

HOW DID COVID-19 PANDEMIC EVOLVE WITH TIME?

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Abstract

Covid-19 pandemic broke out all around the world. As a concept that is deeply connected to everyone's wellbeing, it is heatedly talked metaphorically online. It would be meaningful to figure out how it has been conceptualized in a systematical manner. This paper studies COVID-19 PANDEMIC metaphors in Chinese language in the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory from a diachronical point of view. Datum are collected from Network News Broadcast, sponsored by CCTV-1, China, the text version of 2020.1.20-2020.12.31. 561 articles and 41,144,754 words in total are included in the corpus. The method used to identify the metaphors is Metaphor Identification Procedure VU University Amsterdam (MIPVU). Based on the conceptual metaphor theory and highlighting and hiding theory, the paper categorized COVID-19 PANDEMIC metaphors into four themes: the SPREAD metaphor, the WAR metaphor, STRATEGY metaphor, metaphors used to summarize the experience. A new-generation software package #LancsBox X is used to analyze the corpus data diachronically. The result shows that WAR metaphor is the most frequent used one. HITTING FORCE metaphor used to describe the influence of economy is the only metaphor that did not lose focus all the year. During summer season, metaphor usage is much less. The usage of STRATEGY metaphor goes down from spring to summer and rises up when it comes into the winter season again. The result proves that the context plays a vital role in the appearance of new metaphors and what metaphors are more popular or prominent. With the different season, the intense of the disease influences the focus of people greatly. But the influence of economy has received relatively stable attention all the year round.

Keywords

COVID-19 PANDEMIC metaphor; Conceptual metaphor theory; highlighting and hiding; diachronic; context

1. Introduction

Covid-19 pandemic is heatedly talked on different media since it broke out. Relating metaphors sprang up to illustrate different aspects of this new disease. People use specific concepts to understand abstract concepts through mapping mechanisms. How something is presented to the audience (called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. In this sense, to study the metaphors relating to COVID-19 PANDEMIC is important. This article aims to figure out the diachronic pattern or characteristic of usage of COVID-19 PANDEMIC metaphors from 2020.01 to 2020.12 on Chinese official news media.

2. Literature Review

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The conceptualization of COVID-19 PANDEMIC has become a heating topic as so many metaphors sprang up online. There are comparative researches between different languages and culture (Chen, 2020; Li, 2021) There is research focuses on analyzing different reality that metaphor can lead to and gives suggestion to what metaphors should be used prioritically to conceptualize COVID-19 PANDEMIC (Semino, 2021). Peng, Yu and Tay (2023) study the function of WATER metaphor in the conceptualization of COVID-19 PANDEMIC. There is also research that focuses on the study of covid-19 metaphor in certain genres, like twitter (Wicke & Bolognesi, 2020). Liu and Tay (2023) investigated WAR metaphor conceptualization in China Daily, which is Chinese news in English. Adam (2021) studied the change of WAR metaphor in the WTO briefings from February to August, 2020. However, there is rarely any research which examines it from a diachronic perspective in Chinese Mandarin language. This paper aims to summarise the diachronical model of the conceptualization of COVID-19 PANDEMIC in China by answering following two questions: 1. What metaphors are used when people conceptualize covid-19 pandemic in different waves of pandemic in Chinese? 2. Are there any changes in the usage of covid-19 metaphor across time in Chinese? At the end of the paper, an explanation is also given to the model.

3. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) defined metaphor as the mapping process between the target and source domain. The more specific concepts are made use of to understand the more abstract ones. This work redefines metaphor from rhetorical level to cognition level. However, it also received criticism from different perspectives. Among them, one shortage is the total neglect of context (Kövecses, 2015). Embodiments and context are two factors that work together to form metaphors. Metaphors occur in discourse. Context is what leads a conceptual system to make the choice of a particular metaphorical expression in a given piece of discourse (Kövecses, 2015). The frequency of types of metaphor that are used involves change of the preceding discourse or social context. Kövecses (Kövecses, 2015, 2020) divided context into four big categories which can be summarized in the following table 1. In this paper, I would like to focus on the influence of situational context on the usage of metaphor and try to give an explanation to the evolvement of COVID-19 PANDEMIC metaphor from the effect of context.

Table 1. Four types of context

Context types	Examples
Situational context	The physical environment, the social situation and the cultural situation
Discourse context	Surrounding discourse, knowledge about the main elements of discourse, previous discourses on the same topic, dominant forms of discourse related to a particular subject matter
Cognitive-conceptual context	Metaphorical conceptual system, ideology, knowledge about past events, interests and concerns
Body	Particular states of body

4. Highlighting and hiding

Highlighting and hiding are important parts of the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors both have the function of highlighting and omitting. This plays an

important role in the meaning construction process of conceptual metaphors. when a target is structured in terms of a particular source, this highlights certain aspects of the target while simultaneously hiding other aspects. In this way, metaphors can set focus of a concept or conceptual domain on certain perspective (Evans, & Green, 2018). For example, COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAVE (Semino, 2021). The recurring coming back and forth state of the PANDEMIC is highlighted and the facts that the pandemic can be ended with the right control measurement is hidden. COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS WAR. When pandemic is compared to war, the destruction and chaos part of PANDEMIC is highlighted and the facts that PANDEMIC cannot cause the same building damage or lack of food are hidden.

