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Analysis of Metaphors and Frames in Media Reports on Coronavirus: A Case Study on Reports from China Daily

Bingchan Hong

School of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Nanjing Normal University, Nanjing 21000, China

Abstract

This paper makes an analysis of metaphors and frames and their corresponding effects in the Chinese official media reports on COVID-19 outbreak. It is discovered that the news discourses embody rich metaphorical nature. Metaphors of war, crime, human as source domains are mainly involved; surface frames such as animus frames, unity frames and capacity frames are frequently adopted; deep frames including the moral values of collectivism and striving spirit are activated. The use of metaphors and frames improves media credibility, arouses people's fighting spirit against the pandemic and contributes to social mobilization.

Keywords

Conceptual metaphor; Frame; COVID-19; News discourse.

1. Introduction

Discovered in December 2019, the novel coronavirus has spread among millions of people at an unprecedented rate with Wuhan, China as the epicenter. The epidemic has aroused widespread concern around globe and been reported as a focal point by various Chinese official media. In these reports, metaphor is frequently employed as a discursive strategy in message dissemination.

The cognitive nature of metaphor is originally touched upon by American linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. Lakoff and Johnson believe that metaphor exists everywhere in people's life, not only in language but also in thought[1]. In all aspects of life, people structure the experiences and define the reality by means of metaphors and then proceed to think and act. On that basis, the conceptual metaphor theory is proposed. After that, Lakoff elaborates the framing theory as an expansion of the conceptual metaphor theory and further illustrates how conceptual metaphors perform the persuasive function in discourse[2]. Frame is essential to understand fact or construct a necessary structure for accepting a "fact" as we believe. Both frame and conceptual metaphor plays a vital part in a unconscious way that people can not have access to. Once employed skillfully in media, they are powerful tools of building world views in readers.

Considering this, many scholars at home and abroad have carried out a series of researches on it and bore some fruits. In the West, Charteris-Black and Timothy Ennis has conducted a comparative study on the frequency of metaphors used in British magazines and have found that metaphors are adopted widely to explain complex economic phenomenon[3]. Likewise, most researchers focus on the political and economic discourses but few efforts are made on disease news reports.

In China, some scholars have made attempts to fill up the research gap. A case study of metaphors and frames in reports on SARS and H7N9 avian influenza was carried out by Zhang wei, Mao Haoran and Wangshaohua[4]. Nevertheless, Researches in disease news reports are far from enough. The lack of empirical studies on the COVID-19 epidemic provides a broad research space as well.

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This paper aims to make a detailed exploration in the field. Two questions are to be answered in the paper: What types of conceptual metaphors and frames are mainly employed? How these metaphors and frames are employed to achieve certain communicative purposes? The study is conducted based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis. In this study, the researcher first sets up a corpus of 45 news reports on COVID-19 to analyze the frequency of different conceptual metaphors included quantitatively, and then makes a qualitative analysis to describe, explain and interpret the metaphorical and framing phenomenon in news reports.

2. Theoretical Foundations

2.1. Introduction of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphor is firstly put forward by Aristotle as a figure of speech, a feature of language alone. Traditional studies of metaphor are confined to the texts themselves and consider it as merely embellishment of language. With developments of other disciplines, the study of metaphor has extended to such fields as anthropology, psychology, and linguistics. One remarkable integration is that of metaphor and cognitive linguistics, which has revolutionized the traditional view of metaphor. The conceptual metaphor theory marks the shift of metaphor research from a rhetorical perspective to a cognitive one.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory was initially proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in their joint work book *Metaphors We Live By*. According to them, metaphor is not merely a language phenomenon but a cognitive pattern of conceiving one in terms of another[1]. It concerns the way of conceptualization. To be more specific, it comes down to a mechanism of cross-domain mapping from source domain to target domain in the conceptual system. The source domain is where people draw metaphorical expressions from and is more concrete and familiar to people. As for the target domain, it is the domain that people try to understand and usually more abstract and complicated. The set of correspondences or similarities between these two domains are termed mapping. Therefore, a conceptual metaphor helps people understand the target domain in terms of the source domain, where the relationships, properties and knowledge of the source domain are mapped or projected onto those of the target domain. Metaphor is in nature a cognitive process which is fundamentally conceptual and entwined with human thinking. People's thinking and action are to a great extent a matter of metaphor.

