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Tetsuta Komatsubara

Introduction

Metaphors that allow us to highlight one aspect of a concept in terms of another will hide other aspects of the concept (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10). This central function of metaphors has often been discussed related to the notion of *framing* (Burgers, Konijn, and Steen 2016; Boeynaems et al. 2017; Semino, Demjén, and Demmen 2018). Based on the framework of metaphor analysis in cognitive linguistics, this chapter discusses how metaphorical framings work to "foreground a particular problem definition, give a causal interpretation, address a problem evaluation, and/or promote a possible problem solution" (Boeynaems et al. 2017: 119) in media discourse. For instance, framing immigration as a natural disaster (*e.g.*, "Britain also faces a further massive and unnecessary *wave* of immigration from Eastern Europe") portrays immigration as something negative, which causes trouble and is difficult to control (Charteris-Black 2006). An influential way the media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways (de Vreese 2005: 51), and metaphors are one of the triggers of framing. Laypeople are usually unconscious of the framing effects of metaphors and rarely think critically about their metaphorical framings. However, journalists are more likely to consciously choose metaphorical words to frame an issue. Metaphor analysis is a useful approach to probe the asymmetry between journalists and non-journalists, and this asymmetry could be utilized for mind engineering in media discourse; journalists can use metaphorical framing to influence thoughts and beliefs and manipulate impressions and evaluations of the issue.

Newspaper articles are useful materials to compare the metaphorical framings of journalists with those of non-journalists because they typically include alternations between authorial and quoted voices (Fairclough 2003: Ch. 3). While authorial accounts by the narrator directly reflect the voices of journalists, quotations are inserted as the voices of non-journalists. Both journalists and non-journalists use metaphors to frame an issue. By comparing metaphorical framings in authorial texts with those in quoted texts, we can analyze how these framings are layered and interact in media discourse. Moreover, because newspaper articles include a publication date, we can identify when a metaphor was used and how metaphors changed over time. As a case study, we focus on metaphorical expressions to describe the COVID-19 pandemic in Japanese newspaper articles and discuss what metaphorical framings are dominant in media discourse on the pandemic,

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how metaphorical framings in authorial and quoted texts change over time, and how multi-layered metaphorical framings interact in newspaper articles.

Framing and Metaphor

The notion of framing has its roots in various disciplinary traditions (Tewksbury and Scheufele 2020: 51–52). This chapter, focusing on metaphor analysis of media discourse, connects linguistic approaches to sociological approaches to framing research. Metaphorical framings are linguistic phenomena because they are cognitive processes triggered by specific linguistic expressions of metaphors. Framings in media discourse are sociological phenomena because they help journalists organize enormous amounts of information and package them effectively for their audiences. After a brief introduction to framing theory and metaphors as framing devices, this section summarizes perspectives on framing in media discourse studies and outlines the framework of discourse and diachronic analyses of news framing. We also discuss methodological issues in metaphor analysis for empirical research on framing, whose results depend heavily on identifying and classifying examples of metaphors.

Framing Theory

The notion of framing, widely used in communication science including health communication, news and journalism research, and political communication research (Lecheler and de Vreese 2019: 7), has two broad foundations: sociological and psychological (Borah 2011: 247). In the sociological tradition, Goffman (1974) takes the starting point that "frames are useful devices for human beings to make sense of the world in (…) everyday situations" (Lecheler and de Vreese 2019: 7) and, for him, "frames are culturally bound and serve to reduce the complexity of our everyday world" (*ibid*.). In the psychological tradition, Kahneman and Tversky (1984) are typically referred to as the starting point. They developed prospect theory, which suggests that "new information is evaluated differently depending on whether a gain or a loss frame is applied" (Lecheler and de Vreese 2019: 7). They found that "individuals were inclined to take risks when 'losses' are highlighted" (Borah 2011: 248), but "when the same information is presented in terms of 'gains,' individuals shy away from risks" (*ibid*.).

In sociological approaches to framing research, since Entman (1993) picked up the notion of framing and "transferred it to the study of the mass and news media" (Lecheler and de Vreese 2019: 8), it has been highlighted that framing foregrounds some aspects of reality while excluding other elements. Although it has been demonstrated that framing is more than a unified paradigm and that theoretical diversity has been beneficial in framing research (D'Angelo 2002, 2019; Reese 2007), it was crucial that Entman (1993) defined framing as "select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text […] to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (*ibid*., 52) because this selective function of framing makes metaphor relevant to framing research, as noted in the Introduction.

Metaphors, as well as exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images, have been counted as a rhetorical type of *framing devices* (Gamson and Modigliani 1989: 3), which are "tools for newsmakers to use in composing or constructing news discourse as well as psychological stimuli for audiences to process" (Pan and Kosicki 1993: 59). By calling up a metaphor, the rest of the coverage of the story can be interpreted within the terms of the metaphor (Hertog and McLeod 2001: 148), and most important for the study of news framing, figurative language

including metaphor "can influence audience interpretations of an issue without explicitly presenting new information and arguments concerning the issues" (Tewksbury and Scheufele 2020: 57).

Framings in the News

Frames that are concerned with the presentation of issues in media discourse are called *news frames* or media frames (D'Angelo 2017). They are "parts of political arguments, journalistic norms, and social movements' discourse" (de Vreese 2005: 53) and "alternative ways of defining issues, endogenous to the political and social world" (*ibid.*).

Cappella and Jamieson (1997: 47 and 89) suggested four criteria a news frame must meet: First, it must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics. Second, it should be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Third, it must distinguish one frame from other frames reliably. Fourth, a frame must have representational validity (*i.e.*, be recognized by others) and not merely a figment of a researcher's imagination. News frames evoked by metaphors, such as war-framed discourse on social issues (*e.g.*, the *war* on poverty), meet the first and second criteria in that metaphorical expressions are pervasive in public discourse (Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau 2018). Rigorous procedures are more difficult to establish because metaphors are conceptual in nature (Lakoff 1993), and we will discuss how to deal with these problems later.