5. Method

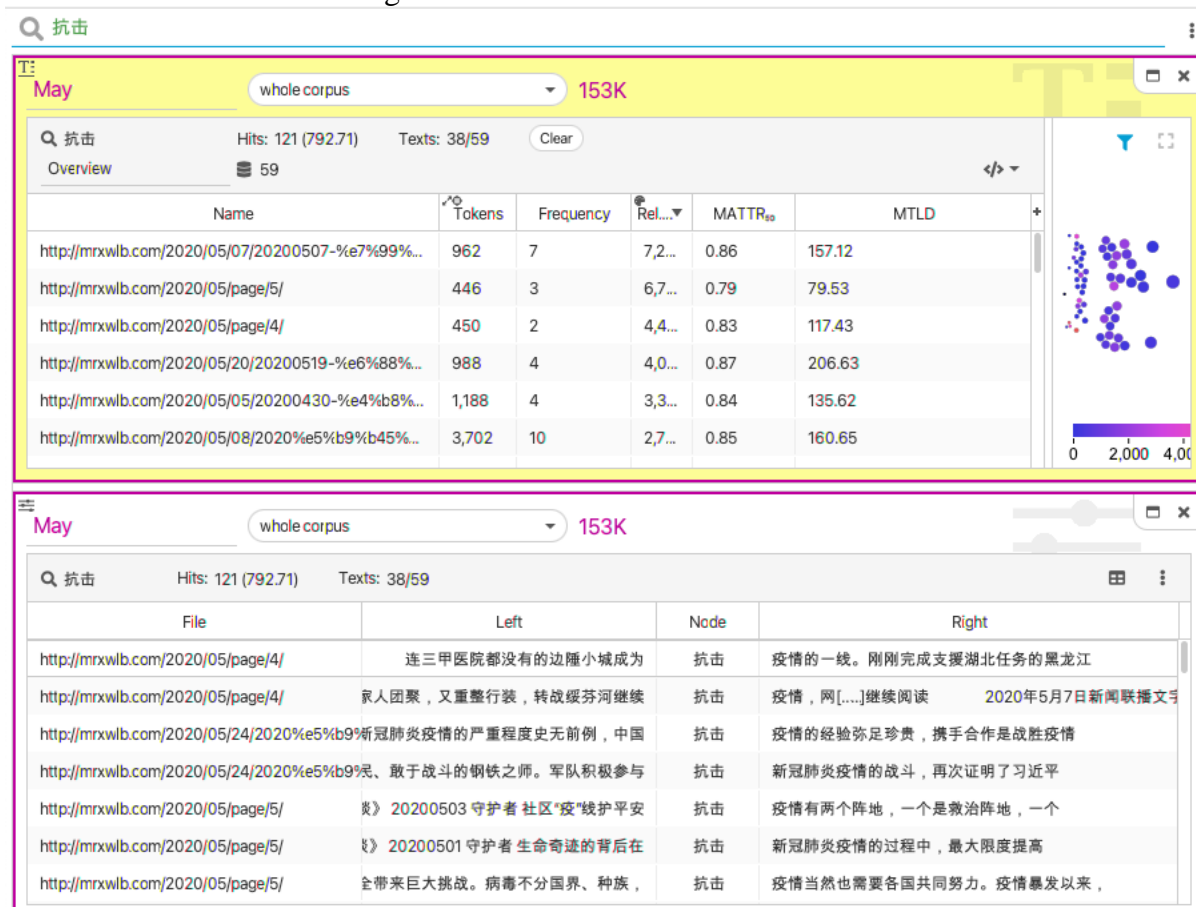
The detailed metaphor analysis is carried out in a corpus based approach, sixty pandemic reports are collected from the Network News Broadcast, sponsored by CCTV-1, China, the text version of 2020.1.20-2020.12.31. It is a daily official news report program in Mandarin in China. 561 articles and 41,144,754 words are included in the corpus. The distributions of each month is illustrated in the following table 1. The quantitative analysis on metaphor focuses first on the distribution in terms of its frequency, the analysis then focuses on the distribution of metaphors with an insight on their mapping structure. Corpus is built in the The #LancsBox X developed by Brezina and Platt (2023) is used to analyze the data. It is a new-generation software package for the analysis of language data and corpora developed at Lancaster University. It can automatically annotate Chinese language data for part-of-speech. The research then reveals the ideology that metaphors reflected in pandemic discourse, and it is accompanied by a discussion on the potential social and political implications they bring.

MIPVU is used accordingly to identify and classify the types of WAR Metaphor. The research follows three major steps—namely, (1) metaphor identification; (2) metaphor interpretation, which classifies metaphors according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory to investigate different metaphors' distribution and diachronic changes; (3) metaphors explanation, which introduces Frame Theory to reveal China's image constructed by metaphors.

Table1. distribution of articles in the corpus

Month	Number of transcripts	Words
January	57	3763,277
February	66	9614,311
March	60	8981,842
April	57	3969,32
May	59	6119,668
June	55	4773,222
July	35	597,687
August	36	605,818
September	33	581,84
October	35	959,77
November	30	529,724
December	38	648,275
Total	561	41,144,754

Figure 1. Interface of the #LancsBox X



Change of COVID-19 PANDMEIC metaphor

Metaphors help us to understand the situation in a more specific way. The metaphors found from the corpus can be categorized according to their meaning focus. In this paper, according to the semantic of the metaphors, the metaphors found are divided into four different themes. Spread metaphor, Strategy metaphor, metaphor used to summarize the experience. The usage of these metaphors are observed diachronically with month as the frequency.