2.2. Introduction of Framing theory

Frame comes into being as an anthropological terminology while scholars have widely applied it in studies of psychology, politics, and linguistics. Lakoff has expressed his opinions as named the Framing Theory. Frames are redefined as mental structures that shape the way people see the world and two facets of frames are stressed.

The first facet is that frames are mental structures that are "cognitive unconscious" [2]. In other words, most framing is unconscious and people may not be aware of the existence of frames. However, they can be reflected through language. For example, when we hear the word WAR, many images and elements are evoked in our minds: commanders from both sides directing their soldiers to attack, soldiers battling enemies with weapons and people being displaced. Like the word WAR, all words are relative to frames. When hearing a word, not only its corresponding frame but a set of frames which are conceptually relevant are activated.

When it comes to the second facet, frames shape the way people see the world. Frames once formed, are instantiated in the synapses of people's brains, physically present in the form of neural circuitry[2]. People think in frames. To be more specific, they perceive and experience things by either using the pre-existing frames or constructing new ones. Entrenched frames are hard to dispel, regardless of its truthfulness. As a result, frames determine the way people

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reason and what counts as common sense. To be accepted, facts must fit people's frames. Otherwise, they are ignored and not accepted as, what they are, facts[2].

According to Lakoff, there are two levels of frame, namely, surface frame and deep frame[2]. As to surface frame, it can be directly activated by linguistic elements such as words and phrases. Deep frame involves people's affective attitudes and values and it can be activated by surface frame[5]. In other words, words activate surface frame, which subsequently activate deep frame. These two frames are interdependent and interactive closely. On the one hand, surface frame activates deep frame initially and effective surface frame reinforces and consolidates it. On the other hand, deep frame makes it possible for readers to accept the surface frame, which starts to play a role only if it accords with the former deep frames rooted in people's minds.

2.3. The Integration of Conceptual Metaphor and Framing Theory

Lakoff points out a fundamental finding of cognitive science is that people think in terms of frame and metaphor which are intrinsically entwined [6]. The framing theory further extends the metaphor theory. As mentioned above, a conceptual metaphor is constructed by the mapping between the source domain and the target domain, or the mapping between the frames of two domains. A metaphor can activate the corresponding surface frame and consequently, the deep frame. If the activated deep frame conform to pre-existing deep frames ingrained in people's minds, the metaphor with its ideology behind is much likely to be accepted and thus exerts impacts on people unconsciously. As Lakoff believes, our brain is not neutral as we may think [7].

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Data Sources and Collection

The data of this study is collected from the official website of *China daily*. The COVID-19 outbreak has come into focus around globe. Since the virus was discovered in China in the beginning, Chinese media, especially *China daily*, the largest official English-language newspaper in China, provides a great deal of first-hand information for people around the world. The study collects 45 news reports published in January of 2020 when the virus spread extensively and the first wave of media coverage emerges. All reports are retrieved by the key word "coronavirus" or "COVID-19".

3.2. Research Method

The study is carried out in the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis. The research procedure consists of the following four steps: Firstly, choose the research data. News reports are randomly selected from Chinese official media China daily by using "COVID-19" or "coronavirus" as search terms.

Secondly, identify conceptual metaphors and surface frames in the corpus. In terms of conceptual metaphor, the study follows the metaphor identification criteria proposed by Charteris-Black[8]. It mainly includes two steps. The first step is to conduct a careful reading of sample reports and identify words with semantic tension. They are candidate metaphors. Here Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary and Collins Online Dictionary are often referred. The second step is to search for these words in the database and then make a further examination in the reports to confirm whether words are metaphoric or literal.

Thirdly, calculate all the conceptual metaphors. The study makes use of a corpus analysis toolkit, AntConc Corpus Tool for calculating. Different word forms, such as plurals of nouns or suffixes suggesting tense of verbs, are counted as one lexeme, see Fig. 1.

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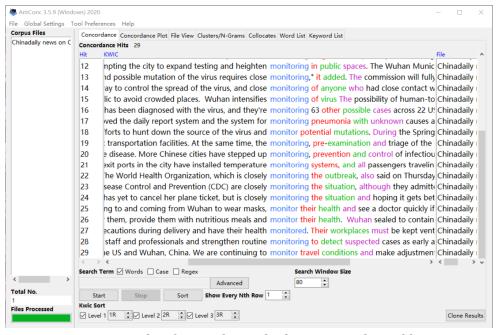


Figure 1. An example of metaphor calculations conducted by AntConc

In addition, the concept of "resonance of source domain" put forward by Charteris-Black is also consulted [8]. Charteris-Black believes that resonance reflects the productivity of conceptual metaphors with different source domains. The formula is "resonance = sum of types * sum of tokens". Type is an abstract category of linguistic unit while Token is an individual occurrence of a linguistic unit. The relation between type and token is comparable to that between word and lexeme in linguistics. Different forms of a type are all tokens.

In terms of surface frame, as is mentioned above, all words and phrases, metaphorical or non-metaphorical, can activate surface frame. The researcher draws one part of surface frames from conceptual metaphors and the other part from non-metaphorical expressions in the reports.

Fourthly, analyze the statistics and strategical uses of conceptual metaphors and surface frames and afterwards infer deep frames. Meanwhile, the major findings are listed and conclusions are drawn.

4. Analysis and Discussions

4.1. Analysis of Dominant Conceptual Metaphors

The conceptual metaphors in the corpus are identified and categorized based on their source domains. There are five common types of metaphors, namely, war metaphors, crime metaphors, human metaphors, container metaphors and up and down metaphors. An overview of their distributions is provided, see Table 1.

Table 1 Summary of Conceptual Metaphors and Resonance in the Corpus

	<u> </u>	•		•
Number	Types	Tokens	Resonance	% of total
				resonance
War Metaphors	38	238	9044	22.60%
Crime Metaphors	18	216	3888	9.71%
Human Metaphors	98	213	20874	52.15%
Container metaphors	13	371	4823	12.05%
Up and down	15	93	1395	3.49%
Metaphors				

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4.1.1. War Metaphor

The conceptual metaphor COVID-19 PREVENTION IS WAR frequently appears in the disease news reports. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, war refers to a state of usually open and declared armed hostile conflict between states or nations. A war, originally a military terminology, is often seen as a violent combat between two or more parties in pursuit of interests with a win-lose outcome. For its clearly delineated structures, the term war is commonly adopted by writers and speakers to refer to other complex concepts even in the contemporary era of peace.

There are 238 cases of war metaphor, accounting for 22.60% of the total resonance. The cross-domain mapping between war and coronavirus prevention is clearly shown in Table 2. The novel coronavirus prevention is conceptualized in terms of war with its structure and components corresponding to those of war. In this way, it vividly shapes the disease prevention process in readers' minds and makes them realize the grim situation.

Table 2. The Cross-domain Mapping in War Metaphor

Source Domain: War	Mapping	Target Domain: COVID-19 Prevention
commander		Chinese government
soldiers		people involved in the outbreak
enemy		COVID-19
weapons		vaccines, medicines, and masks.
battlefield		areas with rampant virus like Wuhan

There is a great variety of metaphorical words employed in this metaphor. Main metaphorical words and their frequencies are shown, see Table 3.

Table 3. Main Metaphorical Words and Their Frequencies in War Metaphor

		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<u>I</u>
Metaphorical Word	Number	Metaphorical Word	Number
control	32	alert	8
against	26	stress	6
contain	17	guide	6
announce	15	recommend	6
urge	15	win	5
fight	14	strategy/strategist	5
issue	12	advise	5
lead	11	combat	4
warn	11	command	3
curb	10	front line	3

4.1.2. Crime Metaphor

Another metaphor COVID-19 ACTIVITY IS A CRIME is prevailed in the data. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, crime refers to an illegal act or activity for which someone can be punished by law. It contains the criminal who commits the crime, the victims whose interests are offended by the criminal and the police who tracks down and arrests the criminal. Living in a society with rule of law, most people are quite familiar with crime. With the help of crime metaphor, people can have a better comprehension of the evil nature of the virus.

There are 216 cases of war metaphor, what accounts for 9.71% of total resonance. The cross-domain mapping between crime and the coronavirus activity is as follows, see Table 4. The

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corresponding relation between the source domain CRIME and the target domain CORONAVIRUS ACTIVITY. The virus can be regarded as the criminal who causes damages to people's life and health and the people infected by it as the victims.

Table 4. The Cross-domain Mapping in Crime Metaphor

Source Domain: Crime	Mapping	Target Domain: COVID-19 Activity
criminal		COVID-19
criminal act		endangering life and health
victims		infected people
police		government officials and medical workers

Metaphorical words used in this metaphor and their frequencies are provided, see Table 5.

