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# Conceptual metaphors for SARS: 'war' between whom?



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**ABSTRACT** By analyzing naming strategies and conceptual metaphors for SARS in three major broadsheet newspapers, *The Liberty Times* and *The United Daily News* in Taiwan, and *The People's Daily* in China, this article demonstrates how the political agendas and underlying ideologies of newspapers permeate their use of metaphors. Taking critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) as the theoretical framework, we analyze how the DISEASE IS WAR metaphor, in particular, constructs Self and Other, as well as several other metaphors (e.g. DISEASE IS A NATURAL DISASTER/ A DISASTER IN GENERAL). We argue that all the linguistic devices under consideration represent SARS as an issue in the domain of political rather than medical discourse.

**KEY WORDS:** *China, critical metaphor analysis, ideology, political discourse, SARS, Self and Other, Taiwan*

## 1. Introduction

Severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) was the first severe new infectious disease that emerged in the twenty-first century. Although the death toll from SARS was 774, the case fatality rate – 9.6 percent, according to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2004) – was far higher than that of the 1918 influenza pandemic (5.6%), which claimed as many as 40–50 million lives.<sup>1</sup> SARS had an enormous social, economic, and political impact on a worldwide basis, but particularly in Asia. Despite the alarm it generated around the world, relatively little research has been done on the linguistic devices used to represent SARS (e.g. Baehr, 2006; Chen, 2005; Eagleton, 2004; Larson et al., 2005; Wallis and Nerlich, 2005; Washer, 2004). Focusing on the use of conceptual metaphors for SARS in major broadsheet newspapers, this article aims to demonstrate how different ideologies influenced the representations of the disease in Taiwan and Mainland China. The texts under discussion, composed of approximately 212,000 Chinese characters, are SARS-related editorials extracted from two

major Taiwan newspapers, *The Liberty Times* and *The United Daily News*, and one newspaper from Mainland China, *The People's Daily*.

The first case of SARS appeared in Mainland China, and epidemiologists believe that the disease spread from there to the rest of the world, including Taiwan, where its impact was particularly severe. How people and governments in China and Taiwan responded to the outbreak of the disease was of crucial significance for the world. We hypothesized that the selected newspapers, published under different political systems and taking differing editorial stances, would represent the disease differently, in ways reflected in their use of metaphors. We analyzed conceptual metaphors to demonstrate how different ideologies influenced the representations of this disease.

Ideology, according to Van Dijk (1998, 2000, 2001), is a form of social cognition or a belief system shared by/in a group. Defined as 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group' (Van Dijk, 1998: 8), ideology is constituted by 'basic propositions that represent what is good or bad for the group' (Van Dijk, 2000: 95). In other words, ideology is a belief system perpetuating norms and values held by a group. The interplay between language and ideology has drawn linguists' attention (Fairclough, 1995, 2004; Fang, 2001; Hawkins, 1997; Kuo and Nakamura, 2005; Van Dijk, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2000, 2001; among others), their diverse theories and methods subsumed into what is now called critical discourse analysis (CDA). These writers have proven that ideology shapes the representation of any social issue.

The recent emergence of conceptual metaphor theory<sup>2</sup> (CMT; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) provides a useful tool for linguists to analyze ideologies implicit within language. As a linguistic device, metaphor is deeply rooted in language, thought and action, pervading everyday life. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 157) contend that metaphors have the persuasive power 'to define reality [. . .] through a coherent network of entailments that highlight some features of reality and hide others'. Quite a few scholars investigate conceptual metaphors for the purpose of unveiling the ideologies behind them (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2005; Semino, 2002; Semino and Masci, 1996; White and Herrera, 2003; among others). The method adopted in this study is Charteris-Black's (2004) critical metaphor analysis (CMA), an approach incorporating CDA, CMT and corpus linguistics. He claims that 'covert' and 'possibly unconscious' intentions of language users can be revealed through critically analyzing metaphor. Although analyzing metaphor alone enables scholars to expose the underlying ideologies in some cases, this article incorporates the notion of Self and Other construction (Hall, 2001; Landis, 1995; Ni, 2005; Pennycook, 1998) into CMA, suggesting that when exploring the representation of diseases, conceptual metaphor analysis alone is not adequate to the task, especially when the DISEASE IS WAR metaphor is considered.

The DISEASE IS WAR metaphor, as illuminated by Sontag (1989), predominates in people's conceptualization of disease:

The grosser metaphor survives in public health education, where disease is regularly described as invading the society, and efforts to reduce mortality from a given disease are called a fight, a struggle, a war. (Sontag, 1989: 98)

However inappropriate this metaphor may seem to Sontag, it is undeniable that military vocabulary is frequently adopted in medical discourse describing the treatment of disease or its course of development. Outside medical contexts, this metaphor still prevails when a disease is reported and discussed. The metaphor, envisaging dreaded diseases 'as an alien "other", as enemies' in modern war (Sontag, 1989: 99), attempts to create a sense of urgency and mobilize a public to 'fight' against a common threat. Moreover, as metaphors 'contribute to the stigmatizing of certain illnesses and, by extension, of those who are ill' (Sontag, 1989: 99), patients with frightening illnesses are implicitly, if not explicitly, labeled and vilified by the general public. Sontag therefore calls for liberating ourselves from this metaphor when conceptualizing disease.

Sontag does not consider that this metaphor may be exploited for differing ideological purposes. For example, two sentences using the same DISEASE IS WAR metaphor – 'Taiwan has been attacked by SARS coming from China [. . .]' and 'We [. . .] definitely can win the battle against atypical pneumonia [i.e. SARS]' – convey different ideologies/agendas, even though both conceptualize an identical disease as the enemy. This article will show that CMT alone does not adequately expose agendas underlying how the DISEASE IS WAR metaphor was deployed in the case of SARS. We find the three newspapers constructed Self and Other(s) differently according to their political stances. (For details, see Section 4.3.)

By closely examining naming strategies these newspapers applied to the disease, analyzing how the DISEASE IS WAR metaphor constructs Self and Other, and extending analysis to other metaphors (e.g. DISEASE IS A NATURAL DISASTER/A DISASTER IN GENERAL), this article demonstrates how the political agendas and underlying ideologies of these newspapers permeate their use of metaphor. We argue that all the linguistic devices under consideration represent SARS as an issue in the domain of political rather than medical discourse.