The highlighted aspects of the covid-19 pandemic is divided into four stages in the following table 2. :

Table 2. Stages of Covid-19

Theme	Highlighting
1. SPREAD metaphor	Only superficial Spread of the covid
2. WAR metaphor	1. Difficulty of the situation to deal with (get the important aspects) 2. The speed and danger is emphasized as the disease is very deadly 3. To fight together with all the other countries are important
3. STRATEGY metaphor	Big exam, Chess
4. metaphors used to summarize the experience	Influence of pandemic on the other parts of the society

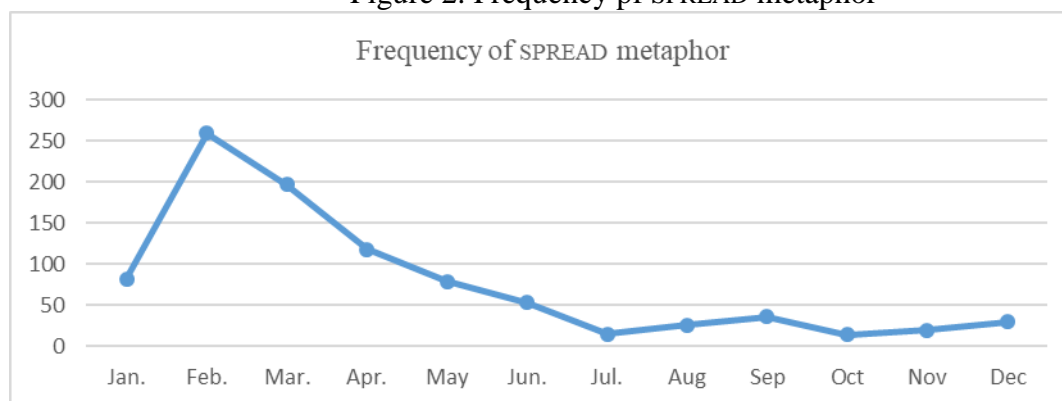
6. The diachronic usage of COVID-19 PANDEMIC metaphors

6.1 diachronic usage of SPREAD metaphor

Table 3. The number of spread terms in concordance

Part of speech	Key-words of metaphor	Frequency of Hits											
		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Verb	牵动	4	8	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	扩散	28	72	50	20	23	15	4	1	3	0	0	4
	蔓延	26	89	78	59	35	27	6	12	17	9	13	14
	堵住	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	传播	21	82	58	35	19	9	5	13	16	5	7	12
	跟踪	2	8	7	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Noun	链条	1	0	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		82	259	197	118	79	53	15	26	36	14	20	30

Figure 2. Frequency of SPREAD metaphor



At beginning time, pandemic successfully attracted the whole country's attention and efforts. The main focus at this time is the spread of the disease. PANDEMIC is compared to GASEOUS SUBSTANCE, PLANTS and CHAIN-SHAPED SUBSTANCE. These metaphors help to understand better the way how pandemic is spreading among the crowds. TRACK metaphor reflects the result which the SPREAD metaphors lead to and indicates people's attention at this time is to figure out the spread mode of the disease as well.

PANDEMIC IS ROPE

疫情汹汹，尤其武汉，牵动人心。(2020.1.29)

Yiqing *xiongxiong* *youqi* *Wuhan* *qiandong* *Renxin*
pandemic raging.adj especially.adv Wuhan pull people.heart

'The epidemic is raging, especially in Wuhan, which affects people's hearts.'

In this metaphor, PANDEMIC is compared to a ROPE which is pulling all people's heart. It is verified also by the sprang up news and report relating to the situation in Wuhan, China. Many people more or less complained about depression and anxiety emotion with overload of these negative news online.

PANDEMIC IS A GASEOUS SUBSTANCE

我国累计报告确诊病例440例,加强部署防止疫情扩散。(2020.1.20)

Woguo *leiji* *baogao* *quezhen* *bingli* 440 *li*

1SG.country accumulate report confirm illness.case 440 case

Jiaqiang *Bushu* *fangzhi* *yiqing* *kuosan*
strength arrange prevent pandemic spread

‘The country has reported a total of 440 confirmed cases and strengthened deployment to prevent the **spread** of the epidemic.’

In this pandemic is compared as gas substance which is invisible and can spread around easily in the air.

PANDEMIC IS CIRRUS

为坚决遏制新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎疫情蔓延态势，国家卫健委等多部门进一步规范患者救治，加强部署措施，保障应急物资供应。(2020.1.23)

Wei *jianjue* *ezhi* *xinxingguanzhuang* *bingdu* *ganran* *de*
For firmly.ADV prevent covid-19 virus infection ASSOC

feiyanyiqing *manyang* *taishi* *guojia* *weijianwei* *deng*
pandemic spread state country health.commission etc.

Duobumen *jinyibu* *guifan* *huanzhe* *jiuzhi* *jiaqiang*
Many.ADJ.department further specification patient treat strength

bushu *cuoshi* *baozhang* *yingji* *wuzi* *gongying*
deploy measure guarantee meet.an.emergency goods supply

‘In order to resolutely curb the **spread** of pneumonia caused by the new coronavirus, the National Health Commission and other departments have further standardized patient treatment, strengthened deployment measures, and ensured the supply of emergency supplies.’

In this metaphor, pandemic is compared to the cirrus of the plants. It also vividly show how pandemic spread in a continuous way.

PANDEMIC IS A MOVING ENTITY

各地有效防控 堵住疫情传播。(2020.1.30)

Gedi *youxiao* *fangkong* *duzhu* *yiqing* *chuano*
Everywhere effectively.ADV control block pandemic spread

‘Effective prevention and control measures are taken in various places to stop the spread of the epidemic.’

This metaphor compares PANDEMIC as a MOVING ENTITY that can be stopped on the way. It still highlights the spread side of PANDEMIC.

PANDEMIC IS A CHAIN

抗击疫情，控制源头，切断传播链条，是有效防止疫情扩散蔓延的关键。(2020.1.26)

Kangji *yiqing* *kongzhi* *yuantou* *qieduan* *chuanboliantiao*
Fight.back pandemic control source cut spread.chain

shi *youxiao* *fangzhi* *yiqing* *kuosan* *manyang* *de* *guanjian*
is effective prevent pandemic spread spread ASSOC keypoint

‘Fighting the epidemic, controlling the source and cutting off the **chain** of transmission are the keys to effectively preventing the spread of the epidemic.’