Table 5. Metaphorical Words and Their Frequencies in Crime Metaphor

Metaphorical Word	Number	Metaphorical Word	Number
identify/identification	38	threat/threaten	9
screen	34	trace	5
monitor	29	inspection	4
suspect	27	claim	3
detect/detection	18	accuse	1
evidence	12	prob	1
investigate/investigation	12	surveillance	1
check	11	culprit	1
kill	9	suspicious	1

4.1.3. Human Metaphor

Human metaphor, or named personification, is a typical type of metaphors in the database. Human experience is what people feel most familiar with. Therefore, writers and speakers often employ personification to illustrate non-human things. In this way, human metaphor enables people to use ways of looking at a person to view many non-human entities.

There are 213 cases of human metaphor, with the highest proportion of resonance reaching 52.15%. It suggests that human metaphor is the most productive type in the reports. Metaphorical words used in the metaphor and their frequencies are provided, see Table 6.

Table 6. Main Metaphorical Words and Their Frequencies in Human Metaphor

Metaphorical Word	Number	Metaphorical Word	Number
say	46	intensify	3
report	10	make	3
take	7	revise	3
giant	7	set up	3
work	5	strengthen	3
sicken	5	ask	2
share	5	boost	2
add	4	call for	2
ramp up	4	commandeer	2
stand	4	communicate	2

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4.1.4. Container metaphor

Container metaphor comes into play when concepts are treated as specific containers. In fact, human can be regarded as a kind of container, with the skin as the boundary dividing between itself and the external world. Such metaphors are often employed by people to understand abstract concepts unknowingly.

There are 371 cases of container metaphor, which is the most commonly type in this study, occupying 12.05% of total resonance. Metaphorical words used in this metaphor and their frequencies are shown, see Table 7.

Table 7. Metaphorical Words and Their Frequencies in Container Metaphor

Metaphorical Word	Number	Metaphorical Word	Number
in	281	seal	2
include	46	in and out	2
outside	14	exit	2
enter	8	hollow out	1
within	5	empty	1
into	4	crisscross	1
entry	4		

4.1.5. Up and down Metaphor

Up and down metaphor, one subtype of orientational metaphors, is based on spatial orientation[1]. Up and down, as a pair of spatial opposites, is usually employed by people in their daily lives. It can do far more than telling orientations. It can refer to people's emotions, physical conditions and social status and other abstract concepts. For example, in the book, Lakoff and Johnson summaries three indications of up and down metaphors, that is, "more is up, less is down", "having control or force is up, being subject to control or force is down", "health and life are up, sickness and death are down"[1].

There are 93 cases of up and down metaphor and it takes up 3.49% of total resonance. Metaphorical words used in the metaphor and their frequencies are shown, see Table 8.

Table 8. Metaphorical Words and Their Frequencies in Up and Down Metaphor

			<u>k</u>
Metaphorical Word	Number	Metaphorical Word	Number
top	11	under	15
high/highly	20	low	15
peak	9	fall	4
rise	8	failure	2
climb	2	lower	1
heighten	2		
mount	1		
raise	1		
escalate	1		
up	1		

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4.2. Analysis of the Surface Frame

4.2.1. Animus Frame

War metaphor and crime metaphor can activate animus frame. When it comes to war and crime, most people will feel disagreeable and unpleasant. Both delineate a universal enemy of a society or a country who causes harm to people's interests. The Chinese government is the one standing against the evil force. Compared to crime metaphor, war metaphor includes more brutal slaughter. When exposed to these metaphors, people tend to generate feelings of animus towards the COVID-19. The frame can be activated by words like "fight", "against" and "suppress". Some examples (example 1 to 5) will be analyzed as follows[9].