Discourse Analysis

According to Tankard (2001: 101), there are 11 framing mechanisms or focal points for identifying framing: (1) headlines and kickers; (2) subheads; (3) photographs; (4) photo captions; (5) leads; (6) source selection; (7) quote selection; (8) pull quotes; (9) logos; (10) statistics and charts; and (11) concluding statements and paragraphs.

Among them, quote selection is related to intertextuality, or "voices" layered, in media discourse, and one of the various approaches to discourse analysis of framing is to focus on quotations. When the speech, writing, or thought of another is quoted, "two different voices […] are brought into dialogue, and potentially two different perspectives, objectives, interests, and so forth" (Voloshinov 1973 [1930]; cited in Fairclough 2003: 48). Fairclough (2003) characterized newspaper articles and press reports as "an alternation between authorial accounts and indirect reports, backed up or substantiated with direct quotations" (*ibid.*, 50) and demonstrated that the genre of the press report favors distribution of information between "the authorial and attributed voices" (*ibid.*).

A newspaper article is written by a journalist, and in a habitual interpretation, it is the journalist who is responsible for the texts in the article because the journalist is the author. However, the author of a newspaper article can insert texts that are attributed to someone else, typically a non-journalist, with linguistic devices including quotation marks or reporting clauses. There are various linguistic styles for attribution, which include direct speech (*e.g.*, She said, "He'll be there by now"), indirect speech (*e.g.*, She said he'd be there by then), and free indirect speech (*e.g.*, She gazed out of the window. He would be there by now. She smiled to herself.). For example, direct speech with quotation marks explicitly marks quotations, inserts another perspective, and layers framings in a flow of discourse.

Although a journalist may deliberately choose a quote that includes metaphorical expressions that journalists aim to introduce, the quoted utterance should reflect the speaker's framing. Contrasting metaphors in authorial texts with those in quoted texts reveals how different journalistic and non-journalistic framings are, and how they interact in media discourse.

Diachronic Analysis

Frames persist but also change over time. As a preliminary investigation of framing analysis, Hertog and McLeod (2001) encouraged analysts to identify changes in frames over time and advised that to trace the evolution of frames, analysts must "develop frame models from at least two time points and then compare the content and structure at different time points" (*ibid.*, 151). Exposure to media discourse can cause reframing of an issue in that "when journalists select and produce news, how they frame it is consequential for citizens' understanding of important issues" (Lecheler and de Vreese 2019: 1). Changes in media discourse do not always cause changes in public opinion; however, describing how media discourse changes on an issue provides an essential context for interpreting how journalistic discourse and public opinion interact (Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

Metaphors, as a framing device, can reflect the interaction between journalists and non-journalists. Because variations in metaphors can occur diachronically as well as synchronically (Nerlich and Hellsten 2004; Burgers and Ahrens 2020), the way metaphors change can reveal how conceptualizations of social issues change over time (Burgers 2016). In the case of newspapers, using the publication date as a temporal variable is an easy way to trace the changes in framings at a fine resolution. Quoted texts are the voices of non-journalists embedded in media discourse, and they provide time-series data of non-journalistic framing at the same temporal resolution as journalistic framing. By combining the discourse analysis focusing on quotation with the diachronic analysis using publication dates, we can use two variables, social and temporal, which provide the empirical method to analyze the change in framings in media discourse.

Metaphorical Framings

Figurative language was thought of as being one aspect of what gives a text special aesthetic value, but researchers in cognitive linguistics have revealed that it is far from being just decorative (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Gibbs 1994, Dancygier and Sweetser 2014). The figurative meaning is part of the basic fabric of linguistic structure (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 1), and rhetorical figures are pervasive in language.

Among the various rhetorical figures, metaphors are highly conventional in public discourse and efficiently structure our ability to reason and communicate (Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau 2018). A metaphor is an important clue that reveals how a problem is defined and evaluated (Boeynaems et al. 2017). Investigating what metaphors are used in the discourse on social issues, including the COVID-19 pandemic, allows us to analyze the frame in which people capture them and what aspect of the issue they focus on (Wicke and Bolognesi 2020, Komatsubara 2023).

While metaphor analysis can be a useful approach to framing research, an explicit procedure of metaphor analysis is needed because it is not easy to detect and analyze metaphors in discourse, thereby reducing the risk of arbitrariness. Therefore, a reliable methodology for metaphor analysis should include explicit explanations of identifying and classifying metaphorical expressions in discourse.

Identification of Metaphors

Metaphor identification is crucial for assessing the validity of metaphor research because if analysts cannot agree on what counts as an instance of a metaphor, their findings are not much less than personal interpretations (Steen 2014: 136). Metaphor identification procedure (MIP;

2 Korona=o   **mochikoma**-zu=ni   ki-tekudasai.
   coronavirus=ACC   bring-NEG=in   come-please
   "Please come without bringing the coronavirus."

                                   (Toshizo Ido, Governor of Hyogo, June 19, 2020)

Because MIP is not dependent on the assumption of conceptual metaphors and does not aim at identifying them (Steen 2014: 135), while (2) counts as one example of metaphor, the words *teki* 'enemy', *tatakai* 'fight', and *kachinuka* 'win' in (1) count as three separate metaphorical lexical units according to the procedure. However, these lexical metaphors share the same metaphorical source and give rise to the framing of the pandemic through the concept of WAR. From the perspective of framing research, to evaluate how frequently a type of framing is used, it will be more beneficial to count them as one example of framing by WAR metaphor than as three examples of lexical units of WAR metaphor because multiple lexical units have a coherent metaphorical meaning and function as a single type of framing in discourse.

