach includes not only metaphorical structures and language, but also human thoughts and actions. Lakoff and Johnson's conceptualisation of metaphor identifies a distinction between abstract *conceptual metaphors* and specific *metaphorical expressions*: the *conceptual metaphor* is an abstract rule or mapping which connects two distinct conceptual domains (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 7-8), e.g. the conceptual metaphor *terrorism as war*, involves the abstract connection between a source domain (*war*) and a target domain (*terrorism*). The conceptual metaphor is reflected in our everyday language by *metaphorical expressions* that can be specific such as "War against terrorism" (*Krieg gegen Terrorismus, guerra al terrorismo*) or words like "soldiers" and "enemies" (*Kämpfer, Feinde, combattenti, nemici*), that draws on the general conceptual metaphor *terrorism as war*.

Metaphor concerns a comparison among different words in different domains and, according to Kenneth Burke, "metaphor is a device for seeing something *in terms of* something else" (cf. Beer and De Landtsheer 2004: 8). Also, the source domain is more concrete and based on human experience, while the target domain is abstract and more difficult to understand (cf. Kövecses 2002). In addition, a metaphor functions through a set of conceptual mappings, associations between elements of the target and source domain (cf. Landau and Keefer 2015). Therefore, metaphors are important rhetorical instruments, that influence the behaviour, the cognition and the reception of human beings (cf. Beer and De Landtsheer 2004: 5-6) as our world and conceptual system are full of metaphors. Anderson (2004: 92) states that:

In their now standard work on metaphor, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson show that metaphor consists not merely of isolated instances of original figurative language but of repetitive and pervasive patterns of language that may even seem literal to the persons engaged in communication. The semantics of every natural language consists of a large, diverse set of families of metaphors, famously exemplified by "argument is war". Thus English speakers in an argument "attack" each other's "position" and "defend" against debaters' "thrusts" and "sallies". Communicators' choice of metaphors from this set determines the meaning that they exchange.

Metaphors are cognitive instruments, and the interaction among their different domains develops a new understanding of reality (cf. Charteris-Black 2004: 27). Indeed, metaphors are used in order to understand unknown things

through known things (cf. Chilton and Ilyn 1993: 8); they help us categorise the world in a specific way, and to understand many abstract and vague concepts (cf. Carver and Pikalo 2008: 57) by the way they are conveyed through words. As Hülse affirms: “Wirklichkeit wird nämlich nicht nur durch das konstruiert, *was* ich sage, sondern auch durch die Art und Weise, *wie* ich es sage” (Hülse 2003: 212). According to this perspective, metaphors build the social reality. As a consequence, it is possible to speak of cultural metaphors as “each nation has its own clusters of metaphors” (Beer and De Landtsheer 2004: 111). Moreover, metaphors play an important role in the press, as we can see from the corpus analysed in this study; metaphors “sollen auch im Journalismus schwierige Zusammenhänge durch bekannte Bilder vermitteln, das Unbekannte anschaulich machen” (Gehr 2014: 29). The following section will present some of the most significant research conducted on conceptual metaphors about Islamic terrorism.

3. Previous research

Due to the prominent position conceptual metaphors occupy in media discourse about Islamic terrorism, they were the subject matter of many research projects, especially in the aftermath of 9/11. Since that period, as Lakoff (2004) affirms, there was an activation of the frames of fear and of the war against terrorism, which implies that people are constantly terrified. The destruction of the twin towers represents the loss of control conveyed by archetypal metaphors such as *democracy vs. tyranny* and *freedom vs. oppression* that the U.S. government created after the 9/11 to highlight the us vs. them polarization, a typical resource used to legitimize strategies against terrorism that are grouped under the term counter-terrorism (Zhang 2007). With regards to counter-terrorism, the work by Kruglanski, Crenshaw, Post and Victoroff (2008) presents a psychological perspective and identifies different types of conceptual metaphors related to *war*, *law enforcement*, *containment of a social epidemic*, *prejudice reduction*. The same can be observed in the British tabloid media discourse on terrorism between 2001 and 2005. For example, in analysing *The Sun*, Spencer (2008) identifies four conceptual metaphors constituting *terrorism as war*, *crime*, *uncivilised evil* and *disease*. The author points out how metaphors regarding terrorism have changed since the 9/11 attacks and those that took place in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005. In fact, he notes a shift in the structure of the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda, which went from being a military entity to a criminal one. After the terror attacks in Madrid, the metaphorical conceptualization of terrorism in political speeches by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, the then Prime Minister of Spain in 2004, was investigated by García (2009), confirming the *fight* metaphor, thus revealing the conceptual metaphor of *disease*, where *the government is the doctor* and *the society is the patient* (García 2010).

Regarding the German media and the 9/11 terrorist attacks, specifically in the press headlines of *Focus* and *Der Spiegel* from 2001 to 2003, Susanne Kirchhoff (2010) identifies *natural catastrophe*, *murder*, and *war* metaphors and Spencer (2011) in the *Bild* newspaper points out five conceptual metaphors about *war*, *crime*, *uncivilised evil*, *natural event*, *disease*. In the same vein, Schwarz-Friesel and Skirl (2011) show how terrorism after 9/11 is metaphorically characterized in thousands of articles taken from German print media, particularly weekly newspapers like *Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit*, *Die Welt*, *Focus et al.* These papers focus on the persuasive aspect of information activating emotions, primarily the emotion of anxiety. Some metaphorical expressions are analysed such as *terrorism as cancerous sore*, *as crazy (graffiti) sprayers*, *as mosquito bites*. The interaction of language, cognition and emotion is reflected in the language of the German press about violence and Islamic terrorism also through the conceptual metaphors of *body*, *animals* and *fabulous creatures* (Schwarz-Friesel and Kromminga 2014).

Stamenković (2017) analyses the metaphors in a corpus comprising Donald Trump's presidential campaign speeches. Specifically, the corpus consists of 12 transcripts from 2015 to 2016, 10 transcripts from 21 October to 9 November 2016, the inaugural address he gave on 20 January 2017. The metaphors that are identified in this corpus are: *animal*, *fire*, *journey*, *goods*, *machine*, *plant*, *sports*, *liquid*, *vacuum*, *house*, *burden*, *rocket*. Precisely, Donald Trump used relevant conceptual metaphors like *terrorism is an animal*, *a terrorist is an animal*, *terrorists are insects*, *terrorism is a weed* (Pilyarchuk and Onysko 2018).

Rafoss (2018) examines George W. Bush's major public speeches on terrorism as well as those by Jens Stoltenberg after the 9/11 terrorist attacks and those that took place on 22 July 2011. The author chooses to compare Bush and Stoltenberg because they were very similar in responding to the terrorist attacks, yet also very different. The metaphors of *personification of nation*, *fight* and *war*, and *evil* were revealed by the authors; a negative description of terrorists compared to a positive description of a compassionate national community.