The CHAIN metaphor visualizes the shape of pandemic and easily lead to how we can cut the chain as a reaction.

PANDEMIC IS A LIVING ENTITY THAT CAN BE TRACKED

世卫组织不建议采取更广泛的涉及旅行或贸易的限制措施，但表示将密切跟踪疫情的最新变化。(2020.1.23)

Shiweizuzhi *bujianyi* *caiqu* *geng* *guangfan* *de* *sheji*
WTO not.neg.suggest take more.ADJ broad.ADJ ASSOC relate

lvxing *huo* *maoyi* *de* *xianzhi* *cuoshi* *dan* *biaoshi*
travel or trade ASSOC limit measure but express

jiang *miqie* *genzong* *yiqing* *de* *zuixin* *bianhua*
will frequently.ADV **track** pandemic ASSOC newest.ADJ change

‘The WHO does not recommend broader restrictions involving travel or trade, but says it will closely **track** the latest changes in the epidemic.

The highlight part of PANDEMIC is still the spread in the TRACK metaphor.

6.2 Diachronic usage of WAR metaphor

Table 4. The number of war terms in concordance

Part of speech	Keywords of war metaphor	Frequency of Hits											
		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Verb	抗击	21	379	298	148	121	88	41	38	111	29	23	25
	战	2	28	34	10	5	6	2	2	3	0	0	4
	打赢	8	86	41	17	16	7	2	4	2	0	0	0
	战胜	3	143	73	80	55	22	1	28	11	3	5	3
	败	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	冲锋	0	29	12	8	4	0	1	2	2	0	0	0
Noun	战场	5	31	23	12	6	2	1	1	1	0	0	3
	防线	1	41	21	32	8	6	3	1	8	0	1	6
	火线	0	11	20	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	战斗	18	49	52	15	13	3	2	0	3	0	1	0
	堡垒	2	8	6	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	医患队伍	1	40	25	11	13	2	2	4	2	0	0	1
	稳定军心	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	武器	1	9	5	10	8	4	0	1	0	0	2	0
	硬仗	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	战线	0	10	21	1	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
	第一线	13	65	31	6	9	0	3	2	2	1	1	0
	大战	0	10	5	4	3	0	0	0	7	1	1	0
总体战、人民战、狙击战	0	30	19	10	8	1	2	0	6	1	0	0	
Adj.	并肩作战	0	25	24	8	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		75	996	716	379	279	124	64	83	160	35	34	43

Figure 3. Frequency of war metaphor

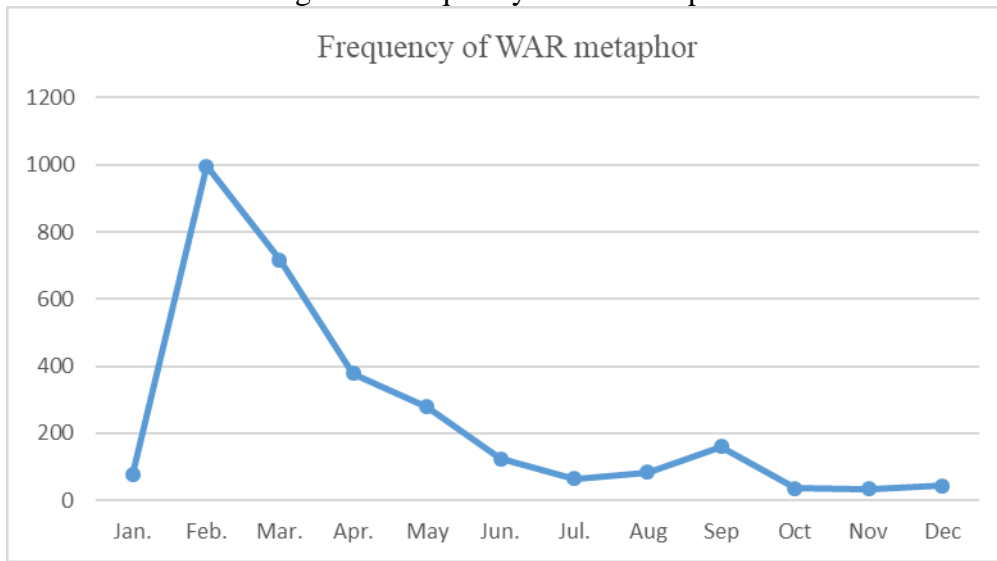
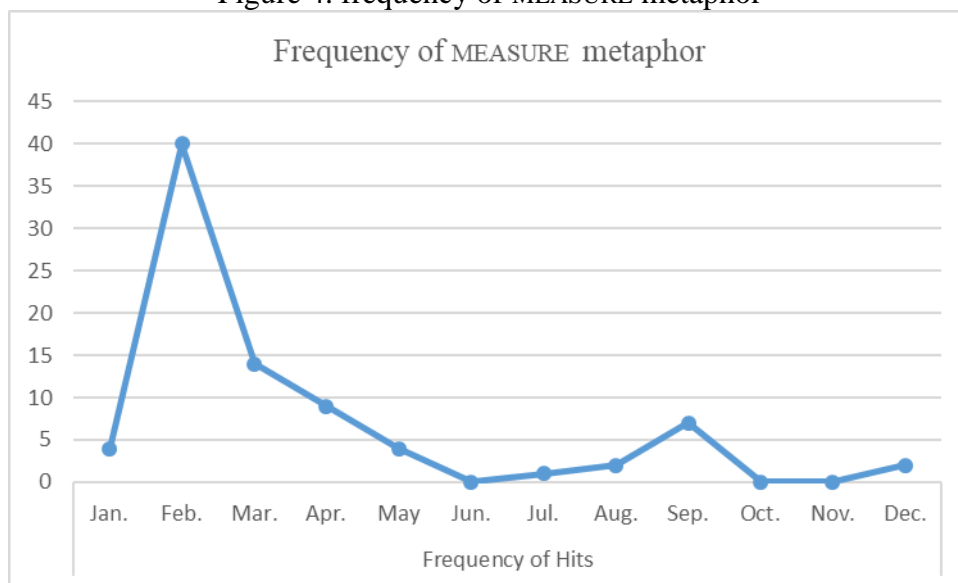


Table 5. The number of MEASURE terms in concordance

Part of speech	Key-words of metaphor	Frequency of Hits											
		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Verb	过关	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	逆向而行	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	赛跑	4	36	11	7	2	0	1	2	6	0	0	2
	化解	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		4	40	14	9	4	0	1	2	7	0	0	2

Figure 4. frequency of MEASURE metaphor



With the track of the disease, experience of how to deal with the disease is accumulating with time passing by. PANDEMIC is understood from many different aspects like: How deadly the disease is and how difficult the situation is to deal with. The roles of government, doctors and nurses play in this pandemic time are also highlighted at this stage.

PANDEMIC IS A TOLL-GATE

我们过年，白衣天使帮我们过关。(2020.1.25)

<i>Women</i>	<i>guonian</i>	<i>baiyitianshi</i>	<i>bang</i>	<i>women</i>
1SG	celebrate.spring.festival	white.coat.angels.	help	1SG

guoguan

pass.toll.gate

‘We celebrate the New Year, and the angels in white help us pass the **customs**.’

TOLL GATE shows that PANDEMIC is an obstacle on the journey.

PANDEMIC IS CRISIS TIME

各级党委要在这场严峻斗争的实践中考察识别干部，激励引导广大党员、干部在**危难时刻**挺身而出、英勇奋斗、扎实工作，经受住考验，紧紧依靠人民群众坚决打赢疫情防控阻击战。(2020.1.27)

<i>Gejidangwei</i>	<i>yao</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>chang</i>	<i>yanjun</i>	<i>douzheng</i>
All.level.party.committee	need	at	DEM	CL	tough.ADJ	fight

<i>de</i>	<i>shijian</i>	<i>zhong</i>	<i>kaocha</i>	<i>shibie</i>	<i>ganbu</i>	<i>jili</i>	<i>yindao</i>
ASSOC	practice	in	observe	recognize	leader	motivate	lead

<i>guangda</i>	<i>dangyuan</i>	<i>ganbu</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>weinan</i>	<i>shike</i>	<i>tingshenerchu</i>
wide.ADJ	party.member	leader	at	crisis.ADJ	time	stand.up

<i>yingyongfendou</i>	<i>zhashigongzuo</i>	<i>jingshouzhu</i>	<i>kaoyan</i>	<i>jinjin</i>
bravely.ADV.Fight	take.solid.steps	stand	test	closely.ADV

<i>yikao</i>	<i>renmin</i>	<i>qunzhong</i>	<i>jianjue</i>	<i>daying</i>	<i>yiqing</i>	<i>fangkong</i>
depend	people	people	decisively.ADV	win	pandemic	control

jujizhan

battle

‘Party committees at all levels must inspect and identify cadres in the practice of this severe struggle, encourage and guide party members and cadres to stand up, fight bravely, work hard in **times of crisis**, withstand the test, and rely on the people to resolutely win the epidemic prevention and control Fighting.’

The FORCE metaphors are used to conceptualize pandemic and reflects the big efforts needed in the battle against the PANDEMIC.

PANDEMIC is described as DIFFICULT TIME.

PANDEMIC IS WAR

same example sentence with previous metaphor

‘Party committees at all levels must inspect and identify cadres in the practice of this severe struggle, encourage and guide party members and cadres to stand up, fight bravely, work hard in **times of crisis**, withstand the test, and rely on the people to resolutely win the epidemic prevention and control Fighting.’

Here PANDEMIC is described as DIFFICULT FIGHT. All these above three metaphor focus on the difficult part during the process to deal with the disease.

PANDEMIC IS WAR

WAR metaphor is the most frequently used metaphor throughout the whole period of pandemic time. News reports about the pandemic show a great tendency in using large amount of war metaphors while reporting the virus events and pandemic situations. These reports not only raise the public's awareness on the crisis, but also strengthen people's confidence. They play an important role in mobilizing the society to actively respond to the pandemic.

Kövecses (2018) pointed out the fact that metaphor can construct reality. What is worth to be pointed out is about the evolvement of WAR metaphor during the one year time. At the beginning time, COVID-19 PANDEMIC is simply conceptualized as WAR with the usage of words like 斗争 *douzheng* 'fight', 抗击 *kangji* 'fight'. There are a lot of derivative war metaphors. Some specific applications of WAR metaphors appear to be empowering and motivating, thus play an crucial role in the Covid-19 treatment by facilitating pandemic understanding, mobilizing the nation and arousing emotional identity. Others convey strong political implications so as to address a political stance or make criticism. Having the function to mobilize society, transmit political stance and facilitate pandemic understanding, war metaphors play an important role in uniting the public and international community to fight the virus together. War metaphors in Network News Broadcast, sponsored by CCTV-1 reports perform a major function to mobilize the nation, and express a political stance that's highly in line with China's central government.

PANDEMIC IS PEOPLE'S WAR/COMPREHENSIVE WAR/CONTAINMENT OPERATION

疫情防控是一场人民战争、总体战、阻击战，每一位中国公民都在以不同方式参与这场战斗(2020.3.31)

<i>Yiqing</i>	<i>fangkong</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>yichang</i>	<i>renminzhanzheng</i>	<i>zongtizhan</i>
Pandemic	control	is	one.CL	people.war	
	comprehensive.ADJ.war				
Jujizhan			<i>mei</i>	<i>yiwei</i>	<i>zhongguo</i>
	<i>gongmin</i>	<i>dou</i>			
containment.operation.war		every	one.CL	Chinese	citizen
					all
<i>zai</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>butong</i>	<i>fangshi</i>	<i>canyu</i>	<i>zhechang</i>
DUR	<i>zhandou</i>	with		way	join
	this.CL	battle			

'Pandemic prevention and control is people's war, comprehensive campaign, and containment operation. Every Chinese citizen is taking part in this battle in different ways'

CORONAVIRUS IS AN ENEMY THAT RESPECTS NO BORDERS

病毒没有国界，疫情不分种族（2020.5.20）

<i>bingdu</i>	<i>meiyou</i>	<i>guojie</i>	<i>yiqing</i>	<i>bufen</i>	<i>zhongzu</i>
virus	NEG.has	border	pandemic	NEG	ethnic.group

'Virus has no border and pandemic cannot divide the ethnic group'

The WAR metaphor indicates the change of the cognition of PANDEMIC. At the beginning time, PANDEMIC is just WAR. Then it became PEOPLE'S WAR, COMPREHENSIVE WAR and finally it evolved into the WORLDWIDE ENEMY instead of just enemy of one country. The appearance of the PEOPLE'S WAR, COMPREHENSIVE WAR variants reflects that the central government realize the importance of the mutual effort of people all over the country. The WORLDWIDE ENEMY metaphor is influenced by the context of the worldwide spread of the disease. These different conceptualization differ in terms of the attitudes they express or reinforce.

CORONAVIRUS IS CONVERSE DIRECTION

在抗击疫情的武汉，记者在街上看到不少快递小哥的身影。他们逆向而行，往来于医院站点之间，把急需的物资及时送到。(2020.1.29)

Zai		kangji	yiqing	de		wuhan	jizhe	
At	zai	fight street.on	jieshang	pandemic	ASSOC	wuhan	journalist	at
kandao	bushao		kuaidi	xiaoge		de	shenyang	tamen
see		NEG.few 3SG.PL	delivery	young.brother		POSS	figure	
nixiangexing					wanglai	yu	yi yuan	
converse.ADJ.direction.and.walk between	zhandian	zhijian		go.come	at	hospital	station	

ba jixude wuzi jishi songdao
BA urgently.needed.ADJ material in.time deliver.arrive

‘In Wuhan, which is fighting the epidemic, reporters saw many courier boys on the streets. They traveled in **the opposite direction**, traveling between hospital sites to deliver urgently needed supplies in a timely manner.

Running to the direction where there is PANDEMIC is regarded as running towards the CONVERSE DIRECTION. The danger of pandemic is emphasized here.

CORONAVIRUS IS A RUNNER COMPETING WITH PEOPLE

心系武汉，见证与疫情赛跑的中国速度。(2020.1.29)

Xin	xi	wuhan	jianzheng	yu	yiqing	saipao
Heart	tie	wuhan	see	with	pandemic	com-
pete.run						

de zhongguo sudu
ASSOC China speed

‘With Wuhan at heart, witness China’s speed in **racing against** the epidemic’
This metaphor shows that one of the most important factor or figured factor during this stage is the speed of all types of reaction to the relative situation.

CORONAVIRUS IS A SUBSTANCE THAT CAN BE DISSOLVED

中国在全国范围内建立了比较完善的疾病预防控制体系，并与全球同行及时分享信息，相信中国有能力化解此次疫情。(2020.1.29)

Zhongguo	zai	quanguo	fanweinei	jianlile	
China	bijiao	at	whole.ADJ.country	range.in	
				build.PFV	
				relative	
wanshande	jibing	yufang	kongzhi	tixi	bing
perfect.ADJ	illness	prevent	control	system	and
yu	quanqiu	tongxing	jishi	fen-	
xiang	xinxi				
with	whole.world	together.ADV.walk	on.time	share	infor-
mation					
xiangxin	zhongguo	you	nengli	huajie	cici
believe	yiqing	China	has	capability	dissolve
	pandemic				DEM.CL

‘China has established a relatively complete disease prevention and control system across the country and has promptly shared information with global counterparts. We believe that China has the ability to **resolve** this **EPIDEMIC**.’

The PANDEMIC is regarded as substance that can be dissolved in the liquids or the substance like ice that can melt. It proves that the central government gain the confidence and is determined to eliminate the PANDEMIC.

6.3 Diachronic usage of STRATEGY metaphor

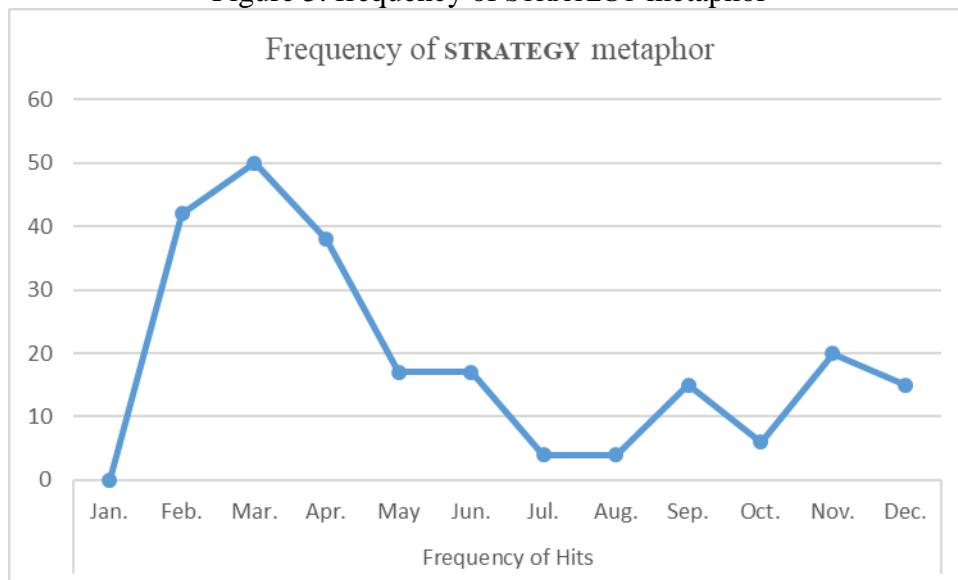
The third stage shows that key points and effective strategies are got in the fight with PANDEMIC.

At the third stage, some effective experiences that can help to control the pandemic and key points that needs more attention are got. The COMPLEX GAME SYSTEM and EXAM are used to conceptualize the strategy which are used to solve the problem step by step. EXAM metaphor shows that great importances are attached to the PANDEMIC. The CLOTHES metaphor reflects the undertaken action. All these three metaphors can support the statement that this is a stage that confidence and experience to deal with the pandemic is built up already. The OPPORTUNITY metaphor is the rare positive metaphor. It highlight the part of the society or technology which became more developed because of the PANDEMIC.

Table 6. The number of STRATEGY terms in concordance

Part of speech	Keywords of metaphor	Frequency of Hits											
		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Noun	大考	0	19	15	13	5	3	0	0	7	3	1	2
	棋	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	局	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	挑战	0	21	32	19	11	12	4	4	8	3	19	13
	机遇	0	0	2	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		0	42	50	38	17	17	4	4	15	6	20	15

Figure 5. frequency of STRATEGY metaphor



CORONAVIRUS IS A BIG EXAM

这次疫情是对我国治理体系和能力的一次大考，我们一定要总结经验、吸取教训。(20.2.15)

Zheci yiqing shi dui woguo zhili
 tixi he
 DEM.CL pandemic is to 1SG.COUNTRY
 govern system and

nengli *de* *yici* *dakao* *women* *yiding*
capability ASSOC one.CL big.ADJ.exam 1SG.PL definitely.ADV
need

zongjie *jingyan* *xiqu* *jiaoxun*
summarize experience absorb lesson

‘This epidemic is a **big test** for our country's governance system and capabilities. We must sum up our experience and draw lessons.’

EXAM metaphor is a Chinese cultural metaphor in the Chinese social context. A BIG EXAM usually can decide the fate of the attender and needs comprehensive and strategic plan to prepare for passing it. It means that we need to take care of every aspects of the whole procedure in order to win the battle with COVID-19.

PANDEMIC IS A CHESS GAME

在攻坚克难之时，更需要我们全国一盘棋，一方有难、八方支援。(2020.2.15)

Zai *gongjiankenan* *zhi* *shi* *geng*
xuyao *women*
At overcome.difficulty ASSOC time more need
1SG.PL

quanguo *yipan* *qi* *yifang* *you*
nan *bafang*
whole.ADJ.country one.CL chess one.part has
difficulty eight.parts

zhiyuan
help

‘When overcoming difficulties, we need **a game of chess** across the country. When one side is in trouble, all parties will support it.’

CHESS metaphor is formed through the usage of **words** like “局ju, 棋qi chess”. It’s a part of Chinese traditional culture. Not only each move but also plan of the whole situation is vital in the game. The whole game can be lost if one wrong move is undertaken. Through the metaphor, it is also conveying the importance of take the whole situation into consideration and make the following move carefully.

PANDEMIC IS A SITUATION THAT PEOPLE HAVE NO CLOTHES TO WEAR

岂曰无衣，与子同袍，疫情当下的对口支援是“掏家底”式的无私援助。(2020.3.15)

qi *yue* *wu* *yi* *yu* *zi* *tong*
pao *yiqing* *dangxia*
How say NEG clothes with 2SG share
clothes pandemic current.time

de *duikou* *zhiyuan* *shi* *taojiadi* *shi*
de *wusi*
ASSOC relative support is all.in type
ASSOC selfishness

yuanzhu
support

‘How can we say that we **have no clothes** and we shall share the robe? The counterpart support during the current epidemic is selfless assistance in the form of ‘sparing no effort.’ This clothes metaphor refers to the serve of masks and other medical products which are in shortage during the pandemic time. The situation of lack of the protection products is metaphorically described as people does not have clothes to wear. Except the strategy plan part, the practical part of the situation is also taken care of.

PANDEMIC IS CHALLENGE/OPPORTUNITY

疫情是**挑战**，又是**机遇**。面对疫情，各地着力于新技术、新装备、新业态的应用，也显现出产业转型发展新动向。(2020.3.31)

Yiqing shi tiaozhan youshi jiyu
miandui yiqing
Pandemic is challenge also.is opportunity face
pandemic

gedi zhuoli yu xin jishu
xin zhuangbei
everywhere put.effort to new.ADJ technology
new.ADJ equipment

xin yetai de yingyong
ye xianxianchu
new. ADJ commercial activities ASSOC application also indi-
cate.up

chanye zhuanxing fazhan xin dongxiang
industry transformation develop new trend
‘The epidemic is both **a challenge** and **an opportunity**. In the face of the epidemic, various regions have focused on the application of new technologies, new equipment, and new business formats, and have also shown new trends in industrial transformation and development.’

The positive aspect of the pandemic is highlighted here.

6.4 Diachronic usage of WEATHER metaphor

The fourth stage is the time when the pandemic is under control. The central government starts to look backward and summarise the gains and losses. WEATHER metaphors are very frequently resorted to describe the pandemic.