To achieve the inductive generalization of metaphorical framing, it is reasonable to initially undertake a lexical semantic description of each lexical unit in a metaphorical expression and then inductively classify it into a type of source frame. Reducing the arbitrariness of classification is a problem discussed in framing research. Hertog and McLeod (2001) regarded "the tendency for scholars to generate a unique set of frames for every study" (*ibid.*, 150) as "one of the most frustrating tendencies in the study of frames and framing" (*ibid.*). It is desirable to be "aware of an array of potential frames for the topic under study" (*ibid.*, 149) and to use a set of common categories to avoid assuming an arbitrary term of source frames to describe only a few idiosyncratic examples. This means that a deductive set of frames can support inductive generalizations.

To our knowledge, however, no established typology of metaphorical sources enables us to classify an example of a metaphor. Therefore, the analyst needs to review the previous literature focusing on the same target of metaphors and find what sources are common in framing the target based on the descriptive results. When a list of common source domains is not accessible to the targeted topic, a large structured repository of conceptual metaphors, MetaNet, is a good starting point for classification. MetaNet (https://metanet.icsi.berkeley.edu/metanet/) is a database of conceptual metaphors that adopts a frame-based approach to the representation of meaning and assumes the existence of an analogous frame in FrameNet (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/) (Petruck 2018). It is well known in metaphor research that abstract concepts are metaphorically structured by more concrete concepts (Kövecses 2010: 18–23), and MetaNet provides a large-scale summary of previous studies on conceptual metaphors.

An Example of Metaphor Analysis of Framings

As a case study, this section presents metaphorical utterances in Japanese newspaper articles that feature the coronavirus from 2020 to 2021 to discuss the framings adopted to conceptualize the COVID-19 pandemic in Japan. Based on the distinction between authorial and quoted texts, we contrast metaphors in authorial accounts with those in direct quotations and compare journalistic framings with non-journalistic framings. In addition, we analyze changes in framings over time using the publication date of newspapers as a temporal variable. Through an investigation of the linguistic aspects of metaphorical framing in newspaper articles, we present several quantitative and qualitative results on how metaphors reflect the multi-layered framings of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Background

While the economic and social impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic have reverberated globally, we need at least a brief description of the situation in Japan to understand the target of framing correctly. The number of new infections has increased since the first case of the coronavirus was reported in January 2020. The timeline of the pandemic in Japan is as follows. The facts and statistics on the pandemic in Japan described below are based on reports by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (https://www.mhlw.go.jp/), the Cabinet Office (https://www.cao.go.jp/), and the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) (https://www.nhk.or.jp/) (accessed on May 20, 2021). Dates followed by bracketed numbers indicate important dates from March 2020 to February 2021 and the number of new infections each day.

March 13 (40):	The National Diet passed an amendment to the Special Measures Act for an influenza outbreak that included COVID-19.
April 16 (596):	Prime Minister Shinzo Abe declared a nationwide state of emergency.
May 25 (20):	The state of emergency was lifted, and the rate of increase in new infections remained low.
June 19 (54):	The "self-restraint" request not to travel across prefectures was lifted.
July 22 (792):	The high record of new infections signalled the arrival of "a second wave" of the pandemic.
August 7 (1,597):	"The second wave" came to its peak.
September 17 (478):	The Suga administration came to office.
October 1 (619):	The government began campaigns to boost consumer spending and help the economy recover from the losses caused by the pandemic.
November 18 (2,173):	Japan saw a record number of new infections.
December 15 (2,400):	The campaigns to boost economy were partially stopped.
January 7 (7,793):	The government declared a state of emergency again.
February 17 (1,443):	Vaccinations for healthcare workers started.

Methods

Data

A total of 2,502 newspaper articles that include the keyword *koronauirusu* 'coronavirus,' one of the most common expressions referring to COVID-19 in Japanese, were extracted from "Kikuzo II Visual" (updated as "Asahi Shimbun Cross-Search" in 2022), the largest newspaper article database by Asahi Shimbun Company. To trace the timeline of the pandemic in Japan throughout the year, the aforementioned 12 dates from March 2020 to February 2021 were sampled. We manually excluded articles whose topics were irrelevant to the pandemic, although they included the keyword *koronauirusu*. Translated utterances (*e.g.*, a comment by President Trump translated into Japanese) were also excluded because we focused on investigating the metaphors that frame the pandemic in Japanese.

Identification of Metaphors

Using the metaphor identification procedure described in the previous section, we manually identified all metaphorical expressions that describe the coronavirus directly (*e.g.*, **teki** 'enemy') or an event in which the coronavirus takes a role as a participant (*e.g.*, *korona ni* **tachimukau** 'to

confront the coronavirus') in the sampled articles. Grammatical morphemes were excluded from the analysis. To compare the meaning in context with the basic meaning of a lexical unit, we used *Supa Daijirin 3.0* (Sanseido) as a reference.

The target frame of metaphors is the situation around the COVID-19 pandemic, which is very complicated in that it involves political, economic, social, and cultural factors as well as epidemiological factors (Seixas 2021: 2–3). To delimit the range of relevant entities, we regarded a metaphorical text as relevant to the target frame only when the metaphorical text implied a mapping relationship between coronavirus and an element of the source frame. For example, *mamora* 'protect' in (3) implies the fight against the coronavirus, and the concept of enemy is mapped onto the concept of the coronavirus, and (3) is regarded as relevant. In contrast, while *kakae* 'hold' in (4) is metaphorical in the collocation with abstract nouns such as *fuan* 'anxiety' and *kunou* 'anguish', which are metaphorically conceptualized as heavy physical objects, we have no clue to decide what entity is mapped onto the coronavirus; thus, (4) is irrelevant to our study and excluded from the data.