To sum up, the majority of the research studies identifies the conceptual metaphors of *terrorism as war/fight*, *crime*, *natural catastrophe*, *disease*, *uncivilised evil*, *terrorists as animals* by pointing out a distinction between *us* and *them*, in which *we* includes victims and civilised people, while *they* includes evil and uncivilised people. This paper presents a number of similar results, but also adds new ones, as listed accordingly. The next section will present the methodology used to analyse the metaphors by applying frame semantics.

4. Methodology

The corpus consists of press headlines available on the Internet. *Der Spiegel* and *L'Espresso* provided headlines from December 2014 till January 2017 regarding the two terror attacks in Paris, namely the Charlie Hebdo

attack on 7 January 2015 and the 13 November 2015 attack; in Brussels on 22 March 2016, in Nice on 14 July 2016, in Ansbach on 25 July 2016 and in Berlin on 19 December 2016. The selection of press headlines instead of the complete articles is based on the observation that people often tend to read only the online headlines because they attract greater attention and are spread all over the social media. The corpus material was analysed manually to detect conceptual metaphors with the support of the software program AntConc, a freeware corpus analysis toolkit. The keywords used in AntConc were: *Terrorismus*, *Terror**, *Terrorist**, *islamisch**, *Islamist**, *Is*, *Islam*, *Kalif-sstaat**, *Kalif**, *Anschlag**, *Anschläge**, *Attentat** in the German language and *terrorismo*, *terrorist**, *terrore*, *islamic**, *islamist**, *isis*, *is*, *Islam*, *califfato*, *califfo*, *jihadis**, *kamikaze*, *estremis**, *fondamentalis**, *attentat**, *attacc** in the Italian language. The focus was placed on all metaphorical expressions used in terrorism rhetoric, classified then in conceptual metaphors and categorized in matrix frames and predicates by applying frame semantics on the basis of Koneiding's (1993) studies.

A frame is, as Fillmore (1982: 111) states:

By the term 'frame' I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits. [...] I intend the word 'frame' as used here to be a general cover term for the set of concepts variously known, in the literature on natural language understanding, as 'schema', 'script', 'scenario', 'ideational scaffolding', 'cognitive model', or 'folk theory'.

Certain words and some expressions are associated in the memory to particular frameworks. In this way, a particular word in a proper context activates in the recipient's mind a certain frame which activates, in turn, other associations with other words (cf. Baldi and Savoia 2010: 120).

Koneiding (1993) carried out a lexicological pilot study on the basis of dictionaries – in particular of the *Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* (*Duden* Universal German Dictionary) – a hyperonym reduction of substantives, working exclusively with nouns, because hyperonyms usually occur in dictionary meaning explanations as the main elements of nominal phrases and also because “everything that is addressed and thus can be made the object of explicit categorical and predicative analysis is nominalizable” (Koneiding 1997: 65, quoted in Ziem 2014: 268). The results of Koneiding's hyperonym type reduction is a small set of German nouns and they correspond to the highest hyperonyms, the so-called matrix frames: *object*, *organism*, *person/actant*, *event*, *action/interaction/communication*, *institution/social group*, *surroundings*, *part/piece*, *totality/whole*, *state/property*. The second step of Koneiding's pilot study consists in determining the potential reference points of each category, so that conventionally expectable routinized predications arise as predicators. Koneiding explored to which predicators the ascertained noun

types can be linked. The predicator schemata answers to questions such as ‘under what conditions?’, ‘in what phase?’, ‘how long?’, ‘in what way?’, ‘with what consequence?’, ‘for what reason?’:

Diese Fragen werden in den vorgeschlagenen Matrixframes der Pilotstudie [...] mit Hilfe der folgenden Phrasen gebildet [...]: *Unter welchen Bedingungen?*, *In welcher (Existenz)Phase?*, *Wie lange?*, *Auf welche Art und Weise?*, *Mit welcher Folge?*, *Aus welchem Grund?* Ein Ziel der Pilotstudie war es, Antworten zu derartigen Fragen ebenfalls in die Form von Nominalen zu bringen, um eine iterierte, d.h. thematisch progressive Anwendung der Matrixframes zu ermöglichen und somit eine kontrollierte, schrittweise progressive Wissensmodellierung durchzuführen. (Konerding 1993: 203)

After identifying the most prominent metaphors used in conceptualizing terrorism, the metaphorical expressions were divided into groups according to their source domain and the predicates of the matrix frame to which each conceptual metaphor belongs. The following section presents the matrix frames and metaphors found and aims to explain their discursive implications.

5. Results and discussion

The source domains in the press headlines, including the number of expressions for every source domain used in conceptual metaphors related to Islamic terrorism are given in Figure 1.

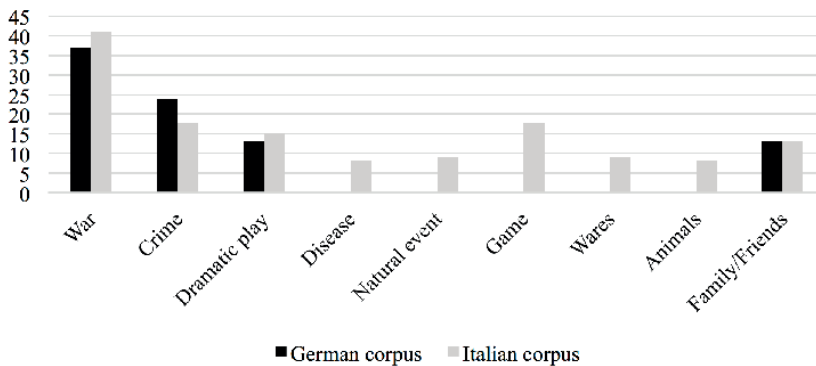


Figure 1. Source domains of Islamic terrorism

5.1 Terrorism as war

The conceptual metaphor *terrorism as war*, as stated in previous research, is verbalised both in *Der Spiegel* and *L'Espresso*.

