

---

| RESEARCH ARTICLE

## Money Metaphors We Live By: Analyzing Chinese Comic Books based on CMA

Yajun Jiang<sup>1</sup> ✉ and Lina Paola Ángel Jiménez<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>School of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Nanjing Normal University, Nanjing, China

Corresponding Author: Yajun Jiang, E-mail: [qut\\_jyj123@163.com](mailto:qut_jyj123@163.com)

---

| ABSTRACT

Chinese comic books appear to be filled with bright colors and interesting characters, but they also offer insight into the daily life relations and societal principles of modern China. In this study, we examined the construction and underlying meanings of money metaphors in Zhu Deyong's comic book series *We Are All Patients*, and *We Are All Patients 2: Love with an Idiot*, using the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). By mapping abstract concepts into more concrete and familiar domains, CMT conveys complex ideas, emotions, and social commentary in a way that readers can easily understand. We analyzed thirty-nine randomly chosen comic strips from Zhu's comic books using Charteris-Black's (2004) inductive method, conceptual metaphor analysis (CMA), to identify, explain, and interpret different metaphors. Through our analysis, we highlighted the most prominent money metaphors and how they relate to the current love and friendship relations made by modern Chinese people in their everyday lives. We found that money metaphors are classified into seven source domains: barrier, drug, tool, almighty, exchange, principle, and ambition.

| KEYWORDS

Conceptual metaphor, Critical Metaphor Analysis; Chinese comic books; Money metaphors.

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

ACCEPTED: 01 January 2024

PUBLISHED: 18 January 2024

DOI: 10.32996/ijts.2024.4.1.2

---

### 1. Introduction

Zhu Deyong, a well-known cartoonist in China, received the "Special Contribution Award" from the Chinese Culture Ministry at the 7th Golden Comic Awards, recognizing his significant contribution to promoting comic culture. His works have become increasingly popular since he is good at depicting the struggle life of ordinary people with a sharp tongue, wise perspectives, and colorful composition. *We Are All Patients (Da Jia Dou You Bing)* and *We Are All Patients 2: Love with an Idiot (Da Jia Dou You Bing2: He Ben Dan Yi Qi Tan Lian Ai)* were published in 2011 and 2014, respectively. Zhu Deyong adopted such a name as a book title because he conceived that humans would all become patients when faced with a new era full of rich materials but lacking spirits and faith.

Money plays a significant role in people's daily lives domestically and internationally. Researchers find that money can offer positive benefits, such as eliminating social exclusion, solving problems more efficiently, and reducing physical discomfort. (Zhou, Vohs, & Baumeister, 2009) However, it can also lead to negative experiences, including an increased inclination towards engaging in immoral activities (Gino & Pierce, 2009), a lack of empathy (Kraus et al., 2010), and a greater sense of manipulation (Stancato, Côté, Mendoza-Denton, & Keltner, 2012). Some common money metaphors in Western countries include MONEY IS FREEDOM, MONEY IS JUSTICE, MONEY IS MERCILESS. According to Furnham, Wilson, & Telford (2012), money allows people to escape unfavorable circumstances and overcome obstacles. It represents justice and has ancient roots, where metal payments were balanced on scales to ensure fairness in exchange. (Ali, T., 2014) However, research (Vohs et al., 2006) indicates that money can also lead to callousness, as people may struggle to find the motivation to assist others.

In China, money is intertwined with daily necessities to a significant degree. Firstly, money can be described as a liquid due to its flowability. In discussions of banking and marketing, people often use phrases like "financial flows (资金流)" and "injecting funds (

注入资金) to describe financial activity. Secondly, money can be thought of as food. A job is colloquially called a "rice bowl (饭碗)". Losing one's rice bowl means losing one's job.

Additionally, spending money is viewed as consuming food, and the phrase "Chi Gong Zi (吃工资)" translates to "to live on one's salary". Lastly, money equals power. The expression "money talks (有钱能使鬼推磨)" reflects the notion that money holds a crucial position in human life.

Despite the growing interest in the role of money in various contexts, more attention should be paid to money metaphors in daily cartoon works. Most cartoon studies focus on political issues in newspapers at home and abroad. However, a new perspective on the meaning of the money metaphor can be found in studying regular daily comics, such as those drawn by Zhu Deyong. By analyzing the representation of money metaphors in these comics, this study aims to uncover the underlying meaning behind the author's perception of money's role in ordinary people's lives. The study also hopes to contribute to a better understanding of the complex relationship between money and society in China.

## **2. Literature Review**

Metaphor has long been a topic of interest in linguistics, psychology, and philosophy. The conceptual metaphor (CMT) notion was first introduced in the seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. Their groundbreaking theory posited that metaphors are not solely linguistic expressions but rather an inherent aspect of human cognition and perception of the world. According to Lopez-Gonzalez et al. (2017), CMT is viewed as a "linguistic manifestation of conceptual thinking," wherein the target domain is conceptualized in terms of the source domain. In most cases, the target domain pertains to abstract concepts such as THEORIES, LIFE, LOVE, and TIME. They are understood in terms of something more tangible, such as BUILDINGS, JOURNEYS, and SPATIAL MOTION, as outlined by C. J. Forceville & Urios-Aparisi (2009).

The identification and explication of metaphorical language represent a fundamental inquiry in metaphor studies, warranting careful consideration of the criteria employed in these processes. Steen, G. (2016) states that there are two methods to identify metaphors in language: the deductive and inductive approaches. In the former, researchers accept that there are some conventionalized metaphors in language, and the idea is to find expressions in language that fit the conceptual metaphor. In contrast to deductive reasoning, the inductive method refrains from making any presuppositions regarding cross-domain mapping. Instead, it scrutinizes language in its contextual setting to discern the presence of conceptual metaphors.

Conceptual metaphors are a fundamental aspect of language, and their identification is crucial for understanding how language shapes our thoughts and actions. The Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (CMA) approach provides a rigorous framework for identifying, interpreting, and explaining metaphors in language. CMA methodology, consistent with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, involves three main steps.

The first step in CMA is Metaphor Identification, which involves identifying "candidate metaphors" and understanding their ideational meaning. This step requires a thorough analysis of the linguistic expressions used in each text to uncover the underlying conceptual metaphors. Once the candidate metaphors are identified, the second step, Metaphor Explanation, is related to the textual meaning, which involves understanding the relationship between the language used and the situation in which the metaphor occurs. This step requires an analysis of the context in which the metaphor is used and an understanding of how the metaphorical language is related to the real-world situation it describes.

Finally, Metaphor Interpretation involves understanding the interpersonal meaning of the metaphors. This step requires an analysis of the social relations constructed from the conceptual metaphors, which sheds light on how language influences our interactions with others. By employing this three-step approach, CMA provides a powerful tool for analyzing the role of metaphors in shaping our thoughts and actions.

In recent years, cartoons have become a topic of interest among scholars due to their innovative combination of text and images that convey powerful messages. According to McCloud (1994), considered a pioneer in comic studies, comics are a form of sequential art that express ideas and emotions through pictures and text that follow a specific sequence, creating a unique experience for the reader. This iconic abstraction of reality allows comic artists to use unexpected elements to represent complex ideas and feelings, delivering intense messages to the community. This makes comics an ideal subject of study for CMT and CMA.

This research aimed to identify and examine the money-related metaphors in Zhu Deyong's renowned artwork series *We Are All Patients*, and *We Are All Patients 2: Love with an Idiot*. Thirty-nine money-related comic strips were selected and analyzed by using Charteris-Black's (2004) CMA theory. The results showed that these strips encompassed seven source domains: barrier, drug, principle, tool, almighty, ambition, and exchange.

### 3. Analysis and Results

Thirty-nine comic strips that delve into the theme of money were chosen from *We Are All Patients*, and *We Are All Patients 2: Love with an Idiot* and subjected to Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). This inductive approach eliminates any pre-existing assumptions of cross-domain mapping. The study employed Charteris-Black's (2004) three-step method to discern the metaphors, including metaphor identification, explanation, and interpretation. *Metaphor identification* entails the depiction of "candidate metaphors" - words or phrases utilized in a specific context that have the potential to transform into conceptual metaphors. Zhu Deyong's artwork is a complex and unique creation that features repeated linguistic resources from panel to panel. These recurring expressions were identified as candidate metaphors for the analysis. After the analysis, the comic strips were classified into seven source domains: BARRIER, DRUG, PRINCIPLE, TOOL, ALMIGHTY, AMBITION, and EXCHANGE. *Metaphor Explanation* expounds on the relationship between the candidate metaphors and the context in which they are used. *Metaphor Interpretation* considers the correlation between all the source domains and the Chinese love relationship highlighted in Zhu's artwork.

#### 3.1 Metaphor Identification and Explanation

The metaphor identification and explanation process are crucial to depicting comic-strip metaphors. This involves the extraction of relevant keywords and their contextual relation to elucidate the underlying metaphoric concepts. A comprehensive explanation of the source domain is provided to clarify the findings and exemplify the metaphor identification process by showing the results of seven randomly selected comic strips.

##### 3.1.1 Money is a Barrier

The comic strips explored the theme of barriers that come between people. A barrier is conceived as an invisible wall that keeps couples apart. It portrayed women as materialistic beings who rely on expensive gifts from men to get happiness and high self-esteem. However, women's happiness comes at the cost of men's misery, as seen in the expressions of despair and hopelessness depicted in the cartoons. Overall, The comic strip provided a poignant commentary on the challenges of sustaining healthy relationships in a society where material possessions and financial status often precede emotional connection. (see **table 1**)


##### 3.1.2 Money is a Drug

Drugs can help you remove illnesses or pain, improve your daily performance, or change your mood. People who get addicted cannot control and stop using them. Spending money has the same principle as taking drugs. Without spending money, women get sick and anxious. And they will even ask consultants for help. However, all these kinds of sicknesses are formed in their mind. (see **table 2**)

##### 3.1.3 Money is a Principle

Money has genuinely become a crucial aspect of our daily lives. It's no longer just a medium of exchange but a way of life that influences our decisions and actions. Financial resources offer access to a world of opportunities and exclusive experiences, making it easier to operate more efficiently. (see **table 3**)


**Table 1.** MONEY IS A BARRIER Analysis

	Translation	Analysis	
Example		<p><b>Woman:</b> <b>If I don't have</b> this classic bag, <b>I will die.</b></p> <p><b>Woman:</b> <b>If I don't have</b> this pair of classic shoes, <b>I will die.</b></p> <p><b>Woman:</b> <b>If I don't have</b> this classic jewelry, <b>I will die.</b></p> <p><b>Man:</b> If I get married to this greedy lady, <b>I will die.</b></p>	<p>The text mentioned highlights the use of the phrase "If I don't...I will die (如果我没有.....我会死)" as a tool of emotional manipulation by the female protagonist to compel her male counterpart to satisfy her materialistic desires. The absence of genuine care and concern for each other in their relationship is discernible, with the dynamic being reduced to a mere transactional one. Conversely, the male character's apprehension is articulated through the phrase, "If I get married to this greedy lady, I will die (如果有了这个经典的女人, 我</p>

会死)”, which underscores the primacy of material wealth over love in their prospective marriage, creating a formidable barrier to the success of their union.





Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu, 2011:178.

Table 2. MONEY IS A DRUG Analysis

	Translation		Analysis
Example		<p><b>Woman:</b> <b>If I don't shop every day, I will</b> get a red rash all over my body and lose consciousness.</p> <p><b>Woman:</b> <b>If I don't shop every day, I will</b> be trembling and bleeding from seven holes.</p> <p><b>Woman:</b> <b>If I don't shop every day,</b> half the stores <b>will</b> go out of business.</p> <p><b>Psychological Counselor:</b> You don't just have compulsive buying disorder; you also have paranoia.</p>	<p>The picture depicts three women conversing about the potential health problems they might experience if they do not go shopping. The women express their concerns by repeatedly stating, "If I don't shop every day...I will... (我一天不购物就会.....)"</p> <p>The psychiatrist in the comic uses the terms "compulsive buying disorder (狂买症)" and "paranoia (妄想症)" to diagnose the uncontrolled use of money due to psychological reasons. These phenomena demonstrate addictive behaviors and the justification of such behaviors by the so-called consequences.</p>

Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu , 2011: 166

Table 3. MONEY IS A PRINCIPLE Analysis

	Translation	Analysis
Exam ple		<b>Man:</b> Sorry, <b>rich people first.</b>
		<b>Man:</b> Sorry, <b>rich people first.</b>
		<b>Man:</b> Sorry, <b>rich people first.</b>
		<b>Woman:</b> This is an unfair society! I want to protest with death!
	<b>Man:</b> Sorry, <b>rich people first.</b>	The comic strip serves as a poignant commentary on a pervasive issue that has global implications - the phenomenon of "rich people first (有钱人优先)". This phrase, which is used in three of the comic panels, illustrates the unspoken notion that individuals with financial resources are given preferential treatment and access to the best opportunities. The phrase "rich people first (有钱人优先)", reveals the importance of money in acquiring social status and privileges to the point that it has become a social principle.

Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu, 2011:208





### 3.1.4 Money is a Tool

The comic presents an interesting perspective on the role of money in stable romantic relationships, suggesting that men, traditionally seen as wealthier than women, use money to please women. In summary, money is a versatile tool that can help men to get the woman they like. (see **table 4**)

### 3.1.5 Money is Almighty

Almighty means having the power to do everything. In the following comic strip, it's clear that everything is powerless in front of money. Society regards money as God. True love, good personalities, and personal achievements are ignored. People become so materialistic that they merely care about money. With the power of money, people will live a happy and satisfying life. (see **table 5**)

Table 4. MONEY IS A TOOL Analysis


	Translation	Analysis
Example		<b>Some use</b> music to <b>please women.</b>
		<b>Some use</b> magic to <b>please women.</b>
		<b>Some use</b> love songs to <b>please women.</b>
		<b>Some use</b> love songs to <b>please women.</b>
		The comic strip under analysis employs a pattern, namely "Some use... to please women (有人用.....讨女人欢心)", to distinguish the "normal man (普通人)" and the "rich man (有钱人)." The first three men in the panel are portrayed as having the skills to please women, but they lack the financial resources required. Conversely, the last man on the panel is depicted as lacking the necessary skills, but he has the financial means to hire someone to please women on his behalf. This depiction suggests

**Some use** the money to **please women.** that money is seen as a tool that provides men with a shortcut to wooing women, saving them time and effort.

**Conclusion:**  
There is still a difference between average and wealthy people.

Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu,2011: 80

Table 5. MONEY IS ALMIGHTY Analysis

	Translation	Analysis
<p>Example</p> 	<p>My life should never be <b>caged</b> again!</p> <p><b>I want to</b> travel, <b>I want to</b> fall in love, <b>I want to</b> live a good life.</p> <p>Travel requires <b>money</b>, love requires <b>money</b>, and life requires <b>money</b>.</p> <p>Hmmmm... (Back to the <b>cage</b>.)</p>	<p>Within the comic strip, one may notice recurring phrases such as "I want to... (我要.....)," "money (钱)," and "cage(鸟笼)." The term "cage" is a metaphor for a life filled with seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The phrase "I want to... (我要.....)" conveys the protagonist's intense yearning to break free from his hardships, while "Money" symbolizes the means to attain that freedom. Unfortunately, as the man in the panel lacks the financial resources to do so, he finds himself in a perpetual state of struggle.</p>

Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu,2014: 228





### 3.1.6 Money is Ambition

The metaphor is significantly marked by the expressions "I have (我有)" and "I want (我想)". The former expression explains the current possession of cash or expensive goods; the latter focuses on the desire to have money or its representation in material things. (see **table 6**)

### 3.1.7 Money is an Exchange





Exchange means offering something to someone and giving you something else with the same value or type. In **Table 7**, men and women are represented as individuals who always weigh what they can gain from each other. In an exchange agreement, both parties negotiate what they can offer to get together. Men offer money, and women provide beauty.

Table 6. MONEY IS AMBITION Analysis

	Translation	Analysis	
Example		<b>Woman:</b> <b>I have</b> a diamond ring and <b>now I want to</b> match a bracelet for it.	The comic strip employs the phrase "I have A, now I want B (我有A, 现在我想要B)" to convey discontent with one's current possessions. The initial three panels showcase the characters flaunting their belongings employing "I have... (我有.....)". Nevertheless, "now I want... (现在我想要.....)" means that showing off goods is not enough, and more is needed. On the other hand, in the fourth panel, the male character twists the motivation to acquire wealth through violence instead of merely boasting.
		<b>Woman:</b> <b>I have</b> a necklace, and <b>now I want to</b> match earrings for it.	
		<b>Woman:</b> <b>I have</b> a bracelet, and <b>now I want to</b> match a diamond watch for it.	
		<b>Man:</b> <b>I have</b> a gun. <b>Now, I want</b> diamond rings, bracelets, necklaces, earrings, bracelets, diamonds, and watches.	

Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu, 2011:204

Table 7. MONEY IS AN EXCHANGE Analysis

	Translation	Analysis	
Example		A month's <b>salary</b> is <b>gone</b> .	The following comic strip employs the terms "salary (薪水)" and "gone (没了)" to illustrate the process of exchange. The first three panels depict a man who uses his salary to purchase goods of differing value. However, in the final panel, his salary is utilized to acquire his most prized possession - marriage.
		Three months' <b>salary</b> is <b>gone</b> .	
		Ten months' <b>salary</b> is <b>gone</b> .	
		A lifetime's <b>salary</b> is <b>gone</b> .	

Note: The comic strip above was taken from Zhu, 2011: 130

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Metaphor Interpretation

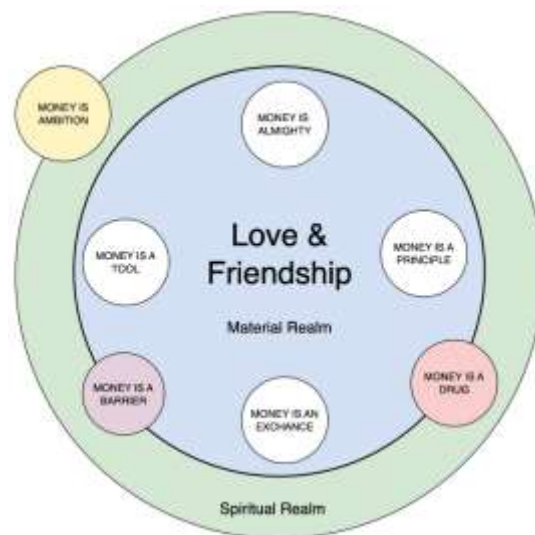
Examining Zhu Deyong's artwork with the application of Charteris-Black's (2004), CMA theory has provided valuable insights into the representation of money. The identification and explanation of metaphors were facilitated by observing the recurrence of

expressions across panels, which were then discerned as candidate metaphors. This rigorous process has aided in the recognition of conceptual metaphors and their categorization based on their corresponding source domains.

**Figure 1** represents how the money metaphors influence the Chinese love and friendship relationships elucidated in Zhu's artwork. Love and friendship relationships are composed of two realms: the material (blue shade) and the spiritual (green shade). The material realm is composed of money, which is categorized as ALMIGHTY, PRINCIPLE, EXCHANGE, and TOOL; all four are related to how money is used to build social relations. MONEY IS ALMIGHTY stems from its ability to solve various problems individuals face. The possession of wealth provides individuals with access to high-quality living conditions and can make them more approachable to others.

In contemporary Chinese society, money plays a prominent guiding principle (MONEY IS A PRINCIPLE). The accumulation of wealth is regarded as a measure of success and power, conferring VIP status and exclusive opportunities upon those who possess it. Unfortunately, those needing more adequate financial resources are often left to struggle to attain similar opportunities. Throughout life, individuals regularly engage in transactions where they exchange something of value for something of equal value. Monetary exchange (MONEY IS AN EXCHANGE) is common in these transactions, often used to acquire costly goods, establish friendships, and enter marriages (MONEY IS A TOOL).

The material realm presents a notable challenge concerning the spiritual (MONEY IS A BARRIER). The role of money in this context is particularly noteworthy, serving as a barrier to achieving a sense of connectedness with the spiritual realm. Relationships hinge solely on financial status in this atmosphere, with other laudable qualities being seemingly overlooked.



**Figure 1. Money Metaphors in Love & Friendship Relations**

MONEY IS A DRUG due to its powerful and potentially addictive qualities that can influence an individual's behavior and emotions. This is why it finds itself between the material and spiritual realms. People can become excessively attached to money to relieve psychological symptoms, but instead of reducing those symptoms, it creates new ones. This leaves people with limited options other than seeking professional help.

MONEY IS AMBITION is a prevalent belief in Chinese society that expresses that money represents a person's aspirations and desire for success. This symbolic link between money and ambition can be observed in various contexts, such as business, education, and personal development. Individuals often strive to increase their wealth to symbolize success and ambition in business. Moreover, financial success is often viewed as a means for personal development and attaining one's aspirations. The association between money and ambition is so strong that it is found on the border of the spiritual realm, signifying the importance of money in pursuing one's goals.

## 5. Conclusion

Zhu's artwork incorporates money metaphors that reflect the life principles of Chinese people through identification, interpretation, and explanation. Recent studies have found that the COVID-19 epidemic has caused widespread PTSD among the Chinese population. (Shah, T., Shah, Z., Yasmeen, N., & Ma, Z. R., 2021). During this dark period, many people found solace in comic books



and shared their experiences online. By emphasizing money metaphors in his work, Zhu creates a strong connection between the artist and reader, influencing how people think about abstract ideas and relationships. These metaphors also strengthen readers' interests and leave a lasting impression. (Sopory & Dillard, 2002) As money is a necessary part of everyday life, readers can easily relate to the metaphors without any concerns of misunderstanding or lacking background knowledge.

This study employed Charteris-Black's (2004) Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (CMA) to discern the money metaphors featured in Zhu Deyong's comic books. Seven money metaphors, namely almighty, principle, tool, exchange, drug, barrier, and ambition, were identified in the artwork. These metaphors served to capture the effects of money on the material and spiritual aspects of love, friendship, and relationships. To identify the source domains of the comics, the researchers executed the three-step procedure of Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (CMA). However, the dearth of previous studies involving CMA and comics posed a significant limitation. This circumstance constrained the researchers from following a pre-established model and compelled them to rely on their own understanding of the method. The study encountered a second limitation that was primarily associated with the data collection process. While there is an abundance of Zhu Deyong comic strips available, the ones that specifically fall under the category of money-related themes were limited in number. This deficiency of data pertaining to money could have potentially impacted the study's findings, as there was a limited pool of money-related comic strips available for analysis.

According to the findings of this study, future researchers interested in this area may consider conducting the following research. Firstly, analyzing the significance of the color palette utilized in Zhu Deyong's comic books and the implicit metaphors behind the various colors that represent different emotions. Our study indicates that money metaphors fall under seven source domains. Therefore, it would be valuable to explore how Zhu portrays emotions relating to love and friendship relationships in each category using different colors and symbols. Secondly, studying readers' reception is crucial, particularly in analyzing their responses and feedback on various metaphors depicted in comic books. By categorizing readers according to gender and conducting interviews, researchers can obtain valuable data to deeply understand diverse attitudes and perspectives toward China's cultural and social dynamics. Additionally, our findings can serve as a basis for future comparative studies. English speakers may have different viewpoints than Chinese readers when expressing their emotions and feelings for different metaphors.

**Funding:** This research received no external funding.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

**ORCID iD (if any)**

Yajun Jiang <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6164-119X>

Lina Paola Ángel Jiménez <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-2242-096X>

## References

- [1] Ali, T. (2014). Money as Metaphor. *On the Horizon*, 22(4), 297-307. <https://doi.org/10.1108/oth-08-2014-0030>
- [2] Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- [3] Chiang, W., & Duann, R. (2007). Conceptual metaphors for SARS: "war" between whom? *Discourse & Society*, 18(5), 579-602. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926507079631>
- [4] Forceville, C.J., & Urios-Aparisi, E. (2009). *Multimodal Metaphor (Applications of Cognitive Linguistics) (1st ed.)*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- [5] Forceville, C. (2016). Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Blending Theory, and Other Cognitivist Perspectives on Comics. In Cohn, N. (Ed.) *The Visual Narrative Reader*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc eBooks.
- [6] Furnham, A., Wilson, E., & Telford, K. (2012). The meaning of money: The validation of a short money-types measure. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 52(6), 707-711. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2011.12.020>
- [7] Gino, F., & Pierce, L. (2009). The abundance effect: Unethical behavior in the presence of wealth. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 109(2), 142-155. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2009.03.003>
- [8] Jahameh, H., & Zibin, A. (2023). The use of monomodal and multimodal metaphors in advertising Jordanian and American food products on Facebook: A comparative study. *Heliyon*, 9(5), e15178. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e15178>
- [9] Kraus, M. W., Côté, S., & Keltner, D. (2010). Social class, contextualism, and empathic accuracy. *Psychological science*, 21(11), 1716-1723. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41062438>
- [10] López-González, H., Guerrero-Solé, F., Estévez, A., & Griffiths, M. D. (2017). Betting is Loving and Bettors are Predators: A Conceptual Metaphor Approach to Online Sports Betting Advertising. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 34(3), 709-726. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10899-017-9727-x>
- [11] McCloud, S. (1994). *Understanding Comics*. Harper Collins.
- [12] Sopory, P., & Dillard, J. P. (2002). The persuasive effects of metaphor: A meta-analysis. *Human communication research*, 28(3), 382-419. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2002.tb00813.x>
- [13] Steen, G. (2016). Identifying Metaphors in Language. In Semino, E., & Demjén, Z. (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Metaphor and Language*. Routledge.
- [14] Shah, T., Shah, Z., Yasmeen, N., & Ma, Z. R. (2021). Psychological impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Chinese population: An online survey. *World journal of clinical cases*, 9(31), 9500-9508. <https://doi.org/10.12998/wjcc.v9.i31.9500>
- [15] Urios-Aparisi, E., & Forceville, C. (2009). Anger in Asterix: The metaphorical representation of anger in comics and animated films. In Urios-Aparisi, E., & Forceville, C. (Eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor. De Gruyter eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110215366.4.243>

- [16] Vohs, K. D., Mead, N. L., & Goode, M. R. (2006). The psychological consequences of money. *Science*, 314(5802), 1154-1156. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2771291>
- [17] Zhou, X., Vohs, K. D., & Baumeister, R. F. (2009). The symbolic power of money: Reminders of money alter social distress and physical pain. *Psychological Science*, 20(6), 700-706. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02353.x>
- [18] Zhu D. (2011). *We Are All Patients*. People's Literature Publishing House.
- [19] Zhu D. (2014). *We Are All Patients 2: Love with an Idiot*. Beijing United Publishing Co., Ltd