

Conceptual metaphors of morale in Covid-19 and cancer discourses

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Worawanna Petchkij

Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

worawanna.p@chula.ac.th

Abstract

Morale is essential in helping people through difficult situations as recently witnessed by the Covid-19 pandemic and more generally, with cancer. Analysis of metaphors for morale could possibly help us understand better how people conceptualize morale in such life threatening situations. This research aimed to compare conceptual metaphors of morale and their metaphorical elaborations in Covid-19 discourses written during the first global lockdown period in two different languages, Thai and English, as well as in the same language, Thai, but in two different discourse topics, Covid-19 and cancer. Three structural conceptual metaphors: MORALE IS AN OBJECT/ A PERSON/ A BUILDING as well as two orientational conceptual metaphors, GOOD MORALE IS UP; POOR MORALE IS DOWN, were found in the English Covid-19 corpus. Only the first two structural conceptual metaphors were found in the Thai Covid-19 and cancer corpora. Two aspects of the morale concept appear highlighted: the morale crisis and its solution, which seemed to reflect reality in these two difficult situations faced by humanity. In addition, the comparisons between the two languages and discourse topics indicated that some of their metaphorical elaborations were cultural- and contextual-based. The results could be beneficial not only for researchers in this area, but also for people in general and healthcare professionals to realize how morale is significant for those impacted by the Covid-19, and how it is vital for patients with cancer.

Keywords: morale, conceptual metaphor, Covid-19, cancer, Thai, English

1. Introduction

Morale is defined in English dictionaries as, for example, “the amount of confidence felt by a person or group of people, especially when in a dangerous or difficult situation” (Cambridge dictionary online). Although dangerous and difficult situations where good morale is in need can be subjective, it would be difficult to argue that the Covid-19 situation facing people around the globe, or cancer, a chronic disease with a high mortality rate and side effects of treatment, do not constitute examples. In the Covid-19 situation, the support people needed was not only personal protective equipment, but also support for their morale. Morale was, therefore, a topic mentioned widely in Covid-19 discourses as shown in the following English (i) and Thai (Th) (ii) examples from websites publicly available on the internet. In these examples, morale was talked about in terms of an existing object that could be *lifted* (i) and that Thai people could *offer* (ii) to others. The Thai morale metaphor *we* (ii) also shows the way morale was talked about as a person.

(i) Here are five steps you can take to lift morale and usher your workers through a period of great stress.

(ii) พวกเราขอเป็นกำลังใจ ขอมอบกำลังใจ ให้บุคลากรทางการแพทย์

p^hu:ak³.raw¹ k^hɔ:⁵ pen¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ k^hɔ:⁵ mɔ:p³ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ haj³ buk².k^ha.la:¹ kɔ:n¹ t^ha:ŋ¹.ka:n¹ p^hɛ:t³

We would like to be morale (and) offer (it) to every healthcare worker. (ThCovid-19)

In Thai, morale is closest in meaning to the word ‘กำลังใจ’ (kamlanjai), an abstract noun defined as ‘a condition of mind that has confidence and enthusiasm and is ready to face every situation’ (Thai Royal Institute Dictionary online). In Thai cancer discourse, which can be considered a different context, it was also found, for instance, that morale was talked about as a building that could be *built* (iii) for cancer patients.

(iii) ในยามเจ็บป่วย คนไข้เองก็ต้องสร้างกำลังใจให้ตัวเอง

naj¹ ja:m¹ cep².pu:aj² k^hon¹.k^haj³ ?e:ŋ¹ kɔ:³ tɔ:ŋ³ sa:ŋ³ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ haj³ tu:a¹.?e:ŋ¹

When being ill, patients must build morale for themselves.

Based on conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphors are common in everyday language especially when people talk about abstract concepts like morale. Metaphors would cognitively help people convey meaning about abstract concepts which could be difficult for them to explain, by comparing them with other more familiar concrete concepts

like those of an object, person and building mentioned above. This cognitive comparison can be evidenced through linguistic metaphors which are different words from a more concrete domain that are widely, systematically and effortlessly used as metaphors and reflect a conceptual metaphor such as MORALE IS AN OBJECT. In addition, conceptual metaphors could be the same or different between and among languages as they could be influenced by universal bodily or specific cultural experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002). For example, conceptual metaphors ANGER IS AN OBJECT and ANGER IS A FLUID/SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER found in three languages: English, Greek and French could be influenced by human basic bodily experiences as an entity or a container and with other physical objects or substances that have concrete boundaries (Constantinou, 2014). Moreover, conception of abstract concepts as objects could also be further specified through personification (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) such as ANGER IS A PERSON (Constantinou, 2014). Regarding the influence of cultural experiences, ANGER IS (IN THE) BELLY is an example of a conceptual metaphor that is specific to Japanese culture (Kövecses, 2002; Matsuki, 1995). However, as cultures can be different in some aspects and similar in others, similar or cultural specific conceptual metaphors can be found between and among different cultures. For instance, French, Italian, Spanish, English and German shared the conceptual metaphor THE HEART IS THE SEAT OF EMOTIONS, while only French and English shared the conceptual metaphors THE HEART IS THE CENTER/CORE OF SOMETHING (Pérez, 2008), for instance.

The conception of morale or คำสั่งใจ (*kam¹.lan¹.caj¹*), could, therefore, be influenced by both kinds of experiences, and the source domains used in the two languages of English and Thai, and in different discourse topics like between the Covid-19 and cancer would be interesting to investigate further. However, based on the literature review, previous studies focusing on conceptual metaphors of morale were rare. Lakoff (1995) discussed metaphors of morality in English political discourses and reported that it was conceptualized in terms of accounting and strength. Nevertheless, moral and morale, though their spellings are similar, are different concepts. In psychology, morale was defined broadly and narrowly, for instance, as feeling (Weakliem, 2006), indicator of well-being (Peterson, Park & Sweeney, 2008), motivation and enthusiasm (Britt, Dickinson, Moore, Castro, & Adler, 2007), and confidence (Fang & Moscarini, 2005), and previous studies focusing on the similar feelings or states of mind that might be comparable to morale were, for instance, the conceptualization of confidence (Cheng, 2013) and motivation (McReynolds, 1990) in English, hope in Thai

(Rodsap, 2018), happiness in Thai (Klinnamhom, 2013) and Russian (Pasukdee, 2019), and courage in Chinese (Yu, 2003). There are also some studies focusing on the opposite states of mind like fear in English (Esenova, 2011) and Thai (Rodsap et al., 2017), sadness in English (Tissari, 2007), and suffering in Thai (Eakapont & Wongpinunwatana, 2014). However, these studies focused on conceptual metaphors in one language, and did not compare them in terms of different contexts. For example, though Thai hope metaphors in 5 different genres and fear metaphors in two different genres were studied by Rodsap (2018) and Rodsap et al. (2017), a comparison between the genres was not made. Moreover, studying conceptual metaphors of an abstract concept alone could be considered out-of-context as they and the list of their linguistic elaborations may tell us only about people's cognition and their language competence, not performance (Givón, 2005).

Context refers to the physical environment that has significant impact on the words people speak or write (Yule, 1996). Context may include language, language user, place, time, register, situation, occasion (Mey, 2001; Grundy, 1995) and shared knowledge (Levinson, 1983). Therefore, how people express the same thing could differ when the context changes (Mey, 2001; Grundy, 1995). The use of metaphors is also context-dependent (Givón, 2005; Gibbs, 1987), and some contextual factors that may influence metaphor production in discourses include physical setting, social setting, the immediate cultural and linguistic contexts, and knowledge on the key entities involved (Kövecses, 2009). In the present study, the two main contexts in focus were two different languages (Thai and English) and discourse topics (Covid-19 and cancer), regardless of genres. Based on the literature review, some similar studies focusing on metaphors of concepts comparable to morale in English and another language could be found. For instance, Trào (2014) studied conceptual metaphors of sadness in Vietnamese and English idioms, and Safarnejad, Ho-Abdullah and Mat Awal (2014) analyzed how happiness was conceptualized in Persian and English. These two studies found both the same and different conceptual and linguistic metaphors in the two different languages.