Considering Konerding’s (1993) frame semantics, the frame *war* concerns the matrix frame of an *event* with all his possible predicates, such as its phases, its causes, the people involved in it. The predicates of an event that are listed by Konerding are:

Matrix frame *event*^{1*}

Predicates characterising: *the development circumstances; the hierarchically superordinate whole; the functions/roles; the essential phases; the essential actors; the essential properties of the actors; the conditions in which the event changes; the typical duration; the conditions in which the event begins; the conditions that support the event; the conditions under which the event recurs; the conditions under which the event ends; different types of state and other events in which the event can recur; other names for the event; different consequences for the people; the meaning; similar events; theories; information.*

In the analysed corpus five of the listed predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 1:

<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Der Spiegel</i>	<i>L'Espresso</i>
<i>Other names for the event</i>	<i>Kampf gegen Terrorismus; Anti-Terror-Kampf; Krieg gegen den IS; im Kampf gegen den islamistischen Terrorismus; im Kampf gegen den Terror auf Invasionen; Kampf gegen Islamisten; Terrorismusbekämpfung; Terrorbekämpfung</i>	<i>Guerra al terrorismo; La Guerra Totale; Prepararsi alla guerra; Rendere più efficace la guerra contro lo Stato Islamico; Guerra al Califfato; La lotta al terrorismo; Lotta contro i terroristi; Lotta contro I jibadisti; Combattere il terrorismo</i>
<i>The essential actors</i>	<i>Kämpfer gegen den Terrorismus; Terrorismusbekämpfer; IS-Kämpfer; Feinde; Interessenvertretung der Soldaten; Soldatengruppe; Anti-Terror-Allianz</i>	<i>Combattenti; commando; comandi alleati; alleati; esercito; nemici; soldati dello Stato Islamico; i soldati dell'Isis; le milizie del Califfo; truppe del Califfato; miliziani islamici; reclute; reclutarori</i>
<i>Different consequences</i>	<i>Widerstand; Aufrüstung; Ausrüstung; Rüstungslieferungen; Bitterer Sieg; besiegen; bombardieren; Bomben werfen; aufrüsten; bewaffnen; gewinnen; verteidigen</i>	<i>Vincere; sconfiggere; perdere; combattere; attaccare; bombardare; arruolarsi; arretramento; avanzata; assalto; riconquista</i>

^{1*} For a complete picture of the matrix frames predicates consult: Konerding, Klaus-Peter. 1993. Frames und lexikalisches Bedeutungswissen. Untersuchungen zur linguistischen Grundlegung einer Frametheorie und zu ihrer Anwendung in der Lexikographie. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

<i>The conditions that support the event</i>	<i>Kriegswaffen; Schusswaffen; Kampfjets; Strategie gegen den Terror; Sicherheitsoffensive; Militäroffensive; Militärausgaben; Rekrutierungsstrategie des "Islamischen Staates"</i>	<i>Strategie; Linee strategiche; soluzione militare; cooperazione militare</i>
<i>The essential phases</i>	<i>Frankreich an die Front; Brutaler Kampf an allen Fronten</i>	<i>Fronte; campo di addestramento; paese militarizzato; città militarizzata</i>

Table 1. *War – event*

In the German press headlines of *Der Spiegel* there are the two words *Terrorismus* and *Terror*. The word *terror* derived from English reflects the emotion of intensive fear. Terrorism – *Terrorismus* – is a political instrument to disseminate fear not meant to kill as many people as possible, but to set societies in a great feeling of danger: the dissemination of death and fear is the power of terrorism (cf. Lakoff and Wehling 2016: 119). During 9/11 Bush spoke about a *war against terror*, meaning ‘against fear’, but since then European politicians and journalists speak of *war against terrorism*, but use the two terms indiscriminately. The use of these words reflects a sort of manipulation by means of the language of terrorism: since the people have an intensive fear, they need help and want security, and for this reason they support any solution, including war. The emotions have an important role – as in this case *fear* – so that metaphors become a powerful instrument to promote social change and support for security (cf. Hanne, Crano and Scott Mio 2015: 253). The problem of an expression like *Krieg gegen den Terror/die Angst* is that people, rather than feeling secure, have an increasing feeling of insecurity (cf. Lakoff and Wehling 2016: 121). Moreover, there are three noun forms that express this insecurity: *Krieg* means a conflict with armed forces among States or nations, or a greater military conflict that lasts for a longer period of time; *Kampf* means a military conflict among hostile troops or enemies in general rather than among absolute States; *Bekämpfung* reflects the action of the verb *bekämpfen*, or the action of destruction related to enemies (*die Feinde bekämpfen*) or the action of controlling, containing, preventing or overcoming, towards which strong measures are needed (cf. Duden 2011).

In addition to the concept of *Krieg gegen den Terrorismus/Terror*, there is another similarly significant expression, that of *Kampf der Kulturen, Kulturkampf gegen Islamismus* which, since 9/11, has taken on a clear warlike metaphor. In comparison with the metaphor *Krieg gegen Terrorismus*, it does not mean a war between us and an abstract phenomenon, but between our culture and the culture of the other: two cultures literally cannot fight, but metaphorically different cultures have different ways to speak and for that reason they cannot communicate, but just – in this case – to conduct a war.

In *L'Espresso*, in comparison with the German expression *Krieg gegen Terror*, the Italian expressions *Guerra al terrorismo*, *Guerra al Califfato*, *La lotta al terror-*

ismo, *Lotta contro i terroristi*, *Lotto contro i jihadisti*, *Combattere il terrorismo* focus on the phenomenon of terrorism and not on the emotion of fear/terror. The ‘caliphate’ is a word that comes from the Arabic, that means succession and identifies an Islamist governmental form. Moreover, as in the German press headlines, there are the words *guerra*, *lotta* and *combattere*: as a matter of fact *guerra* and *combattere* have the same meaning of *Krieg* and *bekämpfen*; *Lotta* means fight, battle among two or more people or animals, in which someone wants to dominate, but it has also a metaphorical meaning like “fight against cancer”, “fight against illiteracy” or “conflict”, “discord” (cf. Lo Zingarelli 2019). The phenomenon of *Kampf der Kulturen* is verbalised also in the Italian press headlines with the expression *Scontro di civiltà*: the word *scontro* in the dictionary refers primarily to a collision with vehicles. Secondly, it refers to a short term fight, followed by the fight in the field of sports and then figuratively it means *accesa polemica*, *aspro confronto*, namely “intense dispute”, “bitter confrontation” (cf. Lo Zingarelli 2019); the word *civiltà*, from Latin *civilis*, “civil”, refers to the complex of the social, political, economic, cultural structures and developments that characterize a given society; it refers also to the progress and to common courtesy; the difference between *civiltà* and *cultura* is that the last word is of narrower context and refers to cognitions, knowledge, traditions, art, habits, behaviours (*ibidem*). The focus in the Italian language sheds light on the fight/dispute and on the wider term *civiltà* instead of *cultura*. In the German language the focus is on the (military) conflict and the narrower term *Kultur* which refers to intellectual, artistic, formative performance of a society (cf. Duden 2011). In addition, in German there is no mention about the development of the society as in the Italian expression. For that reason, the Italian expression *civiltà* can be seen as a reinforcement of the idea of “developed civil society” which creates a clear distinction between us and the others, between a “civil society” and an “uncivil society”. The expression “the clash of civilizations” is famous owing to Huntington’s work (2011) published in 1996, and criticised by Todorov (2009: 125) who asserts that the proper word would not be “clash” but “encounter” or “meeting” because the “meeting” among cultures or “civilizations” should not produce a “clash”, or a war, but an interaction.

