

DEMOCRACY in Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses

Metaphors, source domains, scenarios, and ideologies

[臺灣總統就職演說中使用的「民主」：隱喻、來源域、情境與意識型態]

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This study explored metaphorical expressions related to DEMOCRACY in 15 Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses. The source domain concepts mapped to understand DEMOCRACY were examined and the relationship between these metaphorical expressions and ideologies was teased out by employing the discourse-historical approach. Our analysis demonstrates that various source domain concepts were utilized to discuss DEMOCRACY, and most newly-emerged types occurred after the success of the first direct presidential election in 1996. A more detailed analysis of the source domain elements showed that different scenarios were highlighted, reflecting specific ideologies embedded along with the social, historical and political situation.

Keywords: democracy, metaphor, source domain, scenario, ideology, political discourse

關鍵詞： 民主，隱喻，來源域，情境，意識型態，政治篇章

1. Introduction

1.1 Metaphors and ideologies in political discourse

Manifestation of metaphors in political discourse has been brought to the fore in cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics, unveiling how the functions of metaphors carry specific ideological and political attitudes (Musolff 2006; 2016; 2017, Lu & Ahrens 2008, Lakoff 2016, Charteris-Black 2019). Observing the political situation in the USA, Lakoff (2016) found that Liberals and Conservatives employ two very different family-based moral conceptual models to present their ideas in leading the country: Liberals take a Nurturant Parent Morality model, while Conservatives adopt a Strict Father Morality model. Examining how Republicans and Democrats speak in public, Lakoff (2014) argued that metaphors and frames play important roles in their public speeches for conveying partisan ideas and drawing votes. The “hidden” functions of metaphors in political discourse should be unmasked, as Lakoff explained:

[m]etaphors have entailments; they map source domain reasoning to target domains. If one is not careful, the metaphorical entailments may be hidden and go unnoticed, but they will have effects if the model is actually used as the basis for policy. (Lakoff 2008: 212)

In a different political context, analyzing metaphorical expressions of British and German public debates on the EU, Musolff (2006: 32) suggested that political attitudes are ingrained in specific scenarios of a metaphor; for example, love – marriage – family scenarios were found in both the British and German samples. However, the British samples depicted *marriage problems* between the *Franco-German couple*, resulting in a *ménage à trois* (i.e., household of three: France, Germany, and Britain), while the German sample indicated that *these marriage problems* could be avoided. In his analysis of political metaphors, Musolff (2016: 30) argued that “[s]cenarios’ are a less schematic subtype of frame insofar as they include specific narrative and evaluative perspectives, which make them attractive for drawing strong inferences in political discourses as well as in policy planning”.

In the political context of Taiwan, Lu & Ahrens (2008) claimed that metaphors and frames are ideologically motivated and constrained in political discourse after exploring the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING in presidential addresses given by four presidents of Taiwan between 1954 and 2006. Two metaphors were observed: retrospective BUILDING and reconstruction BUILDING. They argued that ideologies are embedded in the use of metaphors and are conveyed to the public via metaphor manipulation. In another study,

Cibulskienė (2012) examined NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY of the Conservative Party in Lithuania before and after it joined the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The results showed that this conceptual metaphor demonstrated time-specific changes in its scenario development, carrying different entailments and ideologies in the political discourse of Conservatives. Cibulskienė (2012: 152) demonstrated that metaphors in discourse can undergo constant change and suggested that types of discourses and/or a historical perspective can be further studied.

While most extant literature focuses on the analysis of the conceptual levels in the metaphors, diachronic variations in metaphorical framing have also received much attention together with quantitative analyses (e.g., Burgers 2016, Burgers & Ahrens 2020, Zeng, Burgers & Ahrens 2021). As pointed out by Musolff (2014: 58), “the cognitive approach on its own thus seems unable to provide a comprehensive model of diachronic meaning change”, and he suggested that to account for the dissemination and entrenchment of metaphors, the discourse-historical approach (DHA) may be the most promising model as it integrates linguistic, social, and historical aspects of language (cf. Wodak 2001, Reisigl & Wodak 2009, Reisigl 2017). In particular, the historical-political development of a political entity is often closely related to ideologies. Such an approach, which “attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded” (Wodak 2001: 65), can more solidly elucidate the relationship between metaphors and ideologies. Baker et al. (2008) also argued that the DHA facilitated a more detailed analysis by taking into account a larger amount of textual information. Adopting DHA to examine the use of the first-person plural in political addresses in Taiwan, Wei & Duann (2019) showed how a shifting socio-political context can have an impact on linguistic realization.

The current research attempts to investigate metaphor uses and contingent ideologies associated with the abstract concept *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’ in the 15 Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses made between 1948 and 2020. Democracy plays a pivotal role in leading Taiwan, and various metaphorical expressions that manifest diversified source domains can be expected to be applied to convey this abstract concept. Particularly, democratic development is an especially influential political advancement in Taiwan because of its historical and political background; different scenarios that carry specific evaluative viewpoints can also be expected for expressing political attitudes and ideologies in various political periods. To this end, the present study, analyzing metaphor uses concerning *mínzhǔ* found in the 15 Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses made between 1948 and 2020, addresses the following three research questions:

- a. What are the source domain concepts?
- b. What scenarios are highlighted in the source domain concepts?
- c. What ideologies are associated with the source domains and the highlighted scenarios?

1.2 Discourse-historical approach (DHA)

The discourse-historical approach (DHA) is categorized as the most linguistically orientated among the various approaches of critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer 2009:26), which aims to fit linguistic theories into the analysis of political discourse. To investigate and analyze the complexity of social issues in a constantly changing world and to unmask how discourses change in relation to social-political change, the discourse-historical approach (DHA) has been developed (Wodak 2001, Reisigl 2017), integrating linguistic, social and historical aspects of language into the analysis. From the linguistic aspect, the DHA scrutinizes linguistic data based on discursive strategies employed and their linguistic realizations; from the social and historical aspect, the DHA incorporates the social and historical background in which the discursive events are embedded and explores the diachronic change in these events (Wodak 1999:188). For instance, employing the DHA, Wodak & Boukala (2015) examine the concept of “European identity” in two political speeches on migration and economic issues and their relationship to the European Union (EU). Integrating the linguistic analysis and the socio-political and historical background in which the discursive events were embedded, the authors suggested that “European identity” has different meanings in the two political speeches: a supernational cultural identity on the basis of common values, culture and history versus a national identity and security in terms of responsible governance and economic criteria. In the political context of Taiwan, adopting both the corpus-assisted method and the DHA, Wei & Duann (2019) analyzed the meanings of the first-person plural pronoun *wǒmen* ‘we’ in the political discourse in Taiwan’s authoritarian era (from the 1940s to 1996). Taking linguistic, socio-political and historical aspects into account, they concluded that the pronoun *we* was used differently in constructing national collectivity, legitimization and alliances during different periods in the development of the country.

1.3 Historical and social-political background related to democratization in Taiwan¹

One remarkable political development in Taiwan is democratization (Wachman 1994, Wong 2001, Jacobs 2012, Hood 2020). The detailed timeline and important political events in relation to democratization in Taiwan are presented in Table 1. Established in 1911, the Republic of China (ROC) is a political entity on the Pacific Rim founded in Mainland China. In 1945, Taiwan was handed over to the ROC government after the defeat of Japan. In 1949, Mainland China was taken over by the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China, and the ROC government retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan. To suppress communist and other independent activities in Taiwan, the ROC government announced the imposition of martial law. In 1987, martial law ended and Taiwan entered a new era of liberalization and democratization. In 1992, Taiwan held its first democratic election of the Legislative Yuan, followed by the first direct presidential election in 1996. In 2000, Taiwan experienced its first party alternation: the candidate nominated by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was elected to the office of president, replacing the long-term rule of the Kuomintang (KMT). The second and third party alternations took place in 2008 and 2016.