## 2. Background information

### 2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF SARS

SARS, a deadly infectious disease, first emerged in Guangdong Province, China in November 2002. Although it spread, it remained within the territory of Mainland China and was diagnosed as atypical pneumonia until mid-February 2003. From 21 February 2003, the disease began spreading to other parts of the world,<sup>3</sup> with major outbreaks in China, Hong Kong, Canada, Vietnam,<sup>4</sup> Singapore and Taiwan<sup>5</sup> (WHO, 2004).

SARS continued to menace the world until early July 2003. By 24 June and 5 July, when Mainland China and Taiwan respectively were removed from the WHO's list of affected areas, hundreds of people had died of this disease. In Taiwan, 346 people were diagnosed with SARS and 37 died. In Mainland China, 5327 cases were diagnosed as SARS, and the number of deaths was 349. Counting Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions, SARS cases in China totaled 7083, with the death toll reaching 648 (WHO, 2004). Both Taiwan and China were severely ravaged by SARS.

## 2.2 BACKGROUND OF NEWSPAPERS UNDER ANALYSIS

The three newspapers under consideration are *The Liberty Times* (LT), *The United Daily News* (UDN), and *The People's Daily* (PD); the first two are from Taiwan and the last from Mainland China.

With regard to their political orientations, LT takes an editorial line that supports Taiwan independence over reunification with China, aligning it with Taiwan's Pan-Green Coalition<sup>6</sup> led by the Democratic Progressive Party. UDN, by contrast, overtly supports the Kuomintang (The Nationalist Party), the leader of the Pan-Blue Coalition,<sup>7</sup> tending to uphold a Chinese nationalist identity over a separatist Taiwanese one. UDN thus favors a softer policy toward Mainland China and promotes economic links (Huang, 2003; Su, 2004).

PD, the main newspaper in China, is a major channel by which the Chinese Communist Party communicates its policies to the public. Conventionally regarded as a 'mouthpiece' of China (Fang, 2001), PD editorials may be viewed as official government policy statements (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

The three newspapers have quite distinct perspectives that are clearly revealed in their editorials. Given their different political stances, the ways they conceptualize the same subject matter presumably differ. Examining how the editorials of these three newspapers addressed the issue of SARS can demonstrate how underlying ideologies influenced their representations.

## 3. Material and methods

### 3.1 MATERIAL

We examined SARS-related editorials in LT, UDN, and PD over the period spanning from 15 March 2003, when the first SARS case was reported in Taiwan, to 6 July 2003, when the WHO removed Taiwan from the list of SARS-affected areas. The sizes of the three corpora are as follows: (1) LT, 137,429 Chinese characters; (2) UDN, 66,770 Chinese characters; and (3) PD, 8597 Chinese characters. The difference in size between the LT and UDN corpora and that for PD is attributable to the fact that only five editorials appeared in PD, but there were 78 in LT and 49 in UDN, because PD's editorial does not appear every day like those of the LT and the UDN, and PD's first editorial on SARS appeared on 1 May 2003, much later than those of the LT (15 March) or UDN (29 March). This size difference results in different degrees to which naming strategies and metaphor uses are diversified in each newspaper. For details, see Sections 4.1–4.4.

### 3.2 METHOD

Charteris-Black's (2004) CMA incorporates three stages of metaphor analysis: identification, interpretation, and explanation. Adopting a modified version of CMA for this article, the three stages are discussed in detail.

#### *Metaphor identification*

Charteris-Black (2004: 35–37) proposes two steps for metaphor identification. (1) A careful reading of a sample of texts with the purpose of identifying 'candidate

metaphors', through which commonly used words carrying a metaphoric sense are categorized as *metaphor keywords*. (2) A qualitative analysis in which corpus contexts are examined to decide whether each use of a keyword is metaphoric or literal. At this phase, corpora are consequential because they provide extensive context around the candidate metaphors.

In contrast to Charteris-Black, who selects keywords from the source domain,<sup>8</sup> this article selects keywords from the target domain, meaning that of the disease. By searching for selected keywords from the target domain, we avoid expressions that are not employed to metaphorize the disease. We selected English words and Chinese characters representing the disease as keywords, including: (1) SARS, (2) *sha* 煞<sup>9</sup> (Taiwanese innovated referent), (3) *fei dianxing feiyan* 非典型肺炎 'atypical pneumonia', (4) *fei dian* 非典 (short form of 'atypical pneumonia'), (5) *yanzhong jixing huxidao zhenghouqun* 嚴重急性呼吸道症候群 'severe acute respiratory syndrome', and (6) *zhongguo feiyan* 中國肺炎 'Chinese pneumonia'. We then searched for each of these keywords throughout the three corpora. When a keyword was located, we examined the context (i.e. the preceding and following sentences) to decide whether the keyword was being used metaphorically in that instance. To decide the source domain of the metaphorical expressions,<sup>10</sup> we resorted to SUMO<sup>11</sup> as proposed by Chung et al. (2005).

### *Metaphor interpretation*

This stage involves 'establishing a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them', which relates to how readers understand the metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004: 37–8). Charteris-Black claims that when a conceptual metaphor is exploited, the reader's interpretation may not follow what the text producer intends, and readers may sometimes interpret as literal a term that is intended metaphorically.

In contrast to Charteris-Black's method of handling this phase, this article takes every metaphorical expression as is, for there is no interaction between the texts in these three corpora. That is, wherever an expression shows a source-target domain mapping for a keyword, such a mapping is considered a conceptual metaphor.

### *Metaphor explanation*

According to Charteris-Black (2004), metaphor explanation focuses on the relevance to the context. At this stage, considering social agency involved in the production of texts and their goal of persuasion, a researcher can expose ideological and rhetorical motivations by identifying the discursive function of the metaphor. Cautious analysis of the corpus where metaphors occur enables one to find evidence of the text producer's motivation.

Explaining the conceptual metaphors found in the corpora, we argue that simply analyzing metaphors cannot adequately reveal their underpinning ideologies, because the dominant metaphor across the three newspapers – SARS IS WAR – is identical, although their ideologies differ. Considering the broader context – the political background within/between Taiwan and China – and

incorporating Self and Other construction are useful at this stage for explaining the ideologies that motivate the metaphor uses.

## 4. Results and discussion

### 4.1 NAMING STRATEGIES

Because this disease was completely new and its official name was coined by the WHO four months after the first case appeared, newspapers initially referred to it by various names. Tables 1–3 show the time spans for different terms appearing in SARS-related editorials, evidence of the newspapers' naming strategies.