Both in the German and in the Italian press headlines the conceptual metaphor *terrorism as war* is verbalised. The frame of *war* can be clearly recognized through the participants of this war – the States, the soldiers, the troops, the allies and the adversaries, who need and use strategies to win the war. The fighter also needs weapons and the war against terrorism is fought in different places, fronts and cities.

5.2 *Terrorism as a criminal organisation*

Similarly to the work conducted by Alexander Spencer (2008), also in the analysed corpus *terrorism* is verbalised both *as war* and *as crime*. Therefore, there is an entire frame about *crime*, and terrorism is conceptualised *as a criminal organisation*.

The frame *criminal organisation* concerns the matrix frame of an *institutional social group*. The predication characterising this matrix frame are:

Matrix frame *institution/social group**

Predicates characterising: *the social processes or connections; the roles/functions; the elements and manifestations; the people involved; the way in which the people are included; the parts; the activities; the pros; the limitations; other properties; the dimension; development circumstances; the circumstances that lead to the dissolution; the typical existence phases; the distribution; other names for it; the intentions, needs, purposes, goals; the actions; the goals; the conditions; the way in which it works; the way in which it is effective; the duties and the responsibilities; the rights; the instruments; the meaning; similar social groups/institutions; theories; information.*

In the analysed corpus four of the listed predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 2:

Predicates	Der Spiegel	L'Espresso
<i>The people involved</i>	<i>Haupt- und Terrorverdächtige; Anhänger des verbotenen „Kalifstaates“; Täter; Angreifer; Komplizen; Fahndungshelfer; Mörder; Massenmörder; Amokläufer</i>	<i>Sospetti terroristi; membri dell'Is; omicida; complici; assalitori</i>
<i>The elements and manifestations</i>	<i>Spuren</i>	<i>Tracce</i>
<i>Similar social groups/institutions</i>		<i>Al pari delle associazioni mafiose, l'Is agisce e si finanzia commettendo reati; I kamikaze sono un clan</i>
<i>The circumstances that lead to the dissolution of the institution/social group</i>	<i>Straffällig; vorbestraft; Fahndung; Terrorfahndung; Terrorverdacht; verdächtigen; ermitteln; durchsuchen; identifizieren; Haft ohne Anklage; Zugriffen; Anti-Terror-Raids; Gefängnis</i>	<i>gli investigatori danno la caccia...; la polizia è alla ricerca; indagine; inchiesta; ipotesi investigativa; identikit; intercettazioni; liste di chi è sospettato di attività terroristiche; ordini d'arresto; blitz anti-terrorismo</i>

Table 2. *Criminal organisation – social group/institution*

The investigators search for the traces of the terrorists, who are sometimes in hiding places and on the run: the identity of the terrorist is unknown and the investigators have just suspects. This uncertainty produces clearly a feeling of fear.

In the Italian language there are some comparisons with the Mafia. Usually the word *clan* is often used to refer to the Mafia, Camorra or other criminal organisations: *I kamikaze sono un clan*. This word comes from the Gaelic *clann*, it means family and refers to a familial group with masculine descend-

ant. The word today refers also to a closed group of people that share the same interests and are related to criminal groups of the Mafia (cf. Lo Zingarelli 2019). This comparison clearly conveys the idea of the reception of *terrorism as crime*. Terrorists are compared increasingly with the Mafia and the Islamic State is received therefore as the Mafia organisation (cf. Ballardini 2015: 7) which then produces certain connections. For example, as the Mafia is seen in Italy as the “opposing State”, as well as a network that has a great power and is everywhere, in this case, Islamic terrorism is very similar to the Mafia.

Both in German and Italian press headlines terrorism has not been fought but restrained through laws. In fact, in order to destroy the organization, law enforcement needs to identify its members.

The first two conceptual metaphors about *war* and *crime* are not very different. Regarding the conceptual metaphor *terrorism as war*, there is a military and repressive answer; concerning the conceptual metaphor *terrorism as crime*, there is a lawful solution, but both aim to pass new laws about war and emergency (cf. Spencer 2012: 405).

5.3 *Terrorism as a dramatic play*

Terrorism is also verbalized as a *dramatic play*, as something unreal. In this field there are more metaphorical expressions in the Italian then in the German press headlines.

The frame *dramatic play* concerns the matrix frame of an *action/interaction/communication*. The predications characterising this matrix frame are:

Matrix frame *action/interaction/communication**

Predicates characterising: *the reasons; the goals; the hierarchically superordinate whole; the essential phases/states; the duration; the actors; the roles; the properties and the states; the instruments, strategies, tactics; the abilities; the essential mistakes and their consequences; the possibilities of the correction; the typical consequences; the typical actions/events or phases with which it overlaps; similar actions/interactions/communications.*

In the analysed corpus five of the listed predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 3:

<i>Predicates</i>	<i>Der Spiegel</i>	<i>L'Espresso</i>
<i>The actors</i> <i>The roles</i>	<i>Regie</i>	<i>regista dei massacri; il regista delle stragi di Parigi; ma quale è la regia che ha organizzato l'offensiva?; aggressori protagonisti; 007</i>

<i>Similar actions/ interactions/ communications</i>	<i>Apocalypse Now</i>	
<i>The essential phases/states The goals</i>	<i>Live-Events inszeniert; dramatische / schreckliche Szenen; ein grausames Spektakel; grausame Szenen aus Terrornächten; Szenen aus einer Metropole, die Terror erlebt; Actionszenen; Totentanz; Tragödie; Altraum; Schauplätze des Terrors</i>	<i>tutta una nuova serie di scenari geopolitici; possibile scenario caldo; silenzio irreale; trame islamiste; spettacolo di morte; si moltiplicano; combattimenti in una città spettrale / città fantasma; in stile gangster; teatro siriano</i>

Table 3. *Dramatic play – action/interaction/communication*

In both languages there is a conceptualisation of terrorism as something unreal: terror attacks are perceived as shows or a theatre-like performance – as made clear in the Italian metaphorical expression *teatro siriano*. Each terror attack is experienced as a tragedy and a nightmare, something, that does not seem to be real and would be possible just in a plot of a movie, a play or in a nightmare. The reception of terrorism as a movie has already been instituted, with a connection between terrorism and horror scenes of films and it reflects the difficulty to receive these events as something real (cf. Schwarz-Friesel and Kromminga 2014: 58-59).

