

Conceptual Metaphor in Ciu4jyu5: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Discourses of Hong Kong Digital Natives

Ian C Chow

Department of Chinese, Translation and Linguistics,
City University of Hong Kong

Abstract The emergence and dissemination of ciu4jyu5 (trendy expression) are particularly manifested in the discourses of the younger generation. This study applies Conceptual Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993) as the theoretical framework for analyzing the cognitive linguistic use of ciu4jyu5. The notions of Digital Natives and Digital Immigrants (Prensky, 2001; Palfrey and Gasser, 2008) are taken as the basis for describing and explaining the social technological background of Hong Kong youngsters. Digital Natives, individuals who were born and grown up in the information age where personal computers, internet access, animation and video-gaming are daily life experiences, tend to use ciu4jyu5 frequently, *ad libitum*, and in an innovative and prevailing fashion relative to the Digital Immigrants, individuals who were not born into the digital era but adopted many aspects of the technology. Besides the knowledge and skill in using the technologies, the competence in using and interpreting particular sets of ciu4jyu5 has been found obviously different between the two populations. This has shed lights on the cognitive linguistic account of ciu4jyu5 in terms of the shared technological common ground among the younger generation. This paper focuses on the cognitive linguistic aspect of the Gaming domain lexicon in ciu4jyu5. Analysis is based on online blog text collected from a popular Hong Kong blog site Xanga. A conceptual metaphor SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING is identified through structural ontological mapping between the domains.

Keywords ciu5jyu5, Conceptual Metaphor, Domain Mapping, Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants

1. Synchronic characteristics of Ciu4jyu5

The term Ciu4jyu5, literally translated as trendy expressions, has recently become very popular and received much discussion. Ciu4jyu5 is slang with specific synchronic characteristics. It has a popular and prevailing status which distinguishes it from general slang. It is first used by a particular group of people, typically youngster, and gradually disseminated throughout the community by language spread. Neologism, trendiness, popularity are the overt features of Ciu4jyu5. Ciu4jyu5 are coined by the younger generations while adopted by the older generations. These features can be further explained in terms of three synchronic aspects: (1) The time of the coinage of the expressions, e.g. san4kap1, oulzeoi2 (2) The time of incorporating new meaning to

an existing word, e.g. cim4seoi2, dik6hon6 (3) The time of the expression being disseminated throughout the community, extending its usage from small group communication to everyday language. One or more of these synchronic aspects make an expression a Ciu4jyu5. In reverse, a Ciu4jyu5 may gradually lose those crucial features through time and falls to the category of general slang or “old Ciu4jyu5”. Pang (2008) has enumerated a list of 120 Ciu4jyu5 and Tang, in this volume, has further categorized around 100 of them as “old Ciu5jyu5”.

2. The Core Speaker of Ciu4Jyu5

It is well acknowledged that individuals in the younger generation are the core speakers of Ciu4jyu5. To understand the cognitive linguistic feature of Ciu4jyu5, it is important to seek for an appropriate description in order to understand the background of the younger generation.

Several literatures have been recently published explaining different generations in Hong Kong for instances Chen (2005), Han and Zou (2006) and Lü (2007). Lü has categorized four generations in Hong Kong. Individuals within the 4th generation, who were born from 1976-1990, are the core speakers of Ciu4jyu5. They have grown up in a materially abundant environment, yet at the same time, they were concretely indoctrinated with the idea of competition as Lü pointed out that

在小學中學(或更早)階段已開始要強烈的不斷的裝備自己

zoi6[in] siu2hok6[primary school] zung1hok6[secondary school] (waak6[or]
gang3zou2[earlier]) gaai1dyun6[stage] ji3[already/ASPECT] hoi1ci2[begin] jiu3[need]
keong4lit6dik1[intensively] bat1dyun6dik1[continuously] zong1bei6[equip]
zi6gei2[oneself].

“[the 4th generation] have to equip themselves intensively and continuously since primary or secondary school (or earlier).”

Lü (2007:61)

From a social technological perspective, the term Digital Native is most appropriate for describing the core speaker of Ciu4jyu5 in Hong Kong. Digital Native refer to those “who have access to networked digital technologies and strong computer skills and knowledge.” Palfrey and Gasser (2008:346). The notion complements Lü’s 4th generation by including individuals who were born after 1990 and are undeniably considered as the major speakers and spreaders of Ciu4jyu5 in Hong Kong. The term Digital Native was coined in Prensky’s (2001) “Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants”. Digital Natives grow up with the new technology and spend their lives surrounded by and using computers, videogames, digital music players, cell phones, tools and toys of the digital age. Digital Immigrants, the relative term of Digital Natives, refer to the population who was not born into the digital age but fascinated and adopted many or most aspects of the new technology. Digital Immigrants are in general not the native speakers of Ciu4jyu5. They learn to use Ciu4jyu5 with adaptability challenges. The relations of technology and Ciu4jyu is also manifested at the platforms of the spread - Computer-mediated Communication (CMC), such as, weblogs, instant message applications, online forums, and social network service (SNS) websites.

3. Ciu4jyu5 – the Language of the Digital Natives

Regarding the digital era as the time point of the emergence of contemporary Ciu4jyu5, it is unsurprised to note that a number of Ciu4jyu5 are closely related to the life of the Digital Natives, and are widely acknowledged in the internet CMC. The digital era has played an important role to both the emergence and spread of many Ciu4jyu5 favouring Ciu4jyu5 as the language of the Digital Natives.

The feasibility of the spread of an expression highly depends on acceptability, which in turn depends on the shared experience. The digital experience permeating every aspects of life has created a strong conceptual backbone and communication platform facilitating the acceptance of Ciu4jyu5. The World-Wide Web accelerates the spread in an instant and network-based manner. More importantly, the Web itself is an informal and “prescriptivism-ignoring” language environment which has reinforced the acceptance and spread. Digital Natives, who possesses this digital experience, *acquire* Ciu4jyu5 under a natural and effortless circumstance. The Digital Immigrants, on the other hand, *adopt* Ciu4jyu5, endeavor to adapt oneself to its usage.

4. The Digital Lexicon in Ciu4jyu5

Most linguistic studies related to Ciu4jyu5 have been focused on morphology or grammar based on formal linguistic. This study takes a different approach and addresses the cognitive linguistic features of Ciu4jyu5 in the Gaming domain by applying Conceptual Metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993) as the theoretical framework.

The term Digital Lexicon is used here to refer to Ciu4jyu5 related to or originated from the digital domain. The lexis is then further classified into three subclass domains as shown in table 1 to 3.

The Digital Lexicon

Table 1. Forum and SNS Domain Lexicon

Forum and Social Network Service (SNS)	
十卜 sap6buk1	推文 teoilman2
潛水 cim4seoi2	浮上 fau4seong5
分身 fan1san1	爬文 paa4man2
洗版 sai2baan2	灌水 gyun3seoi2
沙發 saa1faat3	地毯 dei6zin1
版主 baan2zyu2	板凳 baan2dang3
樓主 lau4zyu2	壇主 taan4zyu2
樓上 lau4soeng6	樓下 lau4haa6
牠 taa1	人妖 jan4jiu2
呃post aak1pou1	膠post gaau1pou1

Table 2. Animation and Comics Domain Lexicon

Animation and Comics	
O咀 oulzeoi2	滴汗 dik6hon6
三間 saam1gaan3	電車 din6ce1
御宅族 jyu6zaak6zuk6	電車男 din6ce1naam4
宅男 zaak6naam4	宅女 zaak6neoi3

Table 3. Gaming Domain Lexicon

Gaming Domain	
屈機 wat1gei1	超必 ciu1bit1
神級 san4kap1	讓round joeng6waang1
升le sing1le1	挑機 tiu1gei1
單挑 daan1tiu1	必殺技 bit1saat3gei6
秒殺 miu5saat3	打大佬 daa2daai6lou2
KO kei1lou1	Game Over gem1lou1faa4

This study particularly focuses on the Gaming Ciu4jyu5. In the digital era, Gaming (in the sense of video-gaming) is no longer restricted to entertainment at game arcades but 24/7 at home, where personal computer, video (portable) game players or television in bedrooms are common daily life experience of the 4th generation. Yet, Gaming is indeed not specific to Digital Natives. In Hong Kong, many early Digital Immigrants do have experience of Gaming in their childhood. In fact, many Gaming terms, for example 屈機(wat1gei1[suppress][machine], suppress the opponent) and 挑機(tiu1gei1[challenge][machine], provoke a challenge), were coined in the late 80s by the early Digital Immigrants when gaming was mainly a game arcade entertainment. Digital Natives, however, relative to the Digital Immigrants, have a more solid interaction and wider shared common ground in Gaming by virtue of their well-off materialized environment. This assures the prevailing status of Gaming Ciu4jyu5 among the Digital Natives. The Gaming terms has been “evolved” as a Ciu4jyu5 alongside to the vast dissemination and intensive use by the Digital Natives, (cf. the third synchronic aspect of Ciu4jyu in section one). It is also interesting to find out that most of the Gaming Ciu4jyu5 are slang originated from fighting games, providing a metaphorical potential for rendering and construing a win-lose discourse.

The use of Gaming terms by Digital Natives is conceptually different from that of Digital Immigrants. At the time of coinage of the Gaming words, they are domain-specific slang. Digital Immigrants used these slang when elaborating experience and scenarios restricted to video gaming. Digital Natives whereas have granted the slang a new meaning potential via Conceptual Metaphor, turning the slang into Ciu4jyu5 which are used in their everyday life discourse.

The new generation utilizes the analogy deduced by the Gaming Ciu4jyu5 to explicate their everyday life experience under their indoctrinated ideology of competition. This also explains why most Gaming Ciu4jyu5 are originated from fighting games. The battle-oriented terms are very appropriate for mapping with the competition ontology and can be used metaphorically to elaborate their everyday life competition. Recognition of the metaphor is effortlessly obtained by the 4th generation, the Digital Natives.

5. Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson’s conceptual metaphor offers a cognitive linguistic-based theoretical framework for accounting the covert use of language. This theoretical apparatus has also been widely used in text linguistics and critical discourse analysis particularly in the study of style and ideology. Conceptual metaphor explains the use of expression across knowledge domains where a structural or ontological mapping is covertly and unconsciously embedded. Sometimes, the metaphor is a part of or a subclass of another wider metaphoric model which is described as hierarchically inheritance (Lakoff 1994). The two key concepts in conceptual metaphor are source domain and target domain. Source domain is the domain ontology where linguistic expressions are drawn from. Word knowledge and World knowledge from source domain are ontologically mapped with the target domain. While source domain is concrete and have a distributive common ground among the language users, the target domain concerns abstract idea and is construed by expressions drawn from the source domain. The following examples demonstrate the well-known conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY:

唔好嘅時間

m4hou2saai1si4gaan3

Do not **waste** the time

花三年時間都值得

faa1saam1nin4si4gaan3dou1zik6dak1

It is **worth spending** 3 years

慳返兩粒鐘

haan1faan1loeng3lap1zung1

Have **saved** two hours

仲有時間剩

zung6jau5si4gaan3zing6

There is time **left**

唔好再投資時間係佢身上
 m4hou2zoi3tau4zi1si4gaan3hai2keoi3san1soeng6
 Do not **invest** time on him

蝕左兩個鐘
 sit6zo2loeng3go3zung1
 Have **lost** two hours

There are instances that conceptual metaphor is language (and culture) specific. For example, Adhrens et al, 2004 suggested the LOVE IS PLANT conceptual metaphor in Chinese with the following examples:

我對她的愛意漸漸滋長
 ngo5deoi3taa1dik1oi3ji3zim6zim6zi1zoeng2
 My love to her is gradually **growing**
 兩人的愛苗最近才剛萌芽
 loeng3jan4dik1oi3miu4jeoi3gan6coi4gong1mang4nga4
 Their **seedling** of love **sprouts** recently
 愛情需要辛勤的灌溉
 oi3cing4seoi1jiu3san1kan4dik1gyun3koi3
 Love demands arduous **watering**

The abstract target domain LOVE is construed through the concrete target domain PLANT, where the concept LOVE is conceived as a growing object. LOVE begins as a seedling, requires caring as if watering; flowering and fruiting are aligned with good ending of love.

Conceptual metaphor is applied to account on the wide use of Gaming Ciu4jyu5. A conceptual metaphor SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING is identified. The concept COMPETITION abounds in the ideology of the younger generation and gaming has concurrently become a shared common experience of the Digital Natives. Extending beyond general competition for example sport games, the younger generation tends to explicate a wider range of social interactions as competition such as examination and school life. Participant roles in their discourse are construed as winner and loser while actions are suppressing or suppressed by one another. Gaming Ciu4jyu5 occurs frequently in discourse narrating these kinds of social experience.

“The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.”(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.5). The popularity of Gaming in the digital era confirms its familiarity to the younger generation which consents GAMING as concrete source domain knowledge of them. The abstract target domain, SOCIAL COMPETITION, which involves the use of competition in construing youngster’s life, is lexically and grammatically realized by using expressions drawn from the concrete domain.

Figure 1 below depicts the ontological alignment of the concept entity of the two domains where Ciu4jyu5 are bolded. Gaming Ciu4jyu5 are concentrated in the column of concept interrelations in the mappings. Linguistically, they are mainly verbs or predicates. If dominancy occurs in the domain concepts, the use of Ciu4jyu5 may be simply a rhetorical use as in the distinction between conceptual metaphors and metaphorical linguistic expressions. The majority occurrence in verb highlights the conceptual metaphorical use. Functioning as interrelations among domain concept entities instead of denotations of the entities, Ciu4jyu5 offer a high metaphoric potential in domain alignment between the abstract and concrete domain.

Target Domain Knowledge
SOCIAL COMPETITION

Domain Concepts

自己 / 對手
項目 / 難題
難關 / 阻礙
勝方 / 負方
經驗
能力 / 表現
強項
精英
規則 / 政策

Concept Interrelations

挑 (機)
(單) 挑
讓 (round)
打 (大佬 / 爆機)
升 (le)
屈 (機)
(秒) 殺
KO
game over

Source Domain Knowledge
GAMING

Domain Concepts

自己 / 對手 / 電腦敵人
關 / 版 / Round
大佬
勝方 / 負方
經驗值 / EXP
Level
必殺技 / 超必
神級 / 神人
電腦程式編程

Figure 1. Ontological mappings of source domain and target domain knowledge.

6. Instantiation of conceptual metaphor in Gaming Ciu4jyu5

This session demonstrates the instances of using Gaming Ciu4jyu5 to construe daily life experiences of the younger generation. Examples are extracts of online blog contents collected from www.Xanga.com, a popular blogging website in Hong Kong. The uses of Gaming Ciu4jyu5 are bold and underlined in the following examples.

- (1) Qiu哥真係好ar, 可以next week先交Lab report, I Love you ar~~~~。
大佬就慘la, 昨日花左成三四個鐘來完成他的Lab Report,
無得溫書, 唯有當讓Round la....ha ha~~~
- (2) 唔係我最高分唔洗請飲野,
講真真係幾鬼驚, 不過星期四個科仲驚, 聽聞得我識做第二條,
如果我真係最高分要拿五舊出來請食飯,
我到時會真係ooooo咀, 早知讓round
- (3) 黃子華尾場, 以下是一些感想: 1) 上半本絕對是文化科學生必看。從唐文.....4) 子華老矣。被觀眾挑機後雖然仍能馬上還擊,

An ontological mapping between competition event and 「機」 (gei1, [machine], game) or “round” is established through the verbs 「讓」 (joeng6, [allow], make concession) in example (1), (2) and 「挑」 (tiu1, [provoke], challenge to a duel/match) in (3). The two verbs bridge the target and source domains, using the Gaming event as the predicate object instead of the actual event. In the examples, the test, the examination and the debate in the three examples were being conceived as gaming respectively, which implies there are winner and loser in the event scenario.

- (4) 今天準備充足去挑機
溫左兩小時tenses~~仲做左d notes俾佢~~
佢媽過我教得好過尋日 haha鬼咩~~
我自己溫書都有咁專心呀~~

- (5) 下午去佐保誠train人,終於第一次出外present la.....
雖然有d緊張,不過講講下就好好多啦,
皆因我當佢地係學生.....
wise話下個月開始就由我一個落去保誠單挑,
應該沒問題的啦.....

In (4) and (5), a job duty or a task is conceptualized as gaming where the opponent is not the competitor but the event itself. It has to be highlighted that in video Gaming, besides versus other players, one may game against the computer opponent, i.e. the game itself. This makes video Gaming a very suitable source domain for the conceptual metaphor.

In many discourses of the younger generation, it is commonly found that the task or the participating event is conceived as the opponent. In such cognitive context, the frequently used Ciu4jyu5 predicates are 挑機tiu1gei1[challenge][machine] and 單挑daan1tiu1 daan1tiu1[single][challenge]. 挑機tiu1gei1[challenge][machine] refers to “taking the initiative to battle against”, as in (4), the challenge denotes the duty of being a tutor. 單挑daan1tiu1[single][challenge] similarly refers to “taking the initiative to battle against”, supplemented with an emphasis on “the solitarily in challenging the opponent”, as in (5), the challenge denotes the duty task of doing a presentation alone.

It is predictable that Gaming Ciu4jyu5 is used in discourse related to contest. A contest is by its nature a competition, i.e. a hierarchically inheritance of conceptual metaphor. In example (5), (6), (7) below, scenarios such as playing snookers, football and drinking are narrated through the same conceptual metaphor.

- (6) 近日苦練生疏已久的桌球歡迎挑機喔~
(7) o岩o岩出左去挑機,大勝而回,但今晚d對手有上次果d咁強橫,
唔知d人係咪留係屋企睇港男,落尼踢波仲多野睇la,
(8) 飲宴時以為有人陪飲酒,自己倒左一杯白蘭地飲~算啦~ 諗住飲完就散~但係佢
地話有下半場啊~ 再去飲過~o下!? 做乜唔一早講呀!?
我唔讓round啦~唔飲果杯白蘭地,我一定唔係第一個訓低~

The above three examples demonstrates that concrete contests are being construed as video gaming metaphorically. Whereas, the scenarios in examples (9)(10)(11) below hold an abstract competition context. Instead of a setting of a contest, it would be more appropriate to describe the following events as bullying the weak or challenging the strong.

- (9) 早上是Eng carnival"與Jill+安安落F.1仔落挑機
哈哈"佢完全聽唔明我地講緊咩英文XDD 屈機的感覺超良好
(10) 就容許我任性一次,冒險一次,為大家出一嘆氣,
向dept head級人馬挑機 <- 湑底中
Opinion about today's lucky draw for XXX50
Dear Prof. XXX,
Please allow me to say a few words about today's lucky draw.
.....
(11) 尋日一行7人加埋文書
去左黃龍石澗
對我黎講係挑機之旅

因為"黃龍三險"+死過人+9大澗中難度達4粒星
我真係有d湑底=_____="

Experience being narrated in these kinds of context often involves an inequality of competence or social status, as if the knowledge concept "Level" in the Gaming ontology. In such context of situation, the "taking the initiative" in the sense of 挑機(Tiu1gei1[challenge][machine]) is mildly concealed while manifesting a disparity between the powerful (opponent) and weak (self).

The competitions in the metaphor are often self-determined by the writer. In example (9) and (10), the settings of competition are virtual and the opponents are non-volitional. The opponent is not competing against the speaker from the opponent's perspective. In example (11), although there is an actual activity - hiking, which is mapped as a competition event, it takes a virtual opponent which is the speaker himself.

In example (4) and (5) previously, a task can be construed as an opponent under the conceptual metaphor and the task takes the Patient semantic role in the event scenario. Examples (12)-(14) below show that a task as opponent may also take an Agent semantic role, competing or even winning over the writer. In (12)-(14), 秒殺(miu5saat3, [second][kill], kill in a second) and 屈機(wat1gei1, [suppress][machine]) denotes that the event task is too difficult to the extent that the writer, acting the role of Patient, is deeply suppressed and hopeless in winning the competition. It is also noted that if the Agent is the competition event instead of a participant opponent, the Gaming Ciu4jyu5 predicates are typically realized in passive voice grammatically.

(12) 今日英文listening!!!被秒殺了!~~~!

(13) 今天終於考試了, 結果, 嘿嘿,
當然是被秒殺la ==

(14) UE再次被份卷屈機--
投降啦=^=

The passive voice in (12)-(14) marked the inanimate competition event playing the semantic role Agent, an ideology of passivism looms in the narration.

This is especially found in EXAMINATION IS GAMING conceptual metaphor in the discourse of the younger generation. The use of these Ciu4jyu5 shifts the blame and responsibility on the difficulty of the examination, as if it is a too powerful opponent. In the discourse, the failure of the writer is construed as led by an unfair great disparity without taking account on the lack of preparation or effort paid by the writer.

When a task is construed as a competing opponent in the conceptual metaphor, the winning or conquering Ciu4jyu5 predicates are mapped as accomplishment where completion stands for a victory. In (15) and (16), the Gaming Ciu4jyu5 KO(knock out) and 秒殺(miu5saat3, [second][kill], kill in a second), in the context, both refer to accomplishing a task.

In (17), the participation of advanced-level examination is aligned with the Gaming Ciu4jyu5 打大佬(daai6lou2, [hit][big][boss], fight against the big boss) manifesting the degree of difficulty of the task.

(15) 依兩日要做晒d功課牙..
已經ko左一半啦超神!!!!
甘就可以放心去玩lu...

- (16) 忽然東東話不如改寫啦!於是成班友開始發顛...
 續寫「織織復織織」...
 「肥KAI最好色」「譚罐好的式」「字東識扭股」...
 「大姨媽親戚」「屎窟爆霹靂」「射嘢一滴滴」...
 「七八九十JACK」「食粒朱古力」「相逢何必曾相識」....
 第一位秒殺者--青蛙:「衛蘭當戶織」
 第二位秒殺者--東東:「靈芝全破壁」
 第三位秒殺者--乳豬:「月臺有空隙」
- (17) 明年考a level的朋友們,
 祝你們打大佬成功!!!!

Features in Gaming such as 超必(ciu1bit1, [super][must], super special move) or 必殺技(bit1saat3gei6, [must][kill][skill], special move), 升le(sing1le1, [rise][level], level upgarde), are also widely used Ciu4jyu5. The former two construe the strength of a competing participant and the latter refers to the competence or status of a competing participant.

- (18) 在廣州的第三天,我們到了番禺野生動物園,欣賞了
 白虎和猴子的表現,探望了國寶.

 當天晚上,我們帶著
 依依不捨的心情乘直通車返港 (<=這是小學作文的超必, 必殺結尾)
- (19) 一理通.百理明. 倒數11hrs.今次應該得勒掛. 強項SATB- -+同認chord..
 scale都係我超必.. transpose都(應該)唔會錯.
 作曲..跟rules都有7/8分掛. 加埋其他立雜題.段估唔會肥掛..

In (18), the conceptual metaphor is WRITING COMPOSITION AS GAMING. The adept ending is metaphorically realized as 必殺結尾(bit1saat3git3mei5, [must][kill][end][tail], a special move ending). A special move, in fighting games, gives great damage to an opponent. The conceptual metaphor here creates an analogy that the adept ending used can certainly score points in the essay homework. Similarly in (19), the scale part of the music test is narrated as 超必(ciu1bit1, [super][must], super special move) of the writer. The writer is confident that he can gain high scores under the conceptual frame that the test is the opponent and the writer can give a great damage to this opponent by his special move.

Discourses from blogs of Hong Kong youngsters show an ontological mapping between the domains of social competition and gaming. The Ciu4jyu5 concepts, attributes and interrelations in the conceptual metaphor are listed in figure 2, the structural concept mappings are depicted in figure 3.

SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING	
World Knowledge – [competition] <i>Concept Attributes and Interrelations</i>	Word Knowledge – [gaming] <i>Ciu4jyu5 Predicates</i>
participate a competition	打機
participate a tough competition	打大佬
suppressing or suppressed by, (competition participants as Agent) where suppressor is in advantage of great disparity of competence	屈機
Being suppressed, lose or fail (competition event as Agent) where success is suppressed by difficulty of the competition	被...屈機 被... KO 被...秒殺
Relinquish, make concession	讓round
Provoke a competition	挑機
Provoke a competition of one-on-one duel	單挑
Participate a competition solely	單挑
Play one's best card. Exert oneself to win	(出)必殺技/超必
Win or Accomplish	KO
Win or Accomplish, effortlessly or promptly	秒殺
Lose or Fail	game over

Figure 2. Relation and Attribute mappings in SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING

SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING	
Domain	Concept Alignment
	- COMPETITION EVENT IS GAME
	- TASK IS GAME STAGE
	- SPEAKER IS PLAYER
	- COMPETITOR IS OPPONENT
	- RULES & REGULATION IS PROGRAMMING ALGORITHM
	- COMPETENCE IS GAME CHARACTER'S LEVEL
	- STRENGTH IS SPECIAL MOVE
	- SERIOUS TASK IS STAGE BOSS

Figure 3 Structural concept mappings in SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING

Example (20) below shows a discourse related to examination comprising three consecutive blogs which demonstrate the metaphor EXAMINATION IS GAMING – a very common conceptual metaphor in the discourse of the younger generation.

- (20) (*day 1*)
 琴日打完細佬
 今日打大佬
 但係..
 GAME OVER!
 仲有兩日就打爆機..
 得番一條命
 吾好死住牙!
- (*day 2*)
 琴日真係好sad -/-
 冇左7分? what?? 開玩笑
 今日打埋依關, 聽日仲有一關,
 等緊我去ko左佢!!!!
 今日既中屎 神!對我好好..luncky
 文學,relaxed!!
 就打爆機打爆打爆打爆
- (*day 3*)
 今日已經打完first term exam.
 我唸...game over!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
 渡日如年..如隔十秋-3-"
 有盡力..都有放棄..更有吾知發生咩事
 吾想張成績表係滿江紅

量力而為! 太好啦..考完*3*

Merely reading the blog content of day1, the information is insufficient to establish a conceptual metaphor, a direct interpretation of playing video game still sounds. With textual cohesion and coherence of the blog content of day 2, the conceptual metaphor foregrounds. Under the conceptual frame of gaming, the expressions 打細佬(daa2sai3lou2, [hit][small][guy], against a small boss) and 打大佬(daa2daai6lou2, [hit][big][guy], against the big boss) in day 1 text indeed metaphorically refer to attending different examinations. 打爆機(daa2baau3gei1, [hit][explode][machine], finish a game) therefore should be interpreted as completion of all examinations of an academic term. Since the whole examination event is conceived as gaming, each examination is thus ontologically mapped as each game stages in a game, which is expressed as 關(gwaan1, stage) in the text of day 2.

In the text of day 3, the conceptual metaphor is textually materialized saliently. The predicate「打完first term exam」applied the source domain verb while preserving the target domain object.

7. Conclusion

The prevailing use of Ciu4jyu5 among youngsters is sustained and developed on the basis of the shared digital experience of the Digital Native. The shared experiences or collective-memory in the digital era are applied as the conceptual source domain for construing experiences in other social aspects.

Video gaming though exist in the childhood of many Digital Immigrants, the use of gaming lexicon does not develop in such prevailing fashion in their language use. This can be explained by the change of life style in the digital era. There are great differences in Gaming between the Digital Natives and Immigrants including popularity, acceptability and time coverage. Gaming is not a luxury leisure activity for the Hong Kong 4th Generation as most Digital Natives own a (portable) game player or PC. Internet also promotes the popularity of Gaming. In the digital era, Gaming is an in-house activity but not an arcade activity, where game arcades in the past, have a stereotypical image of gangster concourse. Acceptability of Gaming is relatively higher now. Life in the Digital era is 24/7. Gaming experiences are cumulated in an incomparable scale relative to the past.

In fact, Gaming is not the only digital experience observed in Ciu4jyu5. Visualized scenarios are also commonly found in the discourse of the younger generation. Emotion, as an abstract domain concept, is grammatically construed with experiences acquired from visualized dramatic scenario. The Ciu4jyu5 滴汗(dik5hon6, [drip][sweat]), 三間(saam1gaan3, [three][lines]), O咀(oulzeoi2, [O-shape][mouth]) metaphorically refer to scenario description or psychological description of astonishment, surprise, embarrassment, speechless or helpless situation. The experience of visualized dramatic scenario is very common and accessible in the digital era. Digital Natives have more TV channels, they grow up with multimedia web services for example YouTube and Flickr. Leisure visualizations such as comics, cartoons, animations and computer graphics are free on the internet. Visualization is their daily life experience and there are even discussions concerning the emergence of the age of picture reading (讀圖時代(duk6tou4si4doi6, [read][picture][time][era])). Digital Natives, through their shared visualization experience, they have a consensus of the scenario and the emotional status represented by 滴汗(dik5hon6, [drip][sweat], a drop of sweat on the side-face), 三間(saam1gaan3, [three][lines], drawing three lines on the forehead) or O咀(oulzeoi2, [O-shape][mouth], exaggeratedly opening one's mouth in an O-shape). Digital Immigrants without such visualization collective-memory can hardly infer the experiential mapping.

Life and experience in the Digital Era is not merely shared by a small group of people with common interest but shared by nearly the entire younger generation, where the internet is the platform of socialization in the Web 2.0 era. Ciu4jyu5, as a language reflecting the experience of the youth, do have a strong correlation with this new era. Knowledge or experiences in the information age becomes a source conceptual domain and metaphorical linguistic apparatus for construing real life experience.

REFERENCES

- Chen, GuanZhong 陳冠中. 2005. 《我這一代香港人》. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, L. J. 1993. The semantics of metaphor. In Ortony, Andrew (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 58-70). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. 2006. *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Danet, Brenda and Herring, Susan C (Eds.). 2007. *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online*. Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Han and Zou 韓江雪、鄧崇銘. 2006. 《香港的鬱悶：新生代 VS 嬰兒潮世代》. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Lakoff, G. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor. In Ortony, Andrew (Ed.) *Metaphor and thought* (pp.202-251) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Lü Dale 呂大樂. 2007. 《四代香港人》. 香港：進一步多媒體有限公司。
- Ooi, Vincent B. Y. 2008. The lexis of electronic gaming on the Web: a Sinclairian approach. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 21 (3), 311-323.
- Palfrey J. and Gasser U. 2008. *Born digital: understanding the first generation of digital natives*. New York : Basic Books.
- Pang 彭志銘. 2008. 《香港潮語話齋》. 香港：次文化有限公司。
- Prensky, M. 2001. Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants. *On the Horizon* Vol. 9 No. 5, MCB University Press.
- So 蘇真真. 2008. 《香港潮語學習卡》. Hong Kong: Kubrick.
- Wolf H. and Polzenhagen F. 2003. Conceptual Metaphor as Ideological Stylistic means: An exemplary analysis. In René Dirven, Roslyn Frank, Martin Pütz (Eds) *Cognitive models in language and thought: ideology, metaphors and meanings*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zhu 朱薰. 2008. 《朱 Fun E 潮語大教訓》. 香港：萬里機構。

潮語的概念隱喻： 香港數位原生代的認知語言學篇章分析

周志仁

香港城市大學中文、翻譯及語言學系

提要 潮語的冒起及傳播，尤其顯現於年青一代的話語及篇章。本文以 Lakoff 的隱喻理論中的概念隱喻(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980. Lakoff, 1993)作為理論框架，對潮語進行分析，研究潮語的認知語用。本文亦以「數位原生代」(Digital Natives, 亦稱「數位原住民」)與「數位移民」(Digital Immigrants) (Prensky, 2001. Palfrey and Gasser, 2008)，闡釋香港年青一代的社會及科技背景，輔以分析潮語的認知語用。數位原生代泛指出生及成長於資訊時代，日常生活經驗都與個人電腦、互聯網、電腦動畫、電子遊戲等資訊科技息息相關。「數位移民」則泛指並出生於資訊時代以前，在成長以後習得不同的科技知識。在潮語的使用方面，「數位原生代」在話語中使用潮語較「數位移民」頻密、流行，運用方法亦較創新及隨心所欲。

兩個世代的差異，除了在資訊科技的知識及技能以外，對於潮語的運用及解析能力亦顯然而見。這透露世代在資訊科技上的共有體驗知識與潮語的認知語用有關。本研究集中針對隸屬遊戲領域的潮語詞彙，並對從香港流行網路日誌網站 Xanga 收集的博文文章進行分析。研究成果除通過數位世代體驗提出遊戲領域潮語在不同語境中的解釋，亦以知識本體映射，識別出年青世代篇章中的概念隱喻「社會競爭 是 遊戲」(SOCIAL COMPETITION IS GAMING)。

關鍵詞 潮語、概念隱喻、本體論、領域映射、數位原生代、數位移民