As shown in the tables, LT was the first newspaper to discuss SARS, on 15 March. UDN's first editorial on SARS appeared later, on 29 March. Although China was the place where the first SARS case appeared, PD did not mention the disease until 1 May.<sup>12</sup>

In terms of naming strategies, LT employed *fei dianxing feiyan* the first time it mentioned the disease. Once the WHO had announced the official name 'severe acute respiratory syndrome' on 15 March (Suo, 2003), the frequency of *fei dianxing feiyan* declined to be gradually replaced by the acronym for severe

TABLE 1. Referents, time span and incidence for each term in SARS-related editorials from LT

Name	Period	Tokens	Incidence (%)
SARS	27 March to 6 July 2003	814	82.14
<i>Sha</i>	1 May to 6 July 2003	147	14.83
<i>fei dianxing feiyan</i>	15 March to 2 April 2003	23	2.32
<i>yanzhong jixing huxidao</i> <i>zhenghouqun</i>	27 March to 13 May 2003	6	0.61
<i>zhongguo feiyan</i>	8 June 2003	1	0.10
TOTAL		991	100.00

TABLE 2. Referents, time span and incidence for each term in SARS-related editorials from UDN

Name	Period	Tokens	Incidence (%)
SARS	29 March to 5 July 2003	163	81.91
<i>Sha</i>	16 May to 10 June 2003	32	16.08
<i>fei dianxing feiyan</i>	8 to 29 April 2003	2	1
<i>yanzhong jixing huxidao</i> <i>zhenghouqun</i>	24 April 2003	2	1
TOTAL		199	99.99

TABLE 3. Referents, time span and incidence for each term in SARS-related editorials from PD

Name	Period	Tokens	Incidence (%)
<i>fei dian</i>	1 May to 2 July 2003	17	51.52
<i>fei dianxing feiyan</i>	1 to 13 May 2003	16	48.48
TOTAL		33	100.00



acute respiratory syndrome, SARS, which constituted 82.14 percent of all referents. Moreover, as Chen (2005) points out, when the term SARS was integrated into the Chinese lexicon in Taiwan, it lent itself to the innovation of a new term: *sha*. First employed by LT on 1 May, *sha* was the second most frequently appearing referent. Still one more shift is worth noting: *zhongguo feiyan* was adopted by LT on 8 June, even after SARS and *sha* prevailed.

UDN named this disease SARS in its first editorial about it, and the incidence of this referent remained the highest. *Sha* ranked as the second most commonly used referent, but did not appear until 16 May. The incidence of *fei dianxing feiyan* was as low as that of *yanzhong jixing huxidao zhenghouqun*, both comprising only 1 percent.

In contrast, the referent SARS never appeared in PD's editorials addressing this disease. In China, *fei dianxing feiyan* was nearly as dominant as its abbreviation, *fei dian*.

We propose that the different naming strategies and the incidence of these referents expose the ideologies of these newspapers, which are discussed in detail below.

### *Taiwan: sha*

Compared with 'atypical pneumonia', a term used in China representing the disease as a medical disorder, *sha*, an innovated term that appeared in Taiwan, related more to the realm of folk belief, exemplifying one strategy by which media in Taiwan demonized this disease, by extension, demonizing the place from which it came.

With the spread of the disease to Taiwan came the abbreviation for its official name, SARS. As Chen demonstrates (2005: 5), English is a language regarded as more prestigious than Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan. Soon after the neology SARS was introduced by the media, it dominated news reports and daily conversation. Gradually, 'SARS' triggered another expression, '*sha*', due to similarity in pronunciation and the association between demons and disease in folk belief.

The Chinese character *sha* refers to a fierce god or an evil spirit (National Science Council Digital Library and Museum). According to Nanfang (2004), this character was the same etymologically as the one that means 'to kill'. Gradually, the latter came to describe the physical act, whereas the former came to mean killing the inner spirit. In the Han Dynasty, this character acquired a more abstract meaning, and was used to refer to devils/ghosts. People in Chinese-speaking cultures commonly believe there are *shas* everywhere, and they coin expressions like *shaqi* 煞氣 'an ominous look', *shaxin* 煞星 'a malignant star, usually said of a person, that brings wars/deaths/misfortunes', and *shashen* 煞神 'an ominous deity who brings catastrophes'. Besides, when something bad suddenly happens to a person, specifically, falling ill, it is believed that the person *zhongsha* 中煞 'was caught by a devil'.

Comparison between how *sha* was represented in LT and UDN reveals that LT, which supports independence for Taiwan, portrayed China as a menace, the source of *sha*, a combination of demon and invader, attacking Taiwan.



Therefore, LT continually warned people to *kangsha* 抗煞 ‘fight against *sha*’. The evidence is that in 147 tokens of *sha*, 141 are metaphorized, with 139 (98.581%) from the source domain WAR. In contrast, 32 tokens of *sha* are found in the UDN corpus, but only a quarter of them are metaphorized. Moreover, not all the UDN’s metaphorized *sha* appear in the WAR domain, as shown in Section 4.2.

### *China: fei dianxing feiyan*

With a consistent policy of restricting the spread of bad news (Huang, 2005), China tried to conceal the whole thing and banned publicizing the results of any investigations relating to the disease, even though the first case had been found as early as November 2002.

Naming is one of the strategies of such obscurantism. In authoritarian dictatorships, naming is a tool for manipulating the awareness of the general public. SARS exemplifies how truth can be concealed through skillful naming. We believe that, in order to minimize the gravity of this disease and to obscure what was happening, PD employed a comparatively trivializing term, atypical pneumonia, throughout its editorials, even after an official name was coined by the WHO on 15 March 2003. By naming it ‘atypical pneumonia’ – a generic term for non-infectious disease that had existed in China prior to the emergence of SARS and could have been cured through antibiotics – the authorities downplayed the danger of this disease.<sup>13</sup>

## 4.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS FOR THE DISEASE

In accordance with the previous section, various referents employed by these newspapers were established as the keywords for identifying metaphors: (1) SARS, (2) *sha*, (3) *fei dianxing feiyan*, (4) *fei dian*, and (5) *yanzhong jixing huxidao zhenghouqun*.

Table 4 shows conceptual metaphors for the disease regardless of its naming.

Owing to limited space, only comparatively dominant metaphors (comprising at least 10% of the total metaphor use) are presented here.