Table 1. Important political events related to democratization in Taiwan from 1948 to 2020

Term	Year	President	Political event
1	1948	Chiang Kai-shek (CKS)	1949: the imposition of Taiwan martial law
2	1954		
3	1960		
4	1966		
5	1972		
6	1978	Chiang Ching-kuo (CCK)	
7	1984		1987: the lifting of Taiwan martial law
8	1990	Lee Teng-hui (LTH)	
9	1996		1996: 1st direct presidential election
10	2000	Chen Shui-bian (CSB)	2000: 1st party alternation
11	2004		

1. This overview of the historical and social-political background in Taiwan was referenced from Roy (2003).

Table 1. (continued)

Term	Year	President	Political event
12	2008	Ma Ying-jeou (MYJ)	2008: 2nd party alternation
13	2012		
14	2016	Tsai Ying-wen (TYW)	2016: 3rd party alternation
15	2020		

2. Data and methodology

2.1 Data

The data used in this paper consists of 15 Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses retrieved from Speeches by leaders of Taiwan 1978–2021 (ST) and online resources.² To explore the diachronic uses of metaphors related to DEMOCRACY, we retrieved the presidential inaugural addresses from 1948 to 2020, given by six presidents – Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, Ma Ying-jeou, and Tsai Ying-wen.³ In total, there were 36,720 tokens of characters.

2.2 Identification of the metaphorical expressions and metaphorical keywords

A bottom-up analysis approach was applied to manually identify metaphorical expressions in the addresses. The target domain vocabulary strategy was used to extract potential metaphorical expressions from non-annotated data. First, *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’, the lexical item referring directly to the target domain of

2. Speeches by leaders of Taiwan 1978–2021 (ST) contains Taiwanese presidential addresses between 1990 and 2021, maintained by the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. In this present study, presidential inaugural addresses between 1990 and 2021 were retrieved March 10, 2021, from <http://rcpce.engl.polyu.edu.hk/politicalspeeches/twpa.html>. Presidential inaugural addresses between 1948 and 1990 were collected by the authors from the website maintained by *Zhōngwén wénjiào jījīnhuì* (Chung Cheng Education Foundation, CCEF), retrieved March 10, 2021, from <http://www.cfd.org.tw/> and by *Guóshǐguǎn* (Academia Historica, AH), retrieved March 10, 2021, from <https://presidentialcck.drnh.gov.tw/index.php?act=Archive/index>.

3. The addresses were delivered in Taiwan Mandarin. Most of the excerpts after 1996 are provided with an official English translation retrieved from <https://english.president.gov.tw/>. The excerpts before 1996 and some of the excerpts after 1996 are translated into English by the authors, because official English translations could not be obtained.

DEMOCRACY, was searched for in the non-annotated data. Second, concordance lines containing *mínzhǔ* were extracted.

Metaphor Identification Procedures (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) were employed to determine whether the words in the concordance lines containing *mínzhǔ* were used in literal or metaphorical sense. The words used metaphorically were coded as metaphorical keywords for later source domain identification. MIP was used to find potential metaphorical keywords at the linguistic level (Pragglejaz Group 2007, Dorst & Kaal 2012). To check for the possibility of a cross-domain mapping at the conceptual level, the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) (Steen et al. 2010) was followed. According to MIP and MIPVU, to determine whether a word is potentially metaphorical and involves a cross-domain mapping, the word is checked to see if it has a more basic and concrete sense in the dictionary than its current contextual meaning. If it is found to have a more basic sense compared to the sense it denotes in the current context, the word is coded as a metaphorical keyword and a cross-domain mapping is ascertained. For example, Example (1) was identified as a metaphorical expression and *jiànli* ‘to build/to establish’ was identified as a metaphorical keyword in this case because the word *jiànli* ‘to build/to establish’ has a more basic and concrete usage in the dictionary, as in *jiànli jīdì* ‘to build/to establish a base/foundation’, as compared to the abstract meaning it takes in (1) (i.e., ‘to build democracy’).

- (1) Jīnhòu wǒmen quánguó bùjīn zài kānlùn zhòng yào jiànli mínzhǔ...⁴
 future we country not.only in chaos in will **build** democracy...
 ‘In the future, our country will not only **build** democracy in the chaos...’
 (cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek’s address in 1948)

2.3 Source domain and scenario identification

For each metaphorical expression containing *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’, a potential source domain was proposed based on the metaphorical keywords determined as mentioned in 2.2. Three steps were involved in the identification and verification of source domains and scenarios:

Step 1: For each metaphorical expression containing *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’, a potential source domain was proposed by the researcher based on the metaphorical keywords. Then, criteria for categorizing a metaphorical keyword into a proposed source domain were determined based on the

4. The full transcriptions and glosses of all instances can also be found at <https://osf.io/qg7rm/>.

information obtained from SUMO (Niles & Pease 2001), the largest public ontology. Four conditions were involved in the verification of source domains. These conditions were based on Ahrens & Jiang (2020) with some modification in order to fit the language under examination – Taiwan Mandarin. The source domain was identified and proposed based on the metaphorical keyword in the context, either within one clause/sentence or one paragraph. The criteria for categorizing a metaphorical keyword into a particular proposed source domain were based on whether the keyword satisfied one of the following four conditions.

- i. Check Wiki ontologies (developed by Chinese Language and Knowledge Processing Group, Academia Sinica, Taiwan) to see if the metaphorical keywords are listed in the nodes associated with the proposed source domains.
- ii. Check Chinese WordNet (Huang & Hsieh 2010) or WordNet to see if the senses of the metaphorical keywords contain words related to the proposed source domains.
- iii. Check the definitions of the metaphorical keywords listed in the online dictionary for Taiwan Mandarin created and maintained by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan to see if they contain words related to the proposed source domains.
- iv. Check Word Sketch in Sketch Engine (Kilgarrieff et al. 2004; 2014) to see if the frequent collocates of the metaphorical keywords contain words related to the proposed source domains.

Step 2: The scenarios in source domains were further analyzed based on what has been defined in previous literature (e.g., Musolff 2016). Essentially, scenarios are less schematic conceptual structures (than domains) in which the speaker and hearer metaphorically conceptualize their experiences in a more fully contextualized fashion (Musolff 2006, Kövecses 2015). Specifically, the scenarios were analyzed mainly based on contextual information adjacent to the metaphorical expressions and the social, historical, and political contextual backgrounds in which the metaphorical expressions are located. To analyze the scenarios, the following procedures were involved:

- i. Tease out the frame elements that may be involved in the specific source domain verified in Step 1.
- ii. Identify the frame element(s) that the metaphorical expression focuses on based on the metaphorical keywords identified in 2.2.

- iii. Analyze the scenarios based on the frame elements identified in b and the linguistic, social, historical, and political contextual information.

For instance, in (1), the source domain BUILDING was verified in Step 1. In Step 2, first, the frame elements of BUILDING were teased out, such as PARTS OF BUILDING, PHYSICAL SUPPORT OF BUILDING, BUILDING AS PROCESS. Second, based on the metaphorical keyword in (1), *jiànli* ‘to build/to establish’, the frame element BUILDING AS PROCESS was identified. In (1), the linguistic contextual information *yào* ‘will’ denotes volition and future, indicating that the action *jiànli* ‘to build’ will be carried out; that is, the building (democracy) has not yet been constructed. And, the social, historical, and political contextual information revealed that it was 1948, when Taiwan had just been handed over to the ROC government from Japanese colonial rule (1945); that is, democracy had not been built in Taiwan at that time. Third, based on the frame element BUILDING AS PROCESS, the linguistic contextual information and the social, historical, and political contextual information, the scenario for (1) was derived: construction/creation of a building.

Step 3: Inter-rating reliability is checked. The inter-coder was a native speaker of Taiwan Mandarin. She received pre-coding training and carried out the identification using the same identification procedures used by the researchers. Problematic cases were discussed with the researchers to reach complete agreement. The final agreement percentage was 100%.

2.4 Interpreting the variation of metaphor use and the ideologies

In addition to source domains and scenarios, discursive strategies and historical, socio-political background information were analyzed and implemented to interpret the use of metaphors and the ideologies embedded in them. At the linguistic level, we analyzed the *topics* of each discourse and of each excerpt that contained DEMOCRACY metaphors, the *discursive strategies* and context-dependent *linguistic realizations* that were manifested in each excerpt. At the social and historical level, we took into account the sociological and historical context in which the linguistic data were situated. Such details elucidate the selection of particular source domains or particular scenarios for understanding the diachronic change of DEMOCRACY along with the democratization in Taiwan.

