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THE CONCEPT 战争 / WAR AS A SLOT IN FRAME STRUCTURES IN CHINESE MEDIA DISCOURSE

Abstract

The article deals with frame structures in which the concept 战争 / WAR serves as a slot in Chinese media discourse. Given Ukraine's prolonged state of threat, the study of this concept holds a central position in Ukrainian scholarly research, contrasting with its relatively underexplored status in Chinese discourse. This difference prompts an investigation into the features in Chinese media discourse as the most open type of discourse that exchanges concepts with other discourses. The article identifies the types of basic frames (subject frame, taxonomic or hyponymic frame, associative or, in other words, conceptual metaphor), where the concept 战争 / WAR is an integral part. It categorizes the basic frames according to the type of propositions that link the slots and describes the linguistic units of Chinese media discourse that represent the semantics of these frames involving the concept 战争 / WAR. The subject frame is represented by 战争即邪恶 zhànzhēng jí xié'è – WAR IS EVIL, where the second slot gives the first one a strong negative evaluation, being its basic conceptual domain. This is manifested through various lexico-grammatical means: in the negative semantics of the representatives of the concept 战争 / WAR, as well as their collocations. The taxonomic (hyponymic) frame is exemplified by 战争即政治 zhànzhēng jí zhèngzhì – WAR IS POLITICS, where the second concept is superordinate to the subordinate first concept. Additionally, the second concept serves as a means of resolving war, thus striving towards the concept 和平 hépíng / PEACE. Finally, the third type of frame structures (associative frames) includes these frames: 战争即赌博 zhànzhēng jí dǔbó – WAR IS A GAME, whose main characteristic is unpredictability; 战争即灾难 zhànzhēng jí zāinàn – WAR IS A DISASTER, specifically fire, which can be further specified as 战争即火焰 zhànzhēng jí huǒyàn – WAR IS FIRE; and 战争即戏剧 zhànzhēng jí xìjù – WAR IS A PLAY.

Keywords: concept, war, frame, media, discourse, slot, Chinese language.

Анотація

У статті розглянуто фреймові структури, слотом яких є концепт 战争 / ВІЙНА в китайськомовному медіадискурсі. Україна перебуває в стані загрози вже тривалий час, тому дослідження цього концепту займає одне з центральних місць в українській науці, на відміну від китайської, що і слугувало мотивацією для його вивчення саме в китайських медіа як найбільш відкритого типу дискурсу, що обмінюється концептами з іншими дискурсами. У статті виділено типи базових фреймів (предметний, таксономічний, або гіпонімічний, асоціативний або, іншими словами, концептуальна метафора), складником яких є концепт 战争 / ВІЙНА; категоризовано базові фрейми залежно від типу пропозиції між слотами; описано лінгвістичні одиниці китайського медіадискурсу, що репрезентують семантику фреймів, у яких бере участь концепт 战争 / ВІЙНА. Предметний фрейм представлений 战争即邪恶 zhànzhēng jí xié'è – ВІЙНА – ЦЕ ЗЛО, де другий слот наділяє перший різко негативною оцінкою, є його базовим концептуальним доменом. Це виявляється за допомогою різних лексико-граматичних засобів: у негативній семантиці лексем-репрезентантів концепту 战争 / ВІЙНА, а також їхніх комбінаторних властивостях. Виділено таксономічний (гіпонімічний) фрейм 战争即政治 zhànzhēng jí zhèngzhì – ВІЙНА – ЦЕ ПОЛІТИКА, де другий концепт виступає родовим стосовно видового першого. Крім того, другий концепт слугує засобом врегулювання війни, тобто слугує концептові 和平 hépíng / МИР.

До третього типу фреймових структур (асоціаційних фреймів) належать такі фрейми: 战争即赌博 zhànzhēng jí dǔbó – ВІЙНА – ЦЕ ГРА, основною характеристикою якої є непередбачуваність; 战争即灾难 zhànzhēng jí zāinàn – ВІЙНА – ЦЕ СТИХІЯ, а саме вогонь, тому цей фрейм може бути конкретизовано до 战争即火焰 zhànzhēng jí huǒyàn – ВІЙНА – ЦЕ ВОГОНЬ; а також 战争即戏剧 zhànzhēng jí xìjù – ВІЙНА – ЦЕ ВИСТАВА.

Ключові слова: концепт, війна, фрейм, медіа, дискурс, слот, китайська мова.

Introduction. After the paradigm shift towards anthropocentrism, linguistics commenced to view language as a product of human's thinking and consciousness, which resulted in the emergence of a new branch of linguistics in the 1970s – cognitive linguistics as “the scientific study of the nature of thought and its expression in language” (Xu & Taylor, 2021; 文旭, 2022). Up until now, thorough investigations have been conducted to define how people perceive the world around them, namely, referring to concepts or, in other words, cognitive categories revolving around prototypes, which then assemble into the configuration of interacting categories – frames (or concept clusters) introduced by Charles Fillmore and other mental schemas (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006). Frames are used to decode stereotypical situations and comprise slots, i.e. singular concepts, relation between which form propositions – basic cognitive structures that reflect the existential relations between objects (fixed parts of a proposition) and their properties (variable) in the mind (Martyniuk, 2011, c. 105, 132).