### 1. SARS IS A DISASTER IN GENERAL

[SARS]<sup>14</sup> 爆發 以來， 國際 社會 一 片  
[SARS] *break out* [aspect] international society a [classifier]  
風聲鶴唳  
very scared and jittery

Since the outbreak of SARS, the international community has become very scared and jittery. (*The Liberty Times*, 5 April 2003)

### 2. SARS IS A NATURAL DISASTER

但在 [SARS] 風暴 中， 對 台 打壓 仍 不手軟  
But in [SARS] *storm* [particle], to Taiwan repress still harshly

But in this SARS storm, [China] still represses Taiwan harshly. (*The Liberty Times*, 18 June 2003)

TABLE 4. *The disease and its metaphors (regardless of its naming)*

Source domain	LT		UDN		PD	
	Token	Incidence (%)	Token	Incidence (%)	Token	Incidence (%)
ACCIDENT	2	0.389	0	0	0	0
CRIME	0	0	2	2.703	0	0
CRISIS	12	2.334	1	1.351	0	0
DANGER/RISK	3	0.584	0	0	0	0
DISASTER <sup>15</sup>						
IN GENERAL	52	10.117	7	9.459	3	15.789
NATURAL	36	7.004	10	13.514	0	0
MANMADE	3	0.584	1	1.351	0	0
WAR	288	56.031	31	41.892	16	84.211
EVIL SPIRIT/ NIGHTMARE	2	0.389	2	2.703	0	0
OBSTACLE	1	0.194	0	0	0	0
ORGANISM	27	5.253	2	2.703	0	0
PERSON	27	5.253	6	8.108	0	0
PANIC	3	0.584	0	0	0	0
PRODUCT	5	0.973	0	0	0	0
RIVER	20	3.891	0	0	0	0
TURNING POINT	3	0.584	1	1.351	0	0
WEATHER	5	0.973	4	5.406	0	0
Could not be determined	25	4.863	7	9.459	0	0
TOTAL	514	100.000	74	100.000	19	100.000

### 3. SARS IS WAR

一個則是反[SARS]的戰爭，這兩場  
 A [classifier] [intensifier] be anti-[SARS] de war these two [classifier]  
 戰爭的共同特質是沒有國界之分  
 wars de common characteristics be no borderline

... the other is a war against SARS. Both wars share one thing in common: they know no borders. (*The Liberty Times*, 29 March 2003)

As shown in Table 4, WAR metaphors dominate the conceptualization of this disease across these three newspapers. The next most commonly found metaphor is NATURAL DISASTER in UDN, then DISASTER IN GENERAL in LT and PD.

It is worth noting that the keywords SARS and *sha* appeared solely in Taiwan. The frequency of each metaphor using the keyword SARS is pretty similar to that shown in Table 4, with SARS IS WAR still being the most dominant metaphor (40.108% in LT and 36.364% in UDN), followed by SARS IS A NATURAL DISASTER in UDN (15.152%), and by SARS IS A DISASTER IN GENERAL in LT (13.821%). By contrast, for the keyword *sha*, there were 147 tokens in LT and 32 in UDN. In UDN, 8 of the 32 tokens were used metaphorically, with 7 from

the source domain WAR and one from WEATHER. However, in LT, 141 of 147 tokens were used metaphorically, with 139 metaphorical expressions from the source domain, WAR, as presented in Table 5.

Below are some of the examples with *sha* as the keyword in the target domain.

#### 4. SHA IS WAR

兩個半月 的 抗[煞] 戰爭，非但 尚未 戢止疫癘，  
two-and-half months de anti-[sha] war not not yet stop the plague  
反而 使 整個 正常 醫療體系 全盤  
but make the whole normal medical system totally  
*淪陷*  
*fall into enemy hands*

The two-and-half-month-long war against *sha* has not stopped the disease, but instead the whole medical system has fallen into the disease's grip [i.e. the whole medical system has been paralyzed]. (*United Daily News*, 29 May 2003)

#### 5. SHA IS WEATHER

如今 醫院 籠罩 在 一 片 [classifier] [煞氣] 之中  
now hospitals shroud in a [classifier] atmosphere of [sha] [particle]

Now hospitals are shrouded in an atmosphere of *sha*. (*United Daily News*, 29 May 2003)

#### 6. SHA IS AN EVIL SPIRIT

將來 每個人 中[煞] 的 機率 都會 相對  
in the future everyone get caught by [sha] de odds will relatively  
提高  
rise

In the future the odds for people to get caught by *sha* will rise. (*The Liberty Times*, 19 May 2003)

In contrast to metaphors using the word SARS, the source domains of metaphors using *sha* are comparatively limited. As previously indicated, the word *sha* creates an association between disease and demons. As such, *sha* itself is already a metaphor, one equating SARS with a(n) demon/evil spirit. In LT, 98.582 percent of the metaphorical expressions belong to the WAR domain, with *sha* appearing as the object of the transitive verb 'fight', such as *kangsha*.

TABLE 5. *Keyword 'sha' and its metaphors in LT and UDN*

Source domain	LT		UDN	
	Token	Incidence (%)	Token	Incidence (%)
EVIL SPIRIT	2	1.418	0	0
WAR	139	98.582	7	87.500
WEATHER	0	0	1	12.500
TOTAL	141	100.000	8	100.000

However, in the UDN corpus only 87.5 percent of the uses of *sha* originate in the WAR domain.

#### 4.3 SARS IS WAR CONSTRUCTING SELF AND OTHER

As shown in Table 4, the WAR metaphor dominates conceptualization of this disease across all three newspapers. This may be expected because the DISEASE IS WAR metaphor is quite widespread across cultures (Sontag, 1989). As SARS IS WAR is the most frequently used metaphor in all three newspapers, simply analyzing this source domain can hardly reveal how the ideologies underpinning the newspapers influence their representations. It is necessary, then, to examine how this metaphor is used in the newspapers, so that differences can be discovered. One can then make inferences about what motivates these differences.

War is 'a military confrontation between two or more geopolitical areas or organizations whose members are geopolitical areas' (SUMO: 'War'), superordinated by 'violent contest', 'contest', 'social interaction', 'intentional process', 'process', 'physical' and ultimately 'entity' (Figure 1). Because a violent contest necessarily involves two or more parties, it may be inferred that conflict/opposition exists between them. As each party needs to evoke solidarity among its members so as to fight and win against an opponent, we propose that the construction of Self and Other serves as an effective strategy for accomplishing this purpose.

Self, understood as a set of perceptions/conception about who we are through interaction/association with others and social system, is organized around a self-concept, meaning the ideas and feelings that we have about ourselves (Landis, 1995). These ideas are derived from several sources, one of which is 'taking the role of others' (Mead, 1934: 152), summarized by Branaman (2001: 169) as an individual views himself or herself 'from the perspective of another person and ultimately, from the perspective of society as a whole'. Another source is the concept of a 'looking-glass self' proposed by Cooley (1983): an individual develops a notion of Self from the reflection received from other people. In brief, Self, formed through interactions between an individual and others, is produced by a person's reorganization of or differentiation between self and others.