3 Shokuin   mo   kansen   kara   **mamora**-naitoikenai
    staff   also   infection   from   protect-must
    "(We) also must *protect* the staffs from infection"
                        (Manager of an adult day care center in Sapporo, March 13, 2020)

4 Minna   fuan   ya   kunou o **kakae**-nagara   seiippai   yat-teiru
    everyone   anxiety   or   anguish ACC hold-while   as.possible   do-PROG
    "Everyone is doing their best *holding* anxiety or anguish"
                        (Naoto Kanesaka, Chief of Rokkoumichi Children's Library, April 16, 2020)

Classification of Metaphorical Patterns

We classified each example into a type of source frame of conceptual metaphors. Based on the descriptive results of previous literature, we identified sources that are common to frame the target (*i.e.*, the coronavirus), which include OPPONENT in WAR (Bates 2020; Seixas 2021) (or in SPORT (Olza et al. 2021; Semino 2021)), NATURAL PHENOMENON, especially NATURAL DISASTER (Wicke and Bolognesi 2020; Semino 2021), PATH (or DIRECTION) in JOURNEY (Rajandran 2020; Olza et al. 2021; Semino 2021), PHYSICAL OBJECT (Komatsubara 2023), ANIMAL (Olza et al. 2021), and NEIGHBOR (or GUEST) (Olza et al. 2021, Komatsubara 2023). Each source element metaphorically corresponds to the coronavirus and is embedded in a larger frame structure evoked by a metaphorical text. As the six metaphorical sources of the coronavirus–OPPONENT, NATURAL PHENOMENON, PATH, PHYSICAL OBJECT, ANIMAL, and NEIGHBOR–are embedded in the corresponding source frames, we assumed that the six frames–WAR, DISASTER, JOURNEY, PHYSICAL ACTIVITY, HUNT, and SOCIETY–consist of a set of categories of common source frames to classify the data.

We described the source concept of coronavirus and classified it as a source frame. For example, based on the semantic analysis of metaphorical verbs, we identified the source concept of the coronavirus as a movable physical object in (2), a chain-like object in (5), and a machine-like object in (6), and then classified them into a PHYSICAL OBJECT metaphor in the PHYSICAL ACTIVITY frame.

5 Rensa=o   **tachikiru**-koto=ni   churyokushi-teki-ta.
    chain=ACC   cut.off-NMLZ=in   try-PRF-PST

"[We] have made an effort to cut the chain [of the patient clusters] off."
(Kenji Shibuya, Senior Advisor of the WHO, April 16, 2020)

6 **Seigyofunona   mono**   dewa-nai.
   uncontrollable   thing   TOP-NEG
   "[The pandemic is] not uncontrollable."
   (Keiichiro Kudo, Director of the Medical Policy Office of Iwate, January 7, 2021)

Analysis of Metaphorical Framings

Each example is coded as authorial or quoted. For example, (7), an example translated into English, consists of two sentences: the first sentence is an authorial text, and the second is a quoted text (*we will experience hardship at the end of the year*) with quotation marks and a reporting clause (*the person in charge of Keio Plaza Hotel said*). The metaphorical word *blow* is included in the first sentence, and we identified it as authorial. In (8), the metaphorical word *protecting* is observed in a text that the author attributes to a non-journalist, Koji Endo, a representative of an after-school care center in Osaka, so we identified it as quoted.

7 The hotels in Sapporo, which have already experienced the severe **blow** of a shutdown, continue to suffer from an extension of the shutdown. The person in charge of the Keio Plaza Hotel said, "We will experience a hardship at the end of the year." (*The Asahi Shimbun*, December 15, 2020; English translation and boldface by the author)
8 Koji Endo, the representative of an after-school care center in Osaka, said, "Many institutions have to endure hardship with a sense of mission for **protecting** children." (*The Asahi Shimbun*, April 16, 2020; English translation and boldface by the author)

We sampled examples at monthly intervals from March 2020 to February 2021 to analyze changes in the metaphorical framing of the pandemic. The publication date was used as a temporal variable, assuming that the fluctuating distributions of the types of metaphorical sources indicate how people reshaped their conceptualization of the pandemic. Combining discourse and diachronic analyses, we discuss how the choices of metaphors reflect diverse perspectives in a rapidly changing pandemic context.

Principal Metaphorical Framings

Table 18.1 summarizes the metaphors observed in the data. A total of 345 examples (155 in authorial texts and 190 in quoted texts) were extracted, and almost all of them were classified into the six metaphorical frames described in the previous literature. The three principal metaphorical sources were WAR, JOURNEY, and DISASTER, and their sum covered more than three-quarters of the data in both the authorial and quoted texts as well as in the total. This result implies that regardless of whether authorial or quoted, newspaper articles contain few innovative metaphors and considerably depend on several framings using conventional metaphors.

Before discussing the principal framings in detail, it is worth noting that among the less principal framings, the number of examples of SOCIETY framing from quoted texts was more significant than that from authorial texts. Metaphors that map the concept of NEIGHBOR onto the coronavirus personify the coronavirus similarly to OPPONENT metaphors in WAR framing, but they do not imply

Table 18.1 Metaphorical sources of the coronavirus

Source frame and example	Authorial	Quoted	Sum
WAR	56	81	137
e.g., *mie-zaru* **teki**=*to-no* **tatakai** '*fight* against an invisible *enemy*'	(36.1%)	(42.6%)	(39.7%)
JOURNEY	47	31	78
e.g., **saki**=*ga* **mie**-*nai* '[we] cannot *see* the *road ahead*'	(30.3%)	(16.3%)	(22.6%)
DISASTER	24	32	56
e.g., *dai-i-ppa*=*no* **tachiagari** 'the *rise* of the first *wave*'	(15.5%)	(16.8%)	(16.2%)
PHYSICAL ACTIVITY	13	17	30
e.g., *korona*=*o* **mochikoma**-*zu*=*ni* 'not *bringing* coronavirus *over*'	(8.4%)	(9.0%)	(8.7%)
HUNT	12	16	28
e.g., *korona*=*o mazu* **fujikome**=*te* '*caging* coronavirus first'	(7.7%)	(8.4%)	(8.1%)
SOCIETY	2	13	15
e.g., *korona*=*to* **kyouzonshi**-*nagara* '*living together* with coronavirus'	(1.3%)	(6.9%)	(4.3%)
Other	1	0	1
e.g., *dare*=*mo mada* **seikai**-*o shira-nai* "no one knows the *correct answer* yet."	(0.7%)	(0.0%)	(0.3%)
Sum	155	190	345

that it should be eradicated. Yuriko Koike, the Governor of Tokyo Prefecture, in May 2020 advocated the slogan *wizu-korona* 'with coronavirus'. The slogan was widely known at that time, and it prompted inhabitants to construe the coronavirus as an accompanying person, as reflected in metaphors such as (9), (10), and (11). Politicians seem to have been at least partially responsible for SOCIETY framing in everyday discourse (Komatsubara 2023). In contrast, the results imply that journalists, at least ones of Asahi Shimbun, seem to have been careful not to use this political framing, despite the idea that journalists are likely to adopt frames suggested by interest groups or political actors when no frames have yet been established for the issue at stake (Scheufele 1999: 116).

