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REVIEW

Charteris-Black, Jonathan: *Metaphors of coronavirus: Invisible enemy or zombie apocalypse?*

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Frame is regarded as cognitive schema and a pattern of language use (Ritchie, 2013). Semino and others (2018) and Entman (1993) believe that framing involves selection and salience, and "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993: 52). Charteris-Black's book, named *Metaphors of Coronavirus: Invisible Enemy or Zombie Apocalypse?*, centers on the metaphor frames of coronavirus and their framing effect. Framing effect serves a new theoretical hypothesis: metaphorical frames shape reasoning and thought by instantiating frame-consistent knowledge structures and invite structurally consistent inferences thus affect people's opinion (Thibodeau and others, 2017; Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011, 2013, 2015). Framing often finds its origins in both psychology and sociology. The research on framing represents the latest paradigm shift in political-communication research. Metaphorical framing effects have been researched as a function of metaphor from three interrelated—cognitive, discourse and practice—based perspectives.

Charteris-Black has been very active and prolific in studies of persuasive power of metaphors in political discourse. In the global crisis of pandemic, Charteris-Black presents a corpus-based linguistic, psychological, cognitive, communicative, quantitative and qualitative study into metaphors of coronavirus and their framing effects. The detailed introduction of book content is as follows.

Chapter one serves as the foundational theoretical framework for the whole research. Charteris-Black adopts Haidt's moral foundations theory, which consists of six pairs of moral intuition opposites: Care and Harm, Fairness and Cheating, Loyalty and Betrayal, Authority and Subversion, Sanctity and Degradation, Liberty and Oppression. The author discovers hints of theoretical shortcoming in Haidt's model. He makes an attempt to improve its feasibility both theoretically and practically by introducing Honesty and Dishonesty to the theory. Therefore, seven pairs of moral intuition opposites, though may conflict, inter-depend or interweave with each other, serving as frame-consistent/related moral intuitions, jointly interprets metaphorical frames' influence on reasoning, thought and decision-making in the discourse of coronavirus.

Chapter two approaches the most dominant war metaphor in the pandemic discourse, based on illustrations from British press using the Nexis database. War frame activates the moral intuitions Harm, Cheating, Betrayal and instantiates cognitive schema of war. In the latter part, Charteris-Black conducts empirical surveys. Respondents are asked to rank five statements in order of importance after reading a metaphorically invented vignette. In the empirical study, war-consistent responses rank highest. Responses between war-related vignette and literal vignette are found statistically significant. The result tends to suggest that a specific metaphor would activate the metaphor-related surrounding moral intu-

itions and cognitive schema. War frame of pandemic entails both potential strengths and shortcomings. It highlights and justifies common awareness of danger, death and need of collective solidarity. At the outbreak of pandemic, war metaphor satisfies its communicating purposes by personifying virus as malevolent opponents to convince and justify their authoritarian measures for better tackling of the sudden arrival of virus (Semino, 2021). As the pandemic develops, weaknesses of war metaphor become salient. It lacks trace of causes, recovery phase of disease, need of keeping social distance. Therefore, appropriateness of a metaphor depends greatly on the communicator, context, purpose and audience, especially context in the case of war metaphor for constantly-developing virus.

Chapter three tackles disaster metaphors, especially fire and force of nature frames in media communication. It is believed that metaphors are not neutral ways of perceiving and representing reality, as each source domain highlights some aspects of the target and backgrounds others, facilitating different inferences and evaluations. Fire metaphor activates among us contagious and dynamic nature of the disease and arouses in us moral intuitions Care and Harm. Fire metaphor also urges the citizens awareness of urgency, corresponding actions. Semino (2021) deems that fire metaphor is more apt in framing pandemic than military war metaphor for it informs us of the danger and urgency, different phases of progression, how the contagion happens, healthcare workers as firefighters, unequal health problems and tips for future prevention. Semino's beliefs inspire us that apt metaphors offer highly conforming and overlapping mappings between source domains and target domains in specific situations for a specific purpose and audience.

Chapter four elaborates the metaphor of zombie apocalypse frame during pandemic. Zombie apocalypse metaphor invokes the following cognitive schema: devoid of cognition, spreading infection and breaking of social bonds, as well as moral intuitions of Harm and Degradation. When conceptual blending theory is introduced to zombie apocalypse frame, two input spaces are zombie apocalypse and coronavirus pandemic. Blended space of coronavirus as zombie apocalypse is characterized as following: origins in nature, spread by infection, cognitive reduction, requiring social response, which generate the framing effect that human beings could survive pandemic just like survive zombie attack with effective management strategy. Zombie, as a representative character in the science or catastrophe fiction, exaggerates the virus's inhuman, strangeness, and scary infection features while disempowers the authority and curing capacity of medical science. What's more, zombie, as a cognitive schema originating from ancient times and science fiction, it displays a limited framing effect in contemporary society.

Chapter five sheds light on metaphors from science, especially from epidemiology. Metaphorical frames like "follow the science", "herd immunity", "flatten the curve", "circuit breaker" are initiated in political communication, reverberated and become cliches even criticized and abandoned in the end because they are in conflict with human beings' moral

frame like Authority, Liberty and Sanctity. There exists a framing effect that metaphors have activated association of agents who put forward these metaphors—scientists, doctors and healthy advisors—. Although these science metaphor frames are uttered by governments to persuade citizens of compliance with policies, the person who will be blamed are the scientists instead of the politicians when metaphors and prevention are criticized. Thus, medical science-consistent metaphorical frames make their inventors salient when reproach and criticism concerning metaphors-related policies arise. Therefore, as average citizens, we call for metaphors reaching the general public with honest purposes in real contexts, not the ones used to ameliorate blame and responsibility by the political authorities.