The general *topics* of each discourse focus on the political executive and administration (Reisigl 2008: 252), and the *topics* of each of the excerpts covered in this study are all related to democracy. Following Reisigl (2017: 52, Table 3.1),

four main types of discursive strategies were analyzed to investigate how ideologies were delivered: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization. The nomination strategies examine how persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions related to democracy are named and referred to linguistically. The predication strategies explore what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions. The argumentation strategies investigate what arguments are employed in discourse about democracy. The perspectivization strategies focus on from what perspectives that these nomination attributions and arguments are expressed.

3. Findings

In this section, source domains are first discussed, followed by the highlighted scenarios in each source domain across different presidents and the contingent ideologies embedded in the metaphors.

In total, *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’ was mentioned 211 times, and in 77 (36.4%) of those was mentioned metaphorically. The usage pattern is displayed in Figure 1 below. The overall usage demonstrated that the concept of democracy has featured in each speech. Metaphorical usage accounted for a proportion throughout the presidents, except for the fifth-term president Chiang Kai-shek’s address and fifteenth-term president Tsai Ying-wen’s address.

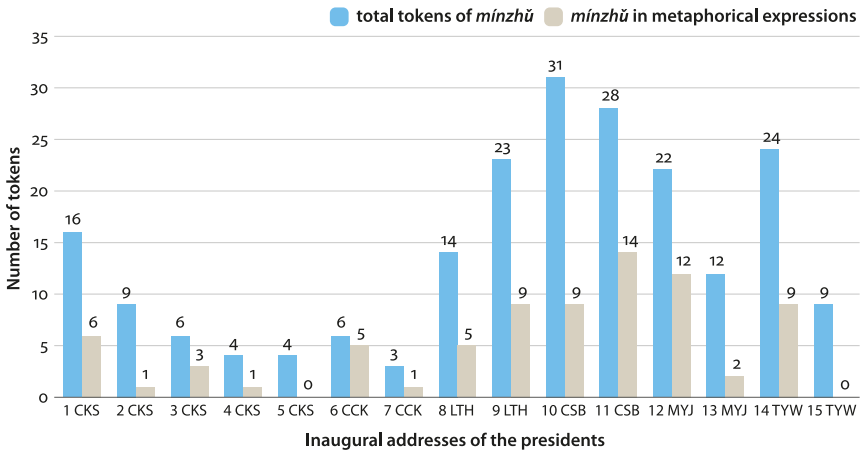


Figure 1. Usage patterns of *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’

Note. CKS = Chiang Kai-shek, CCK = Chiang Ching-kuo, LTH = Lee Teng-hui, CSB = Chen Shui-bian, MYJ = Ma Ying-jeou, TYW = Tsai Ying-wen

3.1 Source domains

In total, *mínzhǔ* was used metaphorically in 77 out of 211 instances, and seven source domains were used: BUILDING ($N=21$ cases; 27.27%), JOURNEY ($N=20$ cases; 25.97%), WAR ($N=18$ cases; 23.38%), ORGANISM ($N=13$ cases; 16.88%), METAL ($N=3$ cases; 3.9%), WAVE ($N=1$ case; 1.3%), and EXPERIMENT ($N=1$ case; 1.3%).

As presented in Table 2, an uneven yet meaningful distribution of source domains was observed. First, the top three source domains BUILDING, JOURNEY, and WAR were observed in most presidents' addresses, indicating that they were the most dominant and fundamental domains in conveying DEMOCRACY: democracy is a type of political system that should be constructed and stabilized (BUILDING), its development is a process (JOURNEY), and stabilized democracy can be used to defend the nation (WAR). Second, the variety of source domains increased in the ninth president Lee Teng-hui's, the tenth president Chen Shui-bian's, and the twelfth president Ma Ying-jeou's addresses. That is, in addition to BUILDING, JOURNEY, and WAR, source domains such as ORGANISM, METAL, WAVE, and EXPERIMENT started to emerge. That the choices of source domains were expanded indicates that President Lee, President Chen, and President Ma viewed and shaped DEMOCRACY from different perspectives, revealing that different communicative ideologies were conveyed.

Table 2. Distribution of source domains

Term	President	BUILDING	JOURNEY	WAR	ORGANISM	METAL	WAVE	EXPERIMENT	Total
1	CKS	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	6
2	CKS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
3	CKS	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
4	CKS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
5	CKS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	CCK	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
7	CCK	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
8	LTH	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	5
9	LTH	2	1	5	1	0	0	0	9
10	CSB	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	9
11	CSB	6	4	0	2	2	0	0	14
12	MYJ	1	4	0	6	0	0	1	12
13	MYJ	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2

Table 2. (continued)

Term	President	BUILDING	JOURNEY	WAR	ORGANISM	METAL	WAVE	EXPERIMENT	Total
14	TYW	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	9
15	TYW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		21	20	18	13	3	1	1	77

Note. CKS = Chiang Kai-shek, CCK = Chiang Ching-kuo, LTH = Lee Teng-hui, CSB = Chen Shui-bian, MYJ = Ma Ying-jeou, TYW = Tsai Ying-wen

It was observed that DEMOCRACY was conceptualized through three dominant source domains: BUILDING ($N=21$), JOURNEY ($N=20$), and WAR ($N=18$). Due to the limitations of space, each source domain is illustrated with the most representative instance from our data.

Except for Tsai Ying-wen's addresses, BUILDING was used to shape the concept of democracy in Chiang Kai-shek's, Chiang Ching-kuo's, Lee Teng-hui's, Chen Shui-bian's, and Ma Ying-jeou's addresses. Excerpt (2a) was taken from Chiang Kai-shek in 1948, where DEMOCRACY was conveyed through BUILDING, as in *diànlì* 'to establish' and *jīchǔ* 'base; foundation'. In (2b), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a building that needs a solid foundation (as in *jīchǔ* 'base; foundation') which is built on (as in *jiànzhú* 'to construct') a number of prerequisite conditions. In (2c), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a gate/door (as in *dàmén* 'door') of a building that has been fully opened. In (2d), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a Great Wall (as in *chángchéng* 'the Great Wall') that has been constructed by the people. In (2e), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a lighthouse (as in *dēngtǎ*) that provides guidance.

(2) DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING

- a. Wǒ hé zhèngfǔ tóngrén zài cǐ xíngxiàn kāishǐ de
I and government colleague in here execute.constitution begin DE
shíhòu... wéi zhōngguó de mínzhǔ diànlì yǒngjiǔbùbá de jīchǔ.
time... for China DE democracy **build** lasting DE **foundation**
'At the beginning of this constitution, the government and I...**laid** a per-
manent **foundation** for democracy in China.'
(cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek's address in 1948)
- b. Shǐ mínzhǔ zìyóu de jīchǔ, jiànzhú zài quánmín yìzhì,
let democracy freedom DE **foundation**, **build** on public opinion,
guójiā lìyì zhī shàng...
country interests DE on
'Let the **foundation** of democracy and freedom be **built** on the will of the
whole people, the interests of the country...'
(cf. AH, the 6th president, Chiang Ching-kuo's address in 1978)

- c. Mínhǔ de **dàmén** yǐjīng quánrán kāiqǐ...
 democracy DE **gate** already fully open
 ‘The **gate** of democracy has fully opened...’
 (cf. ST, the 9th president, Lee Teng-hui’s address in 1996)
- d. Jinníán de 228, shàng bǎiwàn de mínzhòng zhàn zài fúěrmóshā
 this.year DE 228, more.than millions DE people stand on Formosa
 zhè yī kuài tǔdì shàng... **zhúchéng** yī zuò zhǎng dá wǔbǎi
 this one CL land on... **build.into** one CL length about five.hundred
 gōnglǐ de mínzhǔ **chángchéng**.
 kilometers DE democracy **Great.Wall**
 ‘On February 28, millions of people stand on the land of Formosa... have
built a 500-kilometer-long **Great Wall** of Democracy and complete a most
 beautiful image of Taiwan.’
 (cf. ST, the 11th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2004)
- e. Wǒmen huòdé le `táiwān shì yàzhōu hé shìjiè mínzhǔ de
 we obtain PFV Taiwan COP Asia and world democracy DE
dēngtǎ de zànyù...
lighthouse DE praise
 ‘We have received the accolade of “Taiwan is a **lighthouse** of democracy
 in Asia and the world”...’
 (cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

DEMOCRACY was manifested with the conceptualization of JOURNEY in all the six presidents’ addresses. In (3a), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as JOURNEY: the country (the traveler) will be guided by the president to step forward along the road of the journey to democracy (the destination), as illustrated by the two metaphorical keywords *dàdào* ‘road’ and *màijìn* ‘to step forward’. In (3b), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a road that China needed to follow. In (3c), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized and shaped through JOURNEY: the road to democracy (destination) will be smooth only if the constitutional system operates normally (as in *tǎntú* ‘smooth road’). In (3d), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a destination (i.e., a peak, as in *gāofēng*) that we (Taiwan) have reached (as in *zhàn shàng* ‘to stand on’) in a journey to democracy. In (3e–f), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a rugged road that we (Taiwan) have traveled, a milestone that we (Taiwan) have reached and a smooth road that we can finally step forward onto in the journey, as in *dàolù* ‘road’ and *tǎntú* ‘smooth road’. In (3g), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized through JOURNEY: moving Taiwan to the next stage in the journey to democracy.