To elaborate, Trào (2014) reported the same conceptual metaphors found in Vietnamese and English, SADNESS IS DOWN and SADNESS IS PAIN which were explained to possibly be based on universal basic human body experience of inactively lying or sitting down when humans feel sad and of physiological pain on the body when hurt, respectively. The different ones were SADNESS IS STALE in Vietnamese and SADNESS IS DARKNESS in English which were claimed to be cultural specific. In Vietnamese culture, vegetables and human internal organs could go stale, and stale implies high intensity of sadness. In English culture, as happiness is conceptualized as light or bright day, sadness is, therefore, the opposite which is

dark. At the linguistic level, some different and cultural specific metaphorical expressions were also reported. For example, for SADNESS IS DOWN, a heron was used as a sadness metaphor in ‘heron meet rain’ in Vietnamese while a duck in ‘a duck in a Thunderstorm’ was used as a sadness metaphor in English. Moreover, for SADNESS IS PAIN, several things that can cause pain e.g. knife, needle, fire, hand as well as rice-husk were used as sadness metaphors in Vietnamese while only knife and hand were found in English.

Similarly, Safarnejad, Ho-Abdullah and Mat Awal (2014) found four conceptual metaphors of happiness in both Persian and English which were HAPPY IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL THAT LIVES WELL and one conceptual metaphor of happiness unique in Persian language, HAPPINESS IS AN ENERGY IN THE EYES. They also highlighted some cultural specific linguistic metaphors in Persian, such as electricity and boxtree that were used to talk about a happy person as in ‘Electricity of joy in his eyes waves’ and ‘He comes in like the branch of a boxtree’ which were not found in English.

There are also some other similar studies, for instance, fear in English and Persian (Afrashi & Ghouchani, 2018), fear in English and Lithuanian (Sirvydė, 2006), happiness in English, Tunisian Arabic and Spanish (Hamdi, 2015), happiness and sadness in English and Chinese (Liu & Zhao, 2013), and sadness and fear, as well as anger, in English and Vietnamese (Ly, 2012). The results of these studies were also reported in a similar pattern as when metaphors in two or more languages were compared, similarities and differences could be found at the conceptual and linguistic levels. In addition, similarities tended to be explained regarding the influence of embodied experiences while differences were described in terms of language- or cultural- specific influences. Nevertheless, based on the literature review, previous studies directly focusing on an abstract concept in discourses with different topics were rare. Some studies collected metaphors in a genre containing discourses with different topics; however, a comparison between discourse topics were not included in the scope of their analysis. For example, regardless of discourse topics, Klinnamhom (2013) studied conceptual metaphors of happiness reflected from Thai happiness metaphors in three popular Thai blogs; exteenblog, blogging and oknation, and Rodsap et al. (2017) analyzed Thai fear metaphors used in some Thai TV programs broadcasted between January 2014 – December 2015 and in ten short stories published between 2008 – 2013. Additionally, Ly (2012) used different Vietnamese and English short stories and novels in paper books, ebooks and online stories as sources of data for her analysis of sadness and fear metaphors and conceptual metaphors, regardless of discourse topics or even genres.

It can be seen that many previous studies focusing on conceptual metaphors of concepts comparable to morale and their linguistic realization are available in the literature. However, to the best of the author's knowledge, there are currently no published studies regarding conceptual metaphors of morale and their metaphorical elaboration. Thus, there is a need for a fundamental analysis of how morale is conceptualized and how morale metaphors are used especially in situations where morale is vital, particularly the current Covid-19 long-term pandemic and having cancer, a worldwide deadly disease for human beings with a long journey of treatment and financial burden. In order to make this research feasible and, to some extent, an in-depth study, the objectives of this research were, to compare the conceptual and linguistic metaphors of morale in two different languages, Thai and English, and in two different discourse topics, Thai Covid-19 and cancer, representing apparent situations where morale is in desperate need.

2. Methods

The data of this study were morale metaphors occurring in Thai and English Covid-19 discourses and in Thai cancer discourse. Morale metaphors in the Thai and English Covid-19 discourses were considered morale metaphors in different languages, while those in the Thai Covid-19 and cancer discourses were considered morale metaphors in the same language, but in different discourse topics. This study was exempted by Chulalongkorn University IRB since no human subjects were involved.

2.1 Covid-19 discourses corpora

The Covid-19 corpora were collected from Covid-19 discourses publicly available on English and Thai websites found via the Google search engine. As frontline healthcare workers and Covid-19 patients were among those who faced morale crisis the most during the Covid-19 situation, four main keywords were used for searching for these discourses on Google; (1) morale, (2) Covid-19, (3) Covid-19 patients and (4) healthcare workers. The search was conducted between May 13-18, 2020, as the Covid-19 situation was ongoing in Thailand and around the world. Websites containing all or some of these words in their entries or snippets, generated algorithmically by Google were included. For websites containing exactly the same content, only one of them was included. To create the corpora using Microsoft Word (MS Word), websites allowing readers to read only were excluded. Discourses available on these websites could be considered everyday language used by different groups of people for different purposes and readers.

2.1.1 English Covid-19 corpus

The English Covid-19 corpus size was 229,468 words. When searching, the four English keywords were combined into two sets. The first set included keywords numbers (1) and (3), and comprised 131 websites and 94,863 words. The second set included keywords numbers (1), (2) and (4), and consisted of 177 websites with 134,785 words. Based on their contents, many of these websites focused on the impact of Covid-19 on the morale of employees who worked from home during the pandemic, not only that of frontline healthcare workers and Covid-19 patients.

2.1.2 Thai Covid-19 corpus

For the Thai Covid-19 corpus (139,396 words), the four Thai keywords were also combined into two sets of keywords ; (1) morale (kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹) and (3) Covid-19 patient (p^hu:³.pu:aj² k^ho:¹ wit² sip² kaw³) (totaling 61 websites, 30,836 words) and (1), (2) Covid-19 (k^ho:¹ wit² sip² kaw³) and (4) medical personnel (buk².k^ha.la:¹.kɔ:n¹ t^ha:ŋ¹.ka:n¹ p^hɛ:t³) (totaling 90 websites, 32,696 words). Most of these websites focused on the impact of Covid-19 situation on the morale of patients and healthcare workers, not employees who worked from home. To make the two Covid-19 corpora be more comparable in terms of content and size, another search was done using the following set of keywords, (1), (2) and those affected (p^hu:³ da:j³.rap⁴ p^hon⁵.kra².t^hop⁴) (totaling 90 websites, 76,001 words).

2.2 Thai cancer corpus

To create the Thai cancer corpus (51,195 words), cancer discourses from two written sources were compiled using MS Word. The first source was websites publicly available on Google. The words cancer (ma.reŋ¹) and morale in Thai were used as keywords for an online search during 20-25 December 2019, and 33 websites containing these two words in their entries or snippets were included (32,451 words). The second source was 50 paperback books about cancer and cancer experiences written by cancer patients (34) and doctors (26) using simplified language for non-expert readers. Only sentences containing the word morale were included as the data in this study (18,744 words) as most of the texts in these paperback books mainly focused on the disease and its treatments. As these websites and paperback books were written by many Thais for the general public, the language used was mostly informal or even spoken, and consequently could be considered ordinary. Furthermore, though two different genres were used to create this corpus, the comparison was made between two discourse topics, Covid-19 and cancer.