The Other, according to Hall (2001: 330), '*is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects* [. . .]' (original emphasis). Fine (1998: 133) indicates that Hall believes 'the Self constructs as the Other is invented'. Hall argues that differentiation plays a crucial part in constructing Self and Other, and the recognition of differences not only forms one's self-identity but also generates repression/rejection toward others. Citing the classificatory system proposed by cultural anthropologists, Hall has found Others are groups generally categorized as negative, and the identification of the Self is established by rejecting or repressing those Others (Hall, 2001). Moreover, Self and Other are frequently represented through 'sharply opposed, polarized, binary extremes – good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, [. . .]' (Hall, 2001: 326). Such positive-Self and negative-Other linkages are widely employed in imperialist

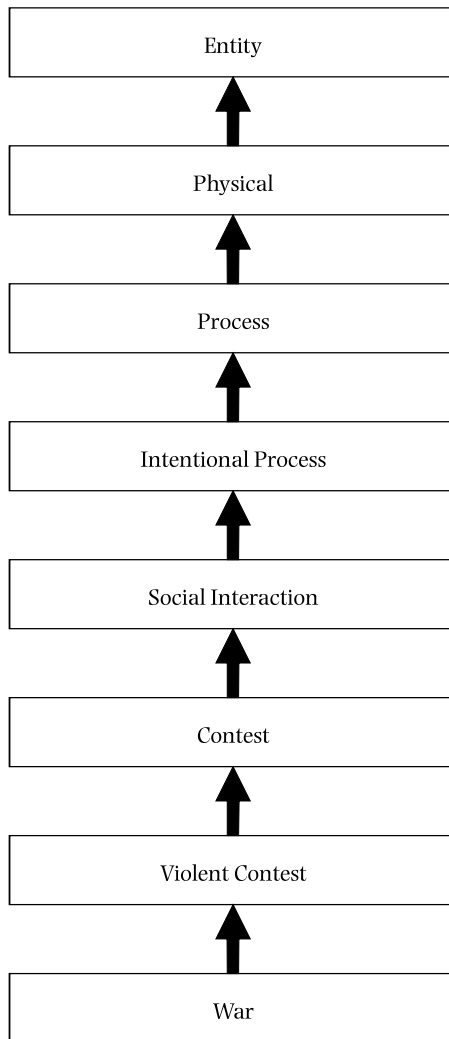


FIGURE 1. *Superclass(es) of War (SUMO: 'War')*.

colonial discourses (Pennycook, 1998) and in media discourses (Ni, 2005) that superiorize/glorify any group or role identified as Self, while stereotyping/inferiorizing/stigmatizing roles or groups identified as Other. In this study, we propose that newspapers exploit Self and Other construction in their editorials. By constructing readers as Self, newspapers lead their readers to form certain feelings/judgments toward Other(s), the newspaper thereby transmitting its political stance in a way that imbues its readers with its own ideology.

We have found that the three newspapers weave Self and Other construction into the SARS IS WAR metaphor in divergent ways. In LT, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)-dominated government, the hospital staff and the

general public comprise Self; the Others are the political opposition centered around the Kuomintang (KMT), Mainland China, people who do business and travel in Mainland China, people who favor direct transportation between Taiwan and China, and SARS itself. In UDN, the Self consists of the people and the healthcare workers in Taiwan, whereas the Others are the disease and the DPP-dominated Taiwan government they portray as failing to prevent SARS. By contrast, PD constructs the Chinese government, the populace and medical personnel as Self, while SARS alone is the Other. Examples from each newspaper are explored below.

### *The Liberty Times* (LT)

The construction of Self and Other in LT editorials is exemplified by the following examples.

7. 政府 既 要 四處 迎擊 SARS, 又  
 the government not only has to everywhere *fight against* SARS, but also  
 要 應付 在野黨的 口水戰, 還 要 反擊  
 has to cope with the Opposition's *saliva war*, and has to *fight back against*  
 中國的 國際打壓, 可以說 是 [...] 腹背受敵  
 China's international repression, can be said be [...] *attacked from front and rear*

The [Taiwan] government has to fight against SARS; meanwhile, it has to cope with Opposition criticism as well as to fight Mainland China's efforts to suppress Taiwan internationally. It can be said that the government is attacked both from front and behind. (*The Liberty Times*, 23 May 2003)

This example shows that the DPP government in Taiwan, constructed as Self, is under attack not only from the disease, but also from opposition parties launching a 'war of saliva' (i.e. exchange of insults), and from Mainland China that was impeding Taiwan from participating in the WHO. Obviously, for LT, SARS, the Taiwan government's domestic political opposition and Mainland China are constructed as Others.

Furthermore, the first SARS case in Taiwan was diagnosed in a person who had been doing business in China, and such businessmen were being blamed for moving wealth from Taiwan to China. Certain members of the Pan-Green Coalition had labeled them as 'those who do not love Taiwan'. Furthermore, some SARS cases in Taiwan were identified among tourists coming back from China. Therefore, tourists and those who do business in Mainland China are also included among Others, for the LT, as shown in Example 8.

8. 思考 SARS 為何 侵襲 台灣, [...] 一年 三百八十萬 人次 赴  
 Think SARS why *invade* Taiwan, [...] annually 3,800,000 people go  
 中國 經商 或 旅遊, 都 是 超乎 正常的 「不正常」  
 China do business or travel, all be beyond normal 'abnormality'  
 往來, 並 已 對 我國 社會安全 構成 威脅  
 contact and already to our country social security constitute threat

Let's consider why SARS invaded Taiwan, [...] the fact of 3,800,000 people doing business or traveling to China annually is an 'abnormal' phenomenon, which has already threatened social order in our country. (*The Liberty Times*, 27 June 2003)

The 'three links'<sup>16</sup> between Taiwan and China are convenient for businessmen and tourists who may support the opposition politicians who promote this agenda. These opposition politicians are likewise categorized as the Other (Example 9).