This conceptual metaphor very clearly reproduces the difficult reception of terrorism in Western cultures and it is clearer in the Italian *L'Espresso* headlines. In theatre, the “Islamic plots” develop (*trame islamiste*) and concern a “performance of death” (*spettacolo di morte*); the terrorists – as in a horror movie with zombies – ‘increase’ (*si moltiplicano*) and the police is the 007 of this movie. The “battles” are filmed “in a spectral city” (*combattimenti in una città spettrale*) full of “ghosts” (*così si vive nella città fantasma*). The terrorists use a particular style as in a ‘gangster’ movie (*I terroristi hanno aperto il fuoco con i kalashnikov in stile gangster*).

The conceptual metaphor *terrorism as a dramatic play* is clear in the Italian language, where the word “theatre” is pointed out. In the German language there is the word *Spektakel* which is not that frequently used today but reflects the sense of unreality in perceiving the phenomenon of terrorism. The German press headlines focus their attention on the performance; the Italian press headlines focus on the place – where the performance takes place – and on the performance.

5.4 *Terrorism as a disease*

In the Italian press headlines there is just a small network around the frame of *disease* and some metaphorical expressions. The frame *disease* concerns the matrix frame of an *event* (section 5.1). In the analysed corpus three of the predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 4:

<i>Predicates</i>	<i>L'Espresso</i>
<i>Other names for the event</i>	<i>L'Isis è un cancro; Chi compie attentati solitari ha livelli di psicopatologia più elevata rispetto a chi si muove in gruppo; siamo in preda alla nevrosi dell'insicurezza; Una società sull'orlo di una crisi di nervi</i>
<i>Different consequences</i>	<i>la violenza nascosta che infetta anche i sistemi democratici; 3.600 morti di terrorismo; Il terrorismo di matrice jihadista è il più concreto e potenzialmente letale</i>
<i>The conditions under which the event ends</i>	<i>estirpare l'Is</i>

Table 4. *Disease – event*

Terrorism is a cancer, a disease that is not easy to “defeat” and to control. As Jackson (2005: 73) asserts “terrorism is a cancer on the human condition and we intend to oppose it”:

The communicated conceptualization *terrorism as cancerous sore* reveals that *terrorism* is presented in analogy to *cancer case*, which establishes a specific view. Through the reference to a serious, life-threatening illness, a strongly negative evaluation is established, which contains a considerable emotional potential (*repulsive, frightening*). The conceptualization can be understood as an indirect persuasive demand for action (*must be investigated/combated*). (Schwarz-Friesel and Skirl 2011: 4)

Moreover, *terrorists are psychopathic* and *terrorism is a neurosis* (*Chi compie attentati solitari ha livelli di psicopatologia più elevata; siamo in preda alla nevrosi dell'insicurezza*). Here it is interesting to notice a connection with the problem of insecurity which is clearly connected with the feeling of fear that we continue to find in these different conceptualisations about terrorism: the expression ‘neurosis of insecurity’ underlines the feeling of fear that spreads in an insane way. We suffer from phobias about terrorism, a neurosis due to a terror fear, caused by terrorists, because we cannot control this phenomenon. In the metaphor *terrorists as psychopathic*, terrorists are perceived as unhealthy, especially if they organise terror attacks alone. This negative perception of terrorists that are alone will be underlined in the section (5.8) about the metaphor of *animals*. This way to describe terrorism and us as victims supports the difference between the persecutors and the victims. Terrorists are fool, irrational and uncivil and we are the opposite, therefore rational and civil:

Mentally disturbed assailants are driven by deep fears, irrational hostilities, and mad ambitions. Similarly, closed-minded *ideologues* and militant *fanatics* are immune to practical reason and rational influence of any kind. [...] Indeed, Sam Keen observes that the tendency to dehumanize the face of a foe is universal. Drawing on war propaganda posters and other sources from societies throughout the world, he lists what he calls archetypes of the hostile imagination, which construct the enemy as a stranger, an aggressor, as faceless, a demon, an enemy of God, a barbarian, as greedy, as criminal, a torturer, a rapist, a beast, a reptile, an insect, a germ, as death, and even as worthy opponent. (Lakoff 2004: 80-81)

Terrorism is a virus, that can easily spread (*la violenza nascosta che infetta*) and causes ‘deaths’ (*3.600 morti di terrorismo*). Terrorism is ‘lethal’ (*potenzialmente letale*). Terrorism – like a cancer – has to be ‘extirpate’, literally in Italian *estirpato*. The verb *estirpare* means ‘uproot’ or ‘root out’, like e.g. ‘taking out weeds’ (*estirpare le erbacce*) or ‘taking out cancer’ (*estirpare il cancro*), figuratively it means ‘to remove completely’, it is used also against phenomena as corruption, drogues, terrorism (cf. Lo Zingarelli 2019).

5.5 Terrorism as a natural event

In the Italian press headlines the conceptual metaphor *terrorism as a natural event* is verbalised. The frame *natural event* concerns the matrix frame of an *event* (section 5.1). In the analysed corpus only two of the predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 5:

<i>Predicates</i>	<i>L'Espresso</i>
<i>Other names for the event</i>	<i>Tsunami; Terremoto</i>
<i>Different consequences</i>	<i>L'onda nera del terrorismo; L'onda lunga del jihadismo; Cavalcare l'onda dell'odio; Ultima ondata terroristica; La nube nera degli attacchi dell'Is; Un lampo e poi il fumo; infiltrazioni</i>

Table 5. *Natural event – event*

The reception of terrorism as a “tsunami” or “earthquake” gives again the idea of something that is not so easy to control – as for the case of the disease. When we read that terrorism causes *l'onda nera*, *l'onda dell'odio* (‘the black wave’, ‘the wave of hate’), it means that terrorism is a phenomenon that cannot be easily stopped. Moreover, terrorism is also received as a *blitz*: the word derives from the German *Blitzkrieg* and refers to a military operation characterized by the unpredictability of the attack and the speed of the execution (cf. Lo Zingarelli 2019). As a consequence it is something that lasts not so long; a terrorist attack can last just ten minutes and then there is smoke and nothing more than hard consequences and other victims.

Terrorism is also verbalised *as water* (‘wave’, ‘tsunami’): indeed we find also the metaphorical expression *infiltrazioni*; terrorists leak in the nations and we have to stop these ‘infiltrations’. Like in the case of the ‘virus’ that infects our territory in the *disease* frame, also in this case there is something that breaks into *our* area and as Lakoff asserts “security is as containment – keeping the evildoers out” (Lakoff 2004: 57), or clearer when he speaks about *container metaphors*:

We are physical beings, bounded and set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins, and we experience the rest of the world as outside us. Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation. We project our own in-out orientation onto other physical objects that are bounded by surfaces. Thus we also view them as containers with an inside and an outside. Rooms and houses are obvious containers. [...] But even where there is no natural physical boundary that can be viewed as defining a container, we impose boundaries [...] whether a wall, a fence, or an abstract line or plane. There are few human instincts more basic than territoriality. And such defining of a territory, putting a boundary around it, is an act of quantification. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 29)

From this perspective, therefore, terrorism and terrorists that break into our boundaries are a problem and trigger a feeling of fear and insecurity – as stated before.