Ukraine has been facing appalling atrocities of Russian invasion since 2014 which, inevitably, raised a question of naming, perceiving, and reflecting on a still-unfolding course of events – conceptualizing the reality, more precisely – defining the concept WAR (ВІЙНА). Surely, it is one of the central themes of Ukrainian philosophy, linguistic, and literary studies, especially after the full-scale invasion in 2022, such as in the works by Yavorska (2016), Vilchynska (2017), Zabuzhko (2024), to name a few. Similarly, in Western countries the concept WAR has always been in the scope of scholars' interest, however, the unanimous view on it has yet been developed (and probably never would) due to the complexity of such an event and multidisciplinary analysis of it (English, 2013). Conversely, Chinese scholars have not looked into the abovementioned concept extensively, at least not from the linguistics standpoint. One study conducted by Ukrainian sinologists (Vorobei et al., 2021) covered it, albeit partially, examining the concept AR just through the conceptual metaphor theory in Chinese sports discourse. Hence, the topicality of the research is established by the need to analyze the concept 战争/ WAR in its different relations with other concepts, i.e. frames, not just as part of conceptual metaphor.

The research **aims** to present the concept 战争 / WAR as a slot in frame structures in Chinese media discourse as this type of discourse is classified as conceptually open, meaning it can “borrow and lend” concepts from/to other discourses, and as highly manipulative (Prykhodko, 2008, p. 247–248), that could be more representative in terms of language use in it. To achieve this, the following **objectives** are set: to define basic frames with the concept 战争 / WAR as a slot; to categorize basic frames by the inner relation between slots; to analyze the linguistic units that represent these frames in Chinese media discourse.

Methodology. To achieve the aforementioned aims and objectives of the study, we employed a set of general scientific methods (*induction, deduction, analysis, and synthesis*); *the descriptive method* allowed us to identify the lexical units representing the concept under analysis, as well as to interpret and classify them; *the contextual method* was utilized to determine the features of the means of objectifying the concept 战争/ WAR; applying *the frame modeling method*, we outlined frame structures with the concept 战争 / WAR; *the corpus method* and *the method of purposive sampling* were used to select illustrative

material from such sources as Beijing Language and Culture University Corpus (BCC语料库), Web Chinese 2017, and our specific corpus containing 120 utterances found in three the biggest Chinese media sources – Chinese Daily (人民日报), Xinhua News Agency (新华通讯社), China Media Group (中央广播电视总台).

Results and discussion. We believe that the concept of 战争 / WAR as a slot can appear in three basic frames (in terms of Zhabotynska (Martyniuk, 2011)): a subject-centered frame, a taxonomic or hyponymic frame, and an associative frame or as part of conceptual metaphor.

A **subject-centered frame** consists of two slots between which the relation of existence is established, in other words, Slot1 equals Slot2 in some way. We hold the view that there is at least one of such frames: 战争即邪恶 **zhànzhēng jí xié'è** – **WAR IS EVIL**, where the concept 战争 / WAR possesses characteristics of another concept 邪恶 / EVIL which is a basic domain to the former and implies negative evaluation being expressed explicitly or implicitly.

1) 日本对华持续侵略是近代以来中国历史上最黑暗的一页 [...]. Rìběn duì huá chíxù qīnlüè shì jīndài yǐlái zhōngguó lìshǐ shàng zuì hēi'àn de yī yè [...]. – Japan's continued **aggression** against China is the **darkest page** of Chinese history in modern times [...].

2) 巴以冲突涉及到以色列和巴勒斯坦之间的领土和宗教争议，自1948年以来导致了无数的流血冲突和战争，可谓是一个世纪性难题。Bāyǐ chōngtú shèjí dào yǐsèliè hé bālèsītǎn zhī jiān de lǐngtǔ hé zōngjiào zhēngyì, zì 1948 nián yǐlái dǎo zhì liǎo wú shǔ de liúxuè chōngtú hé zhànzhēng, kěwèi shì yīgè shìjì xìng nántí – The Israeli-Palestinian **conflict** involves territorial and religious disputes between Israel and Palestine, and has led to countless **bloody conflicts and wars** since 1948, and can be described as a **problem** of the century.

3) 联合国主要机构与联合国儿童基金会、世界粮食计划署等18个组织的负责人5日发表联合声明，谴责巴以新一轮冲突给加沙民众带来伤害，呼吁冲突双方“立即实行人道主义停火”。Liánhéguó zhǔyào jīgòu yǔ liánhéguó értóng jījīn huì, shìjiè liángshí jìhuà shǔ děng 18 gè zǔzhī de fùzé rén 5 rì fābiǎo liánhé shēngmíng, qiǎnzé bā yǐ xīn yī lún chōngtú gěi jiāshā mínhòng dài lái shānghài, hūyù chōngtú shuāngfāng “lǐjì shíxíng réndào zhǔyì tíng huǒ”. – The heads of major United Nations agencies and 18 organizations, including the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Food Programme (WFP), issued a joint statement on 5 May, **condemning the harm** caused to the people of Gaza by the new round of the Israeli-Palestinian **conflict**, and calling on both sides of the conflict to “immediately implement a humanitarian ceasefire”.

In these three examples, the concept 战争 / WAR is, firstly, represented by different lexical units (侵略 qīnlüè – *invasion, to invade*; 冲突 chōngtú – *conflict, to conflict*; 战争 zhànzhēng – *war*), and, secondly, its attribute, i.e. negative evaluation that derives from the concept 邪恶, is conveyed through *the darkest page of China's history* (中国历史上最黑暗的一页 lìshǐ shàng zuì hēi'àn de yī yè) in example (1) as it implies the feeling of despair, hopelessness, unwillingness to recall such horrific events despite the need to keep them in mind and voice it again to remind the other side of the conflict about its responsibility; in sentences (2) and (3), the concept 邪恶 / EVIL is expressed by lexical items denoting suffering and bodily injury such as 流血 liúxuè – *bloody* and 伤害 shānghài – *to harm, to hurt, to damage* that are negative by definition.

This frame can also be analyzed through verb collocations. We tentatively presume that the concept 战争 / WAR is anti-teleonomic since people tend to avoid it due to its negative attribute, thus verbs would semantically indicate aversion of some sort. The example of such collocation is presented in the third example: 谴责 qiǎnzé – *to condemn* that expresses

strong disapproval of the event that follows, consequently, the speaker's attitude towards it is clearly criticizing. To illustrate that point better we would like to look into other examples:

4) 若紧张局势持续升级, 对巴以都不利, 双方或将避免发生大规模武装冲突, 但未来形势如何发展有待进一步观察。Ruò jǐnzhāng júshì chíxù shēngjí, duì bā yǐ dōu bùlì, shuāngfāng huò jiāng bimiǎn fāshēng dà guīmó wǔzhuāng chōngtū, dàn wèilái xíngshì rúhé fāzhǎn yǒudài jìnyībù guānchá – If tensions continue to escalate, that would be detrimental to both Palestinians and Israelis, the two sides may **avoid** a large-scale **armed conflict**, but it remains to be seen how the situation will develop in the future.

5) 应坚持共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观, 着眼世界长治久安, 推动构建均衡、有效、可持续的欧洲安全架构, 反对把本国安全建立在他国不安全的基础之上, 防止形成阵营对抗, 共同维护亚欧大陆和平稳定。Yīng jiānchí gòngtóng, zònghé, hézuò, kě chíxù de ānquán guān, zhuóyǎn shìjiè chángzhìjiǔ'ān, tuīdòng gòujiàn jūnhéng, yǒuxiào, kě chíxù de ōuzhōu ānquán jiàgòu, fǎnduì bǎ běngúo ānquán jiànli zài tāguó bù ānquán de jīchǔ zhī shàng, fángzhǐ xíngchéng zhènyíng duìkàng, gòngtóng wéihù yà ōu dàlù hépíng wěndìng. – All parties should, following the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security and bearing in mind the long-term peace and stability of the world, help forge a balanced, effective and sustainable European security architecture. All parties should oppose the pursuit of one's own security at the cost of others' security, **prevent bloc confrontation**, and work together for peace and stability on the Eurasian Continent.

6) 俄罗斯应释放所有乌方被扣押人员, 停止敌对行动, 撤出在乌军队并恢复乌领土完整。Èluósī yīng shìfàng suǒyǒu wū fāng bèi kòuyā rényuán, tíngzhǐ díduì xíngdòng, chè chū zài wū jūnduì bīng huīfù wū lǐngtǔ wánzhěng. – Russia should release all Ukrainian detainees, **cease hostilities**, withdraw its troops from the country and restore its territorial integrity.

In these examples, the concept 战争 / WAR is expressed in a syncretic way: firstly, through nominals such as 武装冲突 wǔzhuāng chōngtū – *armed confrontation*; 阵营对抗 zhènyíng duìkàng – *bloc confrontation* (in Chinese political discourse, this phrase has a strongly negative connotation (Fedichev, 2023)), 敌对行动 díduì xíngdòng – *hostilities*; secondly, through the verbs used along with them: 避免 bimiǎn – *to avoid*, 防止 fángzhǐ – *to prevent*, 停止 tíngzhǐ – *to stop* that mean unwillingness of the notion denoted by the nouns to happen, exist or emerge. Subsequently, the speaker wants to end that event at all costs which means this event is inherently negative which, in turn, brings us to the concept 邪恶 / EVIL again. The same applies to the following example:

