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2022년 8월
박사학위 논문

A Study on English and Chinese Neologism Relevant to COVID-19 From the Perspective of Cognitive Semantics

조선대학교 대학원

영어영문학과

후 한

인지의미론의 관점에서 분석한 영어와 중국어 코로나 신조어 연구

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지도교수 최영주

이 논문을 영어영문학 박사학위신청 논문으로 제출함

2022년 4월

조선대학교 대학원

영어영문학과

후 한

후한의 박사학위논문을 인준함

위원장	전남대학교 교수	<u>신근영 (인)</u>
위원	전남대학교 교수	<u>최문홍 (인)</u>
위원	조선대학교 교수	<u>조진우 (인)</u>
위원	조선대학교 연구원	<u>황보현진 (인)</u>
위원	조선대학교 연구원	<u>최영주 (인)</u>

2022 년 6 월

조선대학교 대학원

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ABSTRACT

인지의미론의 관점에서 분석한 영어와 중국어 코로나 신조어 연구

후한

지도교수: 최영주

영어영문학과

조선대학교 대학원

코로나 19(COVID-19)의 세계적인 팬데믹에 따라 전 세계적으로 이 유례없는 새로운 상황에 대처하기 위해 다양한 단어들이 빠르게 생겨나고 있다. 코로나 19(COVID-19)의 세계적인 팬데믹은 우리의 생활 방식과 언어 사용방식을 크게 변화시켰고 인류 사회의 모든 측면에 지대한 영향을 미쳤다. 사람들이 이 알려지지 않은 전염병을 더 잘 이해하고 인간에게 미치는 영향을 알 수 있도록 돕기 위해 사람들은 많은 새로운 단어와 표현을 만들어 이 전염병의 세계적인 팬데믹을 설명하였다. 본 연구는 인지의미론의 시각에서 중국어와 영어로 된 신종 코로나바이러스와 관련된 신조어를 고찰하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 동일한 공중보건 위기에 직면했을 때 이러한 새로운 단어가 영어와 중국어에서의 유사점과 차이점을 조사하기 위해 언어 간 비교 분석도 수행한다. 이를 바탕으로 같은 개념에 대한 사회적 현실과 다양한 문화적 차이의 인지적 영향과 결합하여 중국어와 영어의 유사점과 차이점에 대한 가능한 설명도 제공한다.

질병에 대한 이전의 은유적 연구에서는 특정 질병에 초점을 맞추었다. 예를 들어 암 등을 원천 영역(source domain)으로 하여 사회 발전 문제 및 부패 문제와 같은 몇 가지 추상적인 개념을 설명한다. 코로나 19(COVID-19)는 새로 나타난 질병이며, 인간은 여전히 이 질병에 대해 모르는 부분이 많다. 따라서 사람들은 이 전염병을 이해하기 위해 보다 구체적이고 간단한 개념이 필요하다. Lakoff and Johnson(1980)은 개념적 은유의 개념을 제시하였고, 개념적 은유는 보다 구체적이고 단순한 개념을 통해 사람들이 보다 복잡하고 추상적인 개념을 이해하도록 도울 수 있는 인지적 도구로 사용될 수 있다고 주장하였다. 따라서 코로나 19(COVID-19) 세계적인 팬데믹 이후 사람들은 알려지지 않은 코로나 19(COVID-19)와 그 영향을 이해하기 위해 다른 영역을 원천 영역으로 사용하고 있다.

코로나 19(COVID-19) 세계적인 팬데믹과 그 영향을 설명하기 위해 은유적 표현을 사용하는 방법에 대한 연구는 주로 담론과 문장의 수준에 중점을 둔다. 코로나 19(COVID-19) 사태 이후 의학 중심의 신조어가 계속 등장하고 있지만, 전 세계적인 팬데믹과 영향을 이해하기 위해 어휘 수준에서 보다 간단하고 구체적인 개념을 어떻게 사용할 것 인지에 대한 연구는 거의 없었다.

인지의미론의 관점에서 본 연구는 중국어와 영어로 된 코로나 19(COVID-19)에 대한 새로운 단어를 연구한다. 본 연구는 은유적 사상과 부각을 기반으로 인지 분석 방법을 사용하여 이러한 새로운 단어가 코로나 19(COVID-19)의 맥락에서 문자 그대로의 의미를 특정 의미로 확장하는 방법을 논한다. 은유적 사상을 설명하는 과정에서 은유와 환유 간의 상호작용을 은유의 원천 영역 (source domain) 또는 대상 영역(target domain)의 축소 또는 확장에 적용한다. 본 연구에서는 전쟁 은유와 여행 은유의 두 가지 주요 은유를 발견하였다. 이 두 가지 유형의 은유를 기반으로 중국어와 영어로 된 많은 새로운 단어가 생겨났다. 이 새로운 단어는 코로나 19(COVID-19)와 관련된 개념을 설명하는 데 사용되며, 사람들이 코로나 19(COVID-19)와 그것이 사람들의 삶에 미치는 영향에 대해 더 잘 이해할 수 있도록 도와준다. 본 연구는 비교분석을 통해 영어와 중국어로 된 신조어의 유사점과 차이점을 조사할 것이다.

마지막으로, 본 연구는 동일한 코로나 19(COVID-19)와 유사한 사회적 통제 전략에 직면했을 때 인간의 동일한 생리적 경험 (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) 으로 중국어와 영어로 된 신조어의 유사점을 설명하고 문화적 다양성(Kövecses 2010, Yu 1998)으로 차이점을 설명할 것을 제시하였다. 특히 중국어 신조어는 한의학의 영향을 많이 받기에 본 연구가 교차 언어(Cross Linguistics) 연구에 시사점을 가져다 줄 수 있기를 바란다.

주제어: 개념적 은유, 은유적 사상, 신조어, 교차 언어(Cross Linguistics), 인지의미론, COVID-19

I . Introduction

It is widely recognized that major events in history such as natural disasters and wars have great influence on our languages (Koselleck 1989). Disease, especially a highly contagious one, has not been an exception. At the end of 2019, a new type of coronavirus was first identified and reported in Wuhan, China. Then the disease caused by a novel coronavirus has soon developed into a global pandemic wreaking havoc on public health. This unknown disease caused by the novel coronavirus was officially announced as COVID-19 by World Health Organization (WHO) and SARS-CoV-2 as the name of the new coronavirus which is responsible for the disease. As a highly infectious disease, COVID-19 continues to ravage the world till now and has already profoundly changed the way people live and communicate.

Languages as the primary system of human communication (Lyons 1981) have also been tremendously influenced by the newly emerged contagious disease. Since the outbreak of COVID-19, it has brought a great impact on our languages by producing a lot of new words and rendering previous existed ones with new meanings. A large number of new words have sprang up to reflect the sudden changes in people's daily life, for example, 'social distancing' and 'COVID' (Corona Virus Disease). Unfamiliar terminologies such as 'WFH' (Work-From-Home) and 'PPE' (Personal Protective Equipment) can be observed in various occasions. When facing the unknown virus and the tremendous impact it has exerted on us, people try to understand it in a more simple and concrete way. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) first proposed that metaphors not only can have figurative meanings but also may shape people's thoughts and conceptualization. Since then, conceptual metaphors have been used as a tool to understand complex ideas in terms of a more simple notion and therefore are frequently adopted to give insights to abstract and complex ideas. It is no wonder, then, that metaphors have been prolifically deployed to allow people to grasp something as dauntingly complex as a pandemic.

As an unprecedented highly transmissible disease, COVID-19 has affected almost every country in the world. Different languages from various countries are discussing the novel coronavirus outbreak and its devastating impact on people's life across the globe. For instance, metaphorical expressions regarding COVID-19 have taken off since the outbreak of the pandemic. Political leaders around the world deliver speeches to encourage their fellow citizens to fight against the disease. China's President Xi Jinping pledges waging a 'People's War' against the epidemic and vows to win the battle at all costs. US President Donald Trump claims himself as a 'Wartime President' implying the nation is at war fighting against the disease. British Prime Minister Boris Johnson states the disease as a beatable enemy suggesting the resolution of the authority to win the fight against the pandemic. Italian President Giuseppe Conte says all nations in the world are struggling and are all in the 'trenches' indicating the whole world should make joint endeavor to fight against the disease.

Languages around the world are busy developing ways to contend with COVID-19, and linguistic researchers are keen to understand how something as large as a pandemic can influence language in both the long and short term. There have been many studies recently regarding why particular metaphors are selected and used to describe COVID-19, and how these metaphorical expressions influence human thought (Craig 2020, Nerlich 2020, Semino 2021, Tamkin 2020, Sanderson & Meade 2020, Wicke & Bolognesi 2020, Panzeri et al. 2021).

However, within the study of metaphors regarding COVID-19, the topic of neologism has not yet been thoroughly researched. This paper aims to bridge that gap. COVID-19 has already provided us with many new terms and phrases, such as 'flatten the curve,' 'self-quarantine,' 'asymptomatic,' and 'contactless delivery.' Neologisms can be novel forms and new meanings (Ulanova 2014, Rets 2014, Cook 2010, 2018), but they can also be existing lexical forms with new meanings (Newmark 1988, Jamet 2018, Jamet and

Terry 2018). In the present study, we focus on neologisms in the latter sense – existing lexical forms whose meanings have extended to accommodate the new COVID-19 situation. For example, *circuit breaker* is originally employed to denote a safety device to stop the flow of electricity in an electric circuit. In the context of COVID-19, however, it refers to social regulations designed to prevent the spread of the disease. Since these kinds of neologism have a prior lexical form and a literal meaning, it is possible to understand the extension of meaning as a result of metaphorical mapping.

Specifically, this dissertation will be a comparative study of COVID-19 related neologism in English and Chinese. This is in contrast to most studies about COVID-19 neologisms, which investigate neologisms within a particular language from the perspective of morphology and lexicology (Katermina & Yachenko 2020, Al-Salman & Haider 2021, Lei et al. 2020). Both English and Chinese have had to adapt rapidly in response to COVID-19 pandemic such as coining new words to help people understand the new situation. Among these neologism in these two unrelated languages, universality and diversity can be observed in describing the same target concepts related to COVID-19 such as medical workers who fight against the disease, social regulations stipulated to prevent the spread of the disease and social impacts the disease has brought on us. These new words share some similarities, but there are differences too. Studying the similarities and differences between these two languages when facing the same world-wide public health crisis can yield some insights about the universality of certain metaphorical processes as well as the culture-specific influences on these processes.

For this study, examples of English and Chinese neologisms emerging from the COVID-19 pandemic are found in dictionaries, corpora and discourse in media. Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and Center for Chinese Linguistics (CCL) and Oxford English Dictionary (OED), the Contemporary Chinese Dictionary are utilized. Two major media websites are referred to: the Cable News Network (CNN) and the People's Daily, the largest newspaper group in China.

To examine these examples of neologisms through a cognitive semantic approach, this dissertation pursues the following questions:

1. What are the meanings and underlying cognitive processes of English and Chinese neologisms related to COVID-19?
2. What are the similarities and differences observed in those neologisms describing the same concept?
3. What can account for these similarities and differences between English and Chinese neologism formations?

These questions above are addressed in this dissertation by drawing on conceptual metaphor, metaphorical mapping and highlighting, and metonymic reduction or expansion in metaphoric domains combining the ideas of cultural universality and variety. The organization of the dissertation is as follows:

The next chapter, Chapter II is a literature review. First, there will be a review of the literature on conceptual metaphor, metaphorical mapping, and highlighting, as well as interactions between metaphor and metonymy. The chapter will also outline the similarities and differences between conceptual metaphors in English and those of Chinese. Finally, there will be a review of studies on disease as a source and target domain in metaphorical expressions.

Chapter III analyzes the neologisms based on WAR metaphors in both English and Chinese. The literal and extended meanings of these neologisms will be demonstrated, and the cognitive process underlying the meaning extension will also be explained. The similarities and differences found in English and Chinese regarding these neologisms will be discussed.

Chapter IV analyzes COVID-19 neologisms based on JOURNEY metaphors, and similar to the previous chapter, it then explores the similarities and differences between these neologisms in English versus Chinese. The Chinese neologisms, in particular, will be explained with references to a culture-specific metaphorical understanding of journeys.

Chapter V concludes the paper. After an overview of the findings, possible

reasons for the similarities and differences between English and Chinese will be offered.

II. Literature Review

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose the fundamental work, *Metaphors We Live by*, which suggests that metaphors are not just figure of speech that is used in daily conversations but the tool that could enable people to understand an abstract concept in terms of a more basic and physical one. In their study, the nature of metaphor is a matter of cognition and the systematical usage of metaphorical expressions in our daily language indicates metaphor is a natural phenomenon which is a part of human thought.

Metaphor is defined as a cognitive tool to structure people's thoughts. Human conceptualization process is metaphorical in nature which grounds on the embodied experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). For instance, the way people talk about life can be often observed as a kind of journey which refers to the very embodied experience of a person moving from one point to another. In a journey, obstacles or barriers may emerge just as people may face difficulties in their life. The end of a person's life is sometimes seen as the arrival at the destination of a journey. In here, the life of people is understood as an embodied experience of a journey. The domain of JOURNEY is the conceptual domain from which we draw the metaphorical expressions to understand the conceptual domain of LIFE. The conceptual domain of JOURNEY is known as the source domain while the conceptual domain of LIFE is the target domain.

Metaphors are conceptual since one concept or idea is understood in terms of another, and what kind of metaphors we have and the meaning therein depend on the bodily experience, interactions with environment and social or cultural practices (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 232). For example, time in English is structured in terms of a moving object, as shown below:

(1) a. The time will **come** when...

The time has long since **gone** when...

The time for action has **arrived**.

b. I can't **face** the future.

Coming up in the weeks **ahead**...

I look forward to the **arrival** of Christmas.

Before us is a great opportunity, and we don't want it to **pass us by**.

-(Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 47-48)

By virtue of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor, the concept of time is construed as a moving object. In this way, a more abstract concept is understood in terms of a more physical and concrete one. Therefore metaphor is actually conceptual in nature and can provide us with an access to one concept in terms of another via correspondences between these concepts.

A. Metaphorical Mapping

The source domain is known as the conceptual domain from which people draw the metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain whilst the conceptual domain that is understood is the target domain. Between the source and target domains, there exist the correspondences on the basis of structural similarities. Through these correspondences, elements in the source domain are used to understand the concepts in the target domain. The systematic correspondences from the source domain to the target one are metaphorical mappings (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 232). The metaphorical expression “Love is an indispensable nutrient to people” is an example offered by the LOVE IS A NUTRIENT metaphor (Kövecses 2010: 94). In this sentence, the necessity of love for people is expressed, while it utilizes the concept of nutrient to describe the concept of love. Love is understood as a nutrient which can satisfy a person's desire and meet the needs for people to

survive. See more examples below:

(2) LOVE IS A NUTRIENT

- a. I am **hungary** for love.
- b. Love is an essential spiritual **nutrient**, whose absence is as injurious to the soul as protein is to the body.
- c. Without love, we can not **survive**. -(COCA)

From the above examples, it can be clearly observed that LOVE is understood in terms of A NUTRIENT. LOVE is the target domain while NUTRIENT is the source domain. Elements from the source domain are mapped onto the elements of the target domain via detailed metaphorical mappings, as shown below:

NUTRIENT		LOVE
the hungry person	⇒	the person who desires love
food	⇒	love
hunger	⇒	the desire for love
physical nourishment	⇒	psychological strength
the effects of nourishment	⇒	the consequences of love

<Figure 1>

Metaphorical Mapping of LOVE IS NUTRIENT

(Kövecses 2010: 95)

In Figure 1, different elements in the source domain are mapped onto the target domain to better understand the various aspects of love. In this metaphor, love is compared to a nutrient. In the source domain, the element of hungry person represents a person who hungers for food and when it mapped onto the target domain, it corresponds onto the person who desires love. The concept of love is understood as a kind of food that can satisfy a person's desire. Physical nourishment is a necessity for people to survive and stay healthy. Once the need for food is satisfied, it would enhance our physical strength, likewise when it mapped onto the target domain, people's

psychological state would be strengthened if the need for love is met. The effects of nourishment is obviously to quench the desire of people and allow us to survive. When it mapped onto the target domain, it can convey the meaning of love as a nourishment for people to survive and improve psychological wellbeing.

B. Metaphorical Highlighting

Through the establishment of metaphorical mapping between the source and target domain, aspects in the source domain are utilized to comprehend the elements in the target one. However, at the same time, not all of the elements in the domains are involved in mapping. Some elements of the source domain are highlighted while others are hidden. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) names it as metaphorical highlighting and hiding. Kövecses (2010) claims that this characteristics is the partial nature of metaphorical mapping. Only a part of source domain is mapped onto target domain.

Kövecses (2010) examines the highlighting and hiding in metaphorical mapping and illustrates how they can enable us to focus on one aspect of a concept and keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with a certain metaphor. As shown in (3), we can see arguments can be interpreted as several notions.

(3) a. AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER:

Your argument has a lot of **content**.

What is the **core** of his argument?

b. AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY:

We will proceed in a **step-by-step** fashion.

We have **covered** a lot of ground.

c. AN ARGUMENT IS WAR:

He won the argument. I couldn't **defend** that point.

d. AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING:

She constructed a **solid** argument.

We have got a good **foundation** for the argument.

-(Kövecses 2010: 92-93)

The above examples have presented us with different aspects of a given concept, namely, an argument. In other words, these metaphors have highlighted various aspects of an argument. They addressed the issue of the content of an argument in (3a), the procedure of an argument in (3b), the controller and controlled in (3c), and the structure as well as strength in (3d). As can be seen, when these various metaphors highlight certain aspects of an argument, it would hide other aspects of it at the same time. For instance, when the container metaphor in (3a) highlights issues of contents and key points, it simultaneously hides other aspects such as progress, and etc. Also, when war metaphor used to depict an argument, the highlighted element appears to be the issue of controller and controlled whereas it does not seem to allow us to think about other aspects of an argument such as contents, construction and so on.

Another property of metaphorical mapping postured by Kövecses is that when people intend to understand one concept in terms of another, they tend to use only some elements of a source domain in understanding a target one. In other words, the focus of a source domain on a target one is partial, as shown in (4).

(4) Metaphor: ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING

- a. We've got the **framework** for a solid argument.
- b. If you don't support your argument with **solid** facts, the whole thing will **collapse**.
- c. You should try to **buttress** your argument with more facts.
- d. With the **groundwork** you've got, you can **build** a strong argument.

-(Kövecses 2010: 93)

From the above examples, the source domain is a building while the target domain is an argument. This metaphor is a conventional one and expressions like above are widely used. In the source domain, it seems that elements of construction (4a), structure (4b), and strength (4c), (4d) are typically used. The metaphorical expressions in regarding to the construction of a building are metaphorically applied into the domain of an argument as the words construct and build; for the general construction of the building with such words as groundwork; and for the strength with such words as buttress and support. To be noticeable, there exists many other aspects in the conceptual framework of building that are not used in the metaphorical comprehension of arguments. For example, buildings typically have rooms and roofs, besides they are usually equipped with glass windows and pipes inside the wall. They may have different architectural style and people are living or working inside the building. It appears to us that all this information above which are included in the conceptual framework of buildings is hidden and remains unutilized when the ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING metaphor is applied.

Not only from the metaphorical expressions in a sentence, but also we can find the metaphorical highlighting and hiding in words and lexicons. Shim and Choi (2018) explored how the metaphorical highlighting and hiding of the new affixes *-kak* ‘exact fit’ and *pwul-* ‘passionate’ in Korean. Shim and Choi (2018) have applied the metaphorical highlighting and hiding into analysing the new affixes in Korean. Their paper has shed a light on how the metaphorical highlighting and hiding can be utilized at the lexical level and provided a cross-linguistic example of it. Their study has examined two affixes in Korean, namely, *-kak* ‘exact fit’ and *pwul-* ‘passionate’. The different aspects of the concept are highlighted while others are hidden depending on which metaphors the expressions occur with.

The literal meaning of *-kak* is an “angle” of a figure where two straight line meets, and it can metaphorically be used to describe people's personality via the metaphor RELATIONSHIP IS FIGURE highlighting the sharpness of

angles. “Angle” is the angled or angular appearance of a figure, and the sharpness of a person's personality and interpersonal relationships are metaphorically considered as the sharp angles appearance of a figure. It has been used to understand the personality or the incongruity of interpersonal relationships due to the “Sharp” personality. Thus, the sharpness of the angle that two lines meet is highlighted when we metaphorically conceived human personality and interpersonal relationships while the rest of the aspects of the figure concept were hidden.

However, the development of the new meaning *-kak* ‘exact fit’ is derived from the literal meaning and highlights the meaning of exactness through the metaphor PERCEPTION IS FIGURE while the meaning of sharpness of angles is hidden in this new meaning. In this new meaning of the coined word *-kak* ‘exact fit’, the metaphor PERCEPTION IS FIGURE acts upon here. As the ‘angle’ is created, the meaning of accuracy is highlighted and the meaning of sharpness is hidden. Hence the new sense of *-kak* is understood to mean clear judgement when the accuracy of the angle and the clear judgement of one's perception is correlated through metaphor.

The literal meaning of the prefix *pwul-* in Korean is fire, which is a substance that can burn and destroy things. Often, it can be used to comprehend the emotion of anger via the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. In this case, the nature of fire is highlighted as a substance that is destructive, urgent and strong. Anger of a person becomes urgent and strong just like a fire, once something catches fire, it grows out of control and destroys a lot of things.

However, the new meaning of the prefix *pwul-* ‘fire’ in *pwulkum* ‘Fire Friday’ highlights the high temperature of the fire via the metaphor PASSION IS FIRE while hiding the original meaning of *pwul-* ‘fire’ as a substance that is destructive in nature which showed in the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. In the newly coined word *pwulkum* “Fire Friday”, the meaning of a vigorous and passionate Friday is conveyed. Fire itself as a substance of high temperature is highlighted, and people's attitude towards Friday is full of passion. Thus, fire in here contains the meaning of passion for life as the heat of fire is thought

as a passion to enjoy Friday.

In summary, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose that metaphor is conceptual and metaphorical mapping is the correspondence between elements of source domain to those of target domain. Kövecses (2010) further illustrates the partial feature of metaphorical mapping and points out only some aspects in the source domain would be utilized in understanding the target one. Shim and Choi (2018) provide us a case study on how different metaphors highlight and hide different aspects of neologism in Korean. In this study, we will mainly employ the metaphorical mapping when we examine the meaning extension of COVID-19 related neologism in English and Chinese. And further, we will illustrate the different aspects of a given concept that are highlighted in these two languages.

C. Metonymic Expansion/Reduction in Metaphoric Domains

Besides the conceptual metaphor, metonymy is another cognitive tool which offers people a mental access to stand for one entity in terms of another (Radden & Kövecses 1999). It has been argued for a long time that there exists no clear-cut distinction between metaphor and metonymy. In this study, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy will be included, thus it is reasonable for us to review some of the previous studies on this issue in the this section.