In conclusion, terrorism is perceived as a *natural event* or a *natural catastrophe* in the Italian press headlines. *terrorism is a tsunami, a wave*: “als naturale Katastrophe ist Terrorismus ein Ereignis, das über ‘uns’ hereinbricht” (Schlag 2017: 65). In particular, in the Italian language, we speak about ‘earthquake’, ‘blitz’ and ‘smoke’: as a shock or an explosion and then just smoke – or better said – the consequences of terror attacks that occur over and over again. They spread not just as a ‘virus’ but also as ‘waves’ and ‘tsunamis’. The reception of *terrorism as a disease* and *as a natural event* are therefore very similar, because both of them reflect a phenomenon that is not easy to control.

5.6 *Terrorism as a game*

In relation to the ‘war against terrorism’ in the Italian corpus *terrorism* is verbalised *as a game*. The frame *game* concerns the matrix frame of an *action/interaction/communication* (section 5.2). In the analysed corpus seven of the predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 6:

Predicates	L'Espresso
The actors	Tre uomini; forze dell'ordine; l'Islam mite; leader dell'IS

<i>The instruments, strategies, tactics</i>	<i>Il rebus della guerra siriana; manuali dell'orrore; istruzioni per la morte; tutorial del terrore; un progetto di legge propone di giocare d'anticipo; scacchiere mediorientale</i>
<i>The goals The typical consequences</i>	<i>scacco al califfo; tre uomini hanno tenuto in scacco le forze dell'ordine di un'intera nazione; attacco al divertimento</i>
<i>The essential phases/states</i>	<i>il leader dell'Is ha lanciato una sfida non solo all'occidente; lancia anche una sfida culturale; immigrazione, paura del terrorismo, periferie sono questioni che mettono in gioco gli equilibri democratici in Europa e in Italia</i>
<i>The essential mistakes and their consequences</i>	<i>così ci siamo giocati l'Islam mite</i>
<i>The properties and the states</i>	<i>non hanno nulla da perdere</i>

Table 6. *Game – action/interaction/communication*

Terrorism is verbalised *as chess*, there is a chessboard and the chess pieces. In relation to this Lakoff (1987: 16) asserts:

Wittgenstein pointed out that a category like *game* does not fit the classical mold, since there are no common properties shared by all games. Some games involve mere amusement, like ring-around-the-rosy. Here there is no competition – no winning or losing – though in other games there is. Some games involve luck, like board games where a throw of the dice determines each move. Others, like chess, involve skill. [...] Chess and go both involve competition, skill, and the use of long-term strategies. Chess and poker both involve competition.

The metaphor of *chess* gives an idea of a terrorism that have strategies and abilities to be ready for the competition. The chess pieces move in the same way of terrorists: it is all about a competition, similar to war.

Terrorism is also conceptualized *as rebus*. The uncontrollability of the phenomenon of terrorism is verbalized as a 'Rebus of war' (*il rebus della guerra siriana*) and this produces laws 'to play in advance' (*un progetto di legge propone di giocare d'anticipo*). In the Italian language the word *rebus* refers to a puzzle game and it is used metaphorically for incomprehensible or uncontrollable people or things (cf. lo Zingarelli 2019), and this is very similar to the phenomenon of terrorism.

We can lose or win in a game and in Italian there is an expression for this, namely *giocarsi qualcosa*, which means to 'gamble' or to 'risk' something (*così ci siamo giocati l'Islam mite*). From the perspective of terrorism, terrorists have 'nothing to lose' in this game (*non hanno nulla da perdere*) and they plan attacks

against our way of life which is a Dionysian life, based on music and alcohol. Such amusement is not accepted by the Islamic State and for this reason they ‘attack entertainment’ (*attacco al divertimento*). Other common sayings in the field of game are *lanciare una sfida*, ‘throw down a challenge’ (*il leader dell’Is ha lanciato una sfida non solo all’occidente; lancia anche una sfida culturale*) and *mettere in gioco*, literally ‘put into play’ (*immigrazione, paura del terrorismo, periferie sono questioni che mettono in gioco gli equilibri democratici in Europa e in Italia*).

5.7 *Terrorism as wares*

In the Italian press headlines *terrorism* is also verbalized *as wares*. There is a frame network about *wares* that concerns the matrix frame of an *object*. The predications characterising this matrix frame are:

Matrix frame *object**

Predicates characterising: <i>the form, colour and measurements; additional discernible features; the hierarchically superordinate whole; the essential parts; the arrangement, functional roles and special features; other exceptional features; the conditions; the later phases; the distribution; the availability; other names for it; activities in which it functions/ plays a role; roles in such activities; the meaning; similar objects; theories; information.</i>

In the analysed corpus three of the listed predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 7:

<i>Predicates</i>	<i>L'Espresso</i>
<i>Other names for the object</i>	<i>Terrorismo; strage; guerra</i>
<i>Activities</i>	<i>la strage costata la vita a dieci turisti; il costo umano ed economico dell'operazione sale; la guerra costerebbe 50 morti a settimana; si contano ancora i morti; deve fare i conti con nuovi equilibri geopolitici</i>
<i>Roles of the object in such activities</i>	<i>imprenditori del terrore; veniamo a nostre spese per vincere la barbarie; estremisti da eliminare a qualunque costo; a farne le spese i nigeriani ma anche l'Europa. E il terrorismo ci guadagna</i>

Table 7. *Wares – object*

The metaphor of *wares* is verbalized *as terrorism* since there are expressions with ‘terrorism’ / ‘war’ / ‘disaster’ that ‘costs’ instead money many human lives (*la strage costata la vita a dieci turisti; il costo umano ed economico dell'operazione sale; la guerra costerebbe 50 morti a settimana*) and in this “death-market” we count the dead (*si contano ancora i morti*). The sellers of terrorism are some *imprenditori del terrore*, ‘businessmen of terror’ and we, intended as Europeans, are the buyers and victims.

Conceptual metaphors about the frame of *wares* referring to women have already been explored, and this is particularly true about prostitutes, who are described as objects and wares (cf. Grenz 2007: 164). In this case we find an abstract phenomenon, terrorism, that is perceived as *wares*.