7) 减少战略风险。核武器用不得, 核战争打不得。应反对使用或威胁使用核武器。防止核扩散, 避免出现核危机。反对任何国家在任何情况下研发、使用生化武器。Jiǎnshǎo zhànlüè fēngxiǎn. Héwǔqì yòng bùdé, hé zhànzhēng dǎ bùdé. Yīng fǎnduì shǐyòng huò wēixié shǐyòng héwǔqì. Fángzhǐ hé kuòsàn, bimiǎn chūxiàn hé wēijī. Fǎnduì rènhé guójiā zài rènhé qíngkuàng xià yánfā, shǐyòng shēnghuà wǔqì. – **Reducing strategic risks**. Nuclear weapons **must not be used** and **nuclear wars must not be fought**. The threat or use of nuclear weapons should be **opposed**. Nuclear proliferation must be **prevented** and **nuclear crisis avoided**. China **opposes** the research, development and use of chemical and biological weapons by any country under any circumstances.

This example is interesting from several perspectives. Firstly, the concept 战争 / WAR is expressed by dissimilar linguistic units (战略风险 zhànlüè fēngxiǎn – *strategic risks*, 核战争 hézhànzhēng – *nuclear war*, 核危机 hé wēijī – *nuclear crisis*) along with the verbs whose semantics explicate minimizing or countering of the object (减少 jiǎnshǎo – *to reduce*, 反对 fǎnduì – *to oppose*). Furthermore, to convey the general meaning of “unwillingness”, the speaker uses grammatical means, i.e. the potential complement represented by a

resultative construction with the infixed morpheme 不bù that expresses the meaning of strong prohibition: 用不得yòng bùdé – *must not be used*, 打不得dǎ bùdé – *must not be fought*. As appears, lexical and grammatical means can be used alongside to verbalize the unwillingness to achieve something or the occurrence of something. This is also true for the following example:

8) 尽管美国支持以色列行使自卫权, 但这次冲突的规模和造成的伤害超出了美国的想象, 美国也不愿意冲突扩大造成局面失控。Jǐnguǎn měiguó zhīchí yǐsèliè xíngshǐ zìwèi quán, dàn zhè cì chōngtú de guīmó hé zàochéng de shānghài chāochūle měiguó de xiǎngxiàng, měiguó yě bù yuànyì chōngtú kuòdà zàochéng júmiàn shīkòng. – Although the United States supports Israel's exercise of its right to self-defense, the scale of the conflict and the damage it has caused are beyond the imagination of the United States, and the United States **does not want** the conflict to expand and spiral out of control.

It is worth noting that the negative adverb 不bù as a lexico-grammatical means can diversify the ways of expressing the semantics of unwillingness.

As has been demonstrated, the concept 战争 / WAR surely interacts with the concept 邪恶 / EVIL forming a subject-centered frame and obtaining negative evaluation not just by the nouns denoting it, but also with the help of verbs indicating unwillingness combined with some grammatical structures including imperatives and negative adverbs.

The taxonomic (hyponymic) frame 战争即政治zhànzhēng jí zhèngzhì – **WAR IS POLITICS**, where the former is a subordinate level concept, while the latter one is a superordinate level concept. In addition, by definition, war is a part of politics, a tool to achieve its objectives.

9) 抗日战争和我国革命、建设、改革的伟大胜利, 反复昭示一条颠扑不破的真理: 办好中国的事情关键在党, 关键在人。Kàngri zhànzhēng hé wǒguó géming, jiànshè, gǎigé de wěidà shènglì, fǎnfù zhāoshì yītiáo diānpūbùpò dì zhēnlǐ: Bàn hǎo zhōngguó de shìqíng guānjiàn zài dǎng, guānjiàn zài rén. – **The Chinese War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression** (the Second China–Japan War) and the great victory of China's **revolution, construction and reform** have repeatedly demonstrated an unbreakable truth: the key to doing a good job in China lies in the Party, in its people.

As we can see, the people help “to do a good job” in China's affairs, which implicitly refers to political life. Then the notions mentioned earlier in the sentence such as 革命 géming – *revolution*, 建设jiànshè – *building*, 改革gǎigé – *reform*, and, accordingly, 抗日战争kàngri zhànzhēng – *The Chinese War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression* relate to the concept 政治 / POLITICS.

10) 巴勒斯坦比尔扎伊特大学教授加桑·哈提卜说, 此次冲突带来的影响是全方位的, 包括政治、安全和战略等层面。Bālèsītǎn bǐ'ěr zhá yī tè dàxué jiàoshòu jiā sāng·hātí bo shuō, cǐ cì chōngtú dài lái de yǐngxiǎng shì quán fāngwèi de, bāokuò zhèngzhì, ānquán hé zhànlüè děng céngmiàn. – Ghassan Khatib, a professor at Birzeit University in Palestine, said the impact of this **conflict** is all-encompassing, including **political**, security and strategic dimensions.

11) 抗日战争从根本上改变了中国社会政治力量的对比, 为新民主主义革命彻底胜利、建立新中国积累和准备了充分的条件。Kàngri zhànzhēng cóng gēnběn shàng gǎibiànlè zhōngguó shèhuì zhèngzhì lìliàng de duìbǐ, wèi xīn mínzhǔ zhǔyì géming chēdǐ shènglì, jiànli xīn zhōngguó jīlěi hé zhǔnbèile chōngfèn de tiáojiàn. – **The Chinese War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression** fundamentally changed the ratio of **social and political forces** in China, accumulated and prepared sufficient conditions for the complete victory of the new democratic revolution and the establishment of a new China.

12) 人类战争史已经充分证明, 战争从来不是单纯的军事行为。战争是包括政治力、军事力、经济力、文化力、外交力等在内的综合国力的博弈, 是战略的博

弈。Rénlèi zhànzhēng shǐ yǐjīng chōngfèn zhèngmíng, zhànzhēng cónglái bu shì dānchún de jūnshì xíngwéi。Zhànzhēng shì bāokuò zhèngzhì lì, jūnshì lì, jīngjì lì, wénhuà lì, wàijiāo lì děng zài nèi de zònghé guóli de bóyì, shì zhànlüè de bóyì。 – The history of human war has amply proved that **war** is never a purely military act. **War** is a **game** of comprehensive national power, including **political power**, military power, economic power, cultural power, diplomatic power and so on, and a **game of strategy**.

All three of these examples explicitly indicate a direct link between war and politics: in examples (10) and (12), war has a political component, in example (11), war affects politics, and changes the “*ratio of China’s socio-political forces*” (中国社会政治力量的对比 zhōngguó shèhuì zhèngzhì lìliàng de duìbǐ).

War is not just part of politics. As we have seen, the basic domain of concept 战争 / WAR is the concept 邪恶 / EVIL, i.e., it has negative evaluation. Hence, people in their actions try to prevent or reduce the presence of this concept and also aim to solve it or find a way out of it. One of the ways to end a war is through diplomatic or political channels, so people turn to the concept 政治 / POLITICS to resolve the war. In this case, the concept 和平 héping / PEACE comes once the war ends.

13) 中方将继续致力于劝和促谈，同国际社会一道推动乌克兰危机政治解决。Zhōngfāng jiāng jìxù zhìlì yú quàn hé cù tán, tóng guójì shèhuì yīdào tuīdòng wūkèlán wéijī zhèngzhì jiějué。 – China will continue to be committed to **promoting talks for peace**, and work with the international community to promote a **political solution to the Ukrainian crisis**.

14) 埃及总统塞西30日在开罗会见到访的美国国务卿布林肯时强调，必须立即在政治和安全层面采取行动，推动巴勒斯坦和以色列局势缓和，并限制双方采取任何单方面措施。Āijí zǒngtǒng sāi xī 30 rì zài kāiluo huìjiàn dào fǎng dì měiguó guówùqīng bù línkěn shí qiángdiào, bīxū lìjì zài zhèngzhì hé ānquán céngmiàn cǎiqǔ xíngdòng, tuīdòng bālèsītǎn hé yīsèliè júshì huǎnhé, bìng xiànzhì shuāngfāng cǎiqǔ rènhe dān fāngmiàn cuòshī。 – Egyptian President Sisi, in a meeting with visiting U.S. Secretary of State Blinken in Cairo on March 30, emphasized the need for immediate **action** at the **political** and security levels to promote **de-escalation of the situation** between the Palestinians and the Israelis and to limit the adoption of any unilateral measures by the two sides.

15) 我想大家都很清楚，中方始终站在和平一边，站在正义一边，我们将继续为劝和促谈发挥我们的建设性作用。Wǒ xiǎng dàjiā dōu hěn qīngchǔ, zhōngfāng shǐzhōng zhàn zài héping yībiān, zhàn zài zhèngyì yībiān, wǒmen jiāng jìxù wèi quàn hé cù tán fāhuī wǒmen de jiànshè xìng zuòyòng。 – I think we all know very well that China has always stood on the side of **peace** and on the side of justice, and we will continue to play our constructive role in **promoting peace talks**.

16) 路透社8月6日报道引述分析称，中方一直在加大力度以促成乌克兰局势走向和平。Lùtòu shè 8 yuè 6 rì bàodào yǐnshù fēnxī chēng, zhōngfāng yīzhí zài jiā dà lìdù yǐ cùchéng wūkèlán júshì zǒuxiàng héping。 – Reuters reported on August 6, citing analysis that China has been increasing its efforts to bring the **situation** in Ukraine to **peace**.