Radden and Kövecses (1999) has thoroughly investigated the conceptual nature of metonymy and defined metonymy based on the Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) proposed by Lakoff (1987). Similar to metaphor, metonymy can also structure our thoughts and provide a mental access to another concept.

Metaphor and metonymy are frequently intertwined with each other. A lot of researchers try to figure out the relationship between these two cognitive tools. Some of them try to make comparison and contrast between metaphor and metonymy (Dirven 2002, Geeraerts 2002), considering that metaphor involves

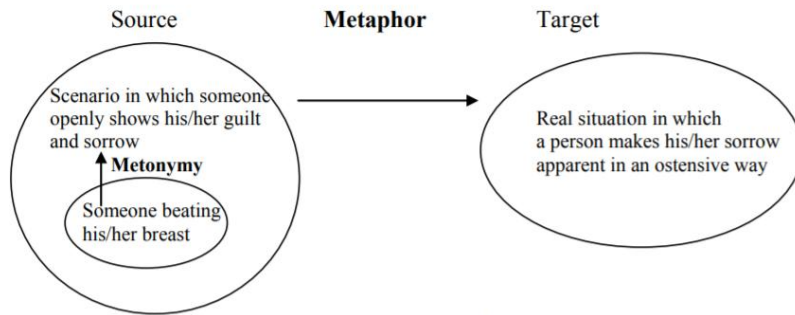
in similarity while metonymy involves in contiguity between two things. Lakoff (1993) provides examples of metaphors that are based on metonymies. Radden (2003) points out that metaphor and metonymy are not two different categories but to form a continuum from literalness to metonymy and then to metaphor. Goossens (1990) defines a new term metaphonymy to address the interplay between metaphor and metonymy.

In addition, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera-Masegosa (2011) explore the interaction between metaphor and metonymy and categorize metonymies into two types, metonymic expansion and metonymic reduction. In their study, four different patterns were identified depending on whether the metonymy expands or reduces the domain of a source or a target as the following shows:

- (5) a. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source
- b. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target
- c. Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source
- d. Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target

-(Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera-Masegosa 2011:10)

In the case of (5a), the expression *beat one's breast* as showed in Figure 2 is the example. The meaning of this phrase is to show one's guilty and sorrow in public. In here, the metonymy SALIENT EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT acts on this term. In the metaphoric source domain, the metonymic source is expanded to a larger scenario. Then the action *beating one's breast* is mapped onto the target domain where in real life situation someone shows his sorrow in an ostensive way.

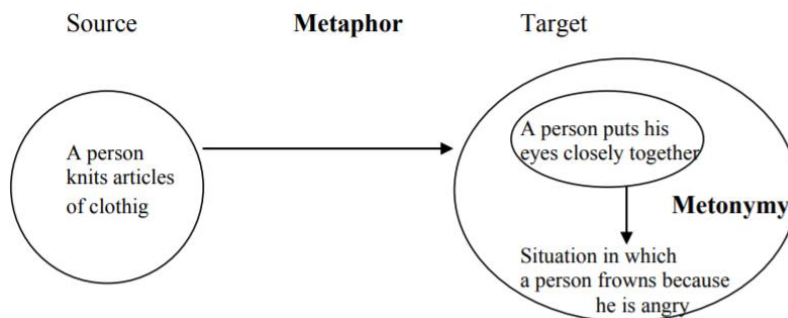


<Figure 2>

Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source

(Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 11 Figure 1)

The expression *knit one's eyebrows* exemplifies the second case in 5(b), the metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target as showed in Figure 3.



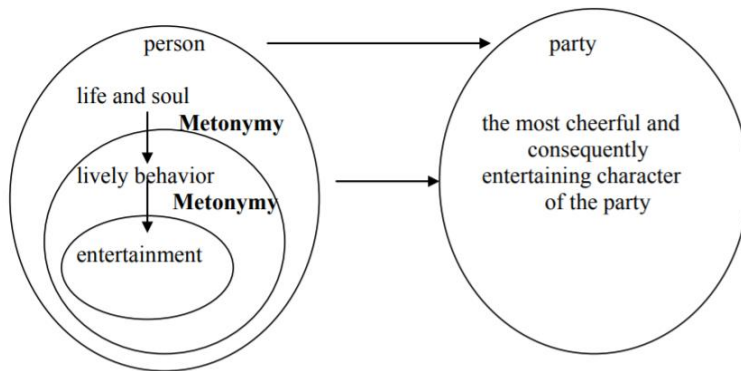
<Figure 3>

Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target

(Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 12 Figure 2)

To *knit one's eyebrows* is to close one's eyes and move the eyebrows together in a way that shows the angry or worrying state of a person. Thus the target metaphor domain is expanded from the situation of a person's closed eyes to the angry state of that person via the metonymy SIGN FOR STATE. The metaphoric source domain has the knitting articles of clothing metaphorically corresponded to eyebrow movement in target domain.

The case in 5(c), the expression *the life and soul of the party* can explain this pattern. This phrase denotes a lively behaviour which further stands for entertainment through metonymy. The source domain is the person, and within the source domain, the life and soul refer to the lively behaviour and then further stand for the entertainment, which are directly linked to the most entertaining character in target domain. See Figure 4 below.

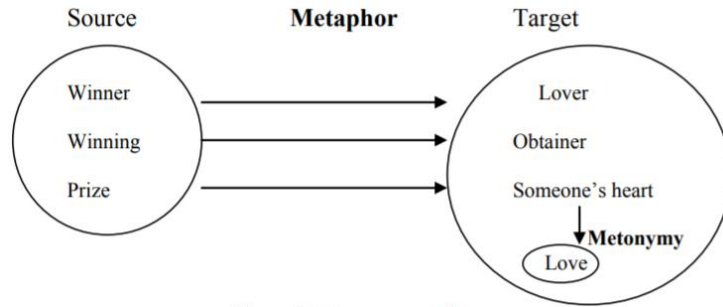


<Figure 4>

Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source

(Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 12 Figure 3)

The case in 5(d), metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target, is observed in the interpretation of *win someone's heart*. In the source domain where notions of winner, winning and prize mapped onto the target one, lover, obtainer and someone's heart, respectively. Then the meaning of *win someone's heart* can be reduced to represent the winning of someone's love through metonymy CONTAINED FOR THE CONTAINER.

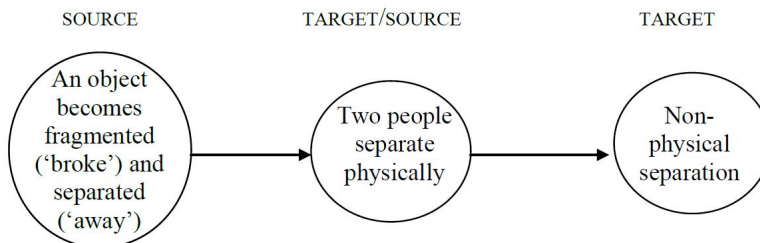


<Figure 5>

Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target

(Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 13 Figure 5)

Moreover, Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa (2011) propose a concept that two or more metaphors interact in such way that a target of the first metaphor is a source of the second metaphor as metaphor chain. In the sentence *When they broke away from our church, I stuck to my own*, the domain of concrete objects is mapped onto the domain of human beings in the first chain via the metaphor HUMANS ARE OBJECTS. Then, in terms of the object *broke away*, its fragments became separated. When the implied meaning of breaking away is mapped onto the human domain, the indication that two people who used to be together as one become separated. The target domain in the first chain is now served as the source domain of the second one through the metaphor ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE HUMANS. See Figure 6.



<Figure 6>

Metaphor Chain

(Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 21)

In the above Figure 6, an object became separated the mapped onto the target domain (in the middle) as two people physically separated away via metaphor. In addition, the target domain in the middle of this metaphor chain then becomes the source domain in turn and further mapped onto the target domain as a non-physical separation. Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa (2011) have studied the interactions between metaphor and metonymy by introducing four distinct patterns of metonymic reduction or expansion in metaphoric source and target domain. Further, in their research the concept of metaphor chain has been brought up. Although the focus of their study lies in the metaphorical expressions at the phrasal or sentential level, their findings can be served as an example when we analyse the metaphor-based expressions at the lexical level.

D. Universality and Diversity in Metaphor

Apart from the distinctions and interactions between metaphor and metonymy, another interesting issue is the universality and diversity in metaphor across languages and cultures. In this dissertation, the universality and diversity of cognitive process underlying neologism in both English and Chinese will be examined. Further, some possible explanations of the universality and diversity will be provided.

In reality, the variety of language and culture are believed to be intertwined with each other as Langacker (1999:16) depicts language as being an essential vehicle and component of culture and reflecting culture as well. As there exists thousands of languages around the world, one concept which is metaphorically expressed in a language is worth to check whether they are valid in other very different cultures. Thus, with further exploration and study, we may then observe the universality and similarity of some metaphors and

moreover there will also be some diversity and variety in these metaphors. Palmer (1996) stresses the role of culture in shaping conceptualization on all levels of language and applies cognitive linguistics into cultural domains. He proposes that it is very likely that conceptual metaphors have a cultural basis. For instance, the English metaphorical expressions heavy-hearted and light-hearted reflect the Western culture's conceptualization of heart as the seat of emotion.

Sharifian (2011) explores the relationship between culture and language and concludes that cultural models as conceptualizations including schemas, categories and metaphors. These scholars mainly concern about how culture could influence human conceptualization on a target entity and incorporate conceptual metaphor as part of the cultural models at a generic level.

1. Culture Universality in Metaphor

Kövecses (2010) compares conceptual metaphors of emotional meanings across many languages and finds out that the metaphors HAPPINESS IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and HAPPINESS IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER that are employed across English, Chinese and Hungarian as showed in below.

(6) a. HAPPINESS IS UP

In Chinese:

(a) Ta hen gao-xing.

he very **high**-spirit

‘He is very high-spirited/happy.’

(b) In Hungarian:

Ez a film feldobott.

this the film **up-threw-me**

‘This film gave me a high. / This film made me happy.’

b. HAPPINESS IS LIGHT

In Chinese:

- (a) Ta xiao zhu yan kai.
 he smile drive color **beam**
 ‘He smiled, which caused his face to **beam**.’

In Hungarian:

- (b) Felderült az arca.
up-brightened the face-his/her
 ‘His/her face **brightened up**.’

c. HAPPINESS IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER

In Chinese:

- (a) Ta xin-zhong chongman xiyue.
 he heart-inside **fill** happiness
 ‘His heart is **filled** with happiness.’

In Hungarian:

- (b) Túlcsordult a szíve a boldogságtól.
 over-flow-past the heart-his/her the happiness-from
 ‘His heart **overflowed** with joy.’ -(Kövecses 2010: 97-98)

From the above examples, the concept of happiness can be metaphorically expressed as something that is upward, light or as fluid in a container among these three totally unrelated languages and cultures. Kövecses (2010) suggests a universal motivation that is the human body experience to explain the universality across linguistics in conceptualizing certain notions.

2. Culture Diversity in Metaphor

In addition to universality across languages and cultures, Kövecses (2010) also notices the variation in metaphors across languages. He categorizes three possible perspectives of variation which are, range, elaborations, and emphasis of conceptual metaphors for a given target. For example, in Japanese the

anger-related metaphorical expressions are linked with the concept of *hara*, ‘belly’ whereas in Zulu anger is grouped with heart.

(7) a. Zulu

My **heart** is full of blood.

He has a small/short **heart**, i.e. “He is impatient, intolerant, bad-tempered, prone to anger.”

b. Japanese

The **intestines** are boiling.

Anger boils the bottom of the **stomach**. -(Kövecses 2010:199-201)

From the above examples, Kövecses (2000, 2010) attributes broader cultural context and natural environment to the diversity in conceptual metaphor. Some embedded culture-specific concepts could be evoked in particular situations, for example *hara* in Japanese is used to metaphorically express as the container for anger due to an array of culture notions on which it is based. Moreover, many of the American English expressions are different from its counterparts in British English because of the new landscape and physical environment the North American settlers were facing. Baugh and Cable (1983: 365) commented that American English is more dynamic and imaginative than that in British English and use terms such as log rolling and wire pulling as the source domain in metaphors.

In Kövecses' study, he mainly focuses on universality and variety of conceptual metaphors in emotion-related notions which are deeply rooted in human bodily experience. Although it may be not possible to observe all the universality and diversity in metaphors across all different languages, still this may give us some clues to explore the similarity and variety among languages and cultures given the same target concept.

Chinese linguist Ning Yu (1995, 1998) examines conceptual metaphor both in English and Chinese and compares the metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in both languages. Having examined a set of resources in both

languages, he finds all the basic metaphors for happiness that exist in English also prevail in Chinese. When conceptualizing happiness, basic domains like UP, LIGHT, and FLUID IN A CONTAINER as shared by both cultures (see Kövecses 2010:204). In addition, he also mentions a metaphor that was seen as a unique case in Chinese that is HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN HEART.

- (8) a. Ta xin-li le kai le hua.
 she heart-inside happy bloom PRT¹⁾ **flower**
 "She's so happy that **flowers** are **blooming** in her heart."
- b. Ta xin-hua nu-fang.
 he heart-flower wildly-bloom
 "**Flowers** are **blossoming** wildly in his heart. -(Yu 1998:66)

In the above two examples, flowers are embodied as happiness with 'blooming' or 'blossoming' to signify its intensity. The metaphorical mappings which correspond the source domain (flowers) to the target domain (happiness) is a culture-specific conceptualization that reflects a more introverted character of Chinese people.

According to Ning Yu (1998), English and Chinese have the same conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. However, in regarding to the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, instead of using 'fluid', Chinese applies the *qi* 'gas' into the metaphor.

- (9) a. Bie re wo fa-**huo**.
 don't provoke me shoot-**fire**
 "Don't set me on **fire** (i.e. Don't cause me to lose my temper)."
- b. Nei jiahuo zenme zheme da **huo**?
 that guy how so big **fire**
 "How come that guy's got such a big **fire** (i.e. so hot-tempered)?"
- c. Ta bie le yi duzi **qi**.

1) PRT is the abbreviation for Particle

she hold-back PRT one belly **gas**

"She held back a belly of **gas** (i.e. was filled with pent-up anger)."

d. Ta zai sheng-men-qi.

she PRT produce-contained-**gas**

"She's producing contained **gas** (i.e. sulky)." -(Yu 1998:63-64)

In (9a) and (9b), anger is understood as fire and elements in FIRE domain are mapped onto ANGER which is similar to English. In (9c) and (9d), gas is connected to anger which is special in Chinese. Regardless of different source domains, in fact, either fluid or gas can indicate some common entailments including internal pressure, heat and potential explosion. *Qi* 'gas', a culture-specific notion, is considered as an invisible and vital energy force that circulate inside body to keep person health. *Qi* can increase and accumulates inside the body which could lead to excessive pressure and then as a result, explosion.

Another interesting finding of Yu (2008) is a comparative analysis of English and Chinese in conceptualizing the heart as a feeling or thinking organ. In English, the center of feeling lies in the heart and the center of thought is in mind/brain. Contrastedly, in Chinese, *Xin* 'heart' is deemed as the ruler of the rest of body and the locus of both feelings and thoughts (Sharifian, Dirven, Yu, Niemeier 2008). Yu ascribed the traditional Chinese medicine and the underlying five elements theory to the difference of linguistic expressions in these two languages. This may shed a light and offer us a clue when we confront a culture constructed notions.

Furthermore, primarily in Yu's study, he checks the contemporary theory of metaphor from the viewpoint of Chinese, meanwhile explores the TIME AS SPACE metaphor and the Event Structure metaphor in addition to metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in Chinese. His main contribution to cognitive linguistic is the provision of some evidence on universality and diversity in conceptual metaphor cross-linguistically.

Although these findings may not lay the emphasis on disease or illness

domain, still they have provided the similarity and variety in conceptual metaphor for given concepts across languages and cultures. To summarize, on one hand, universality in conceptual metaphors across cultures and languages can be resulted from commonly experienced human physiology such as HAPPINESS IS UP. On the other hand, diversity occurs due to the culture-specific factors which could affect the conceptualization on a given target such as emotions at a more generic level among different languages and cultures. Thus this may enable us to understand how culture-specific elements can influence on our conceptualization towards particular domains. Moreover, we can see why changes occur cross-linguistically in metaphors despite the similar bodily experience.

E. Conceptual Metaphor for Disease

1. Disease as Source Domain

Many researchers have explored the usage of illness or disease as source domain to understand other concepts such as crimes, corruption and other social problems (Zhou & Peng 2017, Potts & Semino 2019). In their studies, some characteristics of a disease such as life-threatening, growing and spreading are highlighted and mapped onto the target domain to help people understand a more abstract concept. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have listed some examples of metaphorical expressions on illness and concluded orientational metaphors HEALTH IS UP and ILLNESS IS DOWN. More often, severe diseases like cancer have been used as a source domain to understand more abstract concepts such as social and economic problems.

Potts and Semino (2019) systematically examine the metaphorical usage of cancer, that is, taking cancer as a source domain to understand other concepts. They have showed plenty of metaphorically used cancer-related expressions to

describe different aspects of the society, as shown below.

- (10) a. Human beings are a disease, a < **cancer** on> this planet
 b. Society is riddled with the **cancer** of crime and addiction
 c. You hear things like, “Mexico City has grown <like a **cancer**>.”
 d. This debt is <like a **cancer**>. It is truly going to destroy the country [the United States] from within.
 e. If not, there will be more 9/11s in western cities as radicalism in Islam spreads <like a **cancer**> across the globe.

-(Potts and Semino 2019: 88-90)

The examples from (10a) to (10e) above reflect the usage of cancer-related metaphors to apply into other domains such as environmental impact of human beings on the earth planet (10a), social development problems (10b), (10c), financial crises in the United States (10d) and the Islamic extremists (10e) that rose around the world. The analysis provided by Potts and Semino shows the usage of cancer in our daily life is to depict a situation that is serious, urgent or something as a growing and spreading threat. In speaking of cancer treatment, phrases like removing, cutting, and excision are used to imply procedures that must be taken in order to cure the disease although nowadays the medical advances may offer other treatment options which are more conservative. See examples below.

- (11) And can he, or anyone else, **cut out** the <**cancer** of> corruption that is threatening democracy’s growth in Russia?
 …need for coordinated international action to **cut out** the “<**cancer** of> terrorism” that lurks in the Arabian peninsula.

-(Potts and Semino 2019:93)

From example (11), people are more likely to consider the medical removal is the most effective way to cure the disease despite modern clinical

approaches to cancer treatment includes a range of other options such as hormonal remedy. However, according to Potts and Semino, these new medical treatment alternatives are not exploited as metaphors in their data, nor is the concept of cancer as an increasingly better understood and more curable illness. Sontag (1978) claims in her study that the usage of cancer as a metaphor would gradually disappear as the medical develops further ahead, but Potts and Semnio reject her point of view based on their analysis of pragmatic usage of language. Instead, their findings provide some evidence to support the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) on how metaphorical framing can affect people's thoughts and languages by highlighting some aspects of source domains.

Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017) investigate the usage of disease domain and its conceptual frame as source domains to profile different aspects of corruption and anti-corruption campaigns in Chinese. Additionally, in their analysis, concepts within the disease frame such as medical treatment, tumor and medicine account for the various aspects of corruption via metaphor CORRUPTION IS DISEASE. In Chinese, corruption is understood through the concept of disease which encompasses a system of relevant notions. Disease is considered as one of the fundamental human experiences and partially structures the experience of HARM in terms of physical threat to human survival. The requirement of medical prevention and treatment of disease are vital to health and survival in all human societies. Examples below are some of the metaphorical expressions utilizing the disease as the source domain and corruption as the target domain.

(12) CORRUPTION IS DISEASE

- a. Meng **yao** qu **ke**
 Aggressive **medicine** eliminate **disease**
 Eliminate **disease** with aggressive **medicine**
- b. Dui **zheng** xia **yao**
 Target **symptom** prescribe **medicine**

Prescribe the right **remedy** for an **illness**

c. Tiansheng de **fubai** **mianyili**

Inborn ASSOC **corruption** **immunity**

Innate **immunity** against corruption -(Jing-Schmidt and Peng 2017:8)

From the above metaphorical expressions, the corruption is understood as a kind of illness which requires medicine as a treatment. It is obvious that elements in DISEASE as a source domain are mapped onto the CORRUPTION as a target domain to understand a more abstract concept. The concept of corruption is understood as a disease that endanger health and life of a person. One of the metaphorical entailments from the source domain, disease, is the life-threatening risk it poses to the human health, understood as the live-or-die danger corruption poses for the Communist Party of China (CPC). Here, the corruption is comprehended as a disease that must be treated.

Since utilizing disease as the source domain is commonly observed in many languages as discussed above, many researchers have studied on the importance of using other domains to understand disease especially those newly emerged and infectious ones. There exists a wide range of works from a great deal of academic disciplines and when discussing metaphors with illness or disease, it always begins with Sontag's (1978) work, *Illness as Metaphor*. Sontag (1978) discusses cancer and tuberculosis in the book *Illness as Metaphor* and AIDS (Sontag 1989, 1991) in the later sequence version. Sontag shows how the metaphors can create the sense of mysteriousness and uncertainty on some illnesses, especially cancer. She claims that by using metaphors, it could increase the suffering of patients and give them a feeling of fear and shame. The illness like cancer or AIDS itself is just a kind of disease and curable if proper treatment is provided. Hence metaphors like war, disaster or violence would add greatly to the suffering of patients and often inhibit them from seeking proper treatment. In Sontag's study, she suggests the possible solution to eliminate the so called drawbacks of metaphor expressions is to merely wipe them out and utilize plain and literal language only. However, in reality,

various domains such as WAR and JOURNEY are commonly utilized to comprehend different aspects of a disease, especially an unknown one.

2. Disease as Target Domain

Diseases, especially those newly emerged ones are the issues people often talk about via metaphors as an easier way to understand them. As in the case of metaphorical expressions in combating the disease, we may find some similarities between military terms and diseases. In these two domains, people are experiencing life-threatening dangers which require fighting back in order to survive. Likewise, elements in the JOURNEY domain can be adopted to describe the experience of being ill and the following treatment. Using a range of different metaphors to conceptualize disease has drawn a lot of attentions from many researchers. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) mentioned, the specific metaphors used by individuals suffering from illness, in particular cancer, are not different from those primarily employed by people in good health. In this case, conceptual metaphors are not just some tools to talk about illness but prevail in all aspects of languages and human thoughts. Bowker (1996) explores many sources in her study and identifies several metaphors that are crucial to describe the illness, that is, battle, natural disaster and so on.

Hendricks et al. (2018) have conducted several experiments on the cognitive consequences of metaphors for illness hardships. In their study, they use two main frameworks, namely battle and journey, to understand protagonists' situation of how participants conceptualized the disease. Their findings have shown that the usage of “battle” as a source domain to depict a person’s cancer situation encourages people to believe that a person is more likely to feel guilty if they do not recover than to frame the same situation as a “journey” does. In other words, the framework of “journey” is more likely to invoke the implication that the person can make peace with their situation than

the “battle”.