Terrorism is therefore wares that have to be paid for with the lives of the victims and just as with victims or money, it has to be counted. The sellers of these wares are the ‘businessmen of terror’ and the buyers are the victims: we “buy” terrorism and we “pay” with our “life-money”. In this conceptual metaphor there is again a distinction between us and the others: we the “buyers” and the others the “seller” of fear.

5.8 Terrorists as animals

In the Italian press headlines *terrorists* are verbalized as *animals*. The frame *animals* concerns the matrix frame of an *organism*. The predications characterising this matrix frame are:

Matrix frame *organism**

Predicates characterizing: *the form and the color; properties; the essential parts; the mass; the abilities; the habits; the natural events; the roles; the development circumstances; the natural environment; the distribution; the conditions; certain existence phases; other names for it; the actions of the people; the meaning; the production processes; similar organisms; theories; information.*

In the analysed corpus four of the listed predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 8:

<i>Predicates</i>	<i>L'Espresso</i>
<i>Other names for the organism</i>	<i>Lupi; Pescecane; Squalo</i>
<i>Other particular properties</i>	<i>Solitari; ma sono i “lupi solitari” il vero pericolo; i lupi solitari possono fare danni; un pescecane che terrorizza i bagnanti; Il Califfo non cinguetta più</i>
<i>The meaning of the organism for the people</i>	<i>l'Italia teme i “lupi solitari”</i>
<i>The natural environment</i>	<i>covi per fondamentalisti; covo dei terroristi</i>

Table 8. *Animals – organism*

From some years now, terrorists are called ‘lone wolves’, in the Italian language *lupi solitari*. Today, compared to the Al-Qaeda period, an organization of kamikaze who plans attacks, but what we are witnessing in current attacks are ‘lone wolves’ who organize attacks spontaneously and with no support, but just on the basis of the Islamic State’s ideology, and this State claims responsibility for the attacks. For this reason the *terrorists* are verbalized as *wolves*.

'Lone wolves' can cause 'damages' (*i lupi solitari possono fare danni*), represent a 'danger' (*ma sono i "lupi solitari" il vero pericolo*) and 'Italy is afraid of them' (*l'Italia teme i "lupi solitari"*). A terrorist can also be 'a shark who scares the beach goers' (*un pescecane che terrorizza i bagnanti*) and on the same level also 'the Caliph' is associated with 'the shark' (*Lo squalo e il califfo*) and with the small bird who 'does not twitter anymore' (*Il Califfo non cinguetta più*). Since terrorists are animals and, as all animals, they have a 'den' (*covi*) where they hide.

This conceptual metaphor underlines the distinction between our civilisation and their barbarity: they are violent, brutal, uncivilised and animals – and not pets that are usually connected with something positive in our culture, but really scary and savage animals. As Ivie (2004: 78-79) underlines:

Savagery is a multidimensional image of the enemy that contrasts the civilized victim's rationality, morality, and peaceful purposes with irrational and immoral behavior of the uncivilized aggressor. [...] Enemies are dehumanized, that is, by rhetorically stripping them of their identity as civilized Others. Decivilizing vehicles are among the war rhetor's most important symbolic resources for this purpose; they articulate the key contrastive features distinguishing civilized from savage agents while synthesizing several dimensions of meaning into an integrated image of threat.

Media discourse after 9/11 has typically verbalized terrorists as animals: George W. Bush often used expressions that represent terrorists as awful animals (cf. Charteris-Black 2005: 181-184). There is a clear distinction between us and the others: when we say that the others are animals, the perception is that they are inhuman. We are human, we think and have emotions; they are evil, similar to 'wolves' or 'sharks' that are recognized as horrible animals: terrorists are scary and generate fear.

5.9 Antiterrorist groups as family and/or friends

Both in *Der Spiegel* and in *L'Espresso* there is a discourse about solidarity in relation to the 'war against terrorism', that arises from the frames of *family* and *friends* through different metaphorical expressions: nations unite to fight the war against terrorism. Europe, nations, cities and *antiterrorist groups* are verbalized as *friends* and *family*. Lakoff has already spoken about the conceptual metaphor *nation-as-family* and asserted: "the Nation-as-Family metaphor, in which the nation is seen as a family, the government as a parent and the citizens as children" (Lakoff 1995: 11); in this case, however, the conceptual metaphor can be observed both in *family* and in *friends*. The frame *family/friends* concerns the matrix frame of the *institution/social group* (section 5.2).

In the analysed corpus four of the listed predicates are lexicalized, as shown in Table 9:

Predicates	Der Spiegel	L'Espresso
<i>Other names for the institution/social group</i>	<i>Regierung; Berlin; Volk; Deutsche; uns alle</i>	<i>Europa; Gruppo; Governo; Popolo; Rifugiati e berlinesi; persone; francesi; Siamo tutti figli della Marsigliese; Ue e Turchia, amici per forza</i>
<i>The intentions, needs, purposes, goals</i>	<i>Zusammenhält; Unterstützung; Beistand; Nach dem Attentat von Nizza ruft die Regierung zu Einigkeit auf; engere Zusammenarbeit; dem Hass der Terroristen "unsere Mitmenschlichkeit und unseren Zusammenhalt" entgegenzusetzen; mit Liebe antworten</i>	<i>Se l'Europa non lavora insieme faremo vincere i terroristi che ci attaccano; necessaria risposta forte e coesa contro il terrorismo; Ritroviamo il senso della comunità; Uniti contro il flagello del terrorismo [...] il mondo deve unirsi [...] stare insieme al di là della nazionalità, della razza o della fede</i>
<i>Other properties</i>	<i>Berlin trauert, die Welt trauert mit; Volk teile die Trauer der Deutschen</i>	<i>rifugiati e berlinesi cantano insieme contro la paura; Milioni di persone unite dalla musica; Il grande abbraccio che ha attraversato l'Italia; I francesi si stringono nel tricolore</i>
<i>The elements and manifestations</i>	<i>in Trauer vereint; enger zusammen; Mitgefühl; Solidarität</i>	<i>il valore positivo delle relazioni e del gruppo; Sentimento di vicinanza al governo e al popolo; Uniti</i>

Table 9. *Family/friends – institution/social group*

Through a process of personification in the German and Italian press headlines there is a Europe that resembles a great family that stays together and in times of trouble nations are united in mourning and search for support and assistance from other countries. When there are difficulties in a family or among friends, they stay united. The unity of people is the key aspect of many German press headlines: they want to be very close and they collaborate. They feel an intensive sadness and it is reflected in the word *Mitgefühl*, 'compassion': a German word that clearly illustrates how people can share the same emotions with other people: *Berlin trauert, die Welt trauert mit* 'Berlin is in mourning, the world is in mourning' or *Volk teile die Trauer der Deutschen* 'the population shares the mourning of the German citizens'. Among the nations there is a 'solidarity wave' *Welle der Solidarität*. Terror attacks strike the victims but also 'us' *uns alle* and all together we have 'to contrast the hate of

terrorists with our humanity and cohesion' *dem Hass der Terroristen "unsere Mitmenschlichkeit und unseren Zusammenhalt" entgegenzusetzen* and we can 'answer with love' *mit Liebe antworten*.