- (3) DEMOCRACY IS A JOURNEY
- a. Wǒ bì yǐshēnzuòzé... dǎoyǐn wǒmen guójiā xiàng zhēnzhèngde
I will set.an.example... guide our country to real
mínzhǔ dàdào màijìn.
democracy roadstep forward.to
'I will set an example...to guide our country to **step forward to** a real **road**
of **democracy**.'
(cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek's address in 1948)
- b. Mínhǔ zìyóu shì zhōngguó zhèngzhì de **dàolù**...
Democracy freedom COP China politics DE road
'**Democracy** and freedom are the **road** of Chinese politics...'
(cf. AH, the 6th president, Chiang Ching-kuo's address in 1978)
- c. Wéiyǒu xiànzhèng tǐzhì de zhèngcháng fāzhǎn, cái shì
only constitution system DE normal development, just COP
luòshí mínzhǔ zhèngzhì de **tǎntú**.
implement **democracy politics DE smooth.road**
'Only the normal development of the constitutional system is the **smooth**
way to implement **democracy**.'
(cf. ST, the 8th president, Lee Teng-hui's address in 1990)
- d. Wǒmen yǐjīng chénggōngde **zhàn shàng mínzhǔ xīngé** de
we already successfully **stand on democracy revolution DE**
gāofēng, qiě jiāng yìlìbùyáo!
peak and will stand.firmly
'We now **stand on the peak** of **democratic** reform and will remain there
resolutely.' (cf. ST, the 9th president, Lee Teng-hui's address in 1996)
- e. Táiwān kuàyuè le shǒucì zhèngdǎng lúntì de lìshǐ
Taiwan step.over PFV first political.party alternation DE historical
ménkǎn, màixiàng mínzhǔ fāzhǎn de **xīn lǐchéng**.
threshold step.forward.to **democracy development DE new milestone**
'Taiwan stepped over the historical threshold of the first political party
rotation and entered a **new milestone** in the development of **democracy**.'
(cf. ST, the 11th president, Chen Shui-bian's address in 2004)
- f. Wǒmende mínzhǔ zǒuguò le yī duàn diānbōde **dàolù**, xiànzài
our **democracy walk.by PFV a part bumpy road now**
zhōngyú yǒu jīhuì màixiàng chéngshúde **tǎntú**.
finally have opportunity step.forward.to mature **smooth.road**
'Our **democracy** has traveled a bumpy **road** and now finally has a chance
to step forward to a **smooth road**.'
(cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou's address in 2008)

- g. Xīn zhèngfǔ de zérèn jiùshì bǎ táiwān de mínzǔ
 new government DE responsibility COP make Taiwan DE **democracy**
 tuī xiàng xiàyīgè jiēduàn.
 push to **next stage**
 ‘The new government’s duty is to move Taiwan’s **democracy** forward to
 the **next stage**.’ (cf. ST, the 14th president, Tsai Ying-wen’s address in 2016)

Except for Ma Ying-jeou’s addresses, WAR was manifested to conceptualize the concept of democracy in Chiang Kai-shek’s, Chiang Ching-kuo’s, Lee Teng-hui’s, Chen Shui-bian’s, and Tsai Ying-wen’s addresses. In (4a), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a camp opposite to the other camp controlled by communist totalitarian systems in a war, the two camps being irreconcilable and defending themselves with ramparts (as in *bìlěi*). In (4b), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a battle array/ally in a war, as illustrated in *jiānshǒu* ‘to defend firmly’ and *zhènróng* ‘battle array/ally’. In (4c), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as something to defend (*hànwèi* ‘defend’) in a war. In (4d), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as victory (*shènglì* ‘victory’) in a war: victory of pursuit of democracy. In (4e), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as something to safeguard (*shǒuhù* ‘to defend and protect’) in a war.⁵

(4) DEMOCRACY IS A WAR

- a. Zài jīnrì gòngchǎn jíquán yǔ mínzǔ zìyóu
 in today communist totalitarianism and **democracy** freedom
 shìbùliǎnglì de bìlěi zhī zhōng...
 irreconcilable DE **ramparts** DE midst...
 ‘In the midst of irreconcilable **ramparts** between communist totalitarian-
 ism and **democracy** and freedom...’
 (cf. CCEF, the 3rd president, Chiang Kai-shek’s address in 1960)
- b. Zhōnghuámínguó jiānshǒu mínzǔ zhènróng, jiānchí
 The.Republic.of.China **defend.firmly** **democracy ally**, adhere
 Fǎngòng lìchǎng...
 anti-communist stance
 ‘The Republic of China **defends firmly** with the **ally** of **democracy** and
 remains the stance of anti-communist...’
 (cf. AH, the 6th president, Chiang Ching-kuo’s address in 1978)

5. We have followed the criteria to check the word sense of “*shǒuhù*” in the online dictionary maintained by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan, which reported that the word sense of “*shǒuhù*” is “*shǒuwèi* ‘to defend’” and “*bǎohù* ‘to protect’”. This meets the criteria for a keyword to be categorized under the proposed source domain of WAR: “The word sense and its explanation contain the word which refers to the act of making war/fighting or defending/protecting, e.g., “to fight”, “to battle”, “to defend”, “to guard”, “to protect”, “to reconcile”, etc.” Thus, its source domain has been verified as WAR.

- c. Hècǎi dàjiā **hànwèi mínzhǔ** de juéxīn...
 applaud everyone **defend democracy** DE determination
 ‘Applaud everyone’s determination to **defend** for **democracy**...’
 (cf. ST, the 9th president, Lee Teng-hui’s address in 1996)
- d. Gōngyuán 2000 nián táiwān zǒngtǒng dàxuǎn de jiéguǒ.. shì
 C.E. 2000 year Taiwan president election DE result COP
mínzhǔ de **shènglì**.
democracy DE **victory**
 ‘The results of the presidential election in 2000 are the **victory** of **democracy**.’
 (cf. ST, the 10th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2000)
- e. Wǒmen dōu yào zuò yīgè **shǒuhù** mínzhǔ, shǒuhù zìyóu,
 we all will be a **safeguard democracy**, safeguard freedom,
 shǒuhù zhège guójiā de táiwānrén.
 safeguard this country DE Taiwanese
 ‘We shall all vow to be a Taiwanese who **safeguards** **democracy**, freedom,
 and this country.’
 (cf. ST, the 14th president, Tsai Ying-wen’s address in 2016)

In addition to the above three dominant source domains, other source domains were used to conceptualize DEMOCRACY in Lee Teng-hui’s, Chen Shui-bian’s, and Ma Ying-jeou’s addresses: ORGANISM ($N=13$), WAVE ($N=3$), METAL ($N=1$), and EXPERIMENT ($N=1$). In (5), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as an organism that has become mature (as in *chéngshú*). In (6), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a wave that has spread around the world (*cháoliú* ‘wave; tide’). In (7), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a metal that has been tempered and shaped into a key. In (8), DEMOCRACY was conceptualized as a political experiment (as in *shíyàn* ‘experiment’) that people have great expectations for.