Gibbs and Franks (2002) provide first hand experience of metaphors used by those patients with cancer and analyse those interview materials to conclude different metaphors used in their narratives. Their findings show that all metaphorical expressions are based on conventional metaphors which are commonly used in our daily life.

Gibbs and Franks (2002) interview six women with the experience of cancer and present an analysis of metaphors used by them in their narratives. They find out that the metaphorical expressions in their talks reflect the long-lasting metaphorical patterns of thought about cancer and its role in patients' lives. Those metaphors used are mainly based on ordinary, healthy and embodied physiology experiences despite patients' own bodies have been disrupted by the disease. Gibbs and Franks' findings reveal the relationship between human thought and language related to illness and disease. The following examples are some of the frequently used metaphorical expressions to understand cancer as a disease in their study.

(13) LIFE IS A JOURNEY

CANCER IS AN **OBSTACLE** ON LIFE'S JOURNEY

“Cancer was something I needed for me to get through.”

“And it has transported me to a place.”

“It kinds brings ... it brought me to the kind of ... the edge of the abyss.”

CANCER IS **WAR**

“The disease was an aggressive opponent that I had to fight.”

-(Gibbs and Franks 2012: Table 1)

Gibbs and Franks examine narratives like above and provide an extensive study on the metaphors employed by interviewees to reveal patterns of metaphorical thinking in cancer as a target domain. They found conventional metaphors in these narratives are much more preferred than novel ones. Thus,

the metaphor terms that provide the base of our daily thinking and reasoning in everyday life are used to comprehend the lives of people who are disrupted by illness. Even though in Gibbs and Franks' study, some participants created a novel metaphorical expression, "cancer as a dance partner", it still demands other more fundamental metaphorical notions to construct the meaning of it. Most of the conceptual metaphors produced in their study are grounded in people's ordinary embodied experiences. As suggested in this study, the metaphorical expressions in these narratives are not merely personal struggles against the disease but in part a pattern of thinking which influenced by basic physiology experiences.

Nie et al. (2016) have studied war metaphors used in medicine and HIV cure research across English, Chinese and languages in Sub-Saharan Africa. In their analysis, some culture-specific comparisons are performed, and it is suggested that an approach of more peaceful metaphor alternatives should be adopted. Nie et al. claim that the widely used military metaphors in medicine and illness fields are problematic and need critical review when expressing scientific ideas in health related areas. In addition, journey and related metaphors should be used to replace the widely used military metaphors as a more meaningful and cross-culturally appropriate alternative. In their study, they provide some insights in military metaphors used in medicine area in Chinese and establish some connections between traditional Chinese medicine and military thoughts.

In traditional Chinese medicine, as they claimed, the key role of keeping people from illness is the balance of negative energy from outside and the positive energy inside the body. In traditional Chinese medicine, a person can keep a healthy condition as long as the harmony is not disrupted by the outside "invader" - *xieqi* (evil gas, a pathological element in modern medicine) or can be defeated by the inside "defender" - *zhengqi* (positive gas, an antibody in modern medicine) hence balance restored. The metaphor which is a culture-specific one, THE PHYSICIAN AS GENERAL, was later proposed in line with the theory of a classic traditional Chinese medicine book called *The*

Yellow Emperor's Classic of Medicine (Nie 1996). In this book, the prevention is the tool of vital importance to keep away from illness. The metaphor of “THE PHYSICIAN AS GENERAL” reflects the connection of traditional Chinese medicine with the military field. In addition, some of the strategies on treating illness are shared with the ones in military combat. In here, a physician is a general which commands the army of medicine and the patient is a king who can decide the outcome of the battle against the disease. The Chinese metaphor about the physician as a general indicates that a good general should know the limitations of his strategy, so should a good physician remain alert and cautious when facing the fast-changing conditions of the disease.

Moreover, the fundamental theory behind the Chinese most famous military classic book *Sunzi Binfa* (The Art of War) presents a view that the ultimate skill of tactics in war is to subdue enemies without a fight. In other words, the supreme form of war is to wage no war at all. In the same way, as in traditional Chinese medicine, the best treatment of illness denotes not only the minimum amount of medicine dose, but making no medicine usage at all (Nie, et al 2016). This is how it differs in Chinese culture from what we have learned about the popular understandings of war as well as those of military metaphors in medicine. The way traditional Chinese medicine views illness is different from modern medicine in conceptualizing how patients contract the disease, the follow-up treatment and the roles of patients as well as doctors. Nie et al.'s study has offered us a particular cultural-specific metaphor to understand illness and the conceptualization framework behind it.

In English, Gibbs and Franks (2002) outline the metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and CANCER IS AN OBSTACLE ON LIFE'S JOURNEY in the narratives of those patients with cancer to describe the experience of being ill. The idea of cancer as a journey emphasizes the illness experience as part of a life journey which is so universal to many languages and cultures. Xu (2016) reveals how journey metaphors can be applied in the cancer treatment process in Chinese. Lai and Chen (2019) investigate journey metaphors used in

metaphoric euphemisms related to aging, illness, and death in Chinese. The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is elaborated with Chinese examples to illustrate the formation of metaphoric expressions. And it may be particularly applicable to cancer since the treatment of this disease has largely been progressed and transformed from an acute disease to a chronic one. Therefore, in both English and Chinese, the domains of war and journey have been used as source domains to help people understand the situation in illness.

The studies of metaphorical expressions using domains such as war and journey are not only limited to some chronic disease like cancer. Conceptual metaphor in infectious diseases have drawn a lot of attentions from many researchers: Ebola in the 1990s (Ungar 1998, Joffe 2002), followed by foot and mouth disease (Nerlich et al. 2002, Nerlich 2004), SARS (Washer 2004, Wallis and Nerlich 2005), avian flu (Nerlich and Halliday 2007, Ungar 2008), swine flu (Nerlich and Koteyko 2012, Angeli 2012) and MERS (Shin 2016, Jeon & Yu 2016). From the outbreak of COVID-19 onwards, researchers are keen to find out metaphors used in this unprecedented pandemic and try to figure out how people would view this unknown disease in terms of more concrete concepts.

Semino (2021) claims that metaphors about war and disasters used in the context of COVID-19 pandemic are particularly frequent and controversial. In the article, it is suggested that fire metaphors are particularly appropriate in communication about different aspects of the pandemic. Generally speaking, present research on metaphors used in the context of COVID-19 mainly focus on the discourse in public communication about COVID-19 pandemic and the discussion of metaphor-based words and lexicons is limited.

F . Summary

To sum up, in this section we have reviewed the theory of conceptual metaphor and metaphorical mapping as well as highlighting and hiding (Lakoff

& Johnson 1980). Then, the concept of metonymy has been recovered and the interactions between metaphor and metonymy (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011) have also been provided. Further, the universality and diversity of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2010, Yu 1995, 1998) were presented. Finally, the usage of disease as a source domain in metaphorical expressions has been gone through (Jing-Schmidt 2017, Potts & Semino 2019) and moreover, the disease as a target domain (Gibbs & Franks 2002, Nie, et al. 2016) has also been reviewed both in English and Chinese.

As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed, the human conceptual system is grounded on bodily experience and interactions with the world. Now people all around the world have been suffering from the same COVID-19 pandemic with similar experience and social restrictions. It is interesting for researchers to conduct a cross-linguistic analysis and explore the universality and diversity of conceptual metaphors used across different languages and cultures. In this dissertation, we are going to elaborate the neologism related to COVID-19 in both English and Chinese. Then, by conducting a comparative study of English and Chinese, we will further offer some possible explanations for the similarity and variety in these two languages from a cognitive perspective.

III. War Metaphor-based Neologism Related to COVID-19 in English and Chinese

War metaphors are ubiquitous in public discourse ranging from politics, disease to social problems such as crime and corruption (Flusberg et al. 2018). Because of warfare metaphorical expressions are conveying the situation that is urgent and demanding immediate actions, they have been found to be widely used in describing infectious diseases and their impact on human lives such as SARS (Chiang & Duann 2007, Joye 2010) and the H1N1 influenza (de la Rosa 2007). During the COVID-19 pandemic, some researchers claimed that the overuse of war metaphors may increase fear and panic among the public. Besides, many scholars discussed how war metaphors can shape our thoughts and attempted to find alternative metaphors other than military ones to better depict different aspects of the pandemic (Barker, 2020, Connolly 2020, Marron et al. 2020, Semino 2021, Panzeri et al. 2021). Yet it is reasonable and universal to use war metaphors as they were particularly accessible and frequently in use when coping with the emergent public health crisis like COVID-19 pandemic across different languages.

In English, previous studies showed that military metaphors used in the disease area would enhance the courage of patients when facing disease, and assist society coordinate resources in dealing with the outbreak of public health crisis (Casarett et al. 2010, Fuks 2009, Harrington 2012). In Chinese, military metaphors for disease appeared widely since the modern western medicine had been introduced into China, which has profoundly affected the perceptions of disease and health in China (Jia 2015, Xie & Jia 2011). In both English and Chinese, war metaphors have been found to be widely used in the medicine and health fields (Zhang & Fleming 2005). The prevalence of war metaphors across cultures can increase perceptions of the disease as serious and urgent, and the requirement of changing people's behaviors accordingly. The meaning

of danger and urgency of the disease was conveyed via war metaphors and a sense of collective accountability and sacrifice for a common purpose was also generated from it (Flusberg et al. 2018). Although the overuse of war metaphors in disease and medicine domains has been criticized for bringing the blame to the patients as well as fear and anxiety to the public, still war metaphors can be easily found in coverages, especially political discourses across the world during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Both Chinese and American leaders were reported in their speeches to describe COVID-19 as an enemy. Chinese President Xi Jinping spoke at the meeting of Politburo Standing Committee on February 3, 2020:

(14) “Women bixu Jianjue ezhi yiqing manyan shitou, jianjue daying yiqing fangkong **zujizhan**.”²⁾

“We must resolutely block the spread of the epidemic and firmly win the **battle** of epidemic prevention and control.”

-Chinese President Xi Jinping

In President Xi's speech, he alluded the COVID-19 epidemic to an enemy that needs to be curbed and blocked. Similarly, the US President Donald Trump, in a White House conference on March 18, declared himself a “Wartime President” and described the pandemic as an invisible enemy:

(15) “We must sacrifice together because we are all in this together and we'll come through together. It's the invisible enemy. That's always the toughest enemy: the invisible enemy. But we're going to defeat the invisible enemy.”³⁾ -US President Donald Trump

Apart from speeches from Chinese and American leaders, other leaders

2) <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0204/c64094-31569480.html>

3) <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/03/19/politics/donald-trump-leadership-coronavirus/index.html>

around the world make statements employing war metaphors such as French president, Emmanuel Macron declared that the COVID-19 pandemic as a state of war, Brazil's president Bolsonaro claimed that people were at war with the pandemic.

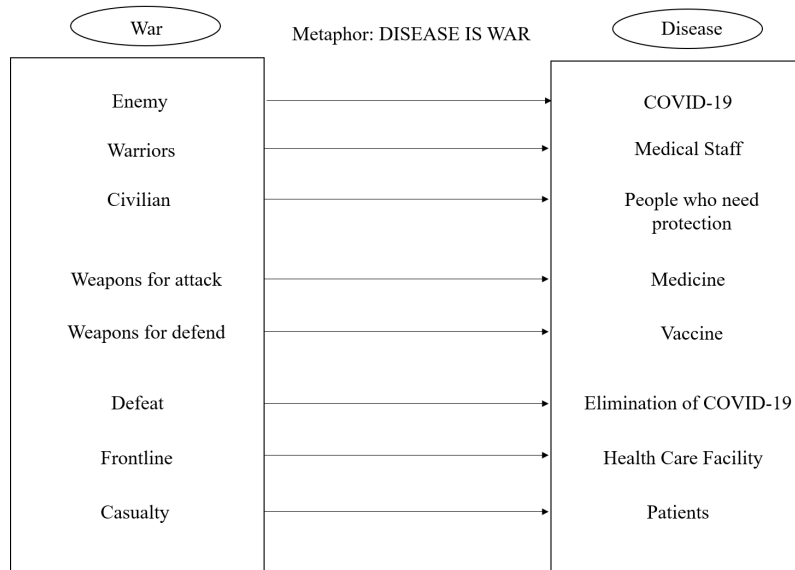
The primary metaphor identified in here is DISEASE IS WAR where source domain is war domain and target domain is disease domain. Evidently, there are many elements included in the conceptual framework of war domain such as enemies and warriors. Some of them are highlighted and mapped onto the target domain in the coinage of different neologism related to the infectious disease.

Typically in a war, soldiers or warriors combat with each other in the battlefield. Two major groups of soldiers involved in a warfare: Those hostile enemies whom we are fighting against and those friendly troops we are fighting with. Civilians are non-military personnel who need protection from the army and frontline is the most advanced line in the battlefield where soldiers combat with each other directly. In order to succeed in winning a war, commanders must plan out strategies and tactics including attacking or defending to defeat the enemy troops.

The conceptualization of treating the disease can be seen as fighting against the enemy in a war. The process of curing the disease is much in the same way as winning a battle in a war. Similar to the military operations in the war domain, the disease is a dangerous threat and considered as an enemy to human beings thus needs to be defeated. Medical workers like doctors and nurses are soldiers who fight against the disease to help patients beat the enemy and recover from illness.

In regarding to fight against a highly infectious disease, the most effective strategy is to impose series of strict social regulations to cut off the transmission chain of spreading. These social measures which are employed to combat the disease correspond to those strategies in the battle. In the war against the COVID-19 pandemic, fighting with COVID-19 is understood in terms of waging a war on the disease. The figure below is the framework of

the primary metaphor DISEASE IS WAR.



<Figure 7>

Metaphorical Mapping of DISEASE IS WAR

From the above Figure 7, needless to say the metaphorical mapping of elements in these two domains are not limited to the elements above. In terms of the neologism in specific, only some elements of the source domain are utilized concerning the particular concepts it tries to illustrate. For example, in speaking of the medical workers who fight against the disease, the notion of soldiers or warriors are utilized. In the following section, we are about to explore various neologisms depending on the generic metaphor DISEASE IS WAR and examine the cognitive process underlying the meaning of each word in English and Chinese related to COVID-19 pandemic.

A. English Neologism

1. *Frontline / Covid / Corona Warriors*⁴⁾

a. Meaning Extension

The word *warriors* is a typical term used in war domain to denote those combat personnel fighting each other in a battlefield. *Frontline Warriors* is the term to refer to those working staff who fight the disease on the frontline including medical workers, volunteers and other essential staff. Other similar compounds which are used in the same way to denote those workers who deal with COVID-19 are *Covid Warriors* and *Corona Warriors*. Under the circumstances of fighting COVID-19, such compounds which include ‘Warriors’ as one of their components are used to describe those people who help the public combat the pandemic, especially for those medical practitioners. Let us see some examples of these words below:

- (16) a. The 2½-minute video begins with a dedication to workers on the front line: "To all you **frontline warriors** holding the front line fighting coronavirus around the world." The video then switches to a three-screen split of May, Lambert and Taylor performing the song.⁵⁾ -(CNN May 3, 2020)
- b. Srinivas B.V., a political organizer from New Delhi, India, is on a mission to help as many people as he can with medical supplies he says should be coming from the government. CNN's Vedika Sud meets the people who owe their lives to the man they call the "**Covid Warrior**" amid a crisis that has seen the country report more than 3,000 Covid-19 deaths in each of the

4) Typically used in India, but accepted in the majority of English-speaking nations.

5) http://lite.cnn.com/en/article/h_aa5a93fae1b11e4bcc306dc2b32bba37

past few days.”⁶⁾ -(CNN May 7, 2021)

- c. In its ruling, the court said teachers on pandemic duties were "corona warriors," the name the Indian government gives to workers helping to fight the pandemic.⁷⁾ -(CNN Jan. 18, 2021)

From the above examples, it can be clearly seen that the term ‘Warriors’ which used in military domain is now referring to those workers who help people fight against the disease. Although these three compounds have different modifiers such as *frontline*, *covid* and *corona*, these constituents emphasized different angles of those workers who help people fight the infectious disease. In example (16a), *frontline warriors* emphasizes those workers' closeness to the disease in which they put themselves in the most advanced front to combat the pandemic. In example (16b) and (16c), the meaning of the newly COVID-19 disease or novel corona virus as the antagonist to human beings is stressed. In general, new words or expressions like above including ‘*Warriors*’ denote those workers who fight against the COVID-19 pandemic as an enemy to protect people from the disease.

b . Metaphorical Mapping

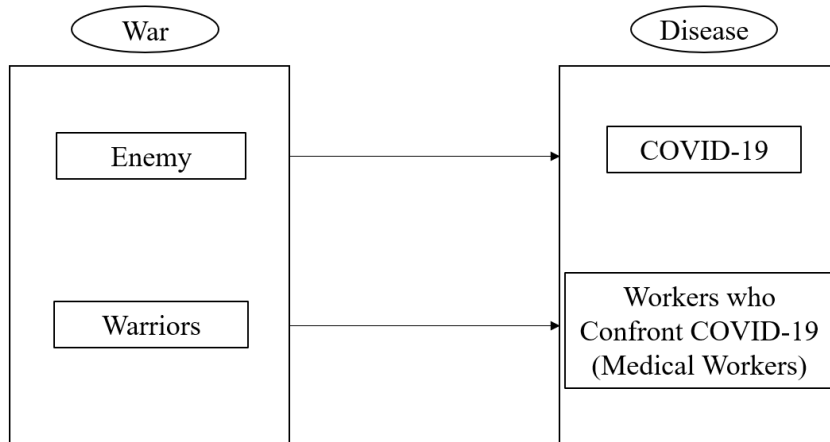
In the situation of COVID-19 pandemic, this infectious disease is metaphorically understood as a common enemy of all people. Moreover, those medical workers as well as other essential staff who help people fight the disease are ‘warriors’ in the battlefield combating the enemy. Obviously, the concepts of enemy and warrior in the war domain have mapped onto the disease domain. Regardless of the different modifiers in the compounds such as *Frontline*, *Covid* or *Corona*, the compound as a whole remains as a metaphorical expression to represent those workers who fight against the

6) <https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2021/05/07/india-coronavirus-delhi-oxygen-sud-pkg-intl-ldn-vpx.cnn>

7) <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/01/17/india/delhi-covid-teachers-frontlines-hnk-intl-dst/index.html>

pandemic. Figure 8 below shows the metaphorical mapping between the source domain and target domain.

Frontline/Covid/Corona Warrior



<Figure 8>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Frontline/Covid/Corona Warrior*

The *warriors* and *enemy* elements in the source domain are utilized in regarding to describe those heroes who battle valiantly with the infectious disease as an enemy in the target domain. As showed in Figure 8, the concept of *Warriors* in the source domain is mapped onto the target domain as workers fighting against the disease. This type of neologism that compounded *warriors* as its constituent is based on war metaphor which enables people to understand the dauntlessness of those health care workers. As showed in these compounds, modifiers in *Corona Warriors* and *Covid Warriors* specify the particular disease that people need to fight against while the modifier in the compound *Frontline Warriors* lay emphasis on the closeness of the place where medical practitioners are struggling with the disease directly, especially denoting hospitals or other health care facilities. In fact, the name *corona* derives from Latin which itself is a borrowing word from Greek meaning a

crown or wreath since the coronavirus is surrounded by spikes projecting outward which looks like a crown or wreath. In addition, the new terminology *Covid*, was coined in February 2020, stands for the novel coronavirus disease which leads to the global pandemic threatening human health and lives.

In sum, the above pattern of neologism with the component ‘*Warriors*’ in the compound is grounded on the primary conceptual metaphor DISEASE IS WAR, highlighting COVID-19 as an enemy and medical staff as warriors who fight against the disease.

2. Zoom-bombing

a . Meaning Extension

Zoom-bombing is a new word coined due to the enormous increase of on-line meetings and non-face-to-face communications in light of the stay-at-home and lock-down regulations during the pandemic. Literally, on one hand, *Zoom* is a popular video-conferencing platform used for digital devices such as computers and smartphones to participate an online meeting. During the coronavirus crisis, the virtual video meeting application of *Zoom* has become the standard vehicle for connecting people with each other in both business and personal settings. *Bombing*, on the other hand, is a military action that would destroy objects and people. *Zoom-bombing* as a neologism is created to refer to those destruction of online meetings resulted from hijacking online conferences with unwanted or offensive materials such as violence and pornography. These cyber harassments can cause mental distress for those participants and thus force the meeting to be terminated. Since the outbreak of COVID-19, this pandemic has substantially changed our way of life in many aspects. As a social restriction measure to reduce the possibility of spreading the virus, people from all walks of life were required to stay at home and study or work from home. With the growing number of tele-communicating

and online meeting software users, numerous misconducts occurred in the conferences on the Internet. In a typical *Zoom-bombing* incident, often the meeting collapsed due to the hijacking behavior by some violent, obscene, pornography or racist materials. These disturbing contents cause damages to the emotional wellbeing of the participants and lead to the shut down of the conference. Let us see some examples below.

- (17) a. As video conference app Zoom surges in popularity due to increased usage amid the coronavirus pandemic, federal officials are now warning of a new potential privacy and security concern called "**Zoombombing**." The term refers to a form of cyber harassment reported by some app users, who have reported that some of their calls have been hijacked by unidentified individuals and trolls who spew hateful language or share graphic images.⁸⁾ -(CNN Sep. 8, 2020)
- b. The migration of work, school and prayer to online platforms has created a new form of cyber harassment called **Zoom bombing**, where hijackers disrupt video conferences with racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic or pornographic material. The meeting was attacked by unknown hijackers who shouted racist slurs and profanity, and filled the meeting's chat box with a torrent of offensive name calling and racist remarks. The host tried to remove the intruders, but was forced to shut down the meeting. Students attending from their dorm rooms, living rooms and kitchen tables were left staring at blank screens, feeling shattered, wounded and angry.⁹⁾ -(CNN April 2, 2020)

In the above examples, both 17(a) and 17(b) have explained that *Zoombombing* is a new form of cyber harassment emerging on a large scale

8) <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/09/08/us/university-zoombombing-isis-arrest/index.html>

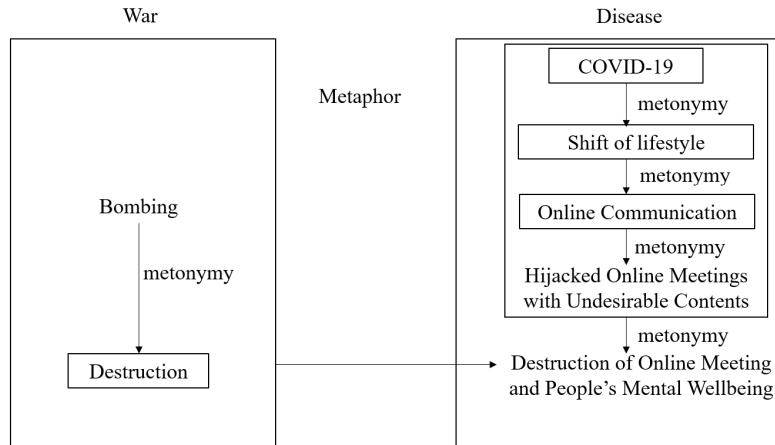
9) <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/04/02/us/fbi-warning-zoombombing-trnd/index.html>

during the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, in example 17(b) the behaviour of *Zoombombing* not only led to the shut-down of the meeting but also resulted in the destruction of mental wellbeing which left the participants in shock and wounded.

b . Metaphorical Mapping

The word *bombing* is a term regularly used in a modern military action. In the context of COVID-19, the meaning of *Zoom* actually stands for the online meetings while the compound *Zoombombing* refers to those cyber harassments which result in damages in mentality of people as well as the shut down of online meetings. The word *bombing* in the neologism *Zoombombing* has extended its meaning from the war domain to the new situation of COVID-19 pandemic. Bombing in a military operation can cause an extensive damages. Not only can it kill people but it also can give rise to the collapse of buildings and facilities. The action of bombing may result in significant damages to people both physically and mentally. In a *Zoombombing* activity, considering the undesirable contents such as violent, racist, lewd or other annoying materials are metaphorically compared to ‘bombs’, the utilization of such materials to raid an online meeting is like ‘bombing’ in a military operation. The similarity between interrupting an online session with the forcibly inserted annoying contents and bombing in a war is that both of these activities would cause destruction of objects and mentality of people. The behaviour of *Zoombombing* can force the conference to shut down and meanwhile hurt the feelings of the audience just as bombing in a military action can bring down buildings and mentally traumatize those people who are involved in. The following Figure 9 is the metaphorical mapping of *Zoombombing* from the war domain to the disease domain.

Zoombombing



<Figure 9>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Zoombombing*

From the above figure, in the source domain, bombing is the element that is utilized under the framework of war when examining the neologism *Zoombombing*. The metaphoric source domain is expanded from bombing to the destruction it caused via the metonymy CAUSE FOR EFFECT as the consequence of bombing leads to the destruction of objects and people's emotional wellbeing during a military operation. In the target domain, since the novel corona virus is so contagious, it has changed many of our daily routines into a new model to adapt to the COVID-19 situation. Thus the metaphoric target domain has been reduced to a shifting of lifestyle caused by the pandemic via the metonymy CAUSE FOR EFFECT. Then amid the great amounts of changes that COVID-19 has brought to people's life such as online meeting and working, it has further narrowed down the metaphoric domain to online communications as part of the changes that the infectious disease has engendered via the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART. Moreover, online communications include those online meetings which are attacked by

undesirable materials as a part of online communicating activities, hence the domain can be further reduced via the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART. The action of interrupting online conferences with negative contents leads to the shut down of those meetings and the damage of the participants' mental wellbeing, thus the metaphorical target domain is reduced to the consequence of those misconducts through the metonymy CAUSE FOR EFFECT. The concept of a military notion 'bombing' and its consequences in the source domain has been metaphorically mapped onto the target domain to interpret the harassments in an online meeting and the destructive consequence of such behaviors. Therefore the metaphorical mapping is established between the source domain and target domain.

As stated above, the whole compound itself is based on war metaphors highlighting the element of bombing and its damaging effect. The other constituent in the compound of *Zoombombing* is *Zoom* which in turn a software for remote video conferences. In fact, *Zoom*, the first component of *Zoombombing*, is one of the leading mainstream video communication softwares. It is a popular online meeting platform and has a powerful influence on people. The word *Zoom* is no longer just seen as a kind of conference software but all the online communications and interactions as a whole. It represents all the conferences and meetings on cyber space via the tele-communicating softwares like *Zoom*. Hence *Zoom* as the prototypical instrument of online communications stands for all the remote communicative activities on line such as meetings and personal interactions. Hence the metonymy INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION acts upon this component of the compound.

Another similar expression is *Zoom raiding* which is also based on war metaphor and can be observed from various news sources as shown in examples below.

- (18) a. In recent weeks, as schools, businesses, support groups and millions of individuals have adopted Zoom as a meeting

platform in an increasingly remote world, reports of “Zoombombing” or “**Zoom raiding**” by uninvited participants have become frequent.¹⁰⁾ -(NY Times. April 3, 2020)

- b. Zoombombing, aka "**Zoomraiding**," occurs when an unwanted individual joins a chat/conference session by simply clicking on a link to a public Zoom event. Once the troll has entered the session, he/she is able to harass the users with offensive messaging and imagery.¹¹⁾ -(Complex.com April 17, 2020)

Obviously, it can be easily seen that *Zoomraiding* shares the same meaning with *Zoombombing*. Besides, both ‘bombing’ and ‘raiding’ are military terms used in the war domain which lead to destructions on entities and damages on people's mental health. Under the circumstance of COVID-19 pandemic, these two neologisms convey the meaning of hijacking online meetings with undesirable contents which as a consequence results in the shut-down of meetings as well as the damage of people's mental wellbeing.

Other new words which are created by combining *Zoom* as a constituent such as *Zoom-ready*, *Zoom-Boom* and *Zoom-Fatigue* are neologisms which reflect the particular incidents related to online meetings. *Zoom-ready* is the preparation for online appearances, to be more specific, a waist-up dressing. *Zoom-Boom* is the substantial increase of online interactions and communications and *Zoom-Fatigue* is the prolonged video conferences that contribute to one's weariness. Although these new lexicons are not based on war metaphors, they followed the new lifestyle which resulted from the pandemic.

10) <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/03/technology/zoom-harassment-abuse-racism-fbi-warning.html>

11) <https://www.complex.com/life/zoombombing-explained-how-to-prevent>

3. *Infodemic*

a . Meaning Extension

The word *infodemic*, a blending word of information and epidemic, means the spread of misinformation about COVID-19 is like the disease itself that needs to be fought against. This new term was witnessed a huge upsurge in usage during the pandemic since the knowledge of the unknown disease has fallen short. As the novel corona virus itself is full of mystery, a mix of true and fake information prevails in the public. Further, with the growing development of social communication technology, the spread of mixed information has been accelerated via social media and Internet. The dissemination of misinformation can mislead the public and provoke the mistrust in health authorities which as a result would hamper the prevention of the infectious disease. The following is the explanation of *infodemic* by World Health Organization (WHO):

- (19) An **infodemic** is too much information including false or misleading information in digital and physical environments during a disease outbreak. It causes confusion and risk-taking behaviours that can harm health. It also leads to mistrust in health authorities and undermines the public health response.¹²⁾ -(From WHO Website)

From the definition by the World Health Organization (WHO) above, *infodemic* is overabundant information mixed with false or untrue contents that spreads rapidly. It can cause confusion among the public and impede the necessary measures that should be taken in responding to COVID-19. Therefore *infodemic* like the epidemic itself, is treated as an enemy to all human beings

12) https://www.who.int/health-topics/infodemic#tab=tab_1

and must be defeated. The expression ‘*fighting an infodemic*’ is a common phrase in the time of COVID-19 pandemic as *infodemic* is metaphorically compared as an enemy in a war. The phrase ‘*fighting an infodemic*’ refers to combat the fake or inaccurate information about the disease which would harm people by misleading them to ignore correct health advice. To fight against the *infodemic* is a way of protecting people from the misleading information. Down below are some examples of this expression.

- (20) a. Aleksandra Kuzmanovic, social media manager with WHO’s department of communications, told The Lancet that “**fighting infodemics** and misinformation is a joint effort between our technical risk communications[team] and colleagues who are working on the EPI-WIN platform, where they communicate with different...professionals providing them with advice and guidelines and also receiving information.¹³⁾

- (The Lancet Feb.29, 2020)

- b. We’re not just fighting an epidemic; we’re **fighting an infodemic**, Fake news spreads faster and more easily than this virus, and is just as dangerous.”¹⁴⁾

- Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus

(Director-General of the WHO)

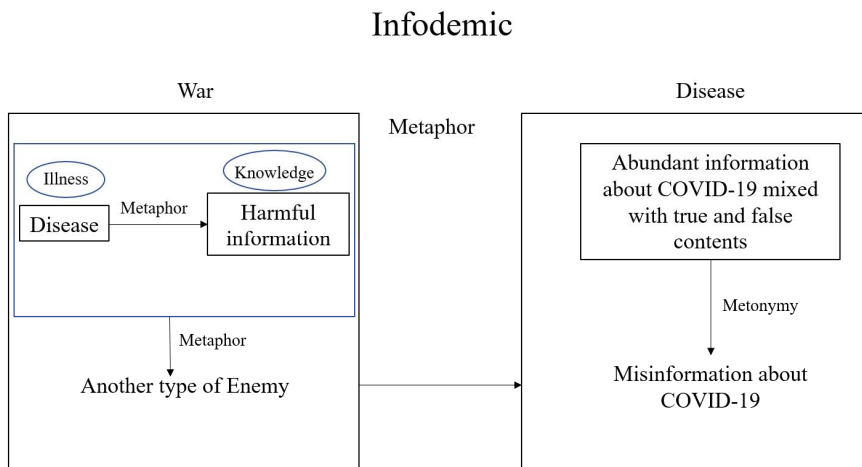
Example (20a) and (20b) showed that the *infodemic* is much like an enemy as an epidemic to the public and people should fight against it in the same way as combating the pandemic.

13) [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(20\)30461-X/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(20)30461-X/fulltext)

14) <https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/munich-security-conference>

b . Metaphorical Mapping

The neologism *infodemic* literally means too much information mixed with false and true contents. The correct information about the unknown disease would guide people to make sensible decisions that could save lives while the misinformation spreads like a virus which can cause fear and panic amid the public. Furthermore, with the help of social media and modern digital technology, the fake information can be diffused so rapidly that it can influence a wide range of ordinary people without expertise on the disease and may be conducive to people's anti-scientific behaviors that would harm themselves as well as the general public. Akin to the infectious disease that is harmful to the health of people, the misinformation about the disease also poses a great danger to people in society. Therefore, likewise the COVID-19 pandemic is treated as the enemy to all human beings, *infodemic* was also metaphorically considered as another type of enemy to the public which must be fought against. In fact, it is the misinformation about the disease that needs to be dealt with. See Figure 10 below.



<Figure 10>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Infodemic*

The above Figure 10 demonstrated the metaphorical mapping of how *infodemic* is metaphorically employed under the circumstance of the pandemic. In the source domain of war, the meaning of *infodemic* is first understood as an infectious disease which spreads rapidly and is harmful to people. Then the sense of the harmful information metaphorically mapped onto the war domain as another type of enemy that needs to combat with. In the target domain, the mixed information of true and false contents metonymically stands for the misinformation about COVID-19 pandemic via the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART since the false information is part of all the fast-spreading information about the disease as a whole. Thus the metaphoric target domain is reduced to the meaning of misinformation about the disease. From the metaphoric source domain of war to the metaphoric target domain of disease, a metaphorical mapping is established between the elements of enemy and misinformation. The similarity between fighting an enemy in a war and fighting an *infodemic* in the context of COVID-19 is in the same way as both of them are harmful to people. In here, *infodemic* is similar to the pandemic as the enemy of all people. On one hand, the pandemic caused by the highly contagious virus spreads very fast from person to person and poses a great danger to human health. On the other hand, the misinformation spreads like a virus at its speed and results in damages on people's cognition towards correct information. The consequence of virus proliferation may do harms to human health and arise panic among people. Also, the wide spread of fake information can give rise to distrust and ignorance of correct advice which increases the possibility of getting infected. Therefore, the *infodemic* must be fought against as an enemy to ensure people's safety.

Similarly, a lot of other neologisms are coined by blending epidemic to form a new word, such as '*plandemic*' and '*twindemic*'. When the novel corona virus was first identified in China, conspiracy theories emerged. Some skeptics and conspiracy theorist proponents have implied that the COVID-19 pandemic as a *plandemic*, a planned plot that deliberately leak the virus into the world from a research laboratory aiming to trigger a pandemic around the

globe. Meanwhile, another blending new word, *Twindemic*, coined during COVID-19 refers to an outbreak of a seasonal flu occurring alongside an increase in cases of COVID-19, especially in the winter of 2020. The usage of such new words resembles the term *infodemic* which is treated as an enemy to people and need to be fought against. See examples below.

- (21) a. A documentary-style video showing unsubstantiated claims about the novel coronavirus has been removed from Facebook and YouTube. "**Plandemic**," which went viral this week, features controversial and potentially dangerous conspiracy theories about the coronavirus pandemic.¹⁵⁾ -(CNN May 9th, 2020)
- b. As doctors worry about a coronavirus-and-flu "**twin-demic**" that could overwhelm the health care system, Americans must contend with another possibility: fighting both viruses at the same time. "You can certainly get both the flu and Covid-19 at the same time, which could be catastrophic to your immune system," said Dr. Adrian Burrowes, a family medicine physician in Florida.¹⁶⁾ -(CNN Sep. 11th, 2020)

In the above examples (21a) and (21b), English neologisms '*plandemic*' and '*twindemic*' are some potential dangers that people must be aware of. Similarly, these kinds of situations are deemed metaphorically as "another types of enemy" other than the COVID-19 itself which people must fight against. The cognitive process of these neologisms are also on a metaphor basis which enables the features of war domain mapped onto the target domain.

15) <https://local12.com/news/videos/heres-why-a-viral-coronavirus-conspiracy-video-was-yanked-from-facebook-youtube>

16) <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/09/11/health/covid-flu-together-health-impact/index.html>

4. *Bubbles*

a. Meaning Extension

The word *bubbles* is used as a neologism during the pandemic of COVID-19. The literal meaning of a *bubble* is “a thin membrane of liquid enclosing a volume of air or another gas; a body of gas present in a liquid” as defined in the Oxford dictionary¹⁷⁾. In fact, *bubbles* can be easily observed in our daily life as a ball of gas in liquid or floats in the air.

- (22) a. As water begins to boil, bubbles rise to the surface.
 b. Emily was blowing soap bubbles in he garden.
 c. The kids like bubbles in their bath. -(Google.com)

In example (22a), *bubbles* mean a ball-shaped body containing some air inside which is surrounded by water while in examples (22b) and (22c), *bubbles* are soap bubbles which can float in the air or float on the surface of water.

However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the word *bubble* extended its literal meaning to accommodate a new situation. It refers to a temporarily isolated group of people who conduct a certain level of protective measures. Within the group, people can interact physically or socialize together limiting to the members of the group. These *bubbles* are formed as a temporary social regulation measure to cope with the public health crisis and once the spread of the disease is under control, *bubbles* as a measure to protect people's health and lives would be scrapped. The examples below demonstrate the meaning of isolated groups in *bubbles* during the pandemic.

- (23) a. A Covid-19 **bubble** is the (select few) friends or family members you can socialize with and enjoy a meal with,

17) <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/24071?rskey=F2IH1T&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>

mask-free. But the most important rule is no one can socialize in-person with anyone outside the **bubble**, especially without face masks.¹⁸⁾ -(CNN Dec.17, 2020)

- b. The Belgian government has reportedly been considering allowing people to form "social **bubbles**" of 10 people, according to Belgium's *Le Soir* citing a leaked memo. The memo proposed that a **bubble** of people could spend time together on weekends, as long as all 10 people agreed to socialize exclusively with each other. Overlapping bubbles would not be allowed.¹⁹⁾ -(CNN April 29, 2020)

As showed in examples (23a) and (23b), the extended meaning of a *bubble* during the pandemic conveys different social quarantined groups that involves with selected people. *Bubbles*, which we can often observe directly in a shower or washing activities, have a thin boundary that encloses some air or gas inside the sphere. The enclosed space which segregates the outside area from the inside one by a thin film gives rise to the notion of an isolated group within the bubble. In this way, the *bubble* is endowed with the meaning of isolated groups separating the inside members from the outside people during the pandemic. Apart from the meaning of isolated groups, a *bubble* also functions as a group where members can have close physical contacts and socialize together to meet their emotional needs while keeping social distance from others outside the group. *Bubbles* work as a system which provides people with emotional wellbeing and support. See examples below.

- (24) a. No matter if your **bubble** consists of two people or 10, in-person social interaction offers many mental health benefits that can't be ignored. So long as you're practicing safety precautions and limiting your numbers, there are many advantages to being a part

18) <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/12/09/health/covid-19-bubble-explainer-wellness/index.html>

19) <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/04/29/health/coronavirus-social-bubbles-intl/index.html>

of a social bubble. Participating may have a positive impact on your overall mental health.²⁰⁾ -(CNN March 11, 2021)

- b. “Parents are letting their children's boyfriends and girlfriends join family quarantine **bubbles**. As it turns out, it's not just hormones that are driving families to expand their social **bubbles** to include their young adult child's boyfriend or girlfriend. It's often a recognition that this is a lonely time and that isolation might make it worse for a couple forced to separate during this long pandemic.”²¹⁾ -(CNN Jan. 7, 2021)

As examples in (24a) and (24b) implied, the meaning of *bubbles* as a regulatory measure is to limit the transmission of the disease and at the same time to balance the emotional wellbeing of people. As there exists no boundaries inside the bubble that would block the free flow of air or gas, so does the people inside the isolated social groups where they can interact with each other to meet emotional needs without any difficulties. Hence the *bubble* used in the context of COVID-19 includes the meaning of keeping social distance from outside people while mentally and physically support each other within the group.

In addition, not only does the *bubble* include the meaning of isolated groups of people where they can balance the limit of the spread of the disease and the emotional wellbeing, but also the temporariness as a social measure to deal with COVID-19 pandemic. Once the infectious disease is under control or no longer poses a threat to human lives, the *bubble* would be scraped when our life returns to normal again. The following examples illustrate the meaning of temporariness in *bubbles*.

- (25) a. The **bubble** system comes to a close on 19 July, alongside most of England's remaining coronavirus restrictions. This means that

20) <https://www.verywellmind.com/how-a-social-bubble-benefits-your-mental-health-5113492>

21) <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/01/07/health/pandemic-social-bubble-covid-19-wellness/index.html>

the final week of term will be a snap adjustment for the majority of schools.²²⁾

- b. Gavin Williamson, education secretary, will on Tuesday announce the scrapping of the “school **bubble**” system of self-isolation, to be replaced by testing.²³⁾

From examples in (25a) and (25b), the idea of scrapping the *bubbles* as a coronavirus restriction is stemmed from the fact that the disease is under control and the vaccination programs rolled out in many countries. The meaning of temporariness was implied in the sense of *bubbles* as a social restriction imposed by the authority. In other words, the meaning of *bubbles* is temporary isolated groups under the circumstance of COVID-19 pandemic. The idea of creating social *bubbles* during the COVID-19 public health crisis is an urgent and temporary measure to prevent the spread of the disease. Noticeably, this kind of groups exists only as a temporary measure to deal with the public health crisis and would soon vanish after the infectious disease is under control.

b . Metaphorical mapping

How can *bubbles* be interpreted as temporary isolated groups which can protect people from the harmful disease during the pandemic? The literal sense of the bubble is first extended to the temporary shelter in a battle that can protect people from the attacks of an enemy as we are at war with COVID-19 and the enemy is the infectious disease. Then the extended meaning of temporary shelters is further extended to temporary social groups in the pandemic situation as a way to protect people's health and lives.

22) <https://www.protocol-education.com/blog/2021/07/as-school-coronavirus-bubbles-end-heres-everything-your-staff-need-to-know>

23) <https://www.ft.com/content/d7c1b89a-4d6e-47b4-82a5-8f02e6bb9ec3>

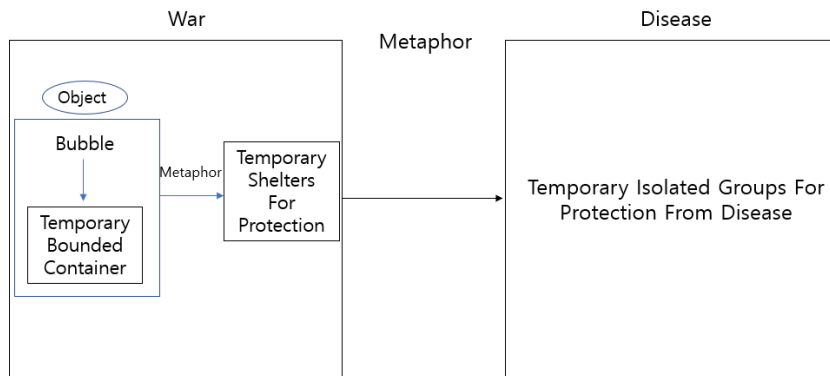
(i) From Object to Shelter

The literal meaning of *bubble* as discussed in example (20) as an object is often observed in hygienic activities such as bath or washing activities. These *bubbles* have films separating the inside space from the outside ones are the boundary of the object. Meanwhile, *bubbles* are temporary objects which are unlikely to last for a long time. Therefore, in the object domain, *bubbles* can be metaphorically treated as a bounded container which is for temporary use. The meaning of boundedness and temporariness from the literal meaning of *bubbles* can be interpreted as a temporary bounded container. Then the temporary container with boundaries can metaphorically mapped onto the war domain as temporary shelters for the protection of soldiers from the attacks outside. A shelter sometimes can be understood as a container to contain some isolated space within as a way to protect inside soldiers from the bullets and bombs outside. In here, the bounded area and temporariness are highlighted in war domain.

(ii) From Shelter to Social Group

It is universally recognized that shelters are constructed as a way to protect inside soldiers from the outside attacks in a battle. Similarly, the main goal of forming *bubbles* during the COVID-19 pandemic is to protect people within the group from the contagious disease outside and reduce the spread of the virus. Due to the temporariness of the shelters in a war, when it mapped onto the target domain, the meaning of temporariness also invoked, thus these isolated social groups during the pandemic are unlikely to last. See Figure 11 below.

Bubble



<Figure 11>

Metaphorically mapping of *Bubbles*

From the above Figure 11, in the source domain *bubbles* extended its meaning from the literal sense to temporary bounded container in the object domain since the boundary of a bubble separates the inside space and the outside one and at the same time easy to burst. Then, the temporary bounded container metaphorically corresponds onto the war domain as temporary shelters for protecting soldiers. As the COVID-19 is treated as an enemy of all people around the world, the concept of shelters in the war domain is mapped onto the target domain as temporary isolated groups via metaphor. Similar to the shelter in war domain as an entity to protect soldiers from attacks outside, isolated groups in disease domain serve as an invisible protection from the harmful disease in combating the pandemic. Further, physical and emotional interactions within the bubble also benefit the emotional wellbeing and give the protection of mental health of people as discussed in example (22). Thus the meaning of protection is mapped from the shelter in war domain onto the target domain as isolated groups. Both shelters and isolated groups are for temporary use since the *bubble* is unlikely to last for a long time. Hence the meaning of temporariness is shared both in source domain and target domain.

In sum, the term *bubbles* was endowed with a new meaning in the situation of fighting against the COVID-19, that is temporary isolated groups. The

extended meaning in the context of battling COVID-19 shares the related sense in other various domains which is derived from its literal meaning. For example, a *bubble* can refer to an idealized situation that is isolated from reality which is unlikely to last. When it applies to economic domain, *bubbles* imply a fake prosperity lacking of intrinsic increases in value and will soon collapse. Although the extended meanings of *bubbles* vary in different situations, they share the meaning relatedness from the literal sense. In the situation of COVID-19, the shelters in the war domain metaphorically denote those temporary isolated groups for protection of people from the disease both physically and mentally. *Bubbles* were designated as a social distance regulation to protect people from being harmed by the infectious disease and balance people's emotional wellbeing at the same time. Social *bubbles* were introduced during the pandemic as an urgent and temporary strategy to block the transmission chain of the infectious disease while satisfying people's need for social interactions.

B. Chinese Neologism

Since the birth of modern Western medicine theory, it has changed the way people conceptualizing diseases. The disease is now considered as a pathogen including germs and virus which can invade human body to make people sick. In addition to the theories and treatments of modern Western medicine, military metaphors have been used extensively in medical discourse (Baehr 2006). With the development of modern medicine in China, the usage of war metaphors have also been absorbed into the Chinese context and combined with China's own traditional medical theory and culture, which led to nuances in utilizing war metaphors with Chinese characteristics (Jia 2015, Nie et al. 2016). In Chinese, the use of war metaphors in responding to disease has been a long history (Nie 1996, Nie et al. 2016). As stated in the Chinese traditional medicine classic *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Medicine* (Veith 1997), the

traditional Chinese medicine system posits that disease is caused by the imbalance of human body due to the ‘invasion’ of external pathological substance. Human body “resists” the “invasion” at first like the immune system in modern medicine and should the attempt of human body itself fail to restore the balance, symptoms would appear and medical practitioners can help people reconstruct the harmony by adopting different treatments according to individual symptoms of diseases. Hence, in light of the theory in Chinese traditional medicine, war metaphors used for illness reflects the resistance to the “invasion” of the disease, terms such as “defense” “resistance” and “guard” were often used in Chinese context (Xie & Jia, 2011).

In Chinese, military metaphorical phrases for disease can be easily observed in many discourses such as “invading or attacking,” “defending,” “army of medicine,” “conquer the disease” and so on (Yang & Dong 2017). As the modern Western medical system was introduced into China in 19th century, it has influenced the whole medical system. A mixed military metaphor system for disease combined with Western and Chinese traditional medicine theory emerged in China’s medical discourse (Yang 2020).

When the infectious disease COVID-19 emerged in China, the Chinese government officially called for a “War of controlling and preventing.” Many war metaphorical expressions and slogans appeared frequently in Chinese news media (Yang & Dong 2017). During the pandemic outbreak in China, military metaphors for this unknown disease was heavily used (Yang 2020). See some examples below.

(26) a. Xinguan-bingdu caishi liangan renmin gongtong de **diren**.

“Novel corona virus is the common **enemy** of the people across the Taiwan Straits.” -(People’s Daily Feb. 13, 2020).

b. Xinguan feiyan yiqing turan laixi, shouwei renlei gongtong mingyun de kangyi xingdong suizhierqi. zhe buzhi shi yichang yiqing fangkong **zujizhan**, yeshi **shouhu** renleiwenming jingshen de teshu **zhandou**.

“Novel corona pneumonia pandemic breaks out suddenly, and the anti-epidemic action guarding the common destiny of humankind followed. This is not only a **“battle”** to prevent and control the epidemic, but also a special **“battle”** to **“guard”** the spirit of human civilization” -(People’s Daily Feb. 20, 2020).

In the above examples (26a) and (26b), military metaphorical expressions such as “enemy,” “battle” and “guard” are used to refer to the relationship between people and the disease. Apart from the above examples, a series of military terms were metaphorically used in describing how people caught the disease and the following medical treatment procedures. For example, in regarding to how people get ill, the words “invade,” “attack,” and “assault” were often used. In referring to how medical workers help people to fight the disease, the terms “defend,” “resist,” and “block” were often adopted. Paralleled to military metaphors in English, expressions such as *Zhanshi* ‘Warriors’ and *Qianxian* ‘Frontline’ are often seen in Chinese during the pandemic as well. However, in Chinese a more defensive and conservative way of expressions are used in coining the neologism during the pandemic since the influence of China’s own culture and traditional medicine.

1. *Baiyizhanshi* ‘Warriors in White’

a. Meaning Extension

The Chinese neologism *Baiyizhanshi* ‘Warriors in White’ is a compound of two words, the first component *Baiyi* which means ‘White Clothes’ functions as a modifier in the compound while the latter component *Zhanshi* which means ‘Warriors’ is the profile determinant. The compounding of the two words created a new word *Baiyizhanshi* which means ‘Warriors in White.’ Similar to its counterparts in English, it refers to those medical staff who save

lives and fight against the virus on the frontline. Let us see some examples of *Baiyizhanshi* ‘Warriors in White’ in Chinese.

- (27) a. Zai zhechang kangji yiqing zhandou zhong, wei shouhu qunzhong de shengming anquan, kangyi yixian de **baiyizhanshi** jianshou gangwei, zhangxian zuimei chuxin he qiangle shiming dandang. To safeguard people's lives, **Warriors in White** who combat the pandemic on the frontline stick to their posts and show their strong commitment and responsibility in the battle of fighting this pandemic.²⁴⁾ -(People's Daily Feb. 18, 2020)
- b. Jinrilai, quanshi jiedao shequ, jumin, danwei deng tongguo duozhong fangshi, xiang fenzhanzai kangyi yixian de guangda **baiyizhanshi** zhijing. Recently, all residents from different communities and blocks as well as various institutions in the city pay their tribute to all **Warriors in White** on the frontline who fight bravely against the pandemic.²⁵⁾ -(People's Daily Jan.28, 2021)

It can be easily observed from (27a) and (27b) that *Baiyizhanshi* in Chinese refers to those medical staff who bravely fight against the pandemic and safeguard people from the harmful disease. Similar to the neologism like *corona* or *covid* warriors in English, the meaning of warriors in a war domain is extended to the disease domain as medical practitioners via metaphorical mapping.

b . Metaphorical Mapping

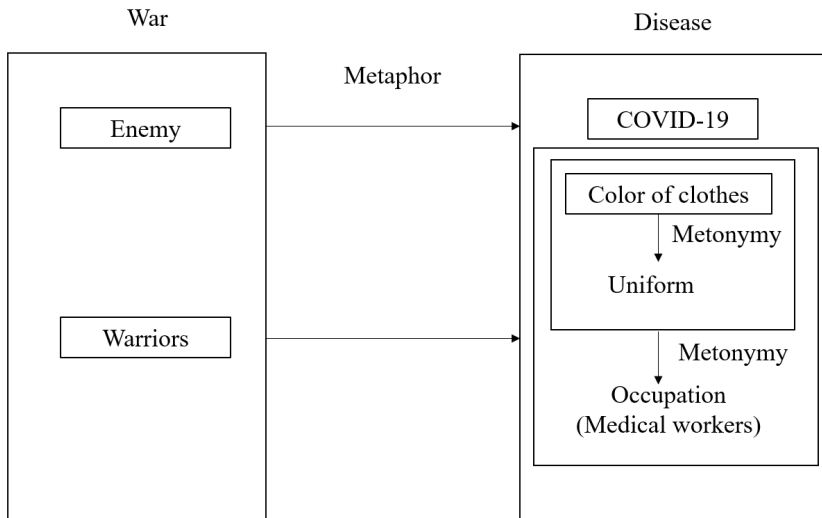
The metaphorical mapping of Chinese neologism *Baiyizhanshi* is similar to

24) <http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2020/0218/c202846-33805234.html>

25) <http://health.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0128/c14739-32015047.html>

its English counterparts such as *Covid warriors*, and etc. The COVID-19 pandemic is deemed as the enemy of people and those warriors who fight against the enemy in a war correspond onto the medical workers who protect the public from the infectious disease. However, in Chinese the modifier *Baiyi* ‘White Clothes’ of the compound stands for the occupation it implied while in English the modifier *corona* or *covid* is a referent of the particular virus that caused the pandemic. Figure 12 is the metaphorical mapping of *Baiyizhanshi* in Chinese.

Baiyizhanshi ‘Warriors in White’



<Figure 12>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Baiyizhanshi*

From the above Figure 12, in the source domain the element of enemy and warriors are utilized and are mapped onto the target domain as COVID-19 pandemic and medical workers, respectively. In the metaphoric target domain, the meaning is expanded from the color of clothes to uniforms of one's occupation and eventually to the occupation through metonymy. The term *Baiyi* ‘White Clothes’ is the clothes that are white and typically the professional

outfit that medical staff often wear at work. White clothes stand for the occupation of doctors and nurses due to the commonality that these people's uniforms are all in white at hospitals or other health care facilities. The professional outfit of medical practitioners is close enough to represent their occupation via the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE since the occupation attire is part of the whole occupation concept in the Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM). Notably, it is widely acknowledged that the colors of medical workers' uniforms are not necessarily limited to white, other colors may sometimes show up when particular medical treatment is performed such as blue or green surgery suits in an operation. The cognitive social stereotype however, is to view the white clothes as the prototype of their working outfit thus MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY metonymy implied that the white can represent the color of the professional suits of medical workers. Therefore, the whole compound *Baiyizhanshi* 'Warriors in White' can extend its meaning from war domain to disease domain as medical workers.

Interestingly, during the pandemic there exists an array of neologism in Chinese following the pattern of *Baiyizhanshi*. The modifier *Baiyi* 'White Clothes' can be replaced by clothes in other colors such as *Hongyi* 'Red Clothes' and *Lanyi* 'Blue Clothes' to refer to different people from various occupations that fight against the pandemic on the frontline. Clothes in different colors can stand for different occupations through metonymy following the cognitive process of *Baiyizhanshi* 'Warriors in White' as discussed above. *Hongyizhanshi* 'Warriors in Red' denote those volunteers who help community workers to support people in self-isolation since their uniforms are red jackets. *Lanyizhanshi* 'Warriors in Blue' refer to those police officials who help to maintain social order during the pandemic due to their blue uniforms. In this sense, there are many other new words that can be created in this way by which the compounds are metaphorically based on war metaphors. The whole compound has extended its meaning from military domain to disease domain and further expanded the target domain via metonymy.

The Chinese and English neologisms with respect to workers who fight

against the COVID-19 are in resemblance in terms of highlighting the element ‘Warriors’ and ‘Enemy’ in the source domain.

2. *Kangyi* ‘Resist Epidemic/Anti-Epidemic’

a. Meaning Extension

The Chinese new word *Kangyi* ‘Resist Epidemic or anti-Epidemic’, literally means “to resist the COVID-19 epidemic” or more often translated as fighting against the pandemic, is frequently mentioned in all social media and newspaper coverages when the COVID-19 epidemic broke out in China. To be more specific, *Kang* ‘resist’ means to resist an enemy's invasion which is often used in war domain. *Yi* ‘Epidemic or Pandemic’ refers to a disease that affects a great deal of people, also known as a plague which has been recorded for many times in different classics of traditional Chinese medicine. The following examples can illustrate the meaning of *Kangyi*.

- (28) a. Hesuan jiance shi **kangyi** zhandou de zhongyao “qianshao”.
zai guoqu de yizhou li, Liubo he tade jiance xiaozu, zhimian
bingdu, zhouye fenzhan, yi wancheng bapici qianyufen yangben
de hesuan jiance.²⁶⁾ -(People's Daily March 5, 2020)

Nucleic Acid Test is the “outpost” in the battle of **resisting epidemic**. In the last past week, Liubo and his testing team have been confronting the virus and testing samples day and nights. In total, they have successfully completed eight batches of nucleic acid testing including one thousand and more samples.

- b. Yiqing fasheng yilai, Xi Jinping zongshuji qinzi zhihui, geji
dangwei he zhengfu fahui zhandou baolei zuoyong, guangfan

26) <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0524/c1002-31721377.html>

dongyuan qunzhong, zuzhi qunzhong, ningju qunzhong,
 quanmian luoshi lianfang liankong cuoshi, zai **kangyi** zhandou
 guocheng zhong gouzhu qunfang qunkong de yanmi
 fangxian.²⁷⁾-(People's Daily March 13, 2020)

Since the outbreak of COVID-19 epidemic, with President Xi
 Jinping as the commander-in-chief, Party committees and
 governments at all levels act in a coordinated national response
 and follow unified command, coordination and dispatch. They
 unite as one like a fortress, fully implement the joint
 prevention and control measures, put up entrenched defense
 lines and build a strong synergy against the virus in the battle
 of **resisting epidemic**.

From the above examples in (28a) and (28b), the Chinese lexicon *Kangyi*
 metaphorically expressed the meaning of resisting the aggression of COVID-19
 pandemic as an invader to attack human beings. The war against the infectious
 disease is to prevent the assault of virus and defend people's health and lives
 with a joint effort. Notably, not only can this neologism serve as an individual
 new lexicon, but it also can be combined with other nouns to form a new
 compound that provides a more specific and additional concepts to the nouns.
 For example, the word *Jingshen* 'Spirit' can be compounded with *Kangyi* thus
 a new phrase emerged, that is, *Kangyi Jingshen* 'the spirit of resisting
 epidemic.' In the same way, *Wuzi* 'supply' can be combined with and form a
 new one *Kangyi Wuzi* 'the supply for resisting epidemic' such as ventilators,
 masks, COVID-19 testing kits and so on. The following is the examples of
 such compounds that are constituted by *Kangyi*.

- (29) a. Women yaozai quanshehui dali hongyang weida **kangyijingshen**,
 shizhi zhuanhua wei quanmian jianshe shehuizhuyi xiandaihua
 guojia, shixian zhonghua minzu weida fuxing de qiangda

27) <http://sz.people.com.cn/n2/2020/0313/c202846-33872519.html>

liliang.²⁸⁾ -(People's Daily Sep. 8, 2020)

We should promote the great **spirit of resisting epidemic** of COVID-19 in the whole society, and transform the spirit into tremendous strength to build a modern socialist country and achieve national rejuvenation

- b. Zhongguo waijiaobu fayanren Wangwenbin biaoshi, zhongfang dui niboer zaoshou de yiqing tiaozhan, gantongshenshou, xiang niboer tigong de yipi **kangyiwuzi** yuanzhu yi jiben choucuo wanbi, jiang jinkuai songdao niboer pengyou shouzhong.²⁹⁾

-(People's Daily May 8, 2021)

Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson Wang Wenbin said, China empathized with Nepal on the Challenge of pandemic. A new batch of **anti-epidemic supplies** has been largely collected and will be sent to Nepal as soon as possible.”

In the above example (29a), the word *Kangyi* ‘Resist Epidemic’ and the noun *Jingshen* ‘Spirit’ formed a new compound *Kangyi Jingshen* which specifies the particular spirit of resisting the pandemic during COVID-19. In (29b) where the compound *Kangyi Wuzi* is made up of *Kangyi* and *Wuzi*, it designates the noun *Wuzi* ‘Supply’ as the particular supply for resisting the epidemic.

In examples (28) and (29), the meaning of *Kangyi* and the compounds that combined with it have been displayed. All the neologisms presented above extended the meaning of resisting an enemy in a war to the domain of disease preventing via conceptual metaphor. In the next section, the meaning extension will be further demonstrated through metaphorical mapping.

28) <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n1/2020/1015/c64094-31893514.html>

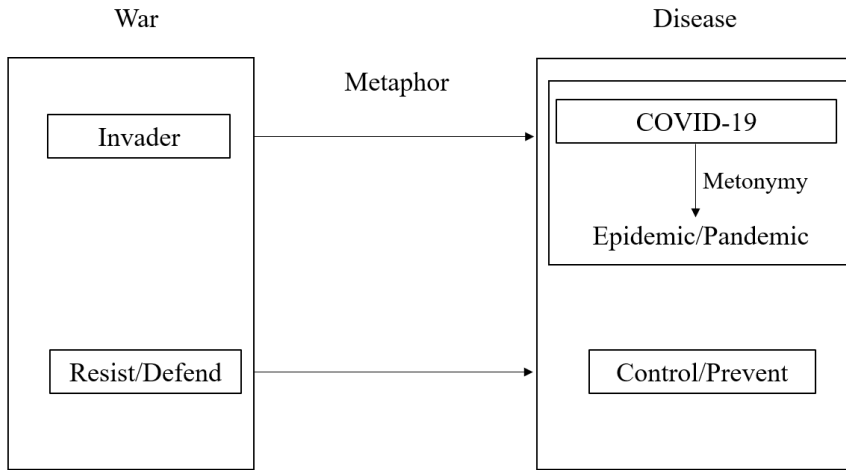
29) <http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0508/c1002-32097147.html>

b . Metaphorical Mapping

According to the illustration in the examples above, the meaning of *Kangyi* metaphorically described the disease as an “invader” which would attack and harm human beings. In response to the assault of the pandemic, people should resist the “invasion” and defend human life and health. The concept of “invasion of the enemy” and the following “resistant action” to defeat the intrusion are highlighted and mapped from the source domain to the target one. In Chinese, the operation of resisting an enemy troop is utilized to metaphorically elaborate the defending side of the war with COVID-19. Besides, a more defensive and conservative way of action is emphasized. This phenomenon may possibly be explained by the culture-specific conceptualization on disease from Chinese traditional medicine which considers the reason of one's illness as the disruption of balance in a person's body by an alien pathogen. For people who want to stay healthy, they must maintain the balance and resist the “invasion” of the disease. Hence in Chinese, the compound *Kangyi* ‘Resist epidemic’ expresses the meaning of safeguarding human health and resisting the invasion of the disease.

Therefore in the target domain, the infectious disease is understood as an invader and would disrupt the balance of human body. In order to keep the harmony and health of human body, people must resist the “attacks” from the “invader” and fight back. The following Figure 13 shows the metaphorical mapping of how *Kangyi* can extend its meaning from war domain to disease domain.

Kangyi ‘Resist Epidemic’



<Figure 13>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Kangyi*

From the above figure, in the source domain the notion of an invader and the following countermeasures of resisting or defending are highlighted. The action of invading as an enemy in war domain corresponds to the intrusion of the infectious disease into human body in target domain. The disease is treated as an alien ‘invader’ that would disturb the balance of human body which would cause illness. Also, the invasion in a war provokes the reaction of resistance which in turn mapped onto the target domain as the control of the disease and protection of people's health. In fact, it is the epidemic or pandemic that COVID-19 has caused that need to be controlled and prevented. Thus the metaphoric target domain is expanded to a more broad meaning rather than the particular disease itself. The metaphorical mapping and the expansion of metaphoric target domain through the metonymy CAUSE FOR EFFECT enable the meaning of *Kangyi* extended from war domain to disease domain. The term *Kangyi* conveys the meaning of “preventing the spread of the epidemic caused by COVID-19 just like resisting the invader in a war.” Unlike the metaphorical usage in English, this metaphorical mapping in

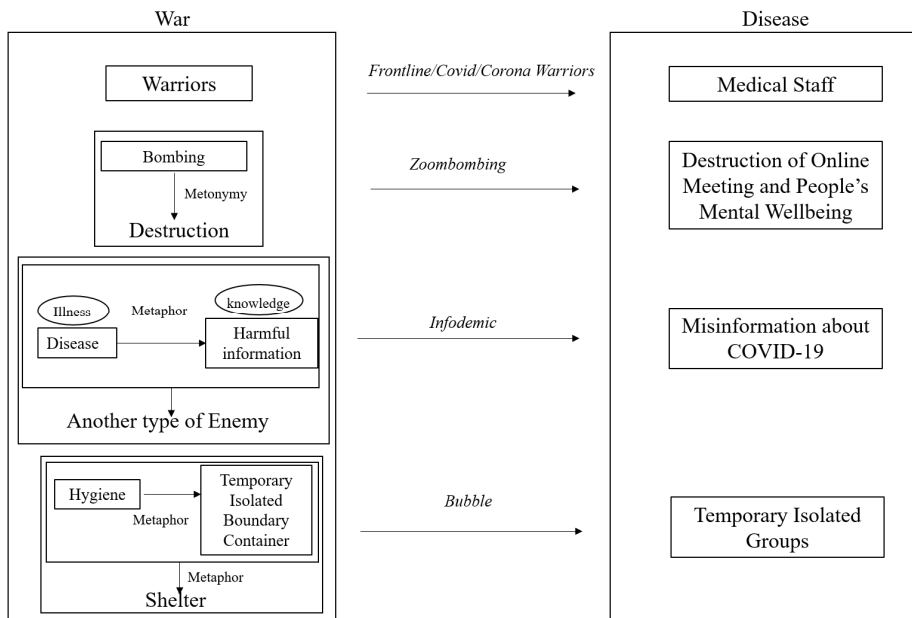
Chinese highlights the element of invasion and resistance while English lays more emphasis on the expressions of ‘fight’ and ‘attack.’

C. Summary

To sum up, in this chapter we have examined conceptual metaphor of WAR used in forming English and Chinese neologism during the COVID-19 pandemic. At a more generic level, conceptual metaphor allows us to better understand this new disease in terms of a more physical and concrete notion that is, a war. COVID-19 was delineated as an enemy in both English and Chinese while in Chinese a more specified notion as an invader is highlighted. Medical workers who confront the infectious disease are considered as warriors to fight against it in both English and Chinese.

In English, several elements in the framework of war concept are used and mapped onto the target domain via metaphorical mapping when coining different neologisms. In speaking of medical workers who fight against the disease, *frontline warriors*, *covid warriors* or *corona warriors* are created to refer to these people. *Zoomboming* is the term to describe one of the impact COVID-19 has imposed on people's life. As the increasing of on-line communication during the pandemic, undesirable contents rose exponentially and hijacked online meetings led to the shut down of these conferences as well as the damage on mental wellbeing of the audience. These negative materials are like bombs in a war to destroy the facilities and traumatize those people involved. Another word that used to help people understand a particular social impact of COVID-19 is *Infodemic*. Because of the digital technology which has facilitated the spread of information mixed with false contents about COVID-19, misinformation of this disease disseminated like a virus and proliferated much more faster than before. The misinformation of COVID-19 would impede people from taking the correct actions and need to be fought against as an another type of enemy other than the infectious disease itself.

Bubble is one of the social measures to cut off the transmission chain of the disease and protect people from getting infected by keeping social distance. These temporary isolated groups functioned as shelters in a war to protect soldiers from the enemy and would disappear when the disease is under control. The following figure is the framework of war-metaphor based neologism with extended meaning through metaphorical mapping in English.

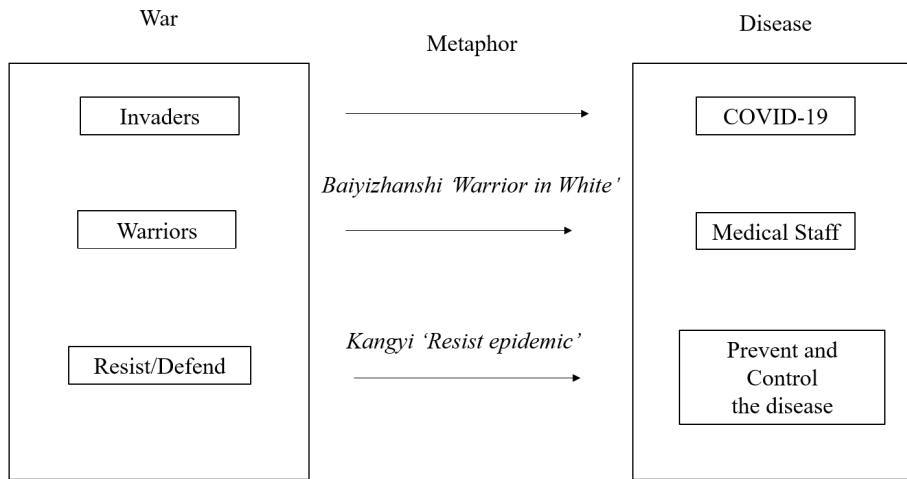


<Figure 14>

Framework of war-metaphor based neologism in English

Similar to war metaphor-based neologisms in English, in Chinese COVID-19 is also treated like an enemy and health care practitioners are regarded as warriors in a battle. However, the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Chinese is more like an invader that proactively attacks and invades human body. Therefore, people must resist the invasion of the disease in order to keep health. Moreover, the prototypical color of medical workers' professional outfit is used as a referent to denote these health care practitioners. The following figure is the framework of war metaphor-based neologism with extended

meanings through metaphorical mapping in Chinese.



<Figure 15>

Framework of war-metaphor based neologism in Chinese

From the above Figure 15, COVID-19 is depicted as an invader which can intrude human body and interrupt the balance of it. Then the nuance of conceptualizing the same COVID-19 exists in English and Chinese. This diversity attributes to the culture variety in Chinese. Due to the theory in Chinese traditional medicine, a person gets sick because of the imbalance of human body disturbed by outside “evil pathogen” and people can regain his health through restoring the balance again. In this sense, a more conservative and preventive expressions are used in describing the war with COVID-19 since the disease is the attacking side while human being is the defending side. In Chinese, *Kangyi* ‘Resist pandemic’ is coined to describe the activity of preventing and controlling the infectious disease. *Baiyizhanshi* ‘Warriors in White’ is used to refer to those medical care staff who combat the disease during the pandemic.

IV. Journey Metaphor-based Neologism Related to COVID-19 in English and Chinese

Journey metaphor is another frequently used conceptual metaphor in medical discourse (Gibbs 2006, Semino et al. 2016, Semino et al. 2017). Both war metaphors and journey metaphors are two of the most widely used metaphors in health and illness field (Harrington 2012). Unlike military metaphors which antagonize the disease as an enemy, journey metaphors were deemed to encompass more peaceful experience than war metaphors (Gibbs & Franks 2002, Reisfield & Wilson 2004, Byrne 2008). Both of these two metaphors typically suggest different conceptualization on disease and highlight different aspects of a given target concept. For example in the military metaphor, the disease is more likely to be depicted as an enemy or invader while in the journey metaphor it is usually the obstacles in a road where people would travel on in their life journey. Like the war metaphor used in fighting against the disease, the journey metaphor is another shared experience of people who cope and live with illness. The concept of a journey is universal to all cultures and resonates well with people who especially suffered from chronicle disease such as cancer.

In English, Gibbs and Franks (2002) outlined the metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and CANCER IS AN OBSTACLE ON LIFE'S JOURNEY in the narratives of those patients with cancer to describe the experience of being ill. The idea of cancer as a journey emphasizes the illness experience as part of a life journey which is so universal to many languages and cultures. In Chinese, Yu (1998) has investigated journey metaphors in Chinese utilizing source-path-goal image schema while Xu (2016) revealed how journey metaphors in Chinese can be applied in the process of cancer treatment. However, few studies have explored the journey metaphors used in other diseases especially those acute and infectious ones. When COVID-19 pandemic

first broke out in 2019, this newly emerged disease was unknown to all human beings and was a highly contagious one threatening all human lives and health. In addition to its high infectiousness, it has no effective treatment so far. Although it is an acute respiratory disease unlike cancer whose treatment has largely been progressed and transformed from an acute disease to a chronic one, journey metaphors are invoked in metaphorical expressions both in English and Chinese during the pandemic. See examples below.

(30) US leaders have struggled to enforce social gathering rules and mask mandates as residents push for a return to normal life amid a rampant spread of coronavirus. But while people may be tired of the pandemic, there's still **a long way to go**, one world health official said Monday.³⁰⁾ -(CNN Aug. 4, 2020)

(31) Huigu kangyi **licheng**, xuduo changjing jiujiu buneng wanghuai. Zhongguo kangji xinguan feiyan yiqing de **licheng**, shi renlei yu jibing douzhengshi shang de qiji, gengshi renlei jingshen suo yanyi de dongren pianzhang.³¹⁾ -(People's Daily Sep. 7, 2020)

In retrospect, the **journey** of fighting against the epidemic is remarkable and unforgettable. Moreover, China's **journey** against the COVID-19 is a miracle in human history of struggling with illness and a moving episode in the spirit of mankind.”

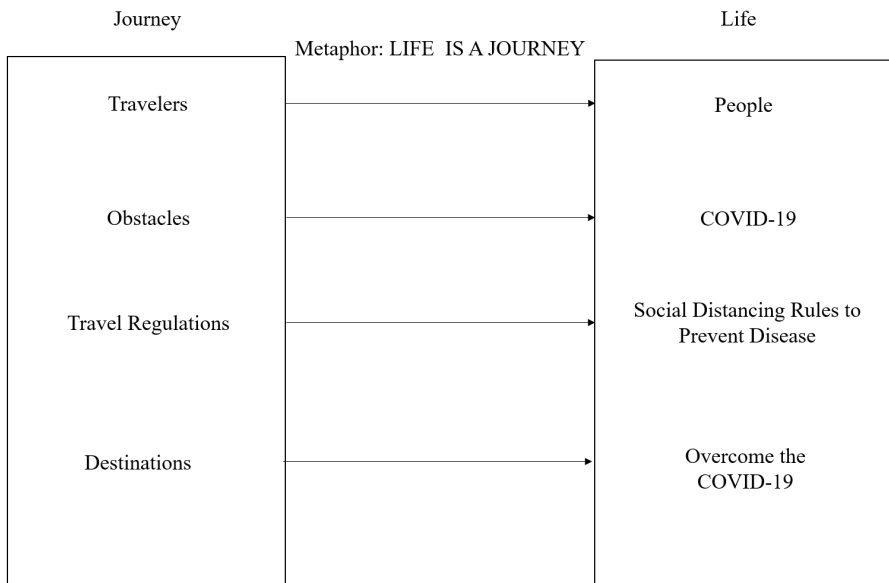
In the above example (30), the experience of fighting against the COVID-19 pandemic has been metaphorically described as “a long way to go” indicating it would be a long time for human being to completely control the disease. In example (31), the Chinese word *licheng* ‘journey’ denotes the progress of combating the disease as a memorable and

30) https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-pandemic-08-04-20-intl/h_36b566acfdafac31587614a042a619f

31) <http://opinion.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0907/c1003-31851170.html>

remarkable experience.

Apart from the experience of fighting against the disease can be metaphorically interpreted in terms of a journey both in English and Chinese, there are other various elements in the framework of journey that have been highlighted and used in concerning to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the following figure, a basic framework of journey has been established.



<Figure 16>

Metaphorical Mapping of LIFE IS A JOURNEY

In the above Figure 16, the framework of journey metaphor may comprise many aspects including travelers, destination, obstacles and rules of traveling. These elements in the journey domain can be used to metaphorically denote concepts relevant to the disease in the target domain in the situation of COVID-19. Distinct from how war metaphors can frame different concepts in the context of COVID-19, the implication of winning or losing as observed in military metaphors is not obvious in journey ones. Studies showed that patients who treat their illness as a journey also tend to harbour a more positive view

towards the disease (Coreil et al. 2004, Lapsley 2004). During the COVID-19 pandemic, neologism based on journey metaphors appeared in both English and Chinese to describe various notions related to the disease and its impact on our lives. In next section, we will explore neologism created to refer to various aspects relevant to COVID-19 in both English and Chinese and identify how concepts in the context of COVID-19 can be understood in terms of elements in journey domain.

A. English Neologism

1. *Circuit Breaker*

a. Meaning Extension

The literal meaning of *Circuit Breaker* is an electrical switch operating automatically when an excessive electric current flow is detected in an electric circuit so as to protect the circuit from overload or short circuit. The core function of *circuit breaker* is to cut off electric current flow when the safety amount of current is overridden as a measure to protect the whole circuit. See some examples below.

- (32) a. To protect the controller from possible damage you should install a 20 amp **circuit breaker** or fuse between the controller and the batteries.
- b. A surge suppressor includes a **circuit breaker** that will protect equipment from damage from a surge in electricity (e.g. a lightning strike).³²⁾ -(COCA)

From the above examples, it is evident that the sense of *circuit breaker* is a

32) <https://sentence.yourdictionary.com/circuit-breakers>

device that could protect the electric circuit from the harm of the overload current. Moreover, unlike the outdated way of using a fuse to interrupt the flow of electricity, a circuit breaker can be reset for many times to resume its duty. A fuse works as a piece of metal that melts when extra electric flow cause an overheat on the circuit, hence the use of fuse is a one-off operation and it needs to be replaced every time while a circuit breaker works like a switch when an overflow of electricity is detected and can resume its duty by resetting it. Examples below illustrate the resumable feature that implied in *circuit breaker*.

- (33) a. If the light itself were to fail, the power surge would trip the main **circuit breaker** and the whole tower would shut down. To **reset** a breaker, move the switch all the way to its 'off' position, then back to 'on'. You might hear a few beeps from smoke detectors and appliances when you turn the power back on.
- b. When a **circuit breaker** trips, it's usually because it got overloaded. So if you're running one or more high-amperage appliances like hair dryers, toasters or space heaters, and the circuit breaker trips, just shut off the devices and **reset** the circuit breaker.³³⁾ -(COCA)

In the above examples, it can be observed that circuit breaker can resume its function once it was reset. With the characteristics of circuit breaker that is a mechanism to protect the circuit and resumable, it was further applied into other areas to denote a mechanism that is resumable and can protect an entity when the safety standards are overridden.

There was a remarkable spike in the usage of this word in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic when the term was employed to represent the measures that adopted by governments to prevent the spread of the virus and an another

33) <https://www.familyhandyman.com/project/how-to-reset-a-circuit-breaker/>

tide of infections. The meaning of *circuit breaker* in the context of COVID-19 is an array of restricted social regulations designed to prevent the spread of the virus and bring down the infected cases to protect people. Such measures would be removed or “reset” once the confirmed cases is below the deemed safety amount. A typical measure is the lockdown rule that requires people to stay at home and prohibits them from traveling freely. These imposed social regulation rules last for a certain period of time to cut off the transmission chain of an infectious disease and would disappear when the virus is under control. Let us see some examples below to better understand how circuit breaker can be used during the pandemic.

- (34) a. A national two to three weeks "**circuit-breaker**" lockdown to try to tackle the increase of Covid-19 cases in the UK has been ruled out “at the moment,” UK Cabinet Office minister Michael Gove said Sunday. The opposition Labour Party has called for a short "**circuit-breaker**" lockdown to tackle rising infection counts in the country.³⁴⁾ -(CNN March 9, 2020)
- b. Singapore extends its "**circuit breaker**" coronavirus restrictions until June. Singapore will extend what the government is calling "**circuit-breaker**" coronavirus restrictions until June 1, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong announced on Tuesday, as cases in Singapore continue to climb.³⁵⁾ -(CNN April 21, 2020)

Both examples in (34a) and (34b) above showed the meaning of *circuit breaker* as social restrictions to cut off the spreading channel of the infectious disease by limiting peoples' free travel and once the pandemic is under control, these regulations will be removed. In this sense, *circuit breaker* extends its sense from literal meaning in electric field into the circumstance of COVID-19 pandemic. In next section, we will examine how *circuit breaker* can be applied

34) https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-pandemic-10-18-20-intl/h_b7bdfc17ee5e81a450fc8e40e471a19

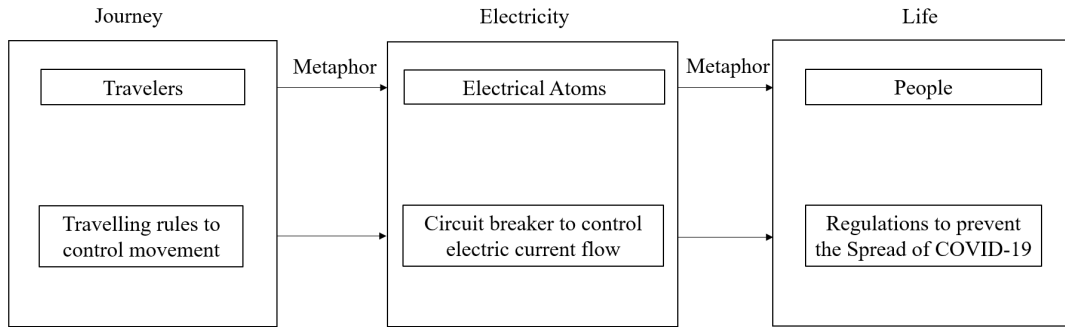
35) https://edition.cnn.com/world/live-news/coronavirus-pandemic-04-21-20-intl/h_c4de10c9e17d2f0e3e1ec38d755ec6fd

into the target domain as social regulations to prevent the spread of disease via metaphorical mapping.

b . Metaphorical Mapping

In the context of COVID-19 pandemic, current scientific evidence suggests that the main path of the virus spreading is the close contact with those infected people. A person can be infected when droplets containing the virus are inhaled or contact directly with the eyes, nose, or mouth. In order to prevent the spread of COVID-19 as well as to protect the health of the public, authorities have postulated rules to restrict the movement of people so as to reduce the possibility of being infected. The term *circuit breaker* is used metaphorically to refer to the social regulations that serve as a mechanism which can be tripped when the number of infected cases surpass the safety amount.

In here, the meaning of *circuit breaker* as a switch to protect electric circuit has been extended to represent those social measures to control the spread of the disease and safeguard people from the dangerous disease. In light of the meaning extension from electric field to COVID-19 situation, *circuit breaker* as a device to block electric current flow is now metaphorically corresponded onto the social regulations that control people's movement. In this sense, people are just like electric atoms that flow in a circuit while the whole society is like an electrical circuit. For the purpose of protecting the whole circuit, *circuit breaker* would be triggered to refrain the movement of electric atoms when overload electric current flow is detected. In here, the electric atoms are like travelers in the journey domain while the *circuit breaker* is like traveling rules to regulate or ban the movement when potential harmful situation emerged. See Figure 17 below to better understand how *circuit breaker* can extend its meaning via metaphors.



<Figure 17>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Circuit Breaker*

In Figure 17, it can be observed that journey domain is indirectly corresponded onto the target domain via the metaphor chain. In the first chain of the metaphorical mapping between the journey domain and the electricity domain, the source domain is the journey and target domain is the electricity. The electrical atoms which moves around in the circuit are understood as travelers in a journey. When the overwhelming electric atoms is detected, the *circuit breaker* tripped off and would block the flow of electric currents. Once the electric current in the circuit returns to normal again, the circuit breaker can be reset and resume its duty till next time it gets triggered. In the source domain of journey, travelers may accumulate to a large amount and become crowded which would threaten the safety of each individuals as well as jeopardize the safety of a journey as a whole. In this situation, traveling regulations would come into effect and travelers would be refrained from moving around freely till the potential danger is disarmed. It is therefore how the journey domain can correspond onto the electricity domain.

In the second metaphor chain, the electricity domain which in turn becomes the source domain and mapped onto the target domain. In here, people in society especially those infected cases would pose a great danger to others just like the overload electric currents in a circuit. Hence the social regulations such as social distancing rules came into effect when confirmed cases arrived

above an alarming level. These social restrictions are designed to control the movement of people and would be removed when the disease is under control. In this sense, the meaning of *circuit breaker* has extended from a device of blocking the flow of electric current in the source domain to the target domain as social regulations to protect people from the contagious disease. In addition, the function of *circuit breaker* can be reset if the dangerous situation is no longer existed and can be tripped again when hazardous condition emerged again.

Interestingly, *circuit breaker* can be applied not only in the context of COVID-19 situation, but also in the financial domain. In the financial field, *circuit breaker* denotes a mechanism designed to curb abnormal excessive stock exchange by temporarily stopping stocks trading on an exchange. This kind of mechanism can be triggered every time when abnormal trading volume is detected. In here, the trading stocks are like electrical currents which travel in the electric circuit and the policy or regulations stipulated by the authority are like *circuit breaker* via conceptual metaphor. By the same token, the meaning of *circuit breaker* has extended its meaning into another area that is different from the original one.

- (35) a. New York Stock Exchange trips **circuit breaker**. Stock trading has been halted for 15 minutes. The New York Stock Exchange has halted stock trading for 15 minutes after the S&P 500 fell 7% on Monday morning.³⁶⁾ -(CNN March 9, 2020)

In sum, the meaning of *circuit breaker* can be extended from its literal meaning into other areas. In the situation of COVID-19 pandemic, the extended meaning is justifiable via metaphor chain and journey metaphor is alluded to.

36) https://edition.cnn.com/business/live-news/stock-market-news-today-030920/h_92d9e012b331c593bfa9ec2b1226507d

B. Chinese Neologism

1. *Rongduan* ‘Circuit Breaker’

a. Meaning Extension

In Chinese, *Rongduan* is a similar term that can express the same meaning as *circuit breaker* in English. As stated in English neologism, *circuit breaker* denotes those social regulations to prevent the spread of an infectious disease and can be removed once the number of infected cases is below the alerting level in the circumstance of COVID-19. Likewise, the Chinese word *Rongduan* ‘Circuit breaker’ also extends its meaning from the electricity domain that is a device designed to cut off electrical current in order to protect the circuit from overload. Analogous to the usage in English, in Chinese it can also be applied to stock market and referred to the measure that would restrict abnormal stock trading when certain safety standards are breached. However, when used during the COVID-19 pandemic in Chinese, it refers to a mechanism to block the incoming flights from abroad where the confirmed cases in one flight or consecutively in several flights of one air line amounts to a certain level. See examples below.

- (36) a. 8yue11ri, minhangju danri fachu sanfen **rongduan** zhiling, fenbie dui alianqiu atihade hangkong gongsi EY862 hangban, zhongguo dongfang hangkong gongsi MU212 hangban, sililanka hangkong gongsi UL866 hangban caiqu rongduan cuoshi, hangxian hangban zanting yunxing 1 zhou. lingwai, sanjia hangqi 8yue 17ri zhiqian de hangban ke jixu zhixing, ru qijianchufarongduan jizhi, **rongduan** shijian yuyi lejia jisuan.³⁷⁾

37) <http://travel.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0812/c41570-31819941.html>

On August 11th, China's civil aviation regulator is set to issue a “**Circuit Breaker**” Order imposing a one-week suspension for Etihad Airways flight EY862 and China Eastern Airlines flight MU212, and a four-week suspension for Sri Lanka Airlines flight UL866. In addition, the order stated that the three airlines can continue these flights before August 17 but the suspension period would be prolonged if “**circuit breakers**” are triggered during the period. -(People's daily Aug. 12, 2020)

- b. 4yue8ri, minhangju zaifa **rongduan** zhiling, dui dongfang hangkong gongsi MU588 hangban (niuyue zhi shanghai) shishi **rongduan** cuoshi. 3yue30ri rujing de dongfang hangkong gongsi MU588 hangban (niuyue zhi shanghai) hesuan jiance yangxing lvke 10 li, zi 4yue19ri (hangban rujing riqi) qi, zanting gai hangban yunxing 4 zhou.³⁸⁾ -(People's daily Aug. 12, 2020)

On April 8th, China's Civil Aviation regulator issued a “**Circuit Breaker**” Order imposing a “**Circuit Breaker**” measure on China Eastern Airlines flight MU588 (NewYork to Shanghai) since 10 passengers on board were tested positive on 30th, March. In addition, the order takes effect starting from 19th April suspending the flight for 4 weeks.

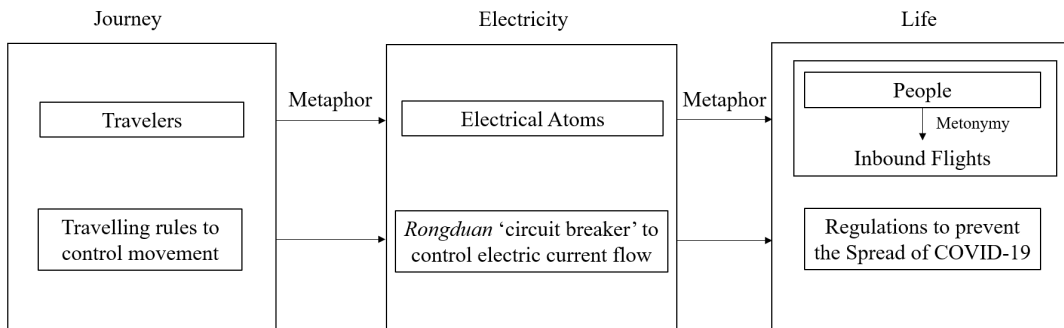
From the above examples, it can be clearly seen that unlike its usage in English, *Rongduan* ‘circuit breaker’ is not used as a term to refer to general social regulations to stop the transmission of virus but rather a kind of mechanism specific for suspending the inbound flights with too many confirmed cases coming from abroad.

38) <http://ent.people.com.cn/n1/2021/0409/c1012-32074126.html>

The difference in usage of a common existed word in both English and Chinese is largely resulted from the distinct experience people were undergoing. In China, strong regulations and powerful methods were adopted soon after the epidemic broke out. Most people were willing to stay at home and quarantine themselves as the government required. Cities were locked down and roads were blocked to prevent the virus spreading. Because of the nationwide solidarity and rigorous measures, the country managed to contain the rapid spread of the virus in just over a short period of time. In contrast, in countries outside China especially Western nations where citizens were not taking it seriously and few social regulations had been implemented. With an upsurge of confirmed cases abroad, China then was facing the pressure of importing the virus beyond its borders. Hence *circuit breaker* in Chinese is mainly used as a way to prevent those confirmed cases abroad from transmitting again in China.

In here, although the cognitive process of *circuit breaker* and *Rongduan* remains the same both in English and Chinese. The nuance of these two words exists due to social context. Instead of denoting the whole set of social regulations to cut off the chains of transmission, in Chinese *Rongduan* ‘circuit breaker’ refers to the specific rules or orders from authority to ban those flights from overseas when the amount of infectious cases therein arrives at a certain level. In fact, it is the contagious virus carried by passengers within the flight that need to be blocked. Moreover, the *Rongduan* regulation can be removed when the number of infected cases is below a certain level. The following section illustrates how *Rongduan* in Chinese can extend its meaning through metaphorical mapping.

b. Metaphorical Mapping



<Figure 18>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Rongduan*

In Figure 18, the metaphorical mapping of *Rongduan* is almost the same as in English *circuit breaker*. Elements in the journey domain is mapped onto the target domain through metaphor chain. In the first metaphor chain, travelers are mapped onto the electricity domain as electric atoms that can flow in the circuit. Meanwhile the function of *Rongduan* is understood as those travelling regulations which can control the movement of traveling movement. In the second metaphor chain, those electric atoms are mapped onto the target domain as inbound flights containing passengers that are infected with the disease. Besides, the device that can interrupt electric current flow in the electric circuit corresponded onto the target domain as regulations to block flights with excessive confirmed cases. Actually, it is the infected passengers within the flights that need to be controlled from entering into the nation. In this sense, the metaphoric target domain is expanded via the metonymy CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED since those infected cases are the contained while the flights are containers thus flights (Container) can stand for the infectious cases (Contained). In sum, the neologism *Rongduan* 'circuit breaker' in Chinese conveys the meaning of a mechanism that would suspend the inbound flights

where excessive confirmed cases were found therein. This mechanism can be triggered when dangerous situation is detected and can also be “reset” when it is safe again.

2. *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’

a. Meaning Extension

The Chinese word *Nixingzhe* is a terminology literally refers to those people who violates one-way traffic rule by moving into the opposite direction on a one-way only road. This Chinese compound is made up of two components: the first component *Nixing* which specifies the movement is on the opposite direction against the prescribed one while second component *Zhe* ‘people’ which functions as a suffix denoting the person who involved in an activity. From the literal meaning of *Nixing*, the term is often used in the travelling field to depict those behaviors that would violate one-way traffic rules by moving into the opposite direction. See some examples below to better understand the meaning of it in Chinese.

- (37) a. zai wangaofeng de shihou, jiuhuge zai shanghai jiaotong jingcha de zhihui xia **nixing** shang gaojiaqiao qiangjiu bingren.

In the evening rush hour, an ambulance was guided by the traffic police **driving reversely** against the traffic tide onto the highway and rescued a patient.

- b. Shenzhen chuzuche siji liu shifu weile nenggou jishi ba tufa jibing de haizi songwang yiyuan, **nixing** chaole jinlu. Youyu tade yonggan de judong, bei jiaotong jingcha mianyu chufa.

Mr. Liu, a taxi driver in the city of Shenzhen, violated the

one-way traffic rule by **moving into the reverse direction** in order to escort a child with a sudden illness to the nearest hospital in a minimum of time. Police said, Mr. Liu would be exempted from the fine due to his brave act. -(CCL Corpus)

From the above examples in (37), it is clear that the meaning of *Nixing* is moving reversely against the stipulated direction and by doing so people would face dangerous situations ahead. When it combined with *Zhe* ‘people’ to form a new word, the literal meaning of *Nixingzhe* denotes those people who move oppositely against the prescriptive direction, namely, ‘countermarch people’. However, in the context of COVID-19, this neologism *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch people’ is coined to refer to those people who fight against the disease especially those medical workers. See more examples below.

(38) a. Zuowei you zhongyang guangbo dianshi zongtai chupin de shoubu kangyi tcai dianshi xilieju, qiji dianshiju 《zuimei **nixingzhe**》 jiangyu zhousi zhengshi denglu yangshiyitao. Meige gushi jun genju zhenshi de nixingzhe de ganren shiji gaibian ercheng, yong dianshiju de yishu xingshi hongyang weidade kangyi jingshen, xiang zuimei **nixingzhe** zhijin.³⁹⁾

-(People's Daily Sep. 16, 2020)

A seven-episode TV drama “The most beautiful Countermarch Person” which depicts the roles of Chinese people from various walks of life fighting in the battle against the COVID-19 epidemic is set for release on major broadcaster CCTV on Thursday. Each episode of the TV drama is based on the true and touching deeds of those **Countermarch People** emerging from the people's war against the coronavirus. It aims to promote China's spirit of combating the COVID-19 epidemic and pay

39) <http://gz.people.com.cn/n2/2020/0916/c361328-34295702.html>

tribute to those most beautiful **Countermarch People**.”

- b. Zhezhang zhaopian shi guangzhou liwanqu de yiwei jumin paishe de. 6yue2ri, liwanqu baogao le benlun yiqing de diyili quezhen bingli, muqian shi gaofengxian diqu. zhewei jumin zai xinlang weibo shang fenxiang le zhezhang zhaopian bing xiedao: Baoyuzhong, shi ninmen kangzhe zhemian qizhi chongfeng. zhijing **nixingzhe**.⁴⁰⁾ -(People's Daily June 15, 2021)

The image was taken by a resident in Liwan district, a high-risk area where the first locally transmitted case was reported in the latest outbreak, on June 2. He shared it on the microblogging service Sina Weibo and wrote: "In the rainstorm, it is you who carry this flag to charge to the front. Pay tribute to those **countermarch people**."

In example (38a) and (38b), the meaning of *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch people’ can be defined as those workers who would fight against the disease by marching into the direction opposite against the regular one where most ordinary people would flee away. It is the infectious disease and potential dangers laying ahead that would make the public afraid of moving forward and run away. However, those medical practitioners as well as other essential staff would move into the reverse direction where the majority of the public would go against. It may be a long and dangerous way to confront the newly emerged disease since this novel corona virus is highly infectious and unknown to all human being.

The translation of *Nixingzhe* from Chinese to English has many versions such as ‘Countermarch people’ or ‘People moving in a reverse direction’, but the meaning remains the same indicating those people who move reversely against the regular direction and put themselves into a dangerous situation by

40) <http://en.people.cn/n3/2021/0615/c90000-9861015.html>

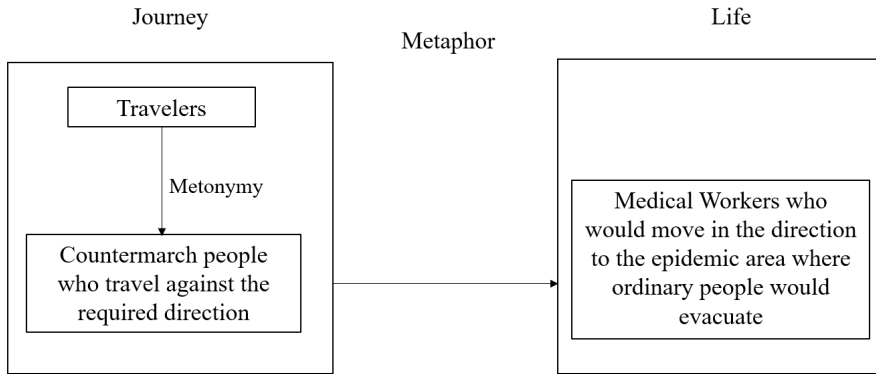
fighting against the infectious disease to protect people. In this sense, the meaning of *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch people’ is extended from the journey domain into the target domain. In next section, we will examine how the meaning extension occurs via metaphorical mapping.

b . Metaphorical Mapping

In the journey domain, the concept of travelers is highlighted. Moreover, the travelers in the source domain of journey is those countermarch people who move reversely against required direction. Then, *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ in the source domain is metaphorically mapped onto the target domain as those medical workers who fight against the disease. The mapping between these two domains has been established since they share the commonality that the countermarch people in the journey domain and people who fight against the disease in the target domain both move into the direction against the prescribed one. In the source domain, the countermarch people would go against the one-way traffic rule while in the target domain, those medical workers would march into the direction where most people would not choose to go.

By choosing the direction against the regulated one, either the countermarch people in the journey domain or those medical workers in the target domain would put themselves into a dangerous situation. For those travelers who go reversely against the traffic rule, it may cause crash that would hurt themselves whereas those medical workers could get infected by moving into the direction where contagious virus is laying ahead. Hence, elements in journey domain mapped onto the target domain and the Chinese neologism *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ extended its meaning via metaphorical mapping. See Figure 19 below.

Nixingzhe ‘Countermarch People’



<Figure 19>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Nixingzhe*

From the above Figure 19, in the metaphoric source domain the concept of travelers is reduced to those countermarch people via the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART as *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ is a bunch of travelers who move reversely. It then mapped onto the target domain as workers who fight against COVID-19 on the frontline especially those medical staff. To combat the disease is to countermarch into a journey filled with obstacles and dangers where the majority of the public would not choose. The experience of fighting the disease is the same as the journey of those medical workers who travel in an opposite direction against the public and put themselves in a risky environment. The metaphorical mapping illustrated how Chinese neologism *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ convey the meaning of those medical care workers who fight against the disease during the pandemic.

Indeed, the creation of Chinese neologism *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ is also influenced by some culture-specific factors. As a collective-minded nation, it is more natural and easy to connect the domains of medicine with war. The metaphor THE PHYSICIAN AS GENERAL was proposed to correspond medical workers to combat units in a war (Nie 1996) in alignment with the theory in Chinese traditional medicine. This metaphor may strike us

as paternalistic or authoritarian. However, it actually conceives the physician as military units to cope with the disease. The physician commands the army of medicine against the illness. The Chinese metaphor of THE PHYSICIAN AS GENERAL suggests that the medical worker—like the good general—should know the limitations of his strategy, and always stays alert in the face of changing situation of patients. Moreover, when an urgent situation emerged, it may require the shift of direction of the “strategic direction”.

Another culture-specific metaphor can be further derived from the metaphor THE PHYSICIAN AS GENERAL, that is, LIFE OF A PHYSICIAN IS A JOURNEY OF A MARCHING TROOP. In this metaphor, however, it combines the domains of war and journey to depict a life of a physician. The life of a physician may need a sudden change of direction when encounter some emergent situations. The Chinese neologism *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ is a term to metaphorically denote those medical workers who march in a reverse direction to deal with dangerous and urgent situations. In here, the shift of direction is emphasized because of the new situation appeared. In the context of COVID-19 pandemic, medical professionals changed their direction of movement into a new environment full of virus to fight against the disease.

In sum, the Chinese neologism *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ is both influenced by the culture-specific JOURNEY and WAR metaphor. The Journey metaphor lay the emphasis on the direction of the movement whereas war metaphor stress the fact that a physician must remain cautious and should be aware of all the changing situations that exist ahead.

3. *Houlang* ‘Younger generation’ and *Qianlang* ‘Older generation’

a. Meaning Extension

The Chinese term *Houlang* literally means “Rear wave” or “The wave behind” while *Qianlang* expresses the meaning of “Front wave” or “The wave ahead”. These two words are a pair of concepts that can be observed in the description on the front-back locations of waves in a river. See examples below.

- (39) a. Heli de langhua de weizhi yiban fenwei liangzhong : yizhong shi zai qianmian de **qianlang**, yizhong shi zai hougian tui zhe qianlang de **houlang**.⁴¹⁾

The location of waves in a river differs in two ways: the wave at front and the wave at behind which pushes the front one forward.

- b. Heli de **houlang** zhuizhu zhe **qianlang**, daole anbian, zui zhong yitong paida zai shatan shang.⁴²⁾

The **wave behind** chased **the one ahead** in the river, wave after wave, these waves pushed forward and finally hit on the bank.

-(CCL Corpus)

In the above examples, the meaning of *Houlang* and *Qianlang* can be interpreted as front-back locations of waves in a river. As the river flows, waves formed with time lapse and the front wave was generated earlier while the rear one was created afterwards. In the context of COVID-19 pandemic, *Houlang* was used to refer to the younger generation or young people who

41) http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

42) http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

fight against the disease during the pandemic in particular those young medical workers. On the contrary, *Qianlang* was regarded as those medical workers in older generation. The sense of *Houlang* and *Qianlang* have extended from their literal meanings into the COVID-19 situation denoting medical workers in different age groups. *Houlang* and *Qianlang* are the Chinese neologisms created during the pandemic to refer to those younger and older medical workers who bravely combat the disease, respectively. The following examples are the demonstration of the extended meanings in the context of the pandemic.

- (40) a. xinguan feiyan yiqing sinue zhiji, 4 wanduo ming yuane yiwu-renyuan zhong, you 1 wanduo ming shi 90 hou, qizhong xiangdang yibufen shi 95 hou, 00 hou. zhaxie “**hou-lang**”men, chengwei kangyi zhanchang shang de baiyi tianshi, chengwei weinan dangzhong de zhenxin yingxiong, ye chengwei le kangji yiqingde zhongjian liliang.⁴³⁾

-(People's Daily May 06, 2020)

When Novel Coronavirus Pneumonia rampaged Hubei province, 40000 medical workers aided the region. Among these frontline workers, ten thousand of them are 90s of which a quite few are 95s and 00s. These “**younger generation**” has become angels in white, heroes when facing danger, and the backbones in fighting the pandemic.

- b. Suoyou qianlang dou cengshi **houlang**, yiqie **houlang** ye zhongjiang biancheng **qianlang**. zheshi keguan guilv, wufa weikang, geng wufa zudang. er butong shidai de **houlang** men,zai gezi shehui wenhua hechuang zhong mengfa,

43) <http://yuqing.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0506/c209043-31698053.html>

zhuangda, benliu, you zhongyao yi ge butongde mianmao,
huiru shidai de julang. shidai ye yinci er fengfuduocai.⁴⁴⁾

-(May 08 2020, People's Daily)

All medical workers of "**older generation**" were once "younger generation", and all "**younger generation**" will eventually become "**older generation**". This is an objective law, and it cannot be disobeyed, let alone stop it. The "**younger generation**" of different eras sprout, grow, and rush in their individual social and cultural riverbeds, and they will eventually merge into the great waves of the era with their own characteristics. The times are therefore rich and colorful.

The above examples have demonstrated the meaning of *Houlang* as the younger generation of medical workers and *Qianlang* as the older generation in the situation of fighting against COVID-19. When the infectious disease was first identified in the city of Wuhan, it spreads so rapidly that soon the infected cases who need medical care outnumbered medical workers. In answering to the call of the nation, millions of young people committed themselves to save lives and combat the virus on the frontline. In struggling with the COVID-19 pandemic, many of the young medical practitioners who were born in 1990s or 2000s are deemed as the Generation-Z in China, these young people have been considered as the generation of digital-addicted, isolated, and sometimes absurd in behaviour as they have grown up in the era of easy accessibility to the Internet and portable digital devices. For that reason, people from other generations would see them as naive and too obsessed with themselves caring not about others.

However, when COVID-19 pandemic erupted, numerous young medical workers including doctors and nurses together with older generation voluntarily

44) <http://media.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0508/c40606-31700405.html>

devoted themselves into the battle of fighting against the novel corona virus in China. The neologism *Houlang* was used in this scenario and served as a metaphor to refer to the youth or younger generation of medical workers whereas *Qianlang* represents those older generation accordingly.

b . Metaphorical Mapping

The meaning of *Houlang* and *Qianlang* have extended from the notion of front and back waves in a river into those medical care personnel of different generations as shown in the above examples. The usage of “Rear Wave” and “Front Wave” as metaphorical expressions to refer to the younger generation and older generation seems to be a unique phenomenon in Chinese and no similar ones can be found in English among the neologism during the pandemic. In both English and Chinese, LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is quite a commonality. As we are so familiar with this metaphor in English, the following examples are the evidence from Chinese.

(41) a. Gongheguo **zou guo** le sishi-wu nian bu pingfan de **licheng**.

The Republic has **walked** over an extraordinary journey of forty-five years.

b. Gao Yubao ban zhe Zhongguo qian-baiwan haizi **zou guo** shaonian **shidai**.

Gao Yubao (a famous writer in China) accompanies millions and millions of Chinese children **walking** through their **juvenile period**.
 -(CCL Corpus)

In example (41a), a nation is compared to a person that has traveled by walking over a journey of forty-five years. Here, the nation is firstly turned into an individual person via PERSONIFICATION and then the person has traveled through a period of time which is a conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. It is not the life of an individual, but the life of a nation as a

whole. Similarly, in example (41b), the juvenile period of one's life is conceptualized as an earlier stage of a person's life. Here Gao Yubao is a well-known author of children's books in China and his books have accompanied the juvenile of many Chinese by walking through that period of time, thus LIFE IS A JOURNEY works here.

However, in Chinese a more culture-specific metaphor can be found in many occasions when describing different stages of an individual's life, namely, LIFE IS A JOURNEY OF FLOWING RIVER. In Chinese culture, flowing water in rivers especially in Yangtze River, a mother river of Chinese people, is always used to express the meaning of time passing and different stages in life.

Radden (2003) has studied expressions on time passing in life across languages and identified the so called “river model” of time passing in Chinese. He also pointed out the cultural importance of Chinese mother river, the Yangtze River, added the preference for Chinese to view time passing as river flowing. In Chinese, the flowing water in the river indicates a time-related notion of past and future. The widespread view of time as flowing river can be found in many Chinese contexts. See examples below.

(42) a. Zi zai chuan shang yue : “Shi zhe ru si hu, bu she zhou ye.”

-(Confucius Analects)

Confucius said on the bank of the river, “The passage of time is just like the flow of water, which goes on day and night.”

b. Bai chuan dong dao hai, he shi fu xi gui?

Shao zhuang bu nu li, lao da tu shang bei.

-(Chinese Proverb)

Hundreds of rivers run east to the sea,

When will they come back to the west?

If a young one should not diligent be,

It would be too late to grieve when he's old.

In the example (42a), the Saint Confucius in ancient China compared the pass of time as the flow of the river which keeps moving day and night. The second example (42b) demonstrates that time flies like rivers that never comes back, and a young man should cherish his time and must be diligent otherwise when he grows old, the only thing he can do is to grieve. Not only in proverbs or narration of ancient sages can we find such metaphorical expressions, but also we can find them in modern Chinese. See some examples below.

(43) a. Xiaoshi de shijian xiang heshui, ri ye benliu, yiqubuhui.

Time passes like water currents flowing in a river, running day and night that never comes back.

b. Shishishang, shengming jiu xiang heliu yiyang, yongwuzhijing de jixu wangqian liu.

In fact, life is the same as a river. It never stops and flows straight forward all the time. -(CCL Corpus)

It can be clearly observed from the above examples that in Chinese time passing or life experiencing can be interpreted as the journey of water flowing in a river that keeps moving all the time and never turns back. Moreover, the front-back locations of waves that formed in the river can be further referred to people of different ages via TIME AS SPACE metaphor.

People may conceptualize time as a spatial notion such as front or rear to represent past or future in many languages (Radden 2003). In Chinese, time related expressions can sometimes be coded as the past is lying in front and the future lying behind (Yu 1998). See examples below.

(44) a. Ri. qian

Day. front

- A few days ago; the other day
- b. Ri. hou
- Day. back
- In the future; in the days to come -(Radden 2003: 231)

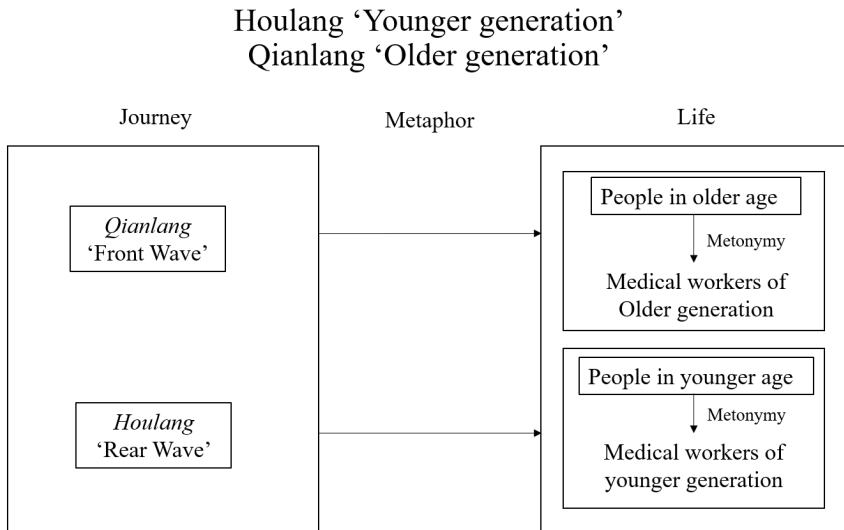
In example (44a), *Qian* ‘front’ which means the location in the front demonstrates time that in the past while in (44b) *hou* ‘back or rear’ represents time in the future. Unlike the time-related terms interpreted by spatial concept in English that front always stands for the future and behind the past. For example, weeks in front of us and weeks behind us. However, in Chinese when conceptualizing a future time, sometimes the front represents the past whereas behind the future as showed in example (44a) and (44b).

In Chinese, the usage of spatial terms front and back as metaphorical expressions to represent past and future can also be found in the neologism of *Qianlang* and *Houlang*. The literal meaning of *Qianlang* is the wave in the front while *houlang* is the one in rear. In the context of COVID-19 pandemic, these two words have extended their literal meanings as rear and front waves to the younger and older generation of medical workers, respectively.

The reason why in Chinese the older generation can be represented as the wave in front and the future in rear can be observed in the experience of the journey of a river. Imagine water in the river flows just as time passes, the milestones of this river journey indicate different life stages. In here, the journey of a river flowing is used to denote the course of people's life and front-back locations of waves in a river are used to elicit the particular time period of a life journey.

The wave in the front is always the one that arrives earlier than the rear one implying that the older generation would approach the maturity in advance than the younger generation. Therefore, in Chinese *Houlang* (rear wave) and *Qianlang* (front wave), can extend their meanings into younger and older generations. In the situation of COVID-19, the meaning of *Houlang* and *Qianlang* is further specified as the medical care personnel of younger and

older generation who fight against the disease during the pandemic via metaphorical mapping. See Figure 20 below.



<Figure 20>

Metaphorical Mapping of *Houlang* and *Qianlang*

From the above Figure 20, in the source domain, the journey is specified as water flowing in the river that can form waves. Amid these waves, the ones in the front come into being earlier than the ones behind. These elements in the source domain mapped onto the target domain as the rear waves are people in younger age while front waves are people in older age. In the metaphoric target domain, the domain is further reduced via the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART as medical workers of younger generation and older generation are all part of those people in their individual age groups, respectively.

Under the circumstances of fighting the COVID-19 pandemic, regardless of rear or front waves, these two words refer to those medical workers of different ages, young and old. These people devoted themselves into the journey of combating the infectious disease despite the different life stages they are at. Moreover, the culture-specific metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY OF

FLOWING RIVER in Chinese and metaphor TIME AS SPACE allow the meaning of *houlang* and *qianlang*, the front-back locations of waves, to represent younger and older generations of medical workers who fight against the disease.

C. Summary

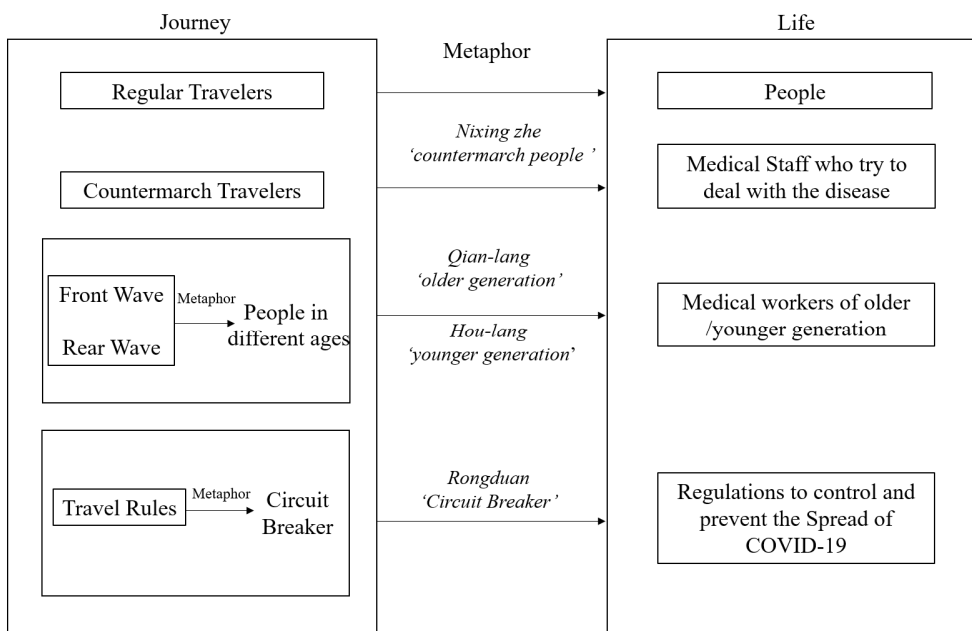
To sum up, the journey metaphor is employed in both English and Chinese neologism related to COVID-19. Different from war metaphor-based neologism, in journey metaphor the COVID-19 disease is highlighted not as an enemy but as an obstacle in a journey. The universal metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY exists in both English and Chinese whereas a culture specific one that is LIFE IS A JOURNEY OF FLOWING RIVER is valid in Chinese.

The experience of fighting against the COVID-19 is understood as a journey and the infectious disease is treated as obstacles in the journey of people's lives. In English, *Circuit breaker* is utilized in the situation of the pandemic as a mechanism denoting all social regulations to stop the transmission of the virus. *Circuit breaker* is just as traveling rules to control the movement of travelers to protect the safety of the whole journey whereas in a electric circuit, it serves as the mechanism to control the flow of the currents to safeguard the safety of the circuit. Then it extends its meaning to social regulations to cut off the spread of the disease just as the device's function in an electric circuit (See Figure 17).

In Chinese, *Rongduan* 'Circuit Breaker' share the same metaphorical mapping as *Circuit Breaker* in English. Both in English and Chinese, *Circuit Breaker* and *Rongduan* are used to denote the mechanism to cut off the transmission channel when safe standard is breached so as to protect the safety of the public.

However, the nuance in Chinese is that *Rongduan* 'Circuit Breaker' (See Figure 18) is specified as the particular mechanism for blocking the inbound

flights from abroad while in English *Circuit Breaker* refers to all social regulations to cut off the transmission chain such as lockdown and social distance restrictions. This difference between English and Chinese is due to the social context that a lot of powerful social restrictions were taken at the early stage of the pandemic in China. In regarding to how to describe medical workers, there are other neologism coined in Chinese to refer to those medical staff based on journey metaphors. The figure below is the framework of journey metaphor-based neologism in Chinese.



<Figure 21>

Framework of journey metaphor-based neologism in Chinese

From the above Figure 21, in the source domain of journey, *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ are those travelers who move against the prescribed direction and are mapped onto the target domain as medical staff who fight against COVID-19. *Houlang* ‘Rear Wave’ and *Qianlang* ‘Front Wave’ literally mean the front-back waves in a journey of a river flow. However, in the context of COVID-19 pandemic, these elements in the journey domain are

used to portray those medical workers at different age groups: *Houlang* denotes those younger generation while *Qianlang* refers to older generation.

V. Conclusion

As an unprecedented pandemic, COVID-19 has profoundly influenced many aspects of human lives. Many languages across the world including English and Chinese are adapting quickly to accommodate with the new environment in facing the enormous social and economic disruptions caused by the disease. This linguistic shifts can be easily observed in lexical items. In previous chapters, English and Chinese neologism related to COVID-19 have been examined and analyzed. These new words are based on conceptual metaphor and coined to illustrate different aspects of COVID-19 pandemic. The conceptual metaphors that we have identified in the coinage of neologism in English and Chinese are WAR and JOURNEY. In other words, WAR and JOURNEY domains are source domains to understand COVID-19 and its impact on people. In terms of WAR as source domain, COVID-19 is construed as an enemy to human beings and the meaning of a life-threatening situation is conveyed. In terms of JOURNEY as source domain, COVID-19 is considered as an obstacle in one's life journey which would endanger the safety of it. The experience of responding to the public health crisis is conceptualized as a journey where people may not eliminate the virus in a short time. In this way, the more abstract concept of COVID-19 is understood as a more concrete notion through conceptual metaphors.

In addition to COVID-19 itself, there are other concepts related to this infectious disease that are expressed in the form of metaphor-based neologism. These neologisms are created to help people better understand the new situation in the context of the pandemic and can be basically categorized into three types both in English and Chinese: medical staff who deal with the disease, in particular, doctors and nurses; social regulations implemented to prevent the transmission of the disease; and impacts on people's lives and interactions. The target concepts and their corresponding metaphor-based neologisms are shown in Table 1 below.

COVID-19 Related Concepts	English	Chinese
Medical Worker	Frontline/Covid/Corona Warriors	Baiyizhanshi 'Warriors in White'
		Nixingzhe 'Countermarch People'
		Houlang 'Younger Generation'
		Qianlang 'Older Generation'
Social Regulations	Circuit Breaker	Rongduan 'Circuit Breaker'
	Bubble	
Social Impacts	Zoombombing	Kangyi
	Infodemic	'Resist epidemic/Anti-epidemic'

Table 1
COVID-19 Related Neologism in English and Chinese

From the above table, English and Chinese neologisms are mainly divided into three categories to describe different notions in the context of COVID-19 pandemic: medical worker, social regulation and social impact. In the category of medical workers, in English, neologism such as *Frontline/Covid/Corona Warriors* are used. These new words extended their literal meaning of warriors to denote those medical practitioners in the situation of the pandemic. In Chinese, a similar word can be found, that is, *Baiyizhanshi* 'Warriors in White' which are used to metaphorically describe those medical workers as warriors who combat the disease as an enemy. However, in Chinese there are other lexical items adopted to denote those medical staff. *Nixingzhe* 'Countermarch People' which literally describes those travellers moving into the opposite direction against a regular one is now metaphorically referred to those medical workers who also travel into the direction where potential dangers lay ahead and most ordinary people would flee away. *Houlang* 'Younger Generation' and *Qianlang* 'Older Generation' literally mean the rear and front

wave in a river, respectively. In the context of COVID-19, these words refer to those medical workers of different generations via a culture specific metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY OF FLOWING RIVER in Chinese.

With respect to social regulations, in English and Chinese, *circuit breaker* (*Rongduan* in Chinese) is similarly used in both languages expressing the social regulations that are implemented to prevent the spread of the disease. In here, the literal meaning of *circuit breaker* is an electric device to safeguard an electric circuit. It then extends to denote a mechanism that is utilized to protect the public and prevent the transmission of the disease in the situation of the pandemic. The extended meaning of *circuit breaker* arises from the similarity between these two domains. Electric atoms flow in a circuit just like travelers move around in a journey. A *circuit breaker* is a device that can control the movement of electric atoms, by the same token, when it applied in the situation of COVID-19, the meaning of a mechanism that can be triggered to control the movement of people as a way to prevent the disease spreading is conveyed.

In English, *bubble* is another new word for social regulations that is designed to prevent the spread of the disease. The literal meaning of a *bubble* is a ball formed of air surrounded by a thin sphere of film that floats in the air. It then develops to mean a group of members who are isolated from outside people in order to keep social distance while maintaining their mental wellbeing. A *bubble* which can be metaphorically considered to be a temporary shelter in a battle to protect soldiers is now used during the pandemic to refer to a social measure that can balance the social distance rule with people's psychological health. However, in Chinese such metaphor-based neologism to depict social regulations is not found.

In terms of describing those social impacts that COVID-19 has brought to us, in English *Zoombombing* which literally expresses the meaning of a bombing activity in a warfare, has extended its meaning into the hijacking of online meetings with undesirable contents that results in the shutdown of conferences and the damages of the mental wellbeing of the audience.

Infodemic is the misinformation about COVID-19 and metaphorically treated as another type of enemy that people must fight against. In Chinese, *Kangyi* ‘Resist epidemic/Anti-epidemic’ literally means the action of resisting the COVID-19 as an intruder. Due to the belief of traditional Chinese medicine, a person gets ill because the balance of human body is disrupted by the outside “invader”, namely, the disease. Thus, as a result, people must resist the “attack” from the infectious disease and protect the health of each individuals as well as the whole society. The preventing and controlling of the infectious disease calls upon a joint effort to react in facing the pandemic and a collective campaign of all people to fight against the infectious disease is required.

To sum up, both English and Chinese utilize WAR and JOURNEY metaphors to understand this unprecedented pandemic of COVID-19 and as an underlying cognitive process in creating neologism related to it. Among the above metaphor-based neologism in English and Chinese, it can be observed that universality and diversity exist in the description of the same given concepts in the context of COVID-19. In the following paragraphs, universality and diversity can be further observed in English and Chinese neologism demonstrating the same concept related to COVID-19.

A. Universality and Diversity

Universality and diversity can be observed in war metaphor-based neologism among English and Chinese. In the description of COVID-19, both English and Chinese metaphorically denote it as an enemy in a war and medical workers as warriors, e.g. *Frontline/Covid/Corona Warriors*, *Baiyizhanshi* ‘Warriors in White.’ See Table 2 below.

COVID-19 Related Concepts	English	Chinese
Medical Worker	Frontline/Covid/Corona Warriors	Baiyizhanshi 'Warriors in White'
Social Regulations	Bubble	N/A
Social Impacts	Zoombombing	Kangyi
	Infodemic	'Resist epidemic/Anti-epidemic'

Table 2
WAR metaphor-based Neologism in English and Chinese

From the above table, medical workers can be metaphorically referred to as warriors in both English and Chinese. However, in Chinese there are no counterparts in terms of depicting social regulations based on WAR metaphors. Also, in Chinese the infectious disease is considered more than an enemy but as an invader who proactively attacks human beings. Therefore, according to Chinese traditional medicine theory, people must resist the invasion of the disease in order to keep the balance inside one's body and maintain health. A more defensive and conservative way of expressing the combat with COVID-19 is employed as showed in Chinese neologism *Kangyi* 'Resist epidemic/Anti-epidemic.'

In JOURNEY metaphor-based neologism, universality and diversity can also be revealed through neologism in both languages. See Table 3 below.

COVID-19 Related Concepts	English	Chinese
Medical Worker	N/A	Nixingzhe 'Countermarch People'
		Houlang 'Younger Generation'
		Qianlang 'Older Generation'
Social Regulations	Circuit Breaker	Rongduan 'Circuit Breaker'

Table 3
JOURNEY metaphor-based Neologism in English and Chinese

From the above table, it can be seen clearly that in English JOURNEY metaphors are not used to form neologism describing those medical workers. However, in Chinese JOURNEY metaphors are found to be utilized in forming the neologism describing medical workers. In Chinese, medical practitioners are depicted as *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’. In addition, a more culture-specific neologism used to refer to those medical workers in Chinese are *Houlang* ‘Younger generation’ and *Qianlang* ‘Older generation’.

In English, *Circuit Breaker* and *Rongduan* ‘Circuit Breaker’ in Chinese both serve as a kind of mechanism to control the movement of people in order to cut off transmission channel of the virus. However, in English *Circuit Breaker* denotes those all kinds of social regulations to prevent the spread of the disease meanwhile *Rongduan* ‘Circuit Breaker’ in Chinese expresses the specific regulations to stop the inbound flights from overseas.

B. Explanations for Universality and Diversity

How is it possible that such universality exists in different cultures such as English and Chinese? After all, these two languages belong to very different language families and represent very different cultures of the world. However, similarities between English and Chinese can be found due to the universality of metaphorical conceptualization and metaphorical conceptualization is based on our bodily experience which works cross-culturally.

When English and Chinese conceptualize COVID-19 as an enemy in the coinage of neologism, people are commonly experiencing a dangerous and life-threatening situation. Medical workers fight against the disease bravely to protect the public and authorities carry out strong restrictions to prevent the

spread of the virus. Hence the COVID-19 is recognized as an “enemy” that people must defeat and those medical staff are recognized as “warriors” to combat the disease both in English and Chinese. The universal bodily experience can be attributed to explain the universality as people around the world are experiencing the same pandemic and undergoing similar social regulations. In addition, as the pandemic develops, it is unlikely for human beings to exterminate the virus in a short period of time, people start to realize the possibility of co-existence with the virus. Instead of using war metaphors, an upsurge in usage of journey metaphors can be observed.

The diversity arises between English and Chinese possibly due to culture specificity when conceptualize given concepts relevant to COVID-19. In WAR metaphor-based neologism, a more defensive and conservative meaning can be derived in Chinese vocabularies comparing to English. In Chinese, *Kangyi* ‘Resist epidemic/Anti-epidemic’ expresses the meaning of resisting the pandemic as an invader who would intrude human body to disrupt the balance. According to traditional Chinese medicine theory, the disease is considered as an outside *Xieqi* ‘Evil gas’ (a pathological element in modern medicine) which would “invade” human body and disrupt the inside balance. It can be defeated by the inside “defender”, *Zhengqi* ‘Positive gas’ (an antibody in modern medicine) hence balance restored. In traditional Chinese medicine theory, therefore the pivotal issue of keeping people from illness is the balance of negative energy, *Xieqi* ‘Evil gas’ from outside and the positive energy, *Zhengqi* ‘Positive gas’ inside body. In this sense, when people face the “attack” of COVID-19 as *Xieqi* ‘Evil gas’, the “defender”, *Zhengqi* ‘Positive gas’ inside human body must resist and defend the health of people.

In JOURNEY metaphor-based neologism, the extended meaning of *Rongduan* ‘Circuit breaker’ in Chinese is the specific regulatory mechanism to ban inbound flights from overseas while its English counterpart, *Circuit breaker* refers to all social regulations to prevent the spread of the infectious disease such as social distancing and lockdown. The nuance between English and Chinese in conceptualizing social regulations is due to the particular social

contexts in China. As a collective minded nation with strong social restrictions implemented at the early stage of the pandemic, a series of rigorous measures have already been taken by the authority to block the transmission of the virus. People voluntarily followed the instructions from the government and stayed at home as much as possible. Therefore the whole society behaved collectively and the state of emergency became a regular status. No particular terms are coined to denote all those strict social measures as a whole.

In Chinese, *Nixingzhe* ‘Countermarch People’ refers to those medical staff who move in the direction where most ordinary people would flee away. It is the opposite direction against a regular one where dangers may lie ahead. JOURNEY metaphor is employed in the creation of this Chinese neologism to describe those medical staff who would march into a situation that would put themselves into danger. In general, this is probably because of the influence of culture-specific factors. As a collective-minded nation which was deeply influenced by traditional medicine theory, in Chinese it can easily arise a culture-specific metaphor, that is, LIFE OF A PHYSICIAN IS A JOURNEY OF MARCHING TROOPS. It was proposed in line with the theory of a classic traditional Chinese medicine book called *The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Medicine* (Nie 1996). The metaphor of “LIFE OF A PHYSICIAN IS A JOURNEY OF A MARCHING TROOP” reflects the connection of traditional Chinese medicine with the military and journey field. In addition, some of the strategies on treating illness shared with the ones in military combat. In here, health care workers are a group of people marching towards a destination. In an emergency situation, the physician could give orders to suddenly change the direction of marching to deal with a crisis. The Chinese metaphor about the physician as a marching troop indicates that as a marching personnel should he remain alert and cautious as well as prepare for the sudden change of his direction when facing an emergent situation. This is the same as medical worker who would face fast-changing conditions of the disease. Thus the notion of traveling in an opposite direction is interpreted as to deal with an emergent situation where dangers and obstacles may lie ahead.

Another Chinese neologism to depict medical workers is *Houlang* ‘Younger Generation’ and *Qianlang* ‘Older Generation.’ These two words literally mean rear and front waves in a river which in turn refer to medical practitioners in different age groups in the situation of COVID-19. The Chinese culture-specific metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY OF FLOWING RIVER acts upon here. The notion of medical workers in younger generation can be understood as ‘rear wave’ in a river while the older generation the ‘Front wave.’ In Chinese culture, LIFE IS A JOURNEY OF FLOWING RIVER metaphor can be applied to explain this phenomenon. It is a culture-specific conceptualization on life and reflection of Chinese culture. It further affects how people visualize different stages in life and utilize the front-back waves in a river to metaphorically refer to those medical workers of different generations in the context of COVID-19.

C. Limitations

A limitation of this study concerns the fact it was carried out in a specific sample of neologism in both English and Chinese. Although certain patterns of neologism can be inferred via the similar cognitive process, for example in English a series of neologism can be coined through compounding *warriors* as components such as *corona warriors* and *covid warriors*. In Chinese, a number of neologism can be generated via compounding *Kangyi* ‘resist pandemic’ such as *Kangyiwuzi* ‘the supply of resisting epidemic’ and *Kangyijingshen* ‘the spirit of resisting epidemic.’ However, there exist other neologisms which are coined without any metaphorical groundings. Another shortcoming of this study may lie in the lack of exploration on metonymy-based neologism in both English and Chinese. Furthermore, this study contains mainly about the compound neologism in both English and Chinese, other typology of neologism is not well addressed. Hopefully, this research has presented a cross linguistic study in neologism from a cognitive semantic approach and may provide some

evidence as well as some possible explanations for universality and diversity in linguistic studies.

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APPENDICES

[Appendix A] English Neologism

- Bubble
- Covid warriors
- Corona warriors
- Circuit breaker
- Frontline warriors
- Infodemic
- Plandemic
- Twindemic
- Zoom bombing
- Zoom raiding
- Zoom boom
- Zoom fatigue

[Appendix B] Chinese Neologism

Chinese	Lexical Form	English Translation
-Baiyizhanshi	白衣戰士	Warriors in White
-Hongyizhanshi	紅衣戰士	Warriors in Red
-Lanyizhanshi	藍衣戰士	Warriors in Blue
-Kangyi	抗疫	Resist epidemic/Anti-epidemic
-Kangyijingshen	抗疫精神	The spirit of resisting epidemic
-Kangyiwuzi	抗疫物資	The supply for resisting epidemic
-Rongduan	熔斷	Circuit breaker
-Nixingzhe	逆行者	Countermarch people
-Houlang	後浪	Younger generation
-Qianlang	前浪	Older generation

b.疫情發生以來，習近平總書記親自指揮，各級黨委和政府發揮戰鬥堡壘作用。廣泛動員群眾，組織群眾，凝聚群眾。全面落實聯防聯控措施，在抗疫戰鬥過程中構築群防群控的嚴密防線。 -(pp.65-66)

(27) a. 我們要在全社會大力弘揚偉大抗疫精神，使之轉換為全面建設社會主義現代化國家、實現中華民族偉大復興的強大力量。

b.中國外交部發言人汪文斌表示，中方對尼泊爾遭受的疫情挑戰感同身受，向尼泊爾提供的一批抗疫物資援助已基本籌措完畢，將盡快送到尼泊爾朋友手中。 -(pp.67)

(29)回顧抗疫歷程，許多場景久久不能忘懷。中國抗擊新冠肺炎疫情的歷程，是人類與疾病鬥爭史上的奇跡，更是人類精神所演繹的動人篇章。

-(pp.75)

(33) a.8月1日，民航局單日發出三份熔断指令，分別對阿聯酋阿蒂哈德航空公司EY862航班，中國東方航空公司MU212航班，斯裏蘭卡航空公司UL866航班采取熔断措施，航線航班暫停運行1周，三家航期8月17日之前的航班可繼續執行，如期間觸發熔断機制，熔断時間予以累加計算。

b.4月8日，民航局再發熔断指令，對東方航空公司MU588航班(紐約至上海)實施熔断措施。3月30日入境的東方航空公司MU588航班(紐約至上海)核酸檢測陽性旅客10例，自4月19日(航班入境日期)起，暫停該航班運行4周。 -(pp.84)

(34) a.在晚高峰的時候，救護車在上海交通警察的指揮下逆行上高架橋搶救病人。

b.深圳司機劉師傅爲了能夠及時把突發疾病的孩子送往醫院，逆行抄了近路。被交通警察免於處罰。 -(pp.88)

- (35) a. 作為由中央廣播電視總台出品的首部抗疫題材電視系列劇，七集電視劇《最美逆行者》將於周四正式登陸央視一套。每個故事均根據真實的逆行者的感人事跡改編而成，用電視劇的藝術形式弘揚偉大的抗疫精神，向最美逆行者致敬。
- b. 這張照片是廣州荔灣區的一位居民拍攝的。6月2日，荔灣區報告了本輪疫情的第一例確診病例，目前是高風險地區。這位居民在新浪微博上分享了這張照片並寫到：暴雨中，是你們扛著這面旗幟沖鋒。致敬逆行者。 -(pp.89)
- (36) a. 河裏的浪花的位置一般分為兩種：一種是在前面的前浪，一種是在後面推著前浪的後浪。
- b. 河裏的後浪追逐著前浪，到了岸邊，最終一同拍打在沙灘上。
-(pp.92-93)
- (37) a. 新冠肺炎疫情肆虐至今，4萬多名援鄂醫務人員中，有1萬多名是90後，其中相當一部分是95後，00後。這些後浪們，成為抗疫戰場上白衣天使，成為危難當中的真心英雄，也成為了抗疫疫情的中堅力量。
- b. 所有前浪都會是後浪，一切後浪也終將變成前浪，這是客觀規律，無法違抗，更無法阻擋。而不同時代的後浪們，在各自社會文化河床中萌發，壯大，奔流，又終要以各不同的面貌，彙入時代的巨浪。時代也因此豐富多彩。 -(pp.93-94)
- (38) a. 共和國走過了四十五年不平凡的歷程。
- b. 高玉寶陪伴著中國千百萬孩子走過少年時代。 -(pp.96)
- (39) a. 子在川上曰：“逝者如斯夫，不舍晝夜” —《論語》
- b. 百川東到海，何時復西歸？少壯不努力，老大徒傷悲。 —中國諺語

-(pp.97)

(40) a. 消失的時間像河水，日夜奔流，一去不回。

b. 事實上，生命就像河流一樣，永無止境的繼續往前流。 -(pp.98)

(41) a. 日前

b. 日後 -(pp.98-99)

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