9. 有些人 [...] 想要 推動 三通， 連 人人  
Some people [...] want to promote the three links even people  
談之色變的 非典型肺炎 也 無所謂 [...]   
become terrified when talking about atypical pneumonia also don't mind [...]   
那些 聲稱 三通 有利 台灣 民眾 的 論調，  
those claim the three links benefit Taiwan people de argument  
根本 是 擺明了 把 台灣民眾 當 傻瓜  
actually be obviously ba Taiwan people treat fools

There are always certain people making an effort to promote direct transportation between Taiwan and China, regardless of the terrifying atypical pneumonia [...]. Those who claim direct transport can benefit people in Taiwan are actually treating Taiwanese people as fools. (*The Liberty Times*, 20 March 2003)

But the people of Taiwan comprise a part of Self, distinct from the government, when the disease is envisioned as harming the populace, whom the government is supposed to protect (Example 10).

10. SARS 侵襲 台灣， 對 全體 台灣人民 而言， 都是  
SARS attack Taiwan, to the whole Taiwan people [particle], all be  
可怕 與 不幸的 災難  
terrible and unfortunate disaster

The fact that SARS attacks Taiwan is a horrible disaster for its entire population. (*The Liberty Times*, 30 April 2003)

Moreover, as this disease can be treated by medical personnel, they too are represented as part of the Self and are portrayed as frontline soldiers fighting against SARS, as seen in Example 11.

11. 自從 SARS 入侵 以來， 站 在 最前線 的 醫護人員  
Since SARS invade [aspect] stand on the frontline de medical staff  
出生入死  
risk their life

Since the invasion of SARS, medical personnel have been on the frontline risking their lives [to stop the SARS attack]. (*The Liberty Times*, 19 May 2003)

In brief, equating the political entity of China with the disease itself, LT portrayed the spread of SARS as an invasion from China, doubly reinforcing the invasion imagery: Taiwan was being invaded by both the disease and by China. Moreover, in order to evoke negative feelings toward China and to promote cutting all links (especially business) between Taiwan and China, it repeatedly emphasized that the virus had been brought to Taiwan by businessmen and tourists returning from China, blaming those who had been promoting the 'three links'.



*The United Daily News (UDN)*

In the SARS IS WAR metaphor employed in the UDN editorials, Self comprises the people and the healthcare workers in Taiwan, whereas the Others are the disease (Example 12) and the Taiwan government they depicted as unable to efficiently allocate resources to contain SARS (Example 13) or to run the country well in general (Example 14).

12. SARS 強勢 來襲, 不僅 奪走了 一條條 珍貴的  
SARS powerfully *attack* not only take away one after another precious  
 生命 [...] life [...]

The powerful attack by SARS not only claimed one life after another [...]. (*United Daily News*, 14 May 2003)

13. 更 令人難以接受的 是, 包括 台大、  
 more unacceptable be, include National Taiwan University Hospital (NTUH),  
 榮總、 三總  
 Taipei Veterans General Hospital (TVGH), Tri-Service General Hospital (TSGH)  
 收容 最多 SARS 患者 的 醫院, 第一線 醫護人員  
 accommodate most SARS patients de hospital the *first-line* medical staff  
 竟然 還 分配 不到 足夠的 口罩 和 防護衣  
 unexpectedly still allocate not sufficient masks and protection coat  
 使用, 讓 缺乏 武裝 的 醫護人員 站 在 前線, 要如何  
 use, let lack *arm* de medical staff stand on the *frontline*, how  
 打贏 這 場 抗疫戰?  
 win this [classifier] *anti-disease war*?

What's more irritating is that in the hospitals (including NTUH, TVGH, and TSGH) that accommodate a large number of SARS patients, the first-line medical staff cannot equip themselves with sufficient protection kits. [The government] has sent 'unarmed' medical staff to stand on the frontline. How can they win this war against SARS? (*United Daily News*, 15 May 2003)

14. 抗SARS 護士 繳 稅 比 大企業 多, [...] 卻 相當  
fight-sha nurses pay tax than big enterprises more [...] but pretty  
 傳神地 反映出 台灣 目前 稅負 不均的 現象。  
 graphically reflect Taiwan current tax unfair phenomenon

The taxes paid by nurses fighting against SARS exceed those paid by big enterprises, [...] graphically illustrating the phenomenon of unfair taxation. (*United Daily News*, 10 June 2003)

Example 13 raises the question, 'how can the "first-line" medical staff win this war against SARS?' Although it is not clear from the example who is supposed to answer this question, the editorial's title suggests it should be the government: 'Even the Premier does not know where masks are'. The title implies the Premier, a metonymy for the government, is directly responsible for allocating masks and protection kits to medical staff. In addition, the title labels the government 'incompetent' because it fails to sufficiently 'arm' medical staff charged with protecting the populace. Example 14 extends blame even further, seizing upon

an opportunity to protest what they regard as an unfair tax policy in Taiwan. All in all, such contents equate the government's difficulty in stopping the disease with other allegations of failure to run the country in a fair way.

Unlike LT, which repeatedly reminds its readers that China is the origin of SARS, UDN almost leaves this fact unmentioned. UDN reveals its political stance through its construction of Self and Other: it is opposed to the current government of Taiwan and leans toward a KMT identity, favoring political reunification between Taiwan and China. Instead of representing China as the origin of SARS, which would elicit a sense of fear or enmity toward China in readers, UDN tends to blame the current government of Taiwan for its inability to contain the disease and to protect the people of Taiwan.

### *The People's Daily* (PD)

Across the Taiwan Strait, the PD constructs Self and Other in a different way. It categorizes the government, which is dominated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the general public and the healthcare workers as Self, while SARS alone is Other.

Internationally criticized for concealing news of this disease in the early stages of the 2003 outbreak (BBC, 2003), the Chinese government likely wished to shift the focus away from its own responsibility while calling for solidarity among its people. This motivation was evident in the PD editorials, which avoided discussion about where the disease had come from and why it spread from China to elsewhere in the world. Instead, it made the following assertions.