In the Italian press headlines the values of cohesion and relationships have an important role in the fight against terrorism. These values of the group are important to find a feeling of community and proximity. The victims of terrorism are similar to many *friends* or a *family*, who 'embrace' and are 'all sons' of the same culture with the same values of freedom, equality and brotherhood: *Il grande abbraccio che ha attraversato l'Italia; I francesi si stringono nel tricolore; Siamo tutti figli della Marsigliese; Ue e Turchia, amici per forza*.

There is, once again a distinction between us and the terrorists and in opposition to the "evil" persecutors, we are civil, free and equal: "*Democracy, liberty, and freedom* are customarily feminized terms that require protection from brute forces threatening to overwhelm and subdue them" (Ivie 2004: 86). Against the evil and uncivil terrorists, who want to separate us, we need to keep together and maintain our humanity and our values.

6. Conclusions

The discourse about Islamic terrorism in the German and Italian online weekly publications *Der Spiegel* and *L'Espresso* is full of conceptual metaphors. On a contrastive level, there are some differences between the German and Italian press headlines: the German news is basically more neutral and shows less comments and metaphors. Also, there is often a distinction between neutral news and news with comments. In fact, the Italian press headlines are a mixture of information, comments and metaphors. As a result, emotions as fear and sadness play a key role in the Italian press headlines, although they play a role also in the German press headlines, but not in similar ways because there are fewer metaphorical expressions and therefore conceptual metaphors.

We think and speak with metaphors even if we are not aware of it and metaphors have an important role to play in phenomena that are so difficult and abstract to explain. Since the 9/11 scholars have found conceptual metaphors for terrorism: *terrorism* is conceptualized *as war* and between 2004 and 2005 *terrorism* is also received *as a criminal organisation*. These are just some of the results of this cognitive linguistic research, but they are the key points that initiated this research: the two frames of *war* and *crime* regarding terrorism discourse represent the main metaphorical expressions both in the German and Italian press headlines. In the Italian language there is a marked connection between terrorism and Mafia.

In previous research, terrorism has been verbalized as *disease* and *natural event*, but in the analysed corpus these two conceptual metaphors are verbalized only in the Italian press headlines. Terrorism is received as a 'cancer', a 'psychopathology', a 'virus', 'waves', 'tsunami', in other words, something that is not so easy to con-

trol. Both metaphors represent the problem of controlling and stopping the phenomenon of terrorism.

The metaphors *terrorism as a game* and *terrorism as wares* represent the new results in the Italian language, while the *animals* metaphor has already been explored.

The conceptual metaphor *terrorism as a dramatic play* illustrates terrorism as something unreal or similar to the plays in the theatre or in movies.

The conceptual metaphor *antiterrorist groups* such as Europe, nations and cities *as family* and/or *friends* concern a solidarity that characterizes families and friends.

According to Konecny's frame semantics, every matrix frame was analysed with its predicates: the three metaphors *terrorism as war*, *disease* and *natural event* are settled in the matrix frame *event*; *terrorism as a criminal organisation* and *antiterrorist groups as family/friends* are part of the matrix frame *institution/social group*; the *dramatic play* and *game* metaphors are categorised in the matrix frame *action/interaction/communication*; *terrorism as wares* and *terrorists as animals* are settled in the matrix frames *object* and *organism*. The most evident result, if we take into account the entire set of matrix frames, is that there is a lexicalisation of the *actors/roles*, *consequences*, *conditions/circumstances*, *phases*, *goals*, *strategies* and *properties* about terrorism, but there are no predicates about the *reasons/development circumstances* and, due to the difficulty of identifying the 'enemy', there are different ways of naming them such as 'soldiers', 'criminals', 'cancer', 'wolves'. These different ways to conceptualize terrorism and terrorists question the ability of metaphors to represent an abstract phenomenon in a clear and concrete way. Actually metaphors are often "used as an equivalent for uncertainty, lack of clarity and abstraction [...] they emphasize through their vagueness the opacity, unexplained nature or exaggerated significance of the phenomenon" (Schwarz-Friesel and Skirl 2011: 7).

Media outlets indicate that we as "victims" cannot react, but just suffer and mourn. They also showcase terrorism as a spectacle. In this regard, Onfray highlights how the news is "spectacular" as it has to attract the attention of the readers (cf. Onfray 2016: 74). Unreality and a great pessimism play a key role in the Italian language and, in a narrower context, in the German language as well.

The distinction between *us*, considered as a great family or friends characterized by civility and humanity, and *them* seen as enemies or members of a criminal organization characterized by inhuman qualities or as animals is a lie, just as the image of *our* group, *our* State pitted against *their* State, *their* group is a lie.

L'esperienza storica della guerra al terrore ha infatti messo in crisi le distinzioni categoriali classiche che, avendo al centro lo Stato-nazione, definiscono l'opposizione tra spazio politico interno e spazio politico esterno. [...] Il nemico della guerra al terrore è al medesimo tempo un nemico interno ed esterno: non si trova solo in Afghanistan o in Iraq ma spesso [...] vive nelle comunità occidentali e di queste fa

parte. [...] Dove si colloca allora il nemico? È tra noi, assomiglia a noi e non è da noi distinguibile: è interno (è un concittadino), va all'esterno e ritorna nello spazio nazionale (porta in patria). È potenzialmente dappertutto [...] Abbiamo così cominciato a parlare di 'guerra permanente', non riuscendo neanche a immaginare i modi per decretarne una fine. (Salerno 2012: 10-11)

The limited focus cannot claim to represent a complete picture of the discourse on terrorism, but the results shed light on metaphors that afford the understanding of how it legitimises security measures, for example. The perception of uncertainty, insecurity, unreality and uncontrollability, verbalised in the conceptual metaphors, produce an intense emotion of fear typical of the Western culture. Todorov (2009) describes Western countries as dominated by fear and Zimbardo (2008) focuses his attention on the power of fear that consists in the vulnerability, insecurity, lack of control which, in turn, cause changes in people's thought and action, the increase of authoritarianism and of conservative ideologies, the refusal of freedom in exchange for security, a weak and scared society. The problem is that this fear is clearly generated by the media through the power of the words and has a consequence in some reactions of people and in facing other phenomena such as the phenomenon of immigration, increasingly connected with terrorism in the media and political communication.

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