The political (*diplomatic*) *solution* (政治解决 zhèngzhì jiějué) is strongly associated with negotiations (促谈 cù tán – *to facilitate negotiations*), which should result in 和平 héping – *peace* or 缓和 huǎnhé – *to ease (tension), to alleviate*. The concept 和平 / PEACE is teleonomic as evidenced by the preposition 向 xiàng – *towards, to face, to turn towards*, which identifies the final point of 局势 júshì – *situation, state (of affairs)* (16), and peace is associated with the place where the Chinese see themselves: 站在和平一边 zhàn zài héping yībiān – *to stand on the side of peace* (15). Anything associated with peace is both embraced and encouraged in Chinese media discourse: 劝和促谈 quànhe cùtán – *to promote peace talks*, because of the subject-centered frame 和平即善良 héping jí shànliáng – *PEACE IS GOOD* because people strive for the better in their lives.

The relations between concepts 战争 / WAR and 政治 / POLITICS are complex: even though the proposition can be defined as “part – whole”, taking into consideration the concept 和平 PEACE, their interaction can be also viewed as a triad: 战争 – 政治 – 和平 (WAR – POLITICS – PEACE), where the concept 战争 / WAR is a problem (unwanted situation), the concept 政治 / POLITICS is a tool to achieve the desired result – the concept 和平 / PEACE.

The third type of frame is based on associative connections, which are the basis for a conceptual metaphor. If we go back to the example (13), we will find **the associative frame** 战争即赌博 **zhànzhēng jí dǔbó – WAR IS A GAME**, the relation between these slots can be understood through the “as if” conjunction since the first concept just resamples the second in some way. However, here we support the view of Yavorska (2016) who notes that war is not just a simple game, its main attribute is unpredictability, which is reflected in the semantics of the word 博弈 **bóyì – games (such as chess, dice, etc.), gambling**.

There are two more frames of the same type, the first of which is 战争即灾难 **zhànzhēng jí zāinàn – WAR IS A DISASTER**. The frame views war as irrational and unpredictable, much like the previous one, but with an added emphasis: in this frame, war is uncontrollable and cannot be manipulated:

17) 以色列和巴勒斯坦在加沙地带再次爆发战争。Yǐsèliè hé bālèsītǎn zài jiāshā didài zàicì bàofā zhànzhēng. – **War broke out** again between Israel and Palestine in the Gaza Strip.

18) 路透社的一篇报道写道，自去年以来，在约旦河西岸不断发生暴力事件引发担忧，即巴以冲突可能会失控，升级为大规模对抗。Lùtòu shè de yī piān bàodào xiě dào, zì qùnián yǐlái, zài yuēdàn hé xī'àn bùduàn fāshēng bàoli shìjiàn yǐnfā dānyōu, jí bā yǐ chōngtú kěnéng huì shīkòng, shēngjí wéi dà guīmó duìkàng. – A Reuters report writes that the **ongoing** violence in the West Bank since last year has raised fears that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict could **spiral out of control** and escalate into a large-scale confrontation.

The war here is understood as a disaster acting on its own: for example, the unit 爆发 **bàofā** has the meaning not only *to break out, suddenly begin*, but also *to erupt, to explode, to burst out*. From that we can see: war aligns with other natural disasters and begins unexpectedly. In addition, there is no emphasis on the agent of action, because the lexical unit 发生 **fāshēng – to happen, to occur, to take place** is intransitive. People try to cope with the disasters, to keep them under control, whereas 失控 **shīkòng – to go out of control** is an undesirable state.

To be more precise, in this case war can be associated with a certain element – fire, hence 战争即火焰 **zhànzhēng jí huǒyàn – WAR IS FIRE**:

19) 2020年9月底，纳卡地区战火重燃，亚阿于同年11月9日在莫斯科的斡旋下商定全面停火，双方留在各自占据的阵地上，交换战俘和死者遗体。Èr líng èr líng nián jiǔ yuèdǐ, nà kǎ dìqū zhànhuǒ chóng rán, yà ā yú tóngnián shíyī yuè jiǔ rì zài mòsikē de wòxuán xià shāngdìng quánmiàn tíng huǒ, shuāngfāng liú zài gèzì zhànjù de zhèndì shàng, jiāohuàn zhànfú hé sǐzhě yǐtǐ. – At the end of September 2020, the **war was ignited again** in the Nagorno-Karabakh region, and on November 9 of the same year, Armenia and Afghanistan agreed to a comprehensive **ceasefire** brokered by Moscow, with both sides remaining in the positions they had occupied and exchanging prisoners of war and the remains of the dead.

20) 据俄媒体报道，冲突地区部分民众4月10日已陆续返回居住地，但交界区域仍有小范围交火。Jù é méiti bàodào, chōngtú dìqū bùfèn mínhóng 4 yuè 10 rì yǐ lùxù fǎnhuí jūzhù dì, dàn jiāojiè qūyù réng yǒu xiǎo fǎnwéi jiāohuǒ. – According to Russian media reports, some people in the conflict zone had returned to their places of residence on April 10, but there were still **small shootings** in the junction area.

21) 美国、英国和加拿大领导人19日说，将继续向乌克兰输送更多军火。Měiguó, yīngguó hé jiānádà lǐngdǎo rén shíjiǔ rì shuō, jiāng jìxù xiàng wūkèlǎn shūsòng gèng duō jūnhuǒ. – The leaders of the United States, Britain and Canada said on December 19 that they would continue to send more **arms** to Ukraine.

22) 战争是一座熔炉。经过长期革命战争特别是抗日战争的烽火考验，中国共产党在政治上、理论上日益成熟坚强，同人民群众的血肉联系日益增强，党在组织上、作风上日益巩固和进步。Zhànzhēng shì yīzuò rónglú. Jīngguò chángqí gémìng zhànzhēng tèbié shì kàngri zhànzhēng de fēnghuǒ kǎoyàn, zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng zài zhèngzhì shàng, lǐlùn shàng rìyì chéngshú jiānqiáng, tóng rénqún qúnzhòng de xiěròu lián jì rìyì zēngqiáng, dǎng zài zǔzhī shàng, zuòfēng shàng rìyì gǒnggù hé jìnbù. – War is a **forge**. After the **fire** test of the long revolutionary war, especially the War of Resistance against Japan, the CPC has become increasingly mature and strong politically and theoretically, its flesh-and-blood ties with the people have grown stronger, and the Party has become increasingly consolidated and progressive organizationally and in terms of its style of work.

The word 战火 zhànhuǒ – *the flames of war* (19) has an inherent metaphor of fire in it which is further reinforced by the verb 重燃 chóngrán – *to reignite*. In the same example, we find a call for conflict solution – 停火 tíng huǒ – *ceasefire* – which metaphorically conveys the use of weapons, as in 交火 jiāo huǒ – *firefight, shooting*. The use of fire that denotes weapons is also present in example (21) – 军火 jūnhuǒ *weapons and ammunition, munitions, arms*.

Interestingly enough, there is a quite distinct manifestation of this metaphor in sentence (22), where war is like a fire that has been tamed and used for a good purpose – 熔炉 rónglú *smelting furnace, forge* used to process metal and improve its structural characteristics. This process is also directly related to fire: 考验 kǎoyàn – *to test, trial* preceded by 烽火 fēnghuǒ – *fire beacon (to give alarm)*, which metaphorically conveys the meaning of war alert. As a result, the Chinese Communist Party *matures* – 成熟 chéngshú. Considering the metaphor of war, the second character, apart from its first meaning *mature, skilled*, actualizes its literal meaning – *processed by fire*, as evidenced by the radical 火 – *fire*.

23) 美国，选择继续火上浇油，不论这样的行为是否会助推局势向更加失控的方向演进。Měiguó, xuǎnzé jìxù huǒ shàng jiāo yóu, bùlùn zhèyàng de xíngwéi shìfǒu huì zhù tuī júshì xiàng gèngjiā shìkòng de fāngxiàng yǎnjìn. – The United States, for its part, has chosen to continue **to pour oil on the fire**, regardless of whether or not such behavior will help push the **situation** in a direction that is even more **out of control**.

The analyzed metaphor is supported by the chengyu 火上浇油 huǒ shàng jiāo yóu – *to pour oil on the fire, to aggravate a situation*. Judging by the structure of this linguistic item, fire denotes war in this sentence, and assistance to the sides of the conflict is seen as inflaming, which is not desirable. One of the characteristics of burning is high temperature, and the metaphorical actualization of the concept 战争 / WAR is also related to it:

24) 过去一个月，新一轮巴以冲突爆发且持续升级，牵动全世界目光。Guòqù yīgè yuè, xīn yī lún bā yǐ chōngtú bàofā qiè chíxù shēngjí, qiāndòng quán shìjiè mùguāng. – Over the past month, a new round of the Israeli-Palestinian **conflict has erupted** and continued to **escalate**, drawing the attention of the world.

25) 随着局势升温，中方同中东各国的沟通频率在明显加密。Suízhe júshì shēngwēn, zhōngfāng tóng zhōngdōng gèguó de gōutōng pínǚ zài míngxiǎn jiāmì. – As the **situation heats up**, the frequency of communication between the Chinese side and the countries of the Middle East is significantly increasing.

26) 平息巴以冲突的根本出路在于落实“两国方案”，建立独立的巴勒斯坦国。Píngxí bā yǐ chōngtú de gēnběn chūlù zài yú luòshí “liǎng guó fāng'àn”, jiànli dúlì de bālèsītǎn guó. – The fundamental way to **calm** Palestinian-Israeli **conflict** lies

in the realization of the two-State solution and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

27) 中方呼吁有关各方保持最大限度克制，避免采取任何可能导致误判或紧张升级的单边行动，全力扭转地面消极态势，尽快实现缓和降温。Zhōngfāng hūyù yǒuguān gè fāng bǎochí zuìdà xiàndù kèzhì, bìmiǎn cǎiqǔ rèn hé kěnéng dǎozhì wù pàn huò jǐnzhāng shēngjí de dān biān xíngdòng, quánlì niǔzhuǎn dìmiàn xiāojí tàishì, jǐnkuài shíxiàn huǎnhé jiàngwēn. – China calls upon all parties concerned to exercise maximum restraint, avoid any unilateral action that may lead to miscalculation or **escalation** of tensions, make every effort to reverse the negative situation on the ground, and achieve a **de-escalation** as soon as possible.