Chapter six revolves around the effect of historical experience of disease-related confinement on cognition and language. In the absence of effective treatment, forms of socially motivated containers like "Cordon Sanitaire" and "Pest House" are created conceptually and physically to curb the movement of people. They are categorized as container metaphors deriving from embodied spatial experiences of confinement and containment, which could be either mandatory or voluntary. Implementation of containment policies in plague years and human being's embodied spatial experiences have been of great help to the formation of conceptual containment metaphor, which belongs to an ontological metaphor as container schema and an orientational metaphor as motion schema from the perspective of theory of embodied philosophy.

Based on the theoretical trace of metaphors of pandemic and container schema mentioned in chapter six, chapter seven touches upon concrete containment metaphors in the contemporary discourse of pandemic, including *bubble*, *shielding*, *cocoon*, *protective ring* and *Petri dish*. To encourage compliance with lockdown policy, confinement metaphors like "pod", "pocket", "cocoon", "shielding", "protective ring" and "bunker" are adopted to make separation attractive, which demonstrates the dishonest nature of policy-decisions. Deriving from biological experimentation, "Petri dish", a location where virus chooses to flourish, reveals the power relationship and indifferent attitudes towards those in infected areas, which probably runs against most cultural values. Therefore, it reminds us metaphor adoption and understanding should be put under a multi-faceted perspectives concerning social and cultural factors, in addition to cognition and language.

David Ritchie (2013) mentions that framing may be realized by language choices, including metaphors and stories. It can also be achieved by other elements, such as gestures, facial expression, clothing choices. Chapter eight highlights the framing effect accomplished by metonyms in the British press: mask, hazmat suit, hearse, rainbow. In the context of pandemic, metonyms are efficient in reducing multiple thoughts and emotions to a single object or event. Those conceptual entities activate moral intuitions of Care and Harm, Liberty and Loyalty, Authority and Subversion, symbolize medical protection, professional status and prestige, life and death, hope and social solidarity, respectively, for one thing, imply schema

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of epicenter, ideological meaning, strangeness, instability, abnormality, death, respectively, for another. Though with rich linguistic and conceptual meaning in every metonym, we should be aware of the social and cultural implications encapsulated in them.

Chapter nine addresses the remedy metaphors of coronavirus: silver / magic bullets. "No silver / magic bullets" metaphor exposes the misinformation, unrealistic, unscientific and childish nature of "silver / magic bullets" metaphor. This chapter also sheds light specifically on competitive race frame on vaccine, which prompts countries to compete for development, distribution and inoculation of vaccine. In the discourse of pro- and anti-vaccine movement, besides the effect of metaphorical frame of linguistic perspective, lots of other factors are at play, such as national power, competition and conflict, ideology, culture and even election, etc. Therefore, framing effect ought to be observed under dynamic and comprehensive angles.

Chapter ten serves as the concluding chapter where Charteris-Black emphasizes that language plays a vital role in pandemic discourse by presenting honest metaphors which correspond with embodied experience. Charteris-Black appreciates the intelligibility, persuasive power and framing effects of metaphors of coronavirus. And he admits the significant role of moral foundation theory in repositioning the rider (reason) back in control over the elephant (emotion). Whereas, honesty of leaders and advocates should be invited and accentuated in the endeavour of species survival in pandemic discourse.

Charteris-Black is pioneering in portraying metaphors of coronavirus systematically. Prior to his study, most scholars have concentrated on the study of specific metaphors of Covid-19. In *Metaphors of Coronavirus: Invisible Enemy or Zombie Apocalypse?*, Charteris-Black presents a comprehensive, dynamic and all-around analysis of metaphors of pandemic in different critical phase: war and fire metaphors of pandemic outbreak, metaphors of pandemic confrontation, metaphors of confinement and remedy metaphor and so on. Diverse metaphors of pandemic confirm the belief that "any metaphor can only ever convey a partial representation of a particular phenomenon. The more complex and long-term a phenomenon, the more we need different metaphors to capture different facets and phases, and to communicate with different audiences" (Semino, 2021: 52).

In addition to diverse metaphors being discussed, Charteris-Black's study demonstrates that different metaphor frames would arouse and activate different moral intuitions and knowledge structure, thus give rise to different decisions, attitudes and behaviors. The conclusion confirms the hypothesis that metaphorical frames influence reasoning and shape thought (Thibodeau and others, 2017). However, as Semino (2021) has pointed out that metaphors can be deceptive and prevaricating, they can also be enlightening and comforting. Therefore, some scholars reiterate a vital perspective that various cognitive, linguistic, social and cultural forces of different time-

scales should be brought into full play when interpreting metaphorical expressions, which proves to be revealing and beneficial in understanding various metaphors of pandemic in global discourse.

Metaphors of coronavirus in this book are under thorough research not only through rich and persuasive historical and cultural evidence, but also through moral reasoning, corpus-based data, empirical surveys and cognitive rationale. Due to the interdisciplinarity of coronavirus, the book can be expected to raise interest in a large readership among linguists, psychologists, anthropologists and cognitive scientists, scholars and students who show preference to discourse analysis, media communication studies and metaphor research. To sum up, Charteris-Black's book presents informative, insightful and thought-provoking study into metaphors of coronavirus in a linguistic way when we are hoping for the best in the global crisis of pandemic.

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