Table 7. The number of WEATHER terms in concordance

Part of speech	Key-words of metaphor	Frequency of Hits											
		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
noun	风雨	0	5	5	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	3
	惊涛骇浪	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1
	阴霾	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	冲击	0	18	26	28	20	25	19	22	12	12	13	21
	零星	0	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Total	0	6	6	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	1	5

PANDEMIC IS SPORADIC STAR

国内疫情总体呈零星散发状态，防范疫情反弹任务仍然艰巨繁重。(2020.5.15)

Guonei yiqing zongti cheng lingxing sanfa

In.the.country pandemic overall present sprodic.star
scattered.ADV.happen

zhuangtai fangyi fantan renwu regran

state prevention.pandemic rebound task
still

jianjufanzhong

arduous.ADJ.heavy.ADJ

‘The domestic epidemic situation is generally **sporadic**, and the task of preventing a rebound of the epidemic is still arduous and arduous.’

This metaphor talks about the intensity of pandemic. Sporadic star shows that pandemic is under control. It is measured by the number of infected people.

PANDEMIC IS RAIN/WIND/TERRIFYING WAVES/HAZE

抗疫斗争伟大实践再次证明，中国共产党所具有的无比坚强的领导力，是风雨来袭时中国人民最可靠的主心骨；中国人民所具有的不屈不挠的意志力，是战胜前进道路上一切艰难险阻的力量源泉；中国特色社会主义制度所具有的显著优势，是抵御风险挑战、提高国家治理效能的根本保证；新中国成立以来所积累的坚实国力，是从容应对惊涛骇浪的深厚底气；(2020.10.16)

*Kangyi douzheng weida shijian zaici
zhengming*

Anti-pandemic fight great .ADJ practice
again prove

*zhongguogongchandang suojuyou de wubi
jianqiang de*

Chinese.communist.ADJ.party own ASSOC uncomparable
tough

*lingdaoli shi fengyu laixishi zhongguorenmin
zuikekao*

leadership is wind.rain come.attack.time Chinese
most.dependable

*de zhuxingu zhongguorenmin suojuyou
de buqubunao*

ASSOC backbone Chinese own
ASSOC NEG.bend.NEG.bend

<i>de</i> ASSOC	<i>yizhili</i> willpower	<i>shi</i> win	<i>zhansheng</i> all	<i>qianjin</i> progress	<i>daolu</i> road
<i>shang</i>	<i>yiqie</i> is on				
<i>jiannaxianzu</i> difficulty.nese.characteristic	<i>zhongguotese</i> hardship.nese.characteristic	<i>de</i> ASSOC	<i>liliang</i> shehuizhuyi strength	<i>yuanquan</i> source	Chi-
<i>suojuyou</i> own	<i>de</i> fengxian ASSOC challenge	<i>xianzhuyoushi</i> pronminent.ADJ.advantage	<i>tiaozhan</i>	is	<i>shi</i> resist risk
<i>tigao</i> improve	<i>guojia</i> baozheng country garanteen	<i>zhili</i>	<i>xiaoneng</i> govern efficiency	<i>de</i>	<i>genben</i> ASSOC core
<i>xinzhongguo</i> new.ADJ.China <i>jianshi</i> solid.ADJ	<i>chengli</i> found	<i>yilai</i> since	<i>suojilei</i> accumulated	<i>de</i> ASSOC	
<i>guoli</i> hailang country.power	<i>shi</i> de is terrifying.ADJ.wave	<i>congrong</i> ease.ADV ASSOC	<i>yingdui</i> confront		<i>jingtiao-</i>

shenhou
profound.ADJ

diqi
confidence

Very rich WEATHER metaphors can be found here. The PANDEMIC is conceptualized as RAIN/WIND/HAZE/WAVE. All of them can be categorized in force metaphor.

PANDEMIC IS HAZARDS

世界各国人民要携起手来，风雨同舟，早日驱散疫情的阴霾，努力建设更加美好的地球家园。(2020.12.31)

<i>shijie</i> world	<i>geguo</i> fengyutongzhou every.country wind.rain.same.ADJ.boat	<i>renmin</i> people	<i>yao</i> need	<i>xieqishoulai</i> hand.in.hand
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<i>zaori</i> early.ADJ.date build	<i>qusan</i> gengjia chase.away more	<i>yiqing</i> pandemic	<i>yinmai</i> haze	<i>nuli</i> strive
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meihaode *diqu* *jiayuan*
beautiful.ADJ earth home

‘People from all over the world should join hands and stand in the same boat through thick and thin to dispel the **haze** of the epidemic as soon as possible and strive to build a better planet home.’

WEATHER metaphors vividly reflect what had Chinese people had been through together with the Communist Party of China, the difficulty of the whole country has faced with and also the bravery and strength of Chinese people and the leaders.

In general, the media holds a positive attitude towards China’s response to COVID-19 PANDEMIC, reflecting the Chinese government is determined and confident to deal with COVID-19 PANDEMIC. In the prevention and control of the pandemic, the Chinese government has also been able to eliminate the virus from one area to the other to prevent the import of foreign countries to curb its spread in China. The effective measures of prevention and control have been praised by other countries.

7. Conclusion

The study shows that WAR metaphor is the most frequently used metaphor. The BIG exam metaphor is the second and the NATURE metaphors are used at the beginning talking about what we are faced with and end of the pandemic when summarize what people have gone through. WEATHER metaphors are used at the beginning and end of the year. The pandemic as a HITTING FORCE on economy and people’s psychology got the attention all the year. The attention on pandemic is fewer during the summer season. Metaphors used to talk about the pandemic drop down from January to the end of year generally.

The conceptualization of COVID-19 PANDEMIC in Chinese changed with the passing of time and improvement of the cognition and knowledge of the disease. This study reflects change of Chinese’s focus of the event. This study contributes a new perspective to study the conceptualization of COVID-19 PANDEMIC. This can help to make us understand this new disease better. For further study, the diachronical model of English conceptualization of COVID-19 PANDEMIC is also necessary to be figured out.

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