- (1) While coronavirus continues to spread globally, many multinational companies pledged donations to assist those affected by the highly contagious virus and *fight against* the outbreak.
- (2) The coronavirus has so far spread to three other Asian countries, which indicates the urgency for medical scientists all over the world to work together *against* the common *threat* to human health.
- (3) An emergency command mechanism for *suppressing* an outbreak was established immediately after the first cases were confirmed in Guangdong on Jan 14.
- (4) Chinese authorities have launched a series of preventive and control measures to *curb* the spreading of the novel coronavirus-related pneumonia.
- (5) Local authorities had adopted a multipronged *strategy* in response to the surging number of patients on the mainland, and because the Lunar New Year holiday rush is approaching. In example (1), we can clearly observe that the phrase "fight against" activates the animus

frame in people's minds. As coronavirus attacks and kills more and more people around globe, the whole world has been in a crucial stage of epidemic prevention. The frame of animus is activated to enhance such a feeling that coronavirus is an enemy to be reckoned with. In example (2), the words "against" and "threat" also activate the animus frame. Here, "against" means in opposition or hostility to someone or something and "threat" indicates that coronavirus can inflict dangers to drive people to death. Such words create a sense of urgency in people, arouse their self-protection awareness to defend their own safety and evokes their fighting spirit to defeat the virus. In example (3) and (4), the words "suppress" and "curb" mean to prevent the contagion from growing or developing. The coronavirus is portrayed as an evil force which should be suppressed or curbed. These two words activate the animus frame. In example (5), the animus frame is activated by the word "strategy". On the one hand, it suggests that general preventive measures are of little help. On the other hand, it strengthens people's confidence to eliminate the virus for knowing government has attached great importance to the health hazard and enacted new countermeasures.

4.2.2. Unity Frame

Unity frame is another frame that appears frequently in the data. It is activated by words like "share", "work with" and "coordination". These words are used to call on people to stick together and give them an image of reunion and solidarity. More examples (example 6 to 10) will be explained in detail as follows[9].

- (6) The commission has *exchanged* information on combating the disease with the WHO on multiple occasions and early on *shared* the genetic sequence of the new viral strain with the WHO
- (7) "The Chinese government is *sharing* information regularly and *working closely with* the WHO," said WHO China.
- (8) Li also called for good *coordination* with the World Health Organization, relevant countries and the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and Taiwan province to take *united* action to resolutely prevent the contagion from spreading.

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- (9) Merkel appreciates China's efforts to contain the spread of the contagious disease in a timely manner, and said Beijing remains open and transparent in developing *international cooperation* on the outbreak.
- (10) Now *concerted* efforts based on the experience accumulated by Chinese health experts and their foreign counterparts during the *joint* fights against such epidemics as SARS, swine flu and avian flu are needed to win the fight against the latest health hazard.

In example (6), the words "exchange" and "share" activate the unity frame, both of which show China's will to strengthen the global ties in the combat with the virus. In example (7) and (8), the unity frame is activated by the words "work closely with", "coordination", "united". We can see during the epidemic control China has maintained active contact with the WTO and called for more in-depth communications between countries affected. In example (9), when people catch sight of the word "cooperation", it directly activates the unity frame in people's mind. It suggests that China's efforts in containing the disease have been recognized by the world and during this process China has always been an advocator for international collaboration. In example (10), the word "concerted" and "joint" literally mean something is done in a mutually contrived and determined way by several groups. Here they refer to the shared efforts of medical experts at home and abroad, activating the unity frame. As we all know, virus knows no borders and attacks people regardless of nationality or race. In the face of the coronavirus, China presents itself as an example to tell the world that countries should cooperate and coordinate against the common enemy, coronavirus, so that possible adverse effects can be minimized. China expresses an open, transparent, and cooperative attitude towards the international society through the unity frame in the reports.

4.2.3. Capacity Frame

In the reports, words related to capacity are often employed, such as "prepared", "preparedness", "increased", "gained" and other words. These expressions activate the capacity frame. The examples (example 11 to 15) are analyzed as follows[9].

- (11) With the lessons *learned* and experience *gained* from the 2003 SARS pandemic, the health authorities both in Hong Kong and the mainland are in a much *better* position to cope with the latest outbreak.
- (12) The speed of response is testimony to *improved* global *preparedness* for such epidemics.
- (13) The new coronavirus has already been classified in the same category as the SARS outbreak, meaning compulsory isolation for those diagnosed with the disease and the potential to implement quarantine measures on travel, which shows that the authorities are *prepared* and *resolved* to safeguard people's health.
- (14) Since the SARS outbreak, China has built a very *good* disease prevention and control system, and our *capacity* to prevent and control diseases has greatly *increased*.
- (15) And, as the WHO and many international observers have *pointed out*, Chinese authorities have demonstrated *impressive transparency, responsiveness, efficiency, and capability* in dealing with the public health emergency, in sharp contrast with the 2002-03 SARS crisis.

In example (11), It is clearly stated that China has "learned" lessons and "gained" experiences from the SARS epidemic. As all we know, the coronavirus outbreak has brought back bad memories of the 2003 catastrophe and people feel panicked that they may have to relive the past nightmare once again. Here, the words "learned" and "gained" are adopted to assure people that China has improved its capacity to tackle the coronavirus. In example (12) and (13), by the words "prepared" and "preparedness", the capacity frame shows that China has been well-prepared and taken countermeasures in a timely manner during the process of epidemic prevention. In example (14), the capacity frame is activated by the "good" disease prevention and control system and greatly "increased" capacity. What it is meant to express is also China's progress made in disease containment to avoid another SARS event. Example (15) is the remark

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from the WTO and foreign countries. The word "point out" is an active reporting verb, which can intensify the authenticity in people when reading the reported speech. Later words "transparency", "responsiveness", "efficiency", and "capability" modifying China work together to activate the capacity frame. The capacity frame assures people that Chinese government has grown more competent in safeguarding people's life and health. Furthermore, it reduces people's fears and soothe their nerves.

4.3. Analysis of the Deep Frame

Based on above surface frames in the previous section, we can infer different moral values in the COVID-19 news reports. Generally speaking, the moral values writers tend to convey can be condensed as collectivism and striving spirit.

Animus frame can activate the striving spirit. Chinese history suggests that striving determination in troops is enormously significant for a country for it can generate strong vitality. Whether in the period of revolution or reform and opening-up, striving spirit has motivated China to constantly pursue self-improvement. Therefore, the striving spirit has been highly praised by the Chinese nation. Moreover, in the new era and at a new historic starting point, it's all the more important to carry forward the striving spirit among young people.

In response to the outbreak, Chinese media tends to wake up people's striving spirit and helps the government with social mobilization. The year of 2020 is supposed to win a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society and start a new historical stage for China. A sudden coronavirus, nevertheless, disrupts government's normal work and poses a serious threat to people's safety. Writers conceptualize the epidemic as an evil enemy through war and crime metaphors and create a violent, brutal image of it. It activates the animus frame, which conforms to the striving spirit in people's mind. When reading these reports, people are inclined to transfer the feelings of hatred in war or criminal act to the virus and feel responsible to take part in the fight against the epidemic.

Besides the striving spirit, the collectivism can be deduced from unity frame. As China is established as a socialist country, collectivism is the mainstream culture entrenched in contemporary Chinese society. In disease reports, concerted efforts of Chinese medical workers, health experts, army, technological giants, and ordinary people are mentioned and and China's will of close cooperation with the international society is deeply expressed as well. These words in the reports are consistent with the collectivism in people's moral values. We can see that journalists aim to unite the nation or even the world as one and consolidate people's sense of collectivism and solidarity in face of the shared enemy.

5. Conclusion

The study selects 45 news reports on coronavirus from China daily's official website and sorts out the conceptual metaphors and frames occurring in the data. Thereafter, a series of analysis and discussions are carried out on them. The major findings are as follows:

Firstly, through a careful calculation, the author finds that conceptual metaphors are widely exploited in disease news reports. The main identified metaphors are classified into five types according to their source domains: war metaphors, crime metaphors, human metaphors, container metaphors and up and down metaphors. Among them, container metaphors are the most commonly ones used in the corpus and it accounts for 12.05% of total resonance, which indicates that government has paid much attention to the flow of people and taken strict measures in travels across cities and countries during the outbreak. Human metaphors are the most productive ones with the top resonance, reaching 52.15% of total. In the reports, writers conceptualize countries, organizations and companies as human beings determined to struggle through the epidemic and vividly presents their swift response to the disease. War metaphors,

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accounting for 22.60% of total resonance are the second productive ones. Crime metaphors accounts for 9.71% and up and down metaphors accounts for 3.49% of total resonance.

Secondly, the author finds out several typical surface frames activated by words and expressions in the corpus. They are animus frames, unity frames and capacity frames. These surface frames can further activate deep frames in people's minds. On that basis, we can infer two moral values behind the language phenomenon. The deep frames here mainly include collectivism and striving spirit. We can infer that to a large extent Chinese media has realized the significance of conceptual metaphors and frames and employed them extensively when reporting the epidemic. On the one hand, they enable people to comprehend the complexity of the health hazard and facilitate people's understanding. On the other hand, they motivate people to unite with all the forces and take an participation in the process of epidemic control and prevention.

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