9 Shin-gata   coronauirusu=no   mi-ttsu=no   **kao**=o   shiro-u
   new-type   coronavirus=POS   three-CLF=POS   face=ACC   learn-let.us
   "Let's learn the three *faces* of the new-type coronavirus."
                                  (Mari Yamaguchi, junior high school student, May 25, 2020)

10 Korekara=wa   korona=to   **kyozonshi**-nagara
    in.the.future=top   coronavirus=with   live.together-as
    "[We will] *live together* with the coronavirus in the future."
                                              (an office worker, May 25, 2020)

11 Korona=to   **tonari-awase**=no   seikatsu=wa   tsuzuku
    coronavirus=with   next.to-fit=POS   life=TOP   continue
    "[We must] continue to *live next to* the coronavirus."
                                              (a college student, September 17, 2020)

W<small>AR</small> *Framing*

Previous studies on metaphors of COVID-19 have coherently reported, irrespective of language or register, that the metaphorical framing through the concept of W<small>AR</small> (*e.g.*, "the *fight* against an invisible *enemy*") is most commonly observed in the discourse around the current pandemic (Bates 2020; Rajandran 2020; Wicke and Bolognesi 2020; Seixas 2021; Komatsubara 2022, 2023), and the results illustrated the general trend.

Two variants of W<small>AR</small> framing, aggressive and defensive attitudes (Komatsubara 2023), clarify the difference between authorial and quoted texts. Some W<small>AR</small> metaphors indicate an aggressive attitude toward the coronavirus (*i.e.*, the viewpoint of seeing the coronavirus as something to be eradicated), such as *uchikatsu* 'defeat', *teki* 'enemy', and *tatakai* 'fight'. However, many W<small>AR</small> metaphors indicate a defensive attitude (*i.e.*, the viewpoint focusing on the preventive measures and the recovery), such as *mamru* 'protect', *dameji* 'damage', and *dageki* 'blow [by the coronavirus]'. Defensive metaphors, such as (12), explained 60.5% of the examples (49 out of 81) of W<small>AR</small> framing in quoted texts and 85.7% (48 out of 56) in authorial texts.

12 Keieisuru   ba=ga   **dageki**=o   **uke**-teiru-no-da.
    manage   bar=N<small>OM</small> blow=A<small>CC</small>   receive-P<small>ROG</small>-N<small>OM</small>-be
    "The bar [he] manages has *received* a *blow*."

                                            (January 7, 2021)

13 Jinrui=ga   shin-gata-koronauirusu=ni   **uchika**-tta   akashi.
    mankind=N<small>OM</small>   new-type-coronavirus=A<small>CC</small>   defeat=P<small>ST</small>   proof
    "[Tokyo Olympics will be] proof that mankind will have defeated the new coronavirus."
               (Yoshihide Suga, Prime Minister of Japan, January 7, 2021)

In the quoted texts, 40.6% (13 out of 32 examples) of aggressive metaphors came from utterances by people affiliated with the government or political organizations. Under the second state of emergency declaration in January 2021, Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga tried to impress that the Tokyo Olympics will be proof that they *defeated* the coronavirus, using the metaphor in (13), in which the expressions *uchikatsu* 'defeat' implies that people should take an active role in the "*war* on COVID-19." Former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe repeatedly used this phrase during the first declaration of the state of emergency in April. While using aggressive W<small>AR</small> metaphors conveys "a sense of risk and urgency" (Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau 2018: 4), the low rate of the aggressive metaphor in authorial texts implies that journalists did not follow the framing by politicians, as in the case of the S<small>OCIETY</small> framing discussed above.

J<small>OURNEY</small> *Framing*

While J<small>OURNEY</small> framing is pervasive in everyday language, as in "*Look* how *far* we've *come*" and "We can't *turn back* now" (Lakoff 1993), the concept of J<small>OURNEY</small> is also an apt metaphorical source for the pandemic because trouble can happen in a journey, such as getting lost, getting mugged, feeling sick, or feeling anxious.

When a P<small>HYSICAL OBJECT</small> metaphor is embedded in a J<small>OURNEY</small> frame, it is often interpreted as an O<small>BSTACLE</small> in the W<small>AY</small> (or L<small>ANDSCAPE</small>; Komatsubara 2023) of J<small>OURNEY</small>. For example, in (14), *kiki* 'crisis' caused by the coronavirus is metaphorically an O<small>BSTACLE</small>, as indicated by the metaphorical verb *norikoeru* 'get over'. We observed more O<small>BSTACLE</small> metaphors in the authorial texts and

explained 63.8% (30 of 47 examples) of the JOURNEY framing. An example of WAY metaphor is (15), in which the JOURNEY framing indicates how people try to deal with the coronavirus persisting for a long time. The metaphorical expression ***tachidomaru*** 'stop' does not imply that the coronavirus interrupts us, and the coronavirus is rather portrayed as an element of the WAY of the JOURNEY. In the quoted texts, the WAY metaphors covered 61.3% (19 of 31 examples) of the JOURNEY framing.

14 Kiki-o   **norikoeru**   shinario-ni   kanshin-ga   atsuma-tta.
    crisis-ACC   get.over   scenario-LOC   interest-NOM   focus-PST
    "[Their] interets focused on the scenario to *get over* the crisis."

(July 22, 2020)

15 I-kkagetsu=hodo   mae=ni   **tachidomaru**   hitsuyou=ga   a-tta.
    one-month=about   before=in   stop   need=NOM   exsit-PST
    "[We] needed to stop about a month ago."

(Yoshihito Niki, visiting professor at Showa University, December 15, 2020)

DISASTER Framing

The WATER metaphors typically introducing an image of a TSUNAMI, such as in (16), occupied 71.9% (23 out of 32 examples) of the DISASTER framing in quoted texts, and conventionalized expressions in the pandemic, such as *dai-i-**ppa*** 'the first *wave*', *dai-ni-**ha*** 'the second *wave*', *dai-sam-**pa*** 'the third *wave*' were common in the data. According to Charteris-Black (2006), DISASTER metaphors relating to water (floods and tidal waves) were common in the conceptualization of immigration in right-wing discourse in Britain (*e.g.*, "massive and unnecessary *wave* of immigration"), implying that immigration was excessive and out of control, which potentially linked to conceptualization with the related image of crisis.

In authorial texts, we observed various metaphorical sources, including FIRE, which, according to Semino (2021), can be versatile in communication about the COVID-19 pandemic, such as ***hi**-dane* '*fire*-seed', ***kusuburu*** '*smolder*', and **shitabi** 'low.flame' in (17).

16 Fuyuba=ni-wa   honto=no   "**nami**"=ga   **oso**-ttekuru   kanosei=ga
    winter=in-TOP   real=POS   wave=NOM   hit-BEN   possibility=NOM
    aru.
    exist
    "Possibly, the real "*wave*" might *hit* in winter."

(Shuichi Nishimura, Sendai Medical Center, September 17, 2020)

17 Chugoku-de   aratana   kansen-ga   **shitabi**-ni   nari
    China-LOC   new   infection-NOM   low.flame-to   become
    "The new infections in China have *died down*."

(March 13, 2020)

Change in Metaphorical Framings over Time

In addition to the synchronic analysis of the distribution of metaphorical sources, this section describes the results of the diachronic analysis using the publication date as a temporal variable. Figure 18.1 shows the frequency of metaphorical examples per 100 articles and the number of
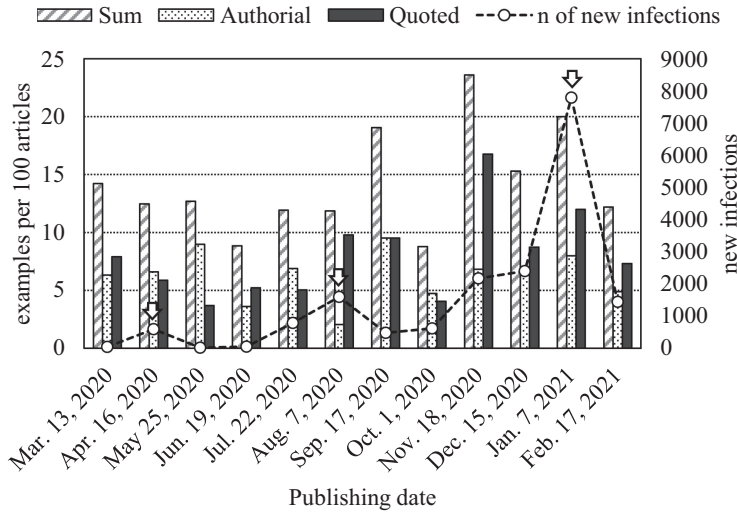
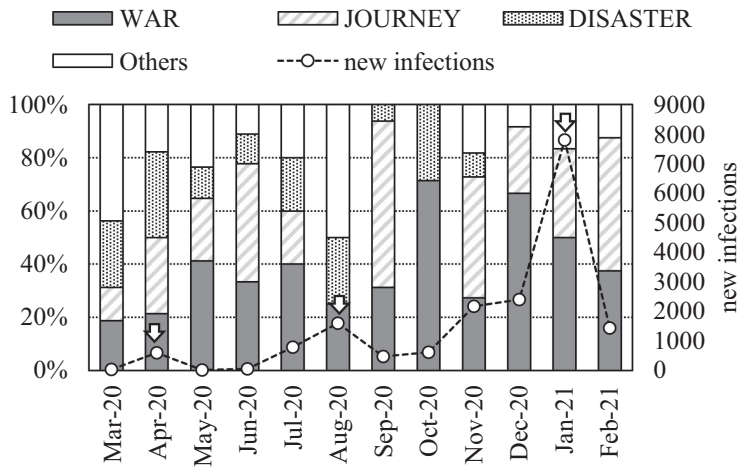*Figure 18.1*   Changes in the number of examples and new infections

Figure 18.2   Change in framings of authorial texts

new infections. Arrows indicate the "the waves" peaks corresponding to the number of new infections. Figure 18.2 shows the monthly distributions of the three principal metaphorical framings in the authorial texts, which contrasts with Figure 18.3, which demonstrates those in the quoted texts. While the authorial and quoted texts shared the principal conceptual types of framing, the diachronic analysis revealed several contrasts between them.