As we have just seen, the idea of temperature rising is associated with escalation, aggravation of the conflict (升级shēngjí – *to go up by one grade, to escalate (in intensity)*), 升温shēngwēn – *to become hot, to intensify*), whereas its decrease (降温jiàngwēn – *to become cooler, to lower the temperature*) is associated with mitigation, conflict resolution. The same goes to the verb 平息píngxī – (*of wind etc*) *to subside, to die down, to smooth over (a dispute etc)* which furthermore supports the metaphor under analysis.

War is generally perceived as a dangerous, uncontrollable disaster that seems to occur spontaneously, without our intent or planning. More tangibly, it is often likened to fire – equally destructive and indiscriminate in its devastation caused by burning – escalation. In contrast, people's efforts are directed toward quelling the flames, calming the situation, and reducing the intensity – de-escalation.

The last association frame here is 战争即戏剧 zhànzhēng jí xìjù – **WAR IS A PLAY**, a tragedy, to be precise, for that reason war correlates with the lexical unit 悲剧bēijù – *tragedy*:

28) 巴以冲突的悲剧，还在全世界的注视下持续上演。根据最新数据，本轮冲突已经导致超过1万人死亡。Bā yǐ chōngtú de bēijù, hái zài quán shìjiè de zhùshì xià chíxù shàngyǎn. Gēnjù zuìxīn shùjù, běn lún chōngtú yǐjīng dǎozhì chāoguò 1 wàn rén sǐwán. – The **tragedy** of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict continues to **unfold** as the world watches. According to the latest figures, the current round of the conflict has resulted in more than 10,000 deaths.

29) 造成今天的悲剧，可以说是美国在中东政策中对和平进程忽视的恶果。Zàochéng jīntiān de bēijù, kěyǐ shuō shì měiguó zài zhōngdōng zhèngcè zhōng duì héping jìnchéng hūshì de èguǒ. – Today's **tragedy** is arguably the result of the United States' neglect of the peace process in its Middle East policy.

30) 巴以冲突反复上演，根本原因是中东和平进程偏离正确轨道，“两国方案”基础不断受到侵蚀，联合国相关决议没有得到切实执行。Bā yǐ chōngtú fǎnfù shàngyǎn, gēnběn yuányīn shì zhōngdōng héping jìnchéng piānlí zhèngquè guǐdào, “liǎng guó fāng'àn” jīchǔ bùduàn shòudào qīnshí, liánhéguó xiāngguān juéyì méiyǒu dédào qièshí zhíxíng. – The fundamental reason for the recurrent **staging** of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is that the Middle East peace process has deviated from the right track, the basis of the two-State solution has been continuously eroded, and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations have not been effectively implemented.

Aside from the word 悲剧bēijù – *tragedy*, the analyzed metaphor is additionally supported by the verb 上演shàngyǎn – *to screen (a movie), to stage (a play), a screening, a staging*, which is used to describe theatrical performances or film screenings.

This frame is notably cynical, as it views war as a form of amusement for spectators, despite the atrocities it entails. Such a view suggests a detachment from the harsh realities and profound human suffering involved, thereby reducing the gravity of war to mere spectacle. This detached perspective undermines the serious ethical and humanitarian implications of armed conflict.

Conclusions. In this study, we aimed to provide an overview of the primary frames encompassing the concept of 战争 / WAR as a slot (secondary actualization) and to explore how this concept is perceived in Chinese media discourse. Based on the proposition type, we identified three types of basic frames: a subject-centered frame, a taxonomic or hyponymic frame, and an associative frame or conceptual metaphor.

The first type is represented by the frame 战争即邪恶 *zhànzhēng jí xié'è* – WAR IS EVIL, which gives the concept 战争 / WAR a negative evaluation. The second type is illustrated by the frame 战争即政治 *zhànzhēng jí zhèngzhì* – WAR IS POLITICS, where politics can be viewed as a tool to resolve war, thereby actualizing the concept 和平 *héping* – PEACE. The third type is represented by four frames: 战争即赌博 *zhànzhēng jí dǔbó* – WAR IS A GAME, 战争即灾难 *zhànzhēng jí zāinàn* – WAR IS A DISASTER, 战争即火焰 *zhànzhēng jí huǒyàn* – WAR IS FIRE, and 战争即戏剧 *zhànzhēng jí xìjù* – WAR IS A PLAY, each of which portrays war as unpredictable, chaotic, and multifaceted in its nature.

Prospects for future research include studying the primary actualization (nominative verbalization) of the concept 战争 / WAR as well as its pragmatic characteristics in different discourses.

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