15. 對 這樣 一 場 突如其來的 重大 災害， 黨 中央、  
To such a [classifier] unexpected serious disaster the Party center  
國務院 十分 關心， 高度 重視， 迅速 作出  
the government very concern highly pay attention quickly make  
部署， 果斷 採取措施， 領導 廣大  
military deployment with determination take measures lead a large number of  
幹部 群眾 開展 防治 非典型肺炎 的 鬥爭  
cadre people start prevent/cure atypical pneumonia de battle

Facing such an unexpected disaster, the Party and the government are very concerned and have paid close attention. Arranging military deployments and taking necessary measures without hesitation, the Party and the government have been leading the people in the battle against atypical pneumonia. (*The People's Daily*, 1 May 2003)

16. 讓 我們 緊密地 團結 在 以 胡錦濤 同志 為  
let us closely get together [particle] with Hu Jintao comrade as  
總書記 的 黨 中央 周圍， 萬眾一心，  
Secretary General de the Party center around, with one goal in our hearts,  
[. . .]， 奪取 防治 非典型肺炎 鬥爭 的 全面  
[. . .] get prevent atypical pneumonia battle de all aspects  
勝利  
victory

Let us stand united and follow the Party led by Comrade Hu Jintao. Let us have only one goal in our hearts, [. . .] so as to win the battle against atypical pneumonia. (*The People's Daily*, 13 May 2003)

17. 向 在 抗擊 非典型肺炎 一線 的 廣大  
 To [aspect] *fight/attack* *atypical pneumonia* *the frontline* de a large number of  
 醫務工作者、 科技工作者， 以及 所有 堅守 工作 崗位  
 healthcare workers, scientific workers and all stick to the jobs duty  
 的 廣大 職工群眾 致以崇高的敬意！  
 de a large number of labors send the highest respect

We would like to show our highest respect to those frontline healthcare and scientific workers, and all the laborers who stand fast at their posts. (*The People's Daily*, 1 May 2003)

Example 15 claims that the CCP-dominated government takes the initiative and unhesitatingly leads the people in the fight against SARS, assertions that are actually contrary to the facts as known to the rest of the world. Examples 16 and 17 aim not only to elicit solidarity and loyalty, but also to evoke a sense of responsibility and honor in people from all walks of life, so that everyone in China can get through this disaster.

To conclude, we have found that even using the same metaphor, SARS IS WAR, the three newspapers convey different agendas that can be uncovered by careful investigation of the Self and Other(s) constructed by this metaphor.

#### 4.4 OTHER METAPHORS

Aside from the dominant SARS IS WAR metaphor, there are other metaphors worth exploring. We now explore the second most commonly used metaphor in each newspaper.<sup>17</sup>

The second most frequently occurring metaphors are SARS IS A NATURAL DISASTER in UDN, and SARS IS A DISASTER IN GENERAL in LT and PD.

In UDN, SARS IS A NATURAL DISASTER is expressed mainly as SARS IS A STORM, exemplified below:

18. SARS 風暴 造成 人心惶惶  
 SARS *storm* cause jittery/panicking

The SARS storm makes people jittery. (*United Daily News*, 26 April 2003)

Conceptualizing SARS as a natural disaster originating in nature, UDN implies the source of SARS is like that of any natural disaster. By doing so, it can evade discussion of the social aspects of the disease's origin, so the reader may not equate Mainland China with the source of SARS or blame the Chinese government for it. This metaphor use reflects UDN's inclination to take a softer, less hostile attitude on matters relating to Mainland China.

In LT and PD, SARS IS A DISASTER IN GENERAL appears as the second most frequently used metaphor. Even though the source domain is the same, these two ideologically opposed newspapers exploit the metaphor in diverging ways.

LT employs this metaphor to blame China as the source of this disease, continually relating the disease to Mainland China and attributing SARS' spread to Taiwan to cross-strait interactions, especially business ties, as in Example 19.

19. 台灣之所以會被 SARS 波及，與其歸諸  
Taiwan the reason why [passive] SARS affect instead attribute to  
傳染病的自然傳播，更正確的說，應該是  
infectious disease de natural spread more correctly should be  
台灣多年來向中國嚴重傾斜的後果  
Taiwan for many years toward China heavily lean de aftermath

That Taiwan is affected by SARS is a consequence of leaning toward China during these years, rather than the natural spread of infectious diseases. (*The Liberty Times*, 18 June 2003)

Furthermore, as SARS spread from China, LT uses the disaster metaphor to argue that the Taiwan government has a responsibility to stop the disease by cutting direct links between Taiwan and China (Example 20):

20. 現在 SARS 肆虐，政府如果有擔當，  
Now SARS ravage the government if take responsibility  
小三通則應斷然關閉，才能確保  
the three small links should resolutely shut down so that can make sure  
疫情不會藉由此一管道入侵台灣本島  
the disease will not by this channel invade Taiwan

Now SARS is ravaging Taiwan. If the government is responsible, it will resolutely cut the 'three small links' so that the disease cannot invade Taiwan by these channels. (*The Liberty Times*, 2 April 2003)

Moreover, LT emphasizes Mainland China's oppression of Taiwan, when Taiwan sought to attend the World Health Assembly<sup>18</sup> (WHA) as a victim of SARS, and to gain attention and assistance from related international organizations (Example 21).

21. 在 台灣 飽受 SARS 肆虐之際，為什麼 中國 要在  
When Taiwan suffer SARS ravage why China want in  
國際 加緊 打壓 台灣？  
international much harder repress Taiwan?

While Taiwan is being ravaged by SARS, why does Mainland China work even harder to oppress Taiwan [by stopping Taiwan from attending WHA]? (*The Liberty Times*, 30 May 2003)

In contrast, PD draws a completely different picture using SARS IS A DISASTER IN GENERAL, as follows:

22. 經歷 了 非典 災害 嚴峻 考驗 的  
Experience [aspect] atypical pneumonia disaster strict trial de  
中國共產黨 和 中國人民，精神 更加 振奮  
the CCP and Chinese spirit much more encouraged

Experiencing the harsh trial brought on by the SARS disaster, the Party and the people in China are filled with great optimism. (*The People's Daily*, 23 June 2003)

In Examples 22 and 15, metaphorizing this disease as a (natural) disaster deflects attention away from its social or geographic source, while evading the

issue of responsibility international health organizations believed the Mainland Chinese government should accept. Moreover, both examples illustrate how the sentences surrounding this metaphor consistently express positive evaluations of the CCP-led government. In Example 22, conceptualizing this disaster of SARS as a 'harsh trial', PD suggests that the disease, like a trial, may spiritually strengthen both the CCP and people in China. Example 15 illustrates the determination and efficiency of the CCP and the Chinese government in addressing this disaster, in a manner meant to evoke the reader's identification with and gratitude toward the government. All in all, such contents prove that the PD editorials are more like propaganda of the CCP and the government, than news.

## 5. Concluding remarks

This study contributes both theoretically and empirically to the investigation of representations of SARS. In the theoretical realm, we have incorporated Self and Other construction into CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004). By examining naming strategies and metaphors for the disease, through the theoretical lens of Self and Other construction, focusing particularly on the DISEASE IS WAR metaphor, this article has demonstrated how the political orientations and underlying ideologies of newspapers are transmitted through their use of metaphor. Furthermore, we provide evidence that all the linguistic devices under discussion represent SARS in terms of political discourse rather than medical discourse. In these newspapers, SARS was no longer a disease; instead, it became a war or a disaster in a political sense.