First, the dominance of WAR framing in March and April is salient in Figure 18.3, compared with the rates in the same period in Figure 18.2. To examine the characteristics of the WAR framing in detail, Figures 18.4 and 18.5 show changes in the standardized frequencies of the war framing with the proportions of aggressive and defensive metaphors. Although defensive metaphors are
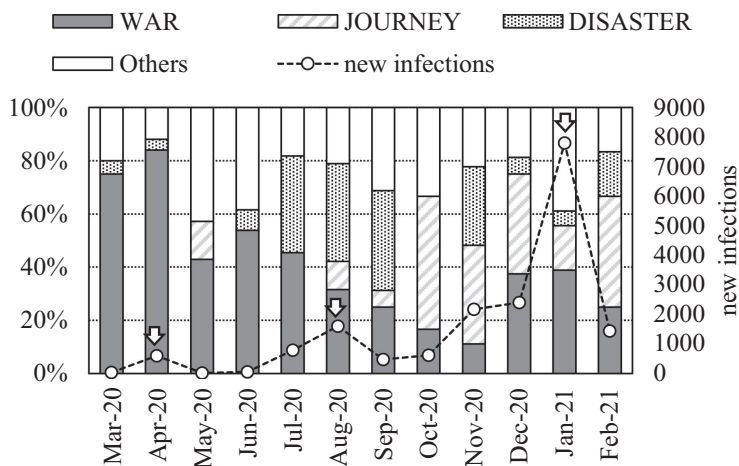
Figure 18.3   Change in framings of quoted texts

more common than aggressive ones, as pointed out above as a general tendency, the first half of the sampling period (*i.e.*, the period from March to August) covered 78.1% (25 out of 32 examples) of the aggressive war metaphors in the quoted texts (Figure 18.5). Figure 18.4 shows defensive metaphors dominated in authorial texts, specifically in the latter half of the sampling period. Considering that the aggressive metaphors were often extracted from utterances by people who are affiliated with governmental and political organizations, this contrast implies that the aggressive war framing was concentrated in governmental and political contexts during the period around the "first wave" of the pandemic, and the authors of newspaper articles did not prefer to follow the framing.

Second, an interesting parallel can be observed between the convex curve from August to November in Figure 18.4 and that from November to February in Figure 18.5. The preceding trend in authorial texts appears to have moved three months forward in quoted texts. After the peak of the "second wave" in August, newspapers often reported that the economic damages caused by the pandemic were quite serious, adopting the defensive war framing, such as ***dameji*** 'damage' and ***dageki*** 'blow' in (12). Although we avoid making certain causal assumptions and do not argue that changes in authorial texts "caused" changes in quoted texts, as Gamson and Modigliani (1989) deliberately did, it is interesting to see the same kinds of defensive metaphors were common in quoted texts during the period from November to February, as illustrated in (18). Defensive metaphors were common in the latter half of the sampling period, and authorial texts seemed to lead the trend.

18 Ima=no   jiten=de   **dameji**=ga   oki-sugiru.
    now=POS   moment=LOC   damage=NOM   big-too.much
    "The *damage* is too serious at this moment."
         (Shintaro Inada, the manager of the seafood restaurant *Gimpei*, December 15, 2020)

Third, the JOURNEY framing was concentrated in the latter half of the quoted texts (Figure 18.3), whereas the authorial texts contained it throughout the sampling period (Figure 18.2). The contrast
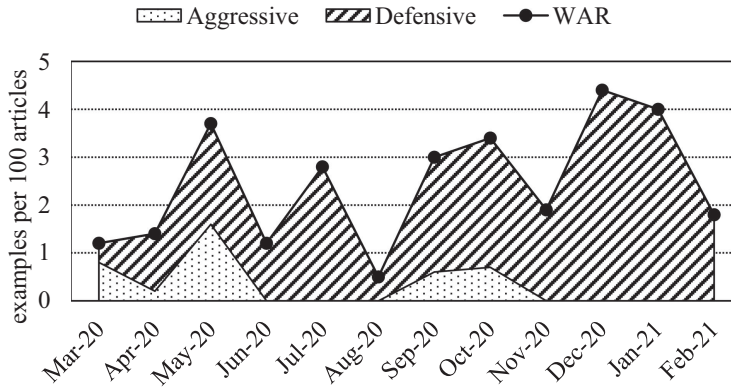
Aggressive   Defensive   WAR

Figure 18.4   Change in frequency of the WAR framing in authorial texts
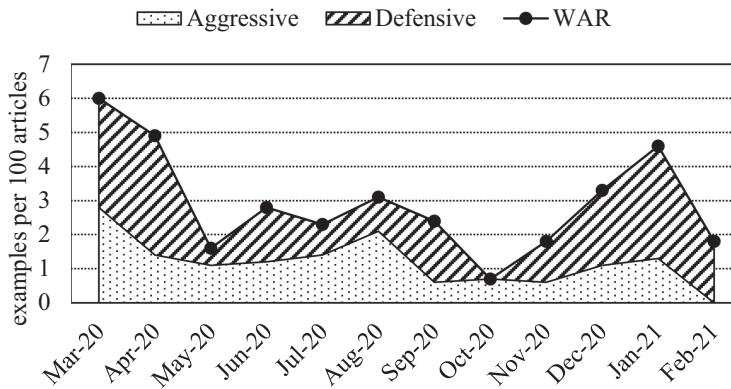
Aggressive   Defensive   WAR

Figure 18.5   Change in frequency of the WAR framing in quoted texts

can be seen more clearly in Figures 18.6 and 18.7, which show the changes in the proportion of obstacle and way metaphors in the journey framing. We can observe a parallel between the authorial and quoted texts; the convex from August to October in Figure 18.6 seems to have moved two months forward in Figure 18.7. Both the JOURNEY framing and the rate of the WAY metaphors drastically increased at the peak of each convex, and journalists seemed to have led the trend earlier than non-journalists, just as in the case of the defensive WAR framing. Typical examples of the way metaphor in the latter half of the sampling period, as illustrated in (19), included *sakiyuki* 'road ahead', *mitosu* 'get a clear view', and *yukue* 'direction'. The WAY metaphors make the coronavirus less agentive, and the increase of this type after the "second wave" probably reflects the situation in which people reframe the coronavirus as an entity embedded in the "new normal" lifestyle. Reframing by journalists is explicit in the case of (20), where the OPPONENT metaphor is highlighted with quotation marks, which implies that the author stresses that the WAR framing is questionable (cf. Kövecses 2010: 54–55) and getting less apt.
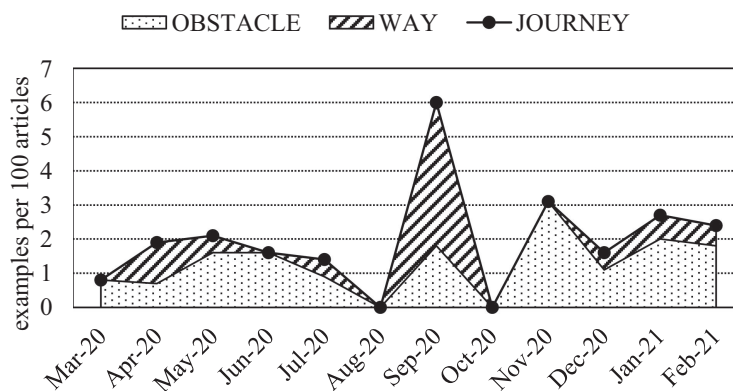
OBSTACLE   WAY   JOURNEY

Figure 18.6   Change in frequency of the JOURNEY framing in authorial texts

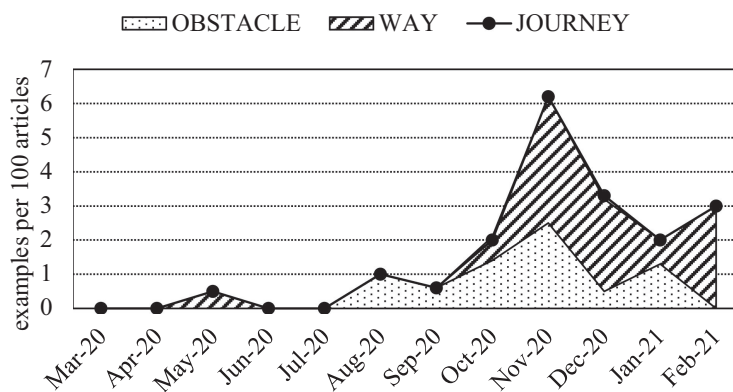OBSTACLE   WAY   JOURNEY

Figure 18.7   Change in frequency of the JOURNEY framing in quoted texts

19   Shin-gata   korona=no   shusoku=mo   **mitose**-zu
     new-type   coronavirus=POS   end=TOP   get.a.clear.view-NEG
     "[We] cannot get a clear view that [the pandemic of] the coronavirus comes to an end."
     (September 17, 2020)

20   Genzai=no   watashitachi=no   "**teki**"=ga   uirusu=nomi-narazu   taisetsuna
     present=POS   we=POS   "enemy"=NOM   virus=only-NEG   precious
     mono=o   mirai=eto   tsunagukoto=o   akirameru   kokoro=nanoda
     thing=ACC   future=to   connecting=ACC   give.up   mind=be
     "Our '*enemy*' is now not only the coronavirus but the idea of giving up passing precious
     things to the future."
     (October 1, 2020)

The synchronic analysis of this study showed that WAR, JOURNEY, and DISASTER were the three principal metaphorical sources in Japanese for conceptualizing the coronavirus, whether authorial or quoted. However, the diachronic analysis indicated that the timing of the peak uses of WAR and JOURNEY metaphors for authorial and quoted examples differed: Authorial examples of defensive metaphors in the WAR framing peaked three months earlier than quoted examples. Similarly, the peak use of WAY metaphors in the JOURNEY framing in authorial texts peaked two months earlier than in quoted texts. Although we should be careful about the causal interpretations of these results, it is interesting to note that journalists led the trends of metaphorical framings for these two sources, which could constitute alternatives to the aggressive metaphors in the WAR framing typically observed in politics and government. In this respect, journalists, at least in the case of *Asahi Shimbun*, seemed to resist following politicians' orientation toward the aggressive WAR framing, and consequently they might have influenced public opinion by framing the coronavirus in terms of less aggressive and less agentive alternatives.

Conclusion

Metaphors implicitly frame complex social issues in media discourse, and their framing functions give the audience different definitions, impressions, and evaluations of these issues. For metaphor analysis of framing, newspapers are useful material in that we can (1) compare the framings of journalists with those of non-journalists using alternation between authorial and quoted texts as a social variable and (2) trace changes in framings over time using the publication date as a temporal variable. Methods for identifying and classifying metaphorical framings are necessary, and the cognitive linguistic approach to metaphors provides a robust descriptive framework. Empirical approaches to metaphors have been developed for several decades, and future research dealing with metaphors in media discourse will provide critical analyses of various social issues and new insights for qualitative and quantitative framing research.

A case study on how metaphors were used to frame the COVID-19 pandemic in Japan from 2020 to 2021 revealed that there were significant diachronic changes in proportions between the three principal metaphorical framings (*i.e.*, WAR, JOURNEY, and DISASTER), implying that the WAR (specifically the defense-oriented war) and JOURNEY framings in authorial texts preceded the trends in quoted texts, which can be an example of diachronic interactions between frames. Analyzing the effects of framings by conceptual metaphors in media discourse seems less straightforward than in the case of specific metaphors in political slogans, such as *Gorin=wa korona=ni **uchikat**-ta akashi* 'The Olympics will be the symbol of *victory* against the coronavirus' by Prime Minister Abe. However, this does not mean that metaphor analysis at the conceptual level is not useful for revealing how metaphors influence people as a form of mind engineering. While people are often able to make a conscious decision to accept or reject the framing evoked by an explicit metaphorical slogan, sophisticated critical thinking on metaphorical framings is needed to be conscious of the conceptual source they adopt to describe a social issue, because conceptual metaphors are basically manifested in a system of conventional expressions, such as *keizaitekina **dameji*** 'economic *damage*' or *kiki=o **norikoeru*** '*get over* the crisis'. Our finding that some metaphorical framings by non-journalists followed the trends of framings by journalists might be a sign of non-journalists' unconscious acceptance of the conceptual framework provided by journalists. In this respect, metaphor-based framing strategies in media discourse can give rise to a trend of framing in public opinion and influence people's perspectives on a social issue.

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