2.3 Identification of metaphors

Based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980), morale metaphors were linguistic forms from other more concrete domains e.g. objects that Thai and English writers used when talking about or discussing morale. They could have any grammatical properties, not only limited to nouns in the 'X is morale' structure e.g. *give, one, thing, and small* in Thai (Table 1). These metaphors were then grouped to a tentative source domain, object, based on their literal meanings in dictionaries. For the Thai dictionary, the Royal Thai Academy Dictionary online was used, while four English online dictionaries were consulted (Macmillan, Longman, Cambridge and Oxford online) to find their basic literal meanings. All English metaphors were also checked against two native English speaker, American and British. Each identified metaphor was then counted to record their frequency of use by means of the find and search feature of MS Word.

2.4 Identification of conceptual metaphors

As a conceptual metaphor is a cognitive level metaphor reflected from a group of linguistic metaphors which are words from the same domain used systematically, commonly and effortlessly in everyday language (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), a conceptual metaphor about morale was identified from a group of at least 5 different linguistic metaphors used by several writers and with a total raw frequency of all word members of at least 25. For example, English building metaphors used by many different writers with a total frequency of 30 were considered to reflect the conceptual metaphor MORALE IS A BUILDING in English, while it could not be concluded from the Thai Covid-19 and cancer corpora as only one building metaphor, *build* (17), was found in the former, and only 2 metaphors, *build* (24) and *renovate* (2), were found in the latter though with quite high total raw frequencies (TF) or frequency per 1,000 words.

These rough criteria may be rigid in some ways, but not in others. They were utilized, at least, to represent the systematic and common use of morale metaphors among Thai and English writers in the corpora. Though not exact, they may also reflect effortless use on the part of the writers, whose individual cognition may be difficult to ascertain.

2.5 Comparison between different contexts

Conceptual metaphors of morale and their linguistic elaborations found in each corpus were considered cognitive and linguistic manifestations of how morale was conceptualized. Comparisons were done at both cognitive and linguistic levels. At the cognitive level, the conceptual metaphors found in each corpus were compared and their highlighting property (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) was also analyzed. At the linguistic level, their linguistic elaborations were compared in terms of choices of word use in two different languages and discourse topics. A comparison between two languages was made between the English and Thai Covid-19

corpora, while a comparison in terms of different discourse topics was made between the Thai Covid-19 and Thai cancer corpora.

3. Results

All conceptual metaphors found in the three corpora are descriptively demonstrated and compared in the first section with some examples of their linguistic elaborations in contexts. For Thai metaphors, they were also transcribed in IPA (International phonetic alphabets) and their English direct translation is also provided. Each Thai example was labeled with ThCovid-19 or ThCancer. The comparisons between the two different languages and discourse topics are presented in the second section.

3.1 Conceptual metaphors of morale in the three corpora

Of the three corpora, English morale metaphors reflected three structural conceptual metaphors: MORALE IS AN OBJECT, MORALE IS A PERSON, and MORALE IS A BUILDING, and a pair of orientational conceptual metaphors, GOOD MORALE IS UP; POOR MORALE IS DOWN while Thai morale metaphors reflected only the first two structural conceptual metaphors of morale in English. Each conceptual metaphor is presented in a Table. As can be seen in Table 1, their English and Thai linguistic elaborations with frequencies and with English translation for Thai metaphors e.g. *produce* (2) and *ให้* (252, give), respectively, were all presented to show their systematic use and for comparison purposes. Metaphors with a frequency of 1 are presented as having no frequency e.g. *gauge* and *วัด* (without).

3.1.1 MORALE IS AN OBJECT

Object metaphors which were the most common metaphors with the highest frequency in the three corpora (Table 1). Their meanings highlighted the three main aspects of an object, its existence, quality and quantity, with differing degrees of frequency and variety of linguistic form.

3.1.1.1 Existence of an object

In the English Covid-19 corpus, morale was talked about in terms of objects people *had* (1) and *lacked* (2). The words *it* (1,3), *watch* (3) and *vanish* (3) also reflected the idea that morale was viewed as an existing object visible to the human eye. Moreover, people could *produce* (1) and *spread* (4) morale to others.

- (1) But if you had good workforce morale before coronavirus interrupted your business, you already know how to produce it.
- (2) But the lack of staff morale affects your company in more ways than you can expect.

(3) Companies that can sustain employee morale while coronavirus disrupts their business will be better off than those who watch it vanish.

(4) Essential workers around the world are taking to the social media platform TikTok to spread morale.

Similarly, in Thai Covid-19 discourse, morale was talked about as an existing object that people *have* (5). People could also *lose* it (6), so they need to *keep* it (7), for instance.

(5) พวกเรามีกำลังใจในการดูแลคนไข้

p^huak³.raw¹ mi:¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ naj¹ ka:n¹ du:¹.lɛ:¹ k^hon¹.k^haj³

We have morale for patient care. (ThCovid-19)

(6) การคุกคามต่อบุคลากรทางการแพทย์ ทำให้เสียขวัญและกำลังใจในการปฏิบัติงาน

ka:n¹ k^huk⁴.k^ha:m¹ tɔ:² buk².k^ha.la:¹.kɔ:n¹ t^ha:ŋ¹.ka:n¹ p^hɛ:t³ t^ham¹.haj³ si:a⁵.k^hwan⁵
lɛ⁴ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ naj¹ ka:n¹ pa².ti².bat².ŋa:n¹

Threats against healthcare workers caused (a) loss of spirit and morale in practice. (ThCovid-19)

(7) สิ่งที่ต้องรักษาไว้คือขวัญและกำลังใจของพนักงาน

siŋ² t^hi:³ ca tɔ:ŋ³ rak⁴.sa:⁵ waj⁴ k^hu:¹ k^hwan⁵ lɛ⁴ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ k^hɔ:ŋ⁵ p^ha.nak⁴.ŋa:n¹

The things that (you) must keep are employee spirit and morale. (ThCovid-19)

Table 1 Object metaphors in the Thai and English corpora

English	Thai	Thai
	Covid-19 discourse	Cancer discourse
Verb (289): boost (218), improve (16), lift (14), raise (7), sustain (6), manage (5), buoy (2), evaluate (2), spread (2), produce (2), uplift, create, enhance, increase, reduce, decrease, diminish, gauge, brighten, bolster, vanish, take a	Verb (476): ให้ (252, give), ส่ง (152, deliver /send), มี (15, have), ส่งต่อ (14, hand over), มอบ/ส่งมอบ (11/11, offer), เสีย (5, lose), เสริมสร้าง (4, increase in number), พระราชทาน (2, bestow), อยู่ (2, be), เอา (take), ได้รับความ (receive), เพิ่ม (increase), ลด (decrease), แบ่งปัน (share),	Verb (347): ให้ (142, give), มี (98, have), หมด (17, run out of), ส่ง (13, deliver/send), ใ้ (13, get), เสีย (10, lose), ใ้รับ (9, receive), สร้างเสริม/เสริมสร้าง (4/5, increase in number), เกิด (5, occur/arise), เสริม (4, increase, extend), เยียวยา (3, cure), เพิ่ม (2, increase), หา (2, find), สูญเสีย (lose), ใ้ไร (without), เอา (take), นำ (bring), ขอ (ask for),

English	Thai	Thai
	Covid-19 discourse	Cancer discourse
hit, dip, include, deteriorate Noun (36): boost (29), improvement, shape, uplift, elevate, uptick, lack, loss Adjective (22): good (8), low (4), better (3), overall (3), high, rapid, necessary, poor Adverb (1): immensely Pronoun (5): it (5) Preposition (2): around, within 41 forms, TF 355, 1.55 /1,000 words	ร้อยเรียง (string), ทุ่มเท (dedicate), รักษา (keep) Noun (59): หนึ่ง (13, one), เสีย (praise), อาหาร (11, applause), อาหาร (6, food), เวชภัณฑ์ (6, medical product and others), ขนม (4, dessert), เครื่องดื่ม (3, beverage), สิ่งของ (2, thing), ดอกไม้ (2, flower), คลิปวิดีโอ (2, VDO clip), ถุง (2, bag), ชุด (2, set), ข้อความ (2, message), ข้าวกล่อง (meal box), ล้าน (million), รูปแบบ (form, pattern), กรมธรรม์ (insurance) Adverb (16): ทุก (7, every, each, all), เล็ก (3, small), ดี (3, good), สิ้นหลาม (large in quantity), ดัง (loud), น้อย (less) 41 forms, TF 551, 3.95/1,000 words	ใช้ (use), ถดถอย (decrease), เก็บ (keep/collect), รวบรวม (gather), ซื้อ (buy), ส่งต่อ (hand over), สอดแทรก (insert), แสวงหา (seek), ส่งเสริม (reinforce) หล่อหลอม (shape), อัด (press), อัดฉีด (lubricate), ลิดรอน (cut off), บั่นทอน (shorten), บรรเทา (relieve) Noun (16): ยา (6, medicine), สายใย (2, thread), กำแพง (fence), อาวุธ (weapon), แหล่ง (source), บ่อเกิด (origin), หนังสือ (book), หลัก (stake), หนึ่ง (one), ร้อย (hundred) Adverb (21): ดี (16, good), มาก (2, a lot), ทุก (2, every, each, all), สิ้นหลาม (large in quantity) 49 forms, TF 384, 7.5 /1,000 words

In Thai cancer discourse, cancer was talked about as an object that some cancer patients did not *have* (8) and *lose* (9). Moreover, their morale could also be *shortened* (10) and *cut off* (11) as existing objects. In addition, morale could be objects like *medicine* (12) or even grease, a solid or semisolid lubricant that could be *lubricated* (13) into cancer patients.

- (8) ช่วงแรกเธอแทบไม่มีกำลังใจที่จะตัดสินใจหรือทำอะไรทั้งนั้น
 ʰu:an³ re:k³ tʰɔ:¹ tʰe:p³ maj³ mi:¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ tʰi:³ ca tat².sin⁵.caj¹ ru:⁵ tʰam¹
 ?a.raj¹ tʰaŋ⁴.nan⁴

At first, she almost did not have the morale to make any decisions or do anything.
(ThCancer)

- (9) คนไข้ตายเพราะอะไร ตายเพราะมะเร็ง หรือตายเพราะเสียกำลังใจ
k^hon¹.k^haj³ ta:j¹ p^hro⁴ ?a.raj¹ ta:j¹ p^hro⁴ ma.reŋ¹ ru:⁵ ta:j¹ p^hro⁴ si:a⁵ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹
What did the patient die of? (He) died of cancer or died of the loss of morale.
(ThCancer)

- (10) ข่าวร้ายเรื่องมะเร็งบั่นทอนกำลังใจผู้ป่วย
k^ha:w².ra:j⁴ ru:an³ ma.reŋ¹ ban².t^ho:n¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ p^hu:³.pu:aj²
Bad news on cancer shortened (the) morale of patients. (ThCancer)

- (11) พยายามไม่หมกมุ่นจนลิดรอนกำลังใจของเรา
p^ha.ja:¹.ja:m¹ maj³ mok².mun³ con¹ lit⁴.ro:n¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ k^ho:⁵ raw¹
(I) try not to be obsessed so that my morale (is) cut off. (ThCancer)

- (12) กำลังใจคือยาที่ดีที่สุดในการรักษามะเร็ง
kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ k^hu:¹ ja:¹ t^hi:³ di:¹ t^hi:³.sut² naj¹ ka:n¹ rak⁴.sa:⁵ ma.reŋ¹
Morale is the best medicine in the treatment of cancer. (ThCancer)

- (13) คนไข้ที่ไม่อัดฉีดกำลังใจช่วยตัวเองเลยนั้น มักจะหายยากหรือหายช้า
k^hon¹.k^haj³ t^hi:³ maj³ ?at².c^hi:t² kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ c^hu:aj³ tu:a¹.?e:ŋ¹ lɔ:¹ nan⁴ mak⁴ ca ha:j⁵
ja:k³ ru:⁵ ha:j⁵ c^ha:⁴
Patients who never lubricate morale to help themselves would hardly or slowly
recover. (ThCancer)

3.1.1.2 Quantity of an object

English object metaphors reflected that people could have *a lot of* (14) morale, and the quantity of their morale could be *reduced* (15), *increased* (16), and *boosted immensely* (17).

- (14) This was very patriotic, it lifted a lot of people's morale.
(15) Another instance that can reduce morale is the announcement of budget cuts.
(16) Siskin Hospital initiated the children's art program to ease COVID-19 tension and increase patient morale.
(17) All of this boosts morale immensely.

In the Thai Covid-19 corpus, the quantity of morale was highlighted with a few linguistic forms such as *increase* (18), *increase in number* (19) and *decreased* and *less* (20). According to the Thai Royal dictionary, the word *sr:m⁵.sa:ŋ³* (19) and its synonym *sa:ŋ³.sr:m⁵* (22) mean to increase something in terms of numbers. As all nouns in Thai also seem to be

countable (Prasithratsint et al., 2001), it was shown through these metaphors that morale was considered a countable object and its number could be increased.

- (18) ...และข้อความอื่นๆ อีกจำนวนมากที่ช่วยเพิ่มกำลังใจให้กับด่านหน้าที่ต้องร่วมกันต่อสู้โควิด-19
 lɛ⁴ k^hɔ:³.k^hwa:m¹ ?u:n² ?u:n² ?i:k² cam¹.nu:an¹ ma:k³ t^hi:³ c^hu:aj³ p^hr:m³
 kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ haj³ kap² da:n².na:³ t^hi:³ tɔ:³ ru:am³ kan¹ tɔ:².su:³ k^ho:¹.wit² sip² kaw³
 ... and many other text messages that help increase morale for the frontlines fighting against Covid-19.

- (19) ประชาชนช่วยกันส่งกำลังใจไม่ว่าจะเป็นช่องทางใดๆที่สามารถทำได้ เพื่อเสริมสร้างกำลังใจให้บุคลากรทางการแพทย์
 pra².c^ha:¹.c^hon¹ c^hu:aj³ kan¹ son² kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ maj³.wa:³ ca pen¹ c^ho:³.t^ha:ŋ¹ daj¹ daj¹
 t^hi:³ sa:⁵.ma:t³ t^ham¹.da:j³ p^hu:a:³ s^r:m⁵.sa:ŋ³ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ buk².k^ha.la:¹.kɔ:n¹
 t^ha:ŋ¹.ka:n¹ p^he:t³

People helped each other to send morale (through) any channels they could in order to increase the number of morale of healthcare personnel.

- (20) กำลังใจของผู้เข้าประกวดไม่ได้ลดน้อยลงไปเลย
 kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ k^hɔ:³ p^hu:³.k^haw³.pra².ku:at² maj³.da:j³ lot⁴ nɔ:⁴ loŋ¹ paj¹ lɔ:¹
 The morale of the contestants did not decrease (and be) less at all. (ThCovid-19)

In the Thai cancer discourse, the quantity of morale could also be *increased* (21), *increase in number* (22) and decrease (23), and some patients could even *run out of* (24) their morale.

- (21) การเพิ่มกำลังใจให้ตัวเองคือการคิดบวก
 ka:n¹ p^hr:m³ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ haj³ tu:a:¹.?e:ŋ¹ k^hu:¹ ka:n¹ k^hit⁴ bu:ak²
 To increase morale for oneself is to think positively. (ThCancer)
- (22) คนใกล้ชิดหรือข้างเคียงนี้มักจะมีบทบาทที่สำคัญในการช่วยสร้างเสริมกำลังใจและความคิดที่ดีให้กับผู้ป่วย
 k^hon¹ klaj³.c^hit⁴ ru:⁵ k^ha:ŋ³.k^hi:ŋ¹ ni:⁴ mak⁴.ca mi:¹ bot².ba:t² t^hi:³ sam⁵.k^han¹ naj¹
 ka:n¹ c^hu:aj³ sa:ŋ³.s^r:m⁵ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ lɛ⁴ k^hwa:m¹.k^hit⁴ t^hi:³ di:¹ haj³ kap²
 p^hu:³.pu:aj²
 People close or around usually play an important role in helping to increase the number of good morale and thought for (the) patient. (ThCancer)
- (23) กำลังใจของผู้ป่วยลดลง
 kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ k^hɔ:³ p^hu:³.pu:aj² t^hot².t^hɔ:³
 The patient's morale decreased. (ThCancer)

(24) เมื่อรู้ตัวว่าเป็นมะเร็งแล้วจะหมดกำลังใจ

muu:a³ ru:4.tu:a¹ wa:3 pen¹ ma.reŋ¹ lɛ:w⁴ca mot² kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹

When (they) know that they have cancer, (they) will run out of morale. (ThCancer)

3.1.1.3 Quality of an object

English object metaphors reflected that morale was perceived as a physically *high* (25), *low* (26) or *strong item* (27) that people *had* (26). This object could *deteriorate* (28), be *brightened* (29) or be in a *good* (30) condition. Furthermore, its quality could be *gauged* (31).

(25) A healthcare cadre with a high morale will fight more cohesively and withstand greater adversity.

(26) 20% of healthcare workers have low morale.

(27) Strong morale is never a luxury item; it's always essential.

(28) Productivity, morale and engagement deteriorate.

(29) Healthcare workers at Rogersville Medical Complex brighten morale with superhero attire

(30) Morale is very good in her unit.

(31) Hospitals can use formal methods, such as surveys, or informal strategies to gauge morale.

It can be seen that the immediate linguistic contexts like *a* (25) and *have* (26) also help indicate that *low* and *high*, in these two examples, were used as object metaphors. However, with some other linguistic contexts, they could be considered orientational metaphors, as shown in examples (55-62). These findings are in line with what was suggested by Kövecses (2009) regarding the influence of immediate linguistic context on metaphorical use in discourses. Kövecses (2009; p. 15) described about this by giving the examples of how the word 'tilt' was used in '*tilt a balance – and Mr. Hain -- over the edge*' as two different linguistic metaphors where 'tilt', in '*tilt a balance*', was a linguistic realization of UNCERTAINTY IS BALANCE while 'tilt' in '*tilt Mr. Hain over the edge*' was a linguistic elaboration of LOSS OF RATIONAL/ MORAL CONTROL IS LOSS OF PHYSICAL CONTROL.

In the Thai Covid-19 corpus, the quality of morale as an object could be seen just in two object metaphors, *good* (32) and *small* (33) while, in the Thai cancer discourse, morale could be an object that was *not good* (34).

(32) ส่งมอบกำลังใจดีๆให้กับคุณหมอพยาบาล

soŋ².mɔ:p³ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ di:1 di:1 haj³ kap² khun¹.mɔ:5 p^ha⁴.ja:1.ba:n¹

(We) offer good morale to doctors (and) nurses. (ThCovid-19)

(33) กำลังใจเล็ก ๆ จากผม

kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ lek⁴ lek⁴ ca:k² p^hom⁵

(a) small morale from me (ThCovid-19)

(34) ก็รู้สึกกำลังใจไม่ดี

kik⁴ ru:⁴.suuk² kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ maj³ di:¹

Kik felt that (her) morale (was) not good. (ThCancer)

3.1.2 MORALE IS A PERSON

This conceptual metaphor could be concluded from person metaphors in the three corpora (Table 2). English person metaphors reflected that morale was conceptualized as a person in a dangerous situation, while, in both Thai contexts, the person himself could be morale for other people.

In English, morale was talked about as a person who could be *hurt* (35), *attacked* (36), and *killed* (37), and this could make the person *suffer* (38). However, this person could also have *strength* (39) and *courage* (40), and could *help* (41) others.

(35) This new virtual environment doesn't have to hurt morale.

(36) COVID-19 Attacks Patient, Staff Morale with Equal Force

(37) Such a cut would kill morale at a time when physicians were already feeling vulnerable.

(38) Morale would suffer if people felt that they were being policed.

(39) To limit the spread of Covid-19 is an easy way to keep morale strength up.

(40) Craftsmen create art works to boost morale courage in the battle against COVID-19.

(41) How staff productivity and morale can help SMEs during the Covid-19 crisis

Table 2 Person metaphors in the Thai and English corpora

English	Thai	Thai
	Covid-19 discourse	Cancer discourse
Verb: track (5), hurt (4), bolster (4), suffer (3), help (3), hit	Noun: แอน (17, Ann and other Thai names), บริษัทคิวพี (11, QP company and others organization names), คน (4, person), พวกเรา (3,	Noun: ครอบครัว (3, family), สมาชิก (3, member),สามี (2, husband), ลูก (2, son/daughter), คนรอบตัว/คนรอบข้าง (2, people around), พวกเรา (2, we), พี่

English	Thai	Thai
	Covid-19 discourse	Cancer discourse
(2), kill, encourage, attack, fight, take a toll, foster Noun: strength 13 forms, TF 27, 0.12/ 1,000 words	we), คนไทย (2, Thai people), ชาวบ้าน (2, villagers), ผู้ป่วย (patient), พวกเขา (they), พวกผม (we male), ชาวจิตอาสา (volunteer), สมาชิกสหกรณ์ (2, Co-op member), ผู้ประกอบการ (entrepreneur), หนึ่ง (one) Verb: เรียก (3, call), ดูแล (take care of), ผ่าน (pass through), เข้มแข็ง (strength) Pronoun: เรา (3, we), ผม (3, I male), ข้าพเจ้า (I formal)	(I/older sister or brother), แฟน (girl/boyfriend),ญาติ (relative), เพื่อน (friend), เพื่อนสนิท (close friend), เพื่อนร่วมงาน (colleague), แพทย์ (doctor), ชมรม (club), ผู้ (person/group of person), น้อย (Nui) Verb: ช่วย (4, help), เข้มแข็ง (4, strength), เรียก (call), สู้ (fight) Pronoun: เขา (2, he), เธอ (2, she), ผม (2, I male), ดิฉัน (I female), ข้าพเจ้า (I formal), เรา (we)
	20 forms, TF 58, 0.42/ 1,000 words	27 forms, TF 43, 0.84/ 1,000 words

In the Thai Covid-19 corpus, person metaphors were pronouns like *I* (42) and *we* (ii) and nouns like *Ann* (43). Additionally, as a person, morale could also be *called* (44).

(42) ผมขอเป็นอีกหนึ่งกำลังใจ

p^hom⁵ k^ho:⁵ pen¹ ?i:k² nuuŋ² kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹

I would like to be another morale. (ThCovid-19)

(43) แอนขอเป็นกำลังใจให้ทุกๆ ท่าน

?ɛ:n¹ k^ho:⁵ pen¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ haj³ t^huk⁴ t^huk⁴ t^han³

Ann would like to be morale for everyone. (ThCovid-19)

(44) เขายังไปเยี่ยมผู้ป่วยที่ได้รับการรักษาที่นั่นเพื่อ... เรียกขวัญและกำลังใจ

k^haw⁵ jaŋ¹ paj¹ ji:am³ p^hu:³.pu:aj² t^hi:³ da:j³.rap⁴ ka:n¹ rak⁴.sa:⁵ t^hi:³.nan³ p^hu:a³ ri:ak³
k^hwan⁵ lɛ⁴ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹

He also visited patients being treated there... to call (their) spirit and morale.

(ThCovid-19)

In the same way, some person metaphors in the Thai cancer corpora were pronouns like *he* (45) and *I* (46), and many of them were nouns referring to persons who were close to cancer patients such as a *family member* (45), *friend* (46), *husband* (47), and *son/daughter* (47). Some verbs also reflected that morale was a person who could *help* (48) cancer patients and could *fight* (49) against cancer.

- (45) เขาคือกำลังใจที่ดีไม่ต่างจากคนในครอบครัว
 k^haw⁵ k^hu:¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ thⁱ:³ di:¹ maj³ ta:^η² ca:k² k^hon¹.naj¹ k^hro:p³.k^hru:a¹
 He is (a) good morale, not different from family members. (ThCancer)
- (46) พี่และเพื่อน ๆ จะเป็นกำลังใจช่วยนุ้ย
 p^hi:³ l^e⁴ p^hu:^{an}³ p^hu:^{an}³ ca pen¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ c^hu:^{aj}³ nuj⁴
 I and (our) friends will be morale to help Nui. (ThCancer)
- (47) สามีและลูก เป็นกำลังใจในการต่อสู้กับโรคมะเร็ง
 sa:⁵.mi:¹ l^e⁴ lu:k³ pen¹ kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ naj¹ ka:n¹ to:².su:³ kap² ro:k³.ma.reŋ¹
 (My) husband and son/daughter are morale in the fight with cancer. (ThCancer)
- (48) กำลังใจนี้แหละจะช่วยให้คุณฟันฝ่าอุปสรรคทั้งหลาย
 kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ ni:³.l^e² ca c^hu:^{aj}³ haj³ k^hun¹ fan¹.fa:² ʔu².pa².sak² t^haŋ⁴.la:j⁵
 It is morale (that) will be able to help you overcome many obstacles. (ThCancer)
- (49) กำลังใจสู้มะเร็ง
 kam¹.lan¹.caj¹ su:³ ma.reŋ¹
 Morale fights (against) cancer. (ThCancer)

3.1.3 MORALE IS A BUILDING

Building metaphors were also found in the three corpora (Table 3). However, only those in the English Covid-19 corpus were more systematically used, and reflected the conceptual metaphor MORALE IS A BUILDING.

Table 3 Building metaphors in the Thai and English corpora

English	Thai	Thai
Covid-19 discourse		Cancer discourse
Verb: maintain (22), build (4), bring down, fall, destroy, preserve 6 forms, TF 30, 0.13 /1,000 words	Verb: สร้าง (17, build)	Verb: สร้าง (24, build), ต่อเติม (2, renovate)

English	Thai	Thai
Covid-19 discourse		Cancer discourse
	1 form, TF 17, 0.12 / 1, 000 words	2 forms, TF 26, 0.51 / 1,000 words

English building metaphors exhibited that morale was talked about in terms of a building that could be *built* (50). During the Covid-19 situation, this building was *brought down* (51) and *fell* (52), and people could also *see* (52) it when it fell. In this difficult time, people tried to *maintain* (53) and *preserve* (54) their morale as a building.

- (50) One respondent mentioned an air-conditioned environment as an important factor for morale *building*.
- (51) It is crucial to ensure that the new work environment does not *bring down* their morale.
- (52) At the same time, he's *seen* their morale *fall*.
- (53) Local ER workers rely on teamwork to *maintain* morale, overcome shortages during pandemic
- (54) California is the only state with a law that mandates specific nurse-patient ratios, and that law helps *preserve* morale.

For the metaphor, *preserve*, in (54), *though* this word could be a member of more than one possible domain including food, the domain of building seems to be more common as the first meaning of 'preserve' given in the Macmillan dictionary is directly about building, "to take care of a place or building in order to prevent it from being harmed or destroyed" while its meaning related to food comes third or last in all four dictionaries consulted in this study. In addition, Oxford and Longman dictionaries give specific examples of preserve, "a perfectly preserved 14th century house" and "The house is part of local history and should be preserved.", which are related to building, while other examples given in the four dictionaries seem to be different or varied.

In the Thai Covid-19 and cancer corpora, building metaphors were not systematic as only one verb, *build*, and only two verbs, *build* and *renovate*, were found in both corpora, respectively (Table 3). Though with quite high raw frequency, they did not represent a systematic use and, therefore, could not evidently reflect this conceptual metaphor.

3.1.4 GOOD MORALE IS UP; POOR MORALE IS DOWN

It was found in the English Covid-19 discourse that the morale concept seemed to be conceptualized in terms of two sub-concepts, good morale and poor morale, that were opposite, but cognitively coherent in terms of vertical spatial orientation. Good morale seemed to be characterized by an upward orientation while poor morale received a downward orientation, and these can be seen when English speakers talked about their good morale using upward orientational metaphors like *high* (55), *keep up* (56) and *keep high* (57), and their poor morale using downward orientational metaphors e.g. *low* (58), *lower* (59), *decline* (60), *plummet* (61), and *rock bottom* (62). There could also be a *shift* (63) between these two opposite vertical orientations. These orientational metaphors were not found in the Thai Covid-19 and cancer corpora, and they reflected conceptual metaphors GOOD MORALE IS UP; POOR MORALE IS DOWN in English.

- (55) Survey shows morale is high among health care workers.
- (56) Despite this new normal, there are plenty of ways to keep morale up.
- (57) ‘At Covid ICU, we keep patients’ morale high.’
- (58) Morale is likely low during this time.
- (59) Morale in their workplace is currently ‘much lower’ because of fears around higher death rates.
- (60) Employee morale is rapidly declining.
- (61) Nurses' morale is plummeting because they feel like they can't do their jobs.
- (62) Spanish morale at rock bottom as nationwide lockdown enters third week
- (63) Certain events are likely to trigger a shift in staff morale if not proactively managed.

It can also be seen that *low* and *high* metaphors and their immediate linguistic contexts in these examples do not reflect the conception of morale as an object or building that could also have low and high as their quality. As previously mentioned, this could possibly be evidence of how immediate linguistic contexts influence metaphor production in discourses as suggested by Kövecses (2009).

Table 4 Up-down orientational metaphors in the Thai and English corpora

English Covid-19 discourse		Thai discourses	
GOOD MORALE	POOR MORALE	Covid-19	Cancer
Verb (61): keep up (31), keep high (26), high (4),	Verb (6): lower (2) plummet (2), decline (2),		

English Covid-19 discourse		Thai discourses	
GOOD MORALE	POOR MORALE	Covid-19	Cancer
Adjective (9): high (9)	Adjective (23): low (21), lower (2) Noun (3): decline, shift, rock bottom		
12 forms, TF 102, 0.44 /1,000 words			

3.2 Comparisons between languages and discourse topics

Regarding the highlighting property of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), these four conceptual metaphors seem to, interestingly, highlight two similar features of the morale concept in the Covid-19 pandemic and cancer situations: 1) morale crisis and 2) its solution aspects. This can be seen from their linguistic elaborations that seemed to highlight the low quantity and quality of people's morale, and how the morale problem was dealt with during the pandemic and cancer situations. However, these two aspects were reflected in different metaphorical choices in each language and discourse topic.

3.2.1 Morale metaphors in the two languages

For the morale crisis aspect, both Thai and English object metaphors tended to highlight the low to lowest quantity and quality of people's morale during the Covid-19 situation. However, differences could be seen from the higher number of forms with negative meanings in English e.g. *poor, deteriorate, damage, decrease, reduce, diminish, vanish, lack, low and loss*, while only three Thai object metaphors emphasizing low quantity alone were used, *reduce, less, and lose* (Table 1). English building metaphors also helped highlight the morale problem as a building that was *brought down, was destroyed and fell* (Table 3). Besides, English downward orientational metaphors helped emphasize the morale crisis by focusing on the downward direction of morale. This can be evidenced by orientational metaphors like *low, lower, decline, plummet, and rock bottom*.

In addition, English person metaphors appeared to highlight the problem on morale during the pandemic by comparing it with a person who was *attacked, hit, killed, and suffered* (Table 2) while Thai person metaphors reflected a solution to the morale crisis in Thai culture as a person or group of persons themselves could be a source of morale for others. This can be seen from some Thai nouns and pronouns, for instance, *Thai citizens* (64) and *entrepreneur* (65).

- (64) คนไทยทุกคนครับ อย่าลืมเป็นกำลังใจให้กับคุณหมอ
 k^hon¹ t^haj¹ t^huk⁴ k^hon¹ k^hrap⁴ ja:² lu:¹ pen¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ haj³ kap² k^hun¹.mɔ:⁵
 All Thai citizens, (please) don't forget to be morale for doctors. (ThCovid-19)

(65) ผู้ประกอบการก็ยังเป็นกำลังใจให้ทีมแพทย์เสมอ

pʰuː.³.pra².ko:p².kɑ:n¹ ko:³ jaŋ¹ pen¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ haj³ tʰi:m¹ pʰe:t³ sa².mɔ:⁵

(The) entrepreneur, still, is always morale for the doctor team. (ThCovid-19)

For the solution aspect, English building and orientational metaphors seemed to highlight some solutions for the morale crisis during the Covid-19 pandemic by maintaining and preserving the building of morale and by keeping people's morale in a high location, respectively. These could be seen from English building metaphors like *maintain* and *preserve* (Table 3) and from the upward orientational metaphors like *keep (morale) up* or *high* (Table 4). Furthermore, several English object metaphors seem to focus on different ways to solve the morale problem by, for instance, *boosting*, *brightening*, *sustaining*, and *managing* morale as an existing object (Table 1). Interestingly, in contrast, Thai object metaphors reflected that giving morale to others was the key solution to the morale problem in Thai culture, and the morale given was considered a countable object. This could be seen from Thai object metaphors particularly *give* (66) which had a very high raw frequency of 252, as well as *received* (67) and *million* (68) reflecting that, as a countable object, a million of morale could be given to others. In English, this solution could similarly be seen only in the object metaphor *spread* (4) with a very low raw frequency of 2.

(66) วันนี้คนไทยทุกคนต้อง ให้กำลังใจซึ่งกันและกัน

wan¹.ni.⁴ kʰon¹ tʰaj¹ tʰuk⁴ kʰon¹ to:ŋ³ haj³ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ suŋ³ kan¹.lɛ⁴.kan¹

Today, Thai people should give morale to each other. (ThCovid-19)

(67) พวกเขาก็ยังได้รับกำลังใจดี ๆ

pʰu:ak³.kʰaw⁵ ko:³ jaŋ¹ da:j³.rap⁴ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ di:¹ di:¹

They still receive good morale. (ThCovid-19)

(68) หนึ่งคำพูด ล้านกำลังใจสู้ภัย Covid-19

nuŋ² kʰam¹.pʰu:t³ la:n⁴ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ su:³ pʰaj¹ kʰo:¹ wit⁴ sip² kaw³

One word, million morale fight Covid-19 threat. (ThCovid-19)

Moreover, many Thai object metaphors were nouns referring to different, more concrete objects which were not found in English e.g. *flower* (69) and *instant food* (70), as well as Thai verbs such as *string* (71) which supported the way morale was conceptualized in terms of flowers that could be stringed. Furthermore, *applause* (72) that co-occurred with the word *send* in 'to *send applause* as morale' also reflected that, in Thai culture, *applause* was considered an object that could be sent or given to others as morale.

- (69) ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดฯ ได้มอบดอกไม้เป็นกำลังใจให้บุคลากรทางการแพทย์
 p^hu:³.wa:³.ra:t³.cha⁴.ka:n¹.caŋ¹.wat² da:j³ mo:p³ do:k².ma:j⁴ pen¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹
 haj³ bu².k^hla:¹.ko:n¹ t^ha:ŋ¹.ka:n¹ p^hε:t³
 The governor gave flowers as morale to healthcare workers. (ThCovid-19)
- (70) CPF ส่งมอบอาหารสำเร็จรูปเพื่อขอบคุณและเป็นกำลังใจแก่แพทย์พยาบาล
 si:¹.p^hi:¹ ?e:p⁴ soŋ².mo:p³ ?a:¹.ha:n⁵.sam⁵.ret².ru:p³ p^hu:a³ k^ho:p².k^hun¹ le⁴ pen¹
 kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ kε:² p^hε:t³ p^ha⁴.ja:¹.ba:n¹
 CPF delivered instant food for thanking and to be morale for doctors and
 nurses. (ThCovid-19)
- (71) ร้อยเรียงกำลังใจส่งผ่านตัวหนังสือให้หมอพยาบาลสู้โควิด-19
 ro:⁴ ri:an¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ soŋ².p^ha:n² tu:a¹ naŋ⁵.su:⁵ haj³ mo:⁵ p^ha⁴.ja:¹.ba:n¹ su:³
 k^ho:¹ wit² sip² kaw³
String morale (and) send (it) through alphabets to doctors (and) nurses fighting
 (against) Covid-19. (ThCovid-19)
- (72) คนไทย ส่งเสียงปรบมือเป็นกำลังใจ ให้ทีมแพทย์สู้ไวรัส
 k^hon¹ t^haj¹ soŋ².si:an⁵ prop².mu:¹ pen¹ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ haj³ t^hi:m¹ p^hε:t³ su:³
 waj¹.rat⁴
 Thai people send applause as morale to (the) team of doctors for fighting against
 viruses. (ThCovid-19)

3.2.2 Morale metaphors in the two discourse topics

It was found in the two Thai corpora that morale metaphors used in these two difficult situations, Covid-19 and cancer, highlighted the same aspects of morale concept, morale crisis and its solution, with different linguistic metaphors.

For the morale crisis, Thai object metaphors in the cancer corpus seemed to reflect a higher degree of morale problems among cancer patients, when compared with those in the Covid-19 corpus. This can be seen from metaphors like *run out of*, *without* and *deteriorate* (Table 1). For the solution aspect, object metaphors in the Thai cancer context reflected both similar and different solutions to the morale crisis when compared with those in the Thai Covid-19 discourse. For a similar solution, object metaphors in the cancer discourse also reflected the way morale was conceptualized as an object that could be given to cancer patients. This could be seen from similar linguistic metaphors particularly *give* with a very high raw frequency of 142 (Table 1). However, the morale givers in the Thai cancer context were mostly a person or people very close to cancer patients e.g. *family*, *relatives*, *close friends and colleagues* (Table 2), not a person or group of people in the general public as found in the Covid-19 situation.

For a different solution, object metaphors also reflected that cancer patients themselves could deal with their morale crisis by e.g. *seeking, looking for, asking for, buying, collecting* and *gathering* morale (Table 1), while these metaphors were not found in the Thai Covid-19 context. Moreover, noun object metaphors in the cancer discourse, for instance, *drug* (73), *fence* (74), and *weapon* (75), reflected differently the way morale given by people around cancer patients would be used as objects that could protect cancer patients from the disease.

- (73) กำลังใจที่ผู้ป่วยมะเร็งเรื้อรังเต้านมได้รับจากคนรอบข้างเป็นยูนานเอก

kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ thi:³ p^hu:³.pu:aj² ma.reŋ¹ taw³.nom¹ da:j³.rap⁴ ca:k² k^hon¹
ro:p³.k^ha:ŋ³ pen¹ ja:¹ k^ha².na:n⁵ ?e:k²

Morale that breast cancer patients received from people around is the only drug.
(ThCancer)

- (74) กำลังใจที่เข้มแข็งเท่านั้นที่เป็นกำแพงขวางกั้นโรคภัยไข้เจ็บได้

kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ thi:³ k^hem³.k^heŋ⁵ t^haw³.nan⁴ thi:³ pen¹ kam¹.p^he:ŋ¹ k^hwa:ŋ⁵.kan³
ro:k³.p^haj¹.k^haj³.cep² da:j³

Only strong morale can be a fence blocking illness and danger. (ThCancer)

- (75) สมาธิและกำลังใจเป็นอาวุธที่มีความสำคัญเป็นพิเศษในการเอาชนะมะเร็ง

sa².ma:¹.thi² le⁴ kam¹.laŋ¹.caj¹ pen¹ ?a:¹.wut⁴ thi:³ mi:¹ k^hwa:m¹.sam⁵.k^han¹ pen¹
p^hi⁴.se:t² naj¹ ka:n¹ ?aw¹.c^ha⁴.na⁴ ma.reŋ¹

Meditation and morale are weapons especially important for conquering
cancer. (ThCancer)

4. Discussion

Morale metaphors used in Thai and English Covid-19 discourses and Thai cancer discourse reflected both similar and different structural and orientational conceptual metaphors of morale in the two languages and discourse topics. For the structural conceptual metaphors, MORALE IS AN OBJECT and MORALE IS A PERSON were found in the three corpora while MORALE IS A BUILDING, as well as the orientational conceptual metaphors, GOOD MORALE IS UP; POOR MORALE IS DOWN, could be concluded only from the English Covid-19 corpus.

Based on these results, morale seemed to be conceptualized in the similar way that some negative and positive states of mind did in Thai, English and other languages. The similar conceptions of negative feelings are, for instance, SUFFERING IS AN OBJECT/ A HUMAN BEING/ A CONSTRUCTION in Thai (Eakapont & Wongpinunwatana, 2014), FEAR IS A MATERIAL/ HUMAN in Thai (Rodsap et al., 2017), FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE in English

(Esenova, 2011), and SADNESS IS DOWN in English and Vietnamese (Ly, 2012) while positive states of mind are such as HOPE IS A MATERIAL/ A HUMAN in Thai (Rodsap, 2018), HAPPINESS IS A BUILDABLE OBJECT in Thai (Klinnamhom, 2013), HAPPINESS IS AN OBJECT in English and Spanish and HAPPINESS IS UP in English and Tunisian Arabic (Hamdi, 2015), HAAPY IS UP in English and Persian (Safarnejad, Ho-Abdullah & Mat Awal, 2014), HAPPINESS IS A HUMAN BEING in Russian (Pasukdee, 2019), and CONFIDENCE IS A HUMAN/ A BUILDING in English (Cheng, 2013).

Though the conception of morale during these two difficult situations could be similar to those of positive states of mind, it was found that, at the cognitive level, conceptual metaphors of morale found in this study seem to highlight two main negative aspects of the morale concept – morale crisis and its solution – in the Covid-19 and cancer situations. In addition, this may help explain why the conception of morale during these two difficult situations could also be similar to those of negative feelings or emotions. The findings also support the idea of the highlighting property of conceptual metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), claiming that each conceptual metaphor would reflect the way people partially understand an abstract concept, not the whole concept. Moreover, linguistic metaphors found in these two different contexts also indicate the high intensity of the morale crisis among people during the pandemic and among Thai cancer patients. Furthermore, the conceptions of morale found in this study differ from that of morality as accounting and strength in English political discourse (Lakoff, 1995), and this may indicate that morale and moral are different concepts though their spellings are very close to one another.

In the two languages in this study, Thai and English, MORALE IS AN OBJECT/ A BUILDING may be influenced by human basic experiences with physical objects that have concrete boundaries, and these two conceptual metaphors could possibly be further extended to MORALE IS A PERSON, as found in English, through personification (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Besides, GOOD MORALE IS UP; POOR MORALE IS DOWN, in English, might be influenced by the universal human body experience of drooping and upright postures that typically goes along with negative and positive states of mind or other evaluations, respectively (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002). The influence of these basic human postures could also be found in other orientational conceptual metaphors e.g. HAPPY IS UP; SADNESS IS DOWN and HEALTHY IS UP; SICK IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002), for instance. Regarding cultural experiences, MORALE IS A BUILDING found in English seems to support the BUILDING/CONSTRUCTION domain in the list of common source domains used by people in different cultures as suggested by Kövecses (2002),

while cultural specific conceptual metaphors were not found in this study. However, cultural influence could be seen at the linguistic level in Thai language such as *string* morale (73), as in Thai culture, people usually string flowers to create garlands and offer them to parents, teachers, monks, and the Lord Buddha on special occasions. It was also found that the Thai object metaphors seemed to focus more on morale as a countable object that could be given to others, while, in English, morale tended to be an object in general that has quality and quantity. As giving good things to others is one of the basic or core Buddhist beliefs, these Thai object metaphors might be influenced by Buddhist culture. For Buddhists in Thailand as well as in other Buddhist countries, giving is considered a lay Buddhist practice (Gombrich, 1988). Buddhists believe that they will get merit when they give, and the merit could lead them to a good rebirth. Giving is also an act of detachment that will help purify their mind leading them to nirvana (Egge, 2002).

In terms of two different discourse topics, Thai Covid-19 and cancer, though the conceptualization of morale as a givable object could be found in both Thai contexts, cancer patients themselves were still likely to, for example, *seek, look for, buy, or ask for* morale from people around them and use the given morale to protect themselves from cancer, while, in the Thai Covid-19 context, morale was given by a lot of people in the general public to those affected by the Covid-19 situation. These findings might be explained in terms of the contextual factors, particularly the writers and their personal experiences. To elaborate, while the writers of Covid-19 discourses on the websites obtained through Google during the data collection period were more likely to be someone else, not the Covid-19 patients and frontline healthcare workers, many writers of Thai cancer discourses in this study were the cancer patients themselves. Their own direct experiences on the morale problem may potentially influence the metaphors they used to convey what really happened to their morale and how they dealt with it. Future studies may analyze conceptual metaphors in texts written by Covid-19 patients, frontline healthcare workers or other language users as their metaphorical use may reflect the morale crisis from their side.

Differences at both cognitive and linguistic levels found in this study could possibly be evidence of how contexts like language and discourse topic, may possibly have an influence on metaphorical use in discourses. Additionally, some findings of this study seem to show the influence of some other contexts that could not be controlled in this study like immediate linguistic context (Kövecses, 2009) and language user (Mey, 2001; Grundy, 1995). For the influence of immediate linguistic contexts, it could be seen in this study that some metaphors like *low* and *high* could be considered object metaphors in some utterances and orientational

metaphors in others. Therefore, when identifying metaphors and their source domains, apart from their literal meaning in dictionaries, researchers should also be aware of their immediate linguistic contexts as well as some other possible contexts involved as metaphors are context-dependent (Kövecses, 2009; Givón, 2005; Gibbs, 1987).

There are two limitations of this study that should be considered. First, the smaller sizes of the two Thai corpora may reduce their chance to cover some other Thai morale metaphors. Second, as two types of genres were compiled in the Thai cancer corpus, genre type might also be another contextual factor affecting the use of morale metaphors. Nevertheless, when the data collection was done, pocketbooks sharing direct experiences on Covid-19 by Thai patients and frontline healthcare workers were rare items and probably not yet readily available during the first global lockdown period. In the future, further studies may consider comparing morale metaphors used in different genres with comparable corpus sizes to see how genres influence metaphorical production.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, how morale was conceptualized in the two languages, Thai and English, and in the two discourse topics, Thai Covid-19 and cancer discourses, was reported in this study. The comparison regarding the different contexts helped further reveal that though, some conceptual metaphors were found at the cognitive level, and they may highlight the same two aspects of morale concept, moral crisis and its solution, differences could be found in terms of how their linguistic elaborations were used in different languages and in discourses with different topics. These two highlighted features of morale also seemed to reflect reality in these two difficult situations faced by humanity. The findings of this study may possibly help scholars in this area to understand how the morale concept could be conceptualized, in Thai and English, and how morale metaphors can be used in different contexts. The results could also be beneficial for people in general and healthcare professionals to realize how morale is significant for those impacted by Covid-19, and how it is vital for patients with cancer. Further studies could probably explore how morale is conceptualized in other difficult or dangerous situations and use the results of this study as baselines for future arguments.

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