Unlike previous studies focusing on news coverage in a single country/region, our study conducts a cross-regional comparison on the newspaper representations of SARS in two places heavily affected by SARS: Taiwan, an island severely ravaged by SARS, and China, where SARS originated. To build on these findings, we plan to investigate how SARS was represented in Canada so as to compare and contrast the representations of SARS in East and West, as well as to find out what motivates such representations.

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## NOTES

1. The WHO (2004) indicates that 8098 people worldwide contracted SARS during the 2003 outbreak, of which 774 died, making the SARS case fatality rate 9.6 percent. In contrast, Potter (2001) estimated that the 1918 pandemic infected 50 percent of the world's population. Its total mortality was 40–50 million out of a world population of around 1.8 billion in 1918 (Barry, 2005). According to Potter, that pandemic infected approximately 0.9 billion, putting the case fatality rate at around 5.6 percent.

2. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphor is a fundamental cognitive device that helps people understand and experience the world around them. According to Lakoff (1993), a metaphor is a cross-domain mapping, which is written as TARGET-DOMAIN IS SOURCE-DOMAIN. For example, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, where LOVE is the target domain and JOURNEY is the source domain, enables people to understand love through their knowledge about/experience of journeying.
3. According to Fidler (2004), a physician from Guangdong was the virus carrier. During his stay in Hong Kong, he transmitted the virus to at least 16 people coming from/going to the world's most international cities.
4. A businessman returning to Hanoi from Hong Kong was sent to the Hanoi French Hospital, where Dr Urbani, a WHO epidemiologist, diagnosed him as having contracted an unknown disease. On 28 February 2003, Dr Urbani identified that new disease as SARS, bringing it to the attention of the whole world (Fidler, 2004).
5. According to Twu et al. (2003), a Taiwanese businessman returning to Taiwan from China was diagnosed with SARS on 14 March 2003. This was the first SARS case in Taiwan. Later, on 21 April 2003, mass infection occurred in the Taipei Municipal Heping Hospital, which resulted in shutting down the hospital for quarantine measures. Over the two months that followed, the disease cast its shadow over Taiwan. The most visible impact was that almost everyone wore surgical masks in public spaces lest he/she get infected.
6. Roy (2003) describes that the Pan-Green Coalition is a political alliance in early 21st-century Taiwan, composed of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU). The DPP, formed in 1986 under the principles of environmentalism, democratic reformation and Taiwan independence, gradually gained people's support in the 1990s as they were perceived less corrupt than the ruling Kuomintang (KMT). The TSU, created in 2001 by Lee Teng-hui after leaving the KMT, sticks to a pro-independence stance. This alliance was founded soon after the 2000 Taiwan Presidential Election, in which the DPP won that election.
7. Roy (2003) describes that the Pan-Blue Coalition is a political alliance comprising the Kuomintang (KMT), the People First Party (PFP), and the New Party (NP). The KMT ruled Taiwan from 1945 to 2000, during which two major splits occurred: in the 1990s those who supported a Chinese nationalist identity for Taiwan formed the NP; in 2000, immediately after the Taiwan Presidential Election in which the KMT lost to the DPP, those who supported James Soong, a candidate who had left the KMT, formed the PFP. In general, since the DPP won the Taiwan Presidential Election, the three parties have formed this coalition due to their similar economic and political agendas.
8. A detailed example of this stage is provided in his research on sports metaphors in the British press (Charteris-Black, 2004).
9. When a Chinese term is introduced for the first time, Hanyu Pinyin and Chinese characters appear in parallel. Afterwards, the word is spelled according to Hanyu Pinyin. However, we use Chinese characters when analyzing examples in order to avoid confusion caused by homophones.
10. The term 'metaphorical expression' refers to metaphorically used words deriving from the same source domain. In this article, a metaphorical expression is presented in underlined italics, e.g. '. . . that SARS *attacks* Taiwan . . .', whereas a cross-domain mapping (i.e. conceptual metaphor) is written in capitals, e.g. SARS IS WAR.
11. SUMO is an acronym for Suggested Upper Merged Ontology. SUMO and its domain ontologies constitute the largest formal public ontology. (For details, see [www.ontologyportal.org](http://www.ontologyportal.org).)



12. The reason why the PD editorial addressed SARS so late may be attributed to Mainland China's political system and censorship. Ho (1994) claims that in Mainland China, all news related to important issues is released only by PD and the Xinhua News Agency (XNA). Other newspapers are supposed to adopt news reports standardized by PD and XNA. The PD editorial represented the Chinese government, that 'strived to seal off news related to this disease' (Huang, 2005: 25), and simply avoided commenting on the disease until 1 May 2003.
13. Similar points can be found in Zheng (2003) and Heng (2003), published as opinion columns in *Epoch Times*.
14. The boxed part is the keyword from the target domain.
15. This article subcategorizes the source domain DISASTER into DISASTER IN GENERAL, NATURAL DISASTER, MANMADE DISASTER and WAR. Such sub-categorization is based on the Chinese characters collocating with the disease. When Chinese characters collocated with war and natural/manmade disasters accompany the keywords, e.g. *baofa* 爆發 'to break out', *boji* 波及 'to affect/to involve', *sinue* 肆虐 'to rage', this disease is categorized as DISASTER IN GENERAL. When a context shows the keywords collocated with specific words indicating specifically natural/manmade disasters or war, they are categorized accordingly. For example, SARS IS A NATURAL DISASTER as used in 'the programs . . . are help to the economy in the midst of the SARS *storm*'. SARS IS A MANMADE DISASTER in 'Based on what China has done since they made this SARS *trouble*. . .'. SARS IS WAR in 'Taiwan can definitely *win the war* against SARS'.
16. The three links are direct postal, transportation (especially airline), and trade links between Taiwan and Mainland China.
17. Because of space limitations, we cannot discuss another interesting aspect: metaphors specific to each newspaper. We have found the source domains RIVER and PRODUCT are specific to LT, while CRIME is specific to UDN. The RIVER metaphor in LT strengthens the impression that SARS comes from China; the PRODUCT metaphor, aside from functioning similarly to the RIVER metaphor, implies that SARS is somehow intentionally 'manufactured' and 'exported' by China. In contrast, the CRIME metaphor enables UDN to convey a worry common among the populace, and to attribute such a worry to the government's failure to prepare the public in advance. In brief, these metaphor uses expose the different political orientations of LT and UDN.
18. The World Health Assembly is the forum through which the WHO is governed by its 193 member states (WHO, 2006).


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