- (5) DEMOCRACY IS AN ORGANISM
 Táiwān yǒngyǒu juéjiādi dìlǐ wèizhì... rìjiàn **chéngshúde**
 Taiwan have excellent geographic location... gradually **mature**
mínzhǔ...
democracy
 ‘Taiwan is blessed with an excellent geographic location... a **maturing** **democracy**...’
 (cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

(6) DEMOCRACY IS A WAVE

Táiwān bùzhǐ wèi yàzhōu de mínzǔ jīngyàn shùlìle xīn diǎnfàn,
 Taiwan not.only for Asia of democracy experience set new model
 yě wèi quán shìjiè dìsān bō de mínzǔ cháoliú zēngtiān le yīgè
 and for whole world third wave of democracy wave add PFV a
 gǎnrén de lizhèng.
 touching DE example

‘Taiwan has not only set a new model for the Asian experience of democracy, but has also added a moving example to the third wave of **democracy** the world over.’ (cf. ST, the 10th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2000)

(7) DEMOCRACY IS A METAL

Táiwān rénmín tòuguò mínzǔ chuíliàn de guòchéng, wèi wǒmen
 Taiwan people through democracy temper DE process for our
 gòngtóng de mìngyùn dǎzào le yī bǎ quánxīn de yàoshi.
 common DE destiny create PFV a CL whole.new DE key

‘Through the process of **democracy tempering**, the people of Taiwan have created a brand new key to our common destiny.’

(cf. ST, the 11th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2004)

(8) DEMOCRACY IS AN EXPERIMENT

Táiwān shì quánqiú wéiyī zài zhōnghuá wénhuà tǔrǎng zhōng, shùnlì
 Taiwan COP whole.world only in Chinese culture soil midst
 wánchéng èrcì zhèngdǎng lúntì de mínzǔ
 successfully complete second political.party alternation of **democracy**
 fǎnlì, shì quánqiú huárén jìyìhòuwàng de zhèngzhì shíyàn.
 example COP whole.world Chinese lay.high.hopes DE political experiment

‘Taiwan is the sole ethnic Chinese society to complete a second **democratic** turnover of power. Ethnic Chinese communities around the world have laid their hopes on this crucial political experiment.’

(cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

3.2 Scenarios

In order to investigate what and how ideologies were embedded, we compared and contrasted what specific scenarios were highlighted along with the democratization of Taiwan. Careful observation showed that BUILDING, JOURNEY, and WAR were used throughout most presidents’ addresses; however, they were manifested differently through the highlighting of specific scenarios.

BUILDING was profiled through different scenarios in the presidents’ addresses, as shown in Table 3. As illustrated in (9a) and (9b), Chiang Kai-shek focused on the construction of democracy in turmoil and profiled the scenarios

of construction/creation of a building and establishing a concrete and solid foundation. In (9c), Lee Teng-hui highlighted the scenario of a *strengthening process in constructing a building*, indicating that democracy was still in the process of construction and highlighting the importance of “building” a “robust” DEMOCRACY. At that time Taiwan had gone through several political reforms. President Lee highlighted that these political reforms would play a pivotal role in establishing a solid and strong foundation of democracy, which could guarantee lasting stability and a peaceful country. The first direct presidential election in Taiwan in 1996 was a remarkable achievement. In (9d), Chen Shui-bian profiled the scenarios of *the consolidation and maintenance of the building*, indicating that democracy has already been built and it should be consolidated and maintained.

Table 3. Scenarios of BUILDING in presidents’ addresses

Scenarios

construction/creation of a building

- (9) a. Jīnhòu wǒmen quánáguó bùjīn zài kānlùn zhòng yào **jiànli mínzhǔ**,
 future we whole.country not.only in chaos midst will **build democracy**
 gèng yìng cóng kānlùn zhōng qiú jiànshè, qiú jìnbù, zhègè jiù
 and should from chaos midst seek construction, seek improvement this save
 guó de dà yè bùshì yī shǒu yī zú suǒ néng chénggōng, yì
 country DE great mission not one hand one foot then can succeed also
 bùshì yīzhāoyīxī suǒ néng jìshì.
 not one.day then can succeed
 ‘In the future, our country will not only **build democracy** in the fight against
 chaos, but also seek construction and progress from the fight against chaos. This
 great nation salvation cannot be achieved by a man, and it cannot be done
 overnight.’ (cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek’s address in 1948)

establishing the concrete and solid foundation

- b. Wǒ hé zhèngfǔ tóngrén zài cǐ xíngxiàn kāishǐ de shíhòu, bì
 I and government colleague at the execute.constitution begin DE time must
 dāng kèshǒu xiànfǎ suǒ guīdìng de fānwéi, zhíxíng xiànfǎ suǒ
 will follow constitution DET stipulate of scope carry.out constitution DET
 fùyǔ De zhízé, wéi zhōngguó de mínzhǔ **diànli** yǒngjiǔbùbá de
 entrust DE responsibility for China DE **democracy establish permanent DE**
jiǎchǔ.
foundation
 ‘At the beginning of this constitution, my colleagues in the government and I must
 abide by the scope stipulated in the constitution, carry out the responsibilities
 entrusted by the constitution, and **lay** a permanent **foundation** for China’s
democracy.’ (cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek’s address in 1948)

Table 3. (continued)

Scenarios

strengthening process in constructing a building

- c. Zhèngfǔ dīng jiāng jiāsù sīfǎ géxīn, yǐ qiánggù fǎzhì jīchǔ;
 government must will accelerate judicial reform to strengthen law foundation
 jiànquán wénguān zhìdù, yǐ tígāo xíngzhèng xiàolǜ; jìng huà
 improve civil.service system to improve administration efficiency purify
 xuǎnjǔ fēngqì, shì shèhuì jīngyīng néng jīngyóu gōngpíng de xuǎnjǔ, dáchéng
 election culture COP society elite can through fair DE election achieve
 fúwù shèhuì de mùdì. Rúshì xúnxùjiànjìn, rìjiùyuyèjiāng, zé zhèngdǎng
 serve society DE goal. so gradually day.by.day then political.party
 zhèngzhì zìrán jiànquán, míngzhǔ gēnjī zìrán shēnhòu, guójiā
 politics naturally robust **democracy foundation** naturally deep country
 de chángzhìjiǔ'ān zìrán kě qī.
 DE lasting.peace naturally can expect
 'The government will speed up judicial reform to strengthen the foundation of the
 rule of law; improve the civil service system to improve administrative efficiency;
 and purify the electoral culture so that social elites can serve the society through
 fair elections. If we proceed step by step, the participacy will naturally be sound,
 the **foundation** of **democracy** will naturally be deep, and the country will
 naturally stay long-term stability.'

(cf. ST, the 8th president, Lee Teng-hui's address in 1990)

the consolidation and maintenance of the building

- d. Chúle gǒnggù míngzhǔ de chéngguǒ, tuīdòng zhèngfǔ de
 in.addition.to **consolidate** **democracy** DE achievement, promote government DE
 gǎizào, tíshēng jīngjì de jìngzhēnglì zhīwài, xīn zhèngfǔ de
 reform enhance economy DE competitiveness other.than new government DE
 shǒuyóu shǐzhèng mùbiāo yīnggāi shì shùnyīng mínyì, lìxíng gǎigé,
 primary government goal should COP public.opinion, implement reform
 rang zhè yī kuài tǔdì shàng de rénmin shēnghuó dé gèng yǒu zūnyán, gèng
 let this one CL land on DE people live PART more have dignity
 yǒu zìxìn, gèng yǒu pǐnzhí.
 more have confidence more have quality
 'In addition to **consolidating** the achievements of **democracy**, promoting the
 reform of the government, and enhancing the competitiveness of the economy,
 the primary goal of the new government should be to comply with public opinion
 and implement reforms, so that the people on this land can live with more dignity,
 self-confidence, more quality.'

(cf. ST, the 10th president, Chen Shui-bian's address in 2000)

In terms of JOURNEY, various scenarios were also profiled, as displayed in Table 4. In Chiang Kai-shek's addresses presented in (10a) and (10b), two specific sce-

narios were highlighted: *choosing the right path on a journey*; *not be impeded on a journey*. In (10a), the scenario *choosing the right path on a journey* was highlighted: to step forward onto the real route of democracy, which is the final destination that we (the country) have been trying to reach. This scenario conveyed the message that the focal point at that time was to step forward onto the path of democracy. In (10b), the scenario *not be impeded on a journey* was highlighted: we have already taken a big step toward the milestone (i.e., democracy), and no difficulties will impede us from moving on. This implied that the country had been making progress on the journey to democracy, and that even though the journey would not be easy, holding back should never be an option. In Lee Teng-hui's addresses, as shown in (10c) and (10d), two scenarios were profiled: *overcoming obstacles on a journey*; *pursuing the same destination*. Once the country has stepped forward onto the path of democracy, then the focus was on how to smooth that path, as ingrained by the scenario of *overcoming obstacles on a journey* in (10c): to map out a smooth route toward democracy, the normal development of constitutionalism is essential. The scenario *pursuing the same destination* was profiled in (10d): the Communist Party of China (CPC) had been expected to arrive at the same destination (i.e., democracy). After the success of the first direct election in Taiwan, three scenarios were profiled: *a milestone reached on a journey*; *the obstacles overcome on a journey and a smooth paved road that can be followed on a journey*; *moving forward to the next stage on the journey*. In (10e), the success of the first direct election in Taiwan in 1996 symbolized a peak Taiwan had stood on, as ingrained through the scenario of *a milestone reached on a journey*. In 2000, Taiwan successfully performed the first peaceful transition of power (party alternation), a pivotal achievement and an indication of democratic consolidation. In 2008, Taiwan underwent its second peaceful transition of power, an indication of a mature democracy. Thus, President Ma commented on this accomplishment by profiling the scenario of *a milestone reached on a journey*, as shown in (10f). Over the past half century, Taiwan has walked along a rough and difficult road on the journey to democracy, and finally can move forward onto a smooth route on the journey, which was profiled in the scenario *the obstacles overcome on a journey and a smooth paved road that can be followed on a journey*, as in (10g) and (10h). In (10i), the scenario *moving forward to the next stage on the journey* to democracy was highlighted. In 2016, Taiwan successfully performed its third peaceful transition of power, indicating that democracy had been consolidated. However, along with this development, some critical issues emerged, such as a bribery culture and opposite binary political ideologies. Thus, President Tsai emphasized that her new government would shoulder the responsibility to solve the critical issues mentioned and guide the country to the next stage on the journey to democracy.

Table 4. Scenarios of JOURNEY in presidents' addresses

Scenarios

choosing the right path on a journey

- (10) a. Wǒ bì yìshēnzhuòzé, yǐ quánfùxīnlì yǒnghù xiànfǎ, zūnshǒu
I will set.an.example with all.heart uphold constitution abide
xiànfǎ, péiyǎng wǒmín mínzhǔ de xíguàn, dǎoyǐn wǒmín
constitution cultivate our democracy DE habit guide our
guójiā xiàng zhēnzhèng de mínzhǔ **dàdào màijìn**.
country to real DE democracy road step.forward.
'I will set an example, uphold and abide by the Constitution with all my
heart, cultivate our democratic habits, and guide our country to **step
forward** to the true **road** of **democracy**.'

(cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek's address in 1948)

not be impeded on a journey

- b. Dànshì shí dài de lìliàng, yǐ shǐ wǒmín xiàng mínzhǔ xiànzhèng
however time DE power already make us to democracy constitution
qiántú **lǐchéngbēi màijìn** le yī dà bù, jǐnguān héng zài miànqián de
road **milestone step.forward** PFV one big step although block in front DE
hái yǒu xiōngyǒng de bōtāo, ér wǒmín bìxū **màibù qiánjìn**, zé shì rèn hé
still have turbulent DE wave and we must **step forward** this is any
kùnnàn suǒ bùnéng zǔnáo de.
difficulty PART cannot block DE
'However, the power of the time has made us **take a big step towards a milestone**
in the future of **democracy** constitution. Although there are still turbulent waves
in front of us, we must **move forward**, and cannot be blocked by any difficulties.'

(cf. CCEF, the 1st president, Chiang Kai-shek's address in 1948)

overcoming obstacles on a journey

- c. Wéiyǒu xiànzhèng tǐzhì de zhèngcháng fāzhǎn, cái shì luòshí
only constitution system DE normal development just COP implement
míngzhǔ zhèngzhì de tǎntú.
democracy politics DE **smooth.road**
'Only the normal development of the constitutional system is **the smooth way** to
implement **democracy**.' (cf. ST, the 8th president, Lee Teng-hui's address in 1990)

pursuing the same destination

- d. Wǒmēn chéngzhīde xīwàng, zhōnggòng néng rènqīng shíshì,
we sincerely hope CCP can recognize current.situation,
miànduì wèilái, fàngkāi jiǎobù, yǒnggǎnde cháoxiàng zhèngzhì
face future let.go step bravely move.forward political

Table 4. (continued)

Scenarios

mínzhǔhuà, jīngjì zìyóuhuà yǔ shèhuì duōyuánhuà de mùbiāo
democratization economic liberalization and social pluralism DE goal
 mǎijìn.
 step.forward

‘We sincerely hope that the CCP can clearly recognize the current situation, face the future, take its steps, and bravely **move towards** the goals of political **democratization**, economic liberalization and social pluralism.’

(cf. ST, the 8th president, Lee Teng-hui’s address in 1990)

a milestone reached on a journey

- e. Wǒmen yǐjīng chénggōngde **zhàn shàng mínzǔ** xīnggé de gāofēng,
 we already successfully **stand on** democracy revolution DE **peak**
 qiě jiāng yìlibùyáo!
 and will stand.firmly

‘We now **stand on the peak of democratic** reform and will remain there resolutely.’

(cf. ST, the 9th president, Lee Teng-hui’s address in 1996)

- f. Jīntiān, wǒmen zài zhèlǐ bùshì qìngzhù zhèngdǎng huò gèrén de shènglì,
 today we at here not celebrate political.party or individual DE victory
 ér shì yīqǐ jiànzhèng, táiwān de **mínzhǔ** yǐjīng kuàyuè le yī gè
 but COP together witness Taiwan DE **democracy** already cross.over PFV one CL
 lìshǐxíng de **lìchéngbēi**.
 historic DE **milestone**

‘We are not here to celebrate the victory of a political party or an individual, but to witness together that Taiwan’s **democracy** has stepped over a historic **milestone**.’

(cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

the obstacles overcome on a journey and a smooth paved road that can be followed on a

- g. Suízhe xīn jiù shìjì de jiāotì, wǒmen tóngshí zǒuguò
 along.with new old century DE alternation we simultaneously **walk.through**
 yī duàn qíqū jiānnán de **mínzhǔ dào**.
 one CL rugged difficult DE **democracy road**

‘With the turn of the century, we have simultaneously **walked through** a rough and difficult **democratic road**.’

(cf. ST, the 11th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2004)

- h. Wǒmende **mínzhǔ zǒuguò** le yī duàn diānbōde **dào**, xiànzài
 our **democracy walk.through** PFV a part bumpy **road** now
 zhōngyú yǒu jīhuì **màixiàng** chéngshúde **tǎntú**.
 finally have opportunity **step.forward.to** mature **smooth.road**
 ‘Taiwan’s democracy has been **treading down** a rocky **road**, but now it has finally won the chance to **enter a smoother path**.’

(cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

Table 4. (continued)

Scenarios

moving forward to the next stage on the journey

- i. Xīn zhèngfǔ de zérèn jù shì bǎ táiwān de mǐnzhǔ tuī
 new government DE responsibility just COP make Taiwan DE democracy push
 xiàng xià yī gè jiēduàn.
 to next one CL stage
 ‘The new government’s duty is to move Taiwan’s democracy forward to the next
stage.’ (cf. ST, the 14th president, Tsai Ying-wen’s address in 2016)

WAR was also manifested differently in the presidents’ addresses, as shown in Table 5. Three main phases are involved in war: declaration, fight/battle, and outcome/aftermath (Musolf 2016: 20). As observed, the various scenarios of WAR metaphors highlighted reflect these three phases.

In (11a), Chiang Kai-shek highlighted the scenario of *offensive and defensive strategies declared in a war*. At that time, defeating communism was essential, and in comparison with dictatorships and communism, freedom and democracy, which were more acceptable universal values, were conceptualized as an ally. As ingrained in the scenario of *offensive and defensive strategies declared in a war*, President Chiang emphasized that Taiwan guarded the ramparts of democracy and freedom and defended itself from the threat of communist totalitarianism, and democracy was considered a means Taiwan could rely on to defend against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and to restore the land. In (11b), Chiang Ching-kuo profiled the scenario of *offensive and defensive strategies carried out in a war*: Taiwan should fight for democracy and defend itself against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and to restore the land. It is worth noting that compared with the scenario profiled in (11a), which focused on the phase of war declaration, the scenario *offensive and defensive strategies carried out in a war* used in (11b) focuses on the fight/battle phase of war: the lexical item *fēndòu* ‘to fight for’ and *zuòzhàn* ‘to combat’ firstly occurred at this time. However, a turning point came with the first native Taiwanese president, President Lee, who regarded democracy as a way to seek reconciliation and peace in a war. As shown in (11c), the pursuit of peace was emphasized, as ingrained in the scenario *avoiding military and armed attacks and obtaining peaceful reconciliation*. In (11d), it was the time when Taiwan had performed its first direct presidential election, symbolizing victory in pursuing democracy, as ingrained in the scenario of *achieving a strategically desirable outcome (victory) in a war*. Although a desirable victory had been achieved, external threats had not decreased. For instance, interference and threats from China never stopped. Defending democracy, freedom, and the country against exter-

nal threats was profiled via the scenario *defensive strategies should continue*, as in (11e). The scenario *previous offensive strategies carried out in a war* was profiled in (11f) in a retrospective perspective, which may indicate that democracy carried more peaceful and defensive connotations at this time. As shown in (11f), democracy in the past was seen as a duel/fight between two different values/opinions. It is interesting to note that the scenario *obtaining peaceful reconciliation* was profiled in the next sentence as a comparison: democracy in the present is a dialogue between different values and opinions which aims to seek peaceful reconciliation. As we can see, President Tsai profiled the two scenarios to convey the idea that the mission of her new government was to guide democracy in Taiwan to the next stage: from a duel/fight between political parties holding different ideologies to the peaceful dialogue/reconciliation between different opinions. This echoes the ideas conveyed in (10i) discussed above.

Table 5. Scenarios of WAR in presidents' addresses

Scenarios

offensive and defensive strategies declared in a war

(11) a. Zài jīnrì gòngchǎn jíquán yǔ mínzǔ zìyóu
 at today communism totalitarian and **democracy** freedom
 shìbùliǎnglì de **bìlěi** zhī zhōng, wéi yǒu gēnchú gòngchǎnzhǔyì
 irreconcilable DE **rampart** DE midst only have eradicate communism
 de dúsù, huīfù mínzú zìzūn zìqiáng de xìnxīn,
 DE toxin restore democracy self-esteem self-improvement DE confidence
 kāità **fǎngōng fù guó** de dàolù, xiàng zuìhòu **shènglì** de
 open **counterattack restore country** DE road to final **victory** DE
 mùbiāo qiánjìn.
 goal step.forward

'Among **the ramparts** between totalitarian communism and **democracy** and freedom today, the only way is to eradicate the toxins of communism, restore the confidence of national self-esteem and self-improvement, open up the road to **counterattack and restore the country**, and step forward to the final **victory**.'

(cf. CCEF, the 3rd president, Chiang Kai-shek's address in 1960)

offensive and defensive strategies carried out in a war

b. Wǒmen wèi mínzǔ fǎzhì ér **fēndòu**, wèi zìyóu zhèngyì ér zuòzhàn,
 we for **democracy** rule.by.law to **fight** for freedom justice to fight
 mùbiāo chángāo, xìnxīn jiāndìng, rújīn yǐ rén zhì bào,
 goal lofty confidence firm, today with kindness control violence

Table 5. (continued)

Scenarios

dí xiāo wǒ zhǎng de dàshì yǐ míng, zhǐyào wǒmen jìxù
 enemy eliminate I grow DE trend already clear only we continue
 jīngchéng tuánjié, qiè'ěrbùshě de nǚlì, bì néng zài chuàng mínzú xīn
 sincere unite preserve of effort must can again create ethnic new
 yùn, yíngdé fǎngòng fù guó shèngzhàn de zuìhòu shènglì!
 destiny win anti-communism restore country holy.war DE final **victory**
 'We **fight for democracy** and the rule of law, and fight for freedom and justice.
 The goal is lofty and confidence is firm. Now the general trend of using kindness
 to control violence has become clear. As long as we continue to unite sincerely
 and persevere in our efforts, we will be able to create a new national destiny and
 win the final **victory** of the anti-communist and rejuvenating holy war!
 (cf. AH, the 7th president, Chiang Ching-kuo's address in 1984)

avoiding military and armed attacks and obtaining peaceful reconciliation

- c. Dāng cǐ quán rénlèi dōu zài qíqíu hépíng, móuqiú héjiě de
 when this all mankind all in pray **peace** seek **reconciliation** DE
 shíkè, suǒyǒu zhōngguó rén yě yīng gòngmóu yǐ hépíng yǔ
 moment all Chinese also should work.together with **peace** and
 mínzǔ de fāngshì, dáchéng guójiā tōngyī de gòngtóng mùbiāo.
democracy DE way achieve nation reunification DE common goal
 'At this moment, all mankind is praying for **peace** and seeking **reconciliation**.
 Thus, all Chinese should also work together to achieve the common goal of
 national reunification in a **peaceful** and **democratic** way.'
 (cf. ST, the 8th president, Lee Teng-hui's address in 1990)

achieving a strategically desirable outcome (victory) in a war

- d. Qìngzhù wǒmen liǎng qiān yī bǎi sānshí wàn tóngbāo
 celebrate we two thousand one hundred thirty ten.thousand people
 zhuīqiú mínzǔ de gòngtóng shènglì
 pursue **democracy** DE shared **victory**
 'It honors a **triumph** of **democracy** for 21.3 million people.'
 (cf. ST, the 9th president, Lee Teng-hui's address in 1996)

defensive strategies should continue

- e. Wǒmen dōu yào zuò yīgè shǒuhù mínzǔ, shǒuhù zìyóu, shǒuhù
 we all will be a **safeguard** democracy safeguard freedom safeguard
 zhège guójiā de táiwānrén.
 this country DE Taiwanese
 'We shall all vow to be a Taiwanese who **safeguards** democracy, freedom, and
 this country.'
 (cf. ST, the 14th president, Tsai Ing-wen's address in 2016)

Table 5. (continued)

Scenarios

previous offensive strategies carried out in a war

- f. Yǐqián de míngzhǔ shì xuǎnjǔ de **shūyíng**, xiànzài de míngzhǔ
 previous DE **democracy** COP election DE **winning.losing**, new DE democracy
 zé shì guānyú rénmin de xìngfú; yǐqián de míngzhǔ shì liǎng gè
 but COP about people DE welfare previous DE **democracy** COP two CL
 jiàzhíguān de **duìjué**, xiànzài de míngzhǔ zé shì bùtóng jiàzhíguān de
 values DE **showdown** now DE democracy but COP different values DE
 duìhuà.
 dialogue
 ‘Before, **democracy** was about **winning or losing** an election. Now, democracy is
 about the welfare of the people. Before, **democracy** was a **showdown** between
 two opposing values. Now, democracy is a conversation between many diverse
 values.’ (cf. ST, the 14th president, Tsai Ying-wen’s address in 2016)

The other four source domains, ORGANISM, METAL, WAVE, EXPERIMENT, were only manifested in Lee Teng-hui’s, Chen Shui-bian’s, and Ma Ying-jeou’s addresses. However, a careful examination revealed that although no diachronic comparison can be made, scenarios embedded in the above four source domains carried ideological implications.

In terms of ORGANISM, two specific scenarios were highlighted: *being vigorous and young but showing increasing maturity*; *getting hurt*. The scenario *being vigorous and young but showing increasing maturity* was profiled in (12a) and (12b). In (12a), it was the time when Taiwan successfully carried out its first direct presidential election; in (12b), President Ma indicated that the democracy in Taiwan was in its youth but showed increasing maturity: in 1987, martial law had just been lifted in Taiwan when President Ma remarked on it in 2008, democracy in Taiwan was only around 20 years old. Even though democracy in Taiwan was still young, it shows increasing maturity, indicating that in a short period of time (20 years), Taiwan had performed at least three remarkable tasks: the first direct presidential election in 1996; the first party alternation in 2000; the second party alternation in 2008. In (12c) and (12d), the scenario *getting hurt* was profiled to indicate that a culture of bribery would damage the reputation of democracy and that war would cause it harm.⁶

6. The expression in (12c) “*méng shàng wū míng* ‘to stigmatize’” itself contains two meanings in the dictionary: to treat someone unfairly by disapproving of him or her; to treat something unfairly by disapproving of it. Thus, this example yields both the reading that (a) democracy is conceptualized as a person (ORGANISM) whose reputation has been stigmatized and the reading

(12) DEMOCRACY IS AN ORGANISM

being vigorous and young but showing matureness

a. Mínhǔ de **huólì** zhèng pèiránbēnfàng.

democracy DE **vitality** PROG vigorous

‘The vitality of **democracy** is full of **vigor**.’

(cf. ST, the 9th president, Lee Teng-hui’s address in 1996)

b. Zhídé qìngxìng de shì, gēn hěnduō **niánqīng** de mínzhǔ guójiā
worth fortunate DE COP with many **young** DE **democracy** country

xiāng bǐ, wǒmen mínzhǔ **chéngzhǎng** de zhèntòng qī
mutual compare we **democracy growth** DE painful period

bìngbù suàn zhǎng, táiwān rénmín què néng **zhǎnxiàn** rìqū
not count long Taiwan people but can show gradually

chéngshú de mínzhǔ fēngfàn.

mature DE **democracy** demeanor

‘Fortunately, compared to many **young** democratic countries, the painful period of the **growth** of our **democracy** is not long, but the people of Taiwan can show their increasingly **mature** **democracy** demeanor.’

(cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

getting hurt

c. Jícéng xuǎnjǔ mǎi piào huìxuǎn de wénhuà, bùjǐn bōduóle
basic.level election buy votes bribery DE culture not.only deprive

rénmín `xuǎn xián yǔ néng, dāngjiā zuòzhǔ de quánlì, gèng rang
people elect talents and ability manage decide DE right and let

táiwān de mínzhǔ fāzhǎn **méng shàng wū míng**.
Taiwan of **democracy** development **cover with bad name**

‘The culture of vote buying and bribery in elections not only deprives the people of the right to “select the talents and ability, and be the masters of the country,” it also **stigmatizes** Taiwan’s **democracy**.’

(cf. ST, the 10th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2000)

(b) that democracy is conceptualized as an object whose reputation has been stigmatized. Concreteness is an important criteria for the identification of metaphors (Pragglejaz Group 2007, Steen et al. 2010). The reading (a) was taken to analyze this example because it is more concrete/basic than the reading (b). That is, for us, the language users, the fact that a person (ORGANISM) whose reputation has been stigmatized is easier to imagine and experience than an object whose reputation has been stigmatized. Accordingly, the source domain of (12c) was verified as ORGANISM. The reading (b) may be developed from the more basic reading (a). However, how the reading (b) is developed from the reading (a) is not the focus of this paper. Thus, we will leave this issue for future research.

- d. Bùlùn mùdì hézài, liúyóu duōme guānmiǎntánghuáng, zhànzhēng
 No.matter goal what reason how impressive war
 dōu shì duì zìyóu, mínzǔ, rénquán zuìdà de shānghài.
 all COP to freedom **democracy** human.right greatest DE harm
 ‘Regardless of the purpose and the impressive reasons, war is the most
 serious harm to freedom, **democracy**, and human rights.’
 (cf. ST, the 10th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2000)

In terms of the source domain METAL, two instances were identified and profiled in Chen Shui-bian’s addresses: *being tempered to make it harder and more solid*. In (13a), it was the time when Taiwan had carried out its first peaceful transition of power (party alternation), thus, President Chen profiled the scenario *being tempered to make it harder and more solid* to indicate that Taiwan’s democracy had been tempered into a solid and whole-new key, which could unlock a new future. In (13b), the same scenario was profiled to emphasize that the accomplishments in developing democracy in western countries was gained through a thorough tempering process. President Chen strategically linked the tempering process to the obstacles and difficulties that Taiwan had gone through to imply that the democracy in Taiwan would also be tempered into a solid and remarkable accomplishment.

(13) DEMOCRACY IS A METAL

- a. Táiwān rénmin tòuguò mínzǔ chuíliàn de guòchéng, wèi wǒmen
 Taiwan people through **democracy temper** DE process for our
 gòngtóng de mìngyùn dǎzào le yī bǎ quánxīn de yàoshi.
 common DE destiny create PFV a CL whole.new DE key
 ‘Through the process of **democracy tempering**, the people of Taiwan have
 created a brand new key to our common destiny.’
 (cf. ST, the 11th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2004)
- b. Xīfāng de mínzǔ zhèngzhì jīngguò qiānchuíbǎiliàn cái yǒu jīnrì
 western DE democracy politics through **tempering** just have today
 de shuǐzhǔn, shēnwèi niánqīng de mínzǔ guójiā, lìjīng cuòzhé
 DE level as young DE democracy country experience setback
 móliàn de táiwān jīngyàn gèng xiǎndé mízúzhēngù.
 temper DE Taiwan experience further display very.precious
 ‘Western **democracy** has gone through thousands of steeled and tem-
 pered trials to reach today’s level. As a young democratic country, Tai-
 wan’s experience that has gone through setbacks and tempers is even more
 precious.’ (cf. ST, the 11th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2004)

The source domain WAVE was only used in Chen Shui-bian’s address and only one instance was identified. The scenario profiled in the instance was *being swept by the third wave*. As shown in (14), the third wave of democracy (provoked in

the 1974 Carnation Revolution in Portugal and Spanish transition to democracy) which had swept across many countries, including Taiwan.

- (14) Táiwān bùzhǐ wèi yàzhōu de mínzǔ jīngyàn shùlìle xīn diǎnfàn,
Taiwan not.only for Asia of democracy experience set new model
yě wèi quán shìjiè dìsān bō de mínzǔ chāoliú zēngtiān le yīgè
and for whole world third wave DE democracy wave add PFV a
gǎnrén de lizhèng.
touching DE example
‘Taiwan has not only set a new model of the Asian experience of democracy,
but has also added a moving example to the third wave of democracy the
world over.’ (cf. ST, the 10th president, Chen Shui-bian’s address in 2000)

In terms of the source domain EXPERIMENT, the scenario profiled was: *the positive results of the experiments*. In (15), it was the time when Taiwan had successfully carried out its second peaceful transition of power (party alternation), indicating that the political experiment had been successful and positive results had been confirmed.

- (15) Táiwān shì quánqiú wéiyī zài zhōnghuá wénhuà tǔrǎng zhōng,
Taiwan COP whole.world only in Chinese culture soil midst
shùnlì wánchéng èrcì zhèngdǎng lúntì de mínzǔ
successfully complete second political.party alternation DE democracy
fǎnlì, shì quánqiú huárén jìyìhòuwàng de zhèngzhì shíyàn.
example COP whole.world Chinese lay.high.hopes DE political experiment
‘Taiwan is the sole ethnic Chinese society to complete a second democratic
turnover of power. Ethnic Chinese communities around the world have laid
their hopes on this crucial political experiment.’
(cf. ST, the 12th president, Ma Ying-jeou’s address in 2008)

3.3 Embedded ideologies

The analyses demonstrate that specific ideologies were embedded in the metaphors by highlighting specific scenarios of the source domains. Ideology is defined as “the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group” (Van Dijk 1998: 8); in our case, the group refers to the Taiwan government and the Taiwanese people. Ideology influences society in numerous ways. For instance, ideology “structures people’s political understanding...shapes the nature of [a] political system” and “acts as a form of social cement” (Heywood 2017: 23). Specifically, this research has exemplified how ideologies shape the governments’ political ideas toward the establishment of democratic system in Taiwan, as we can find that ideologies carried by metaphors concerning DEMOCRACY differed along

with the development of democratization. The ideologies can be teased out in two layers: a broader layer which is based on the discussion of source domains and a more specific layer which is based on the discussion of scenarios profiled.

Broadly speaking, in terms of source domains, seven source domains were manifested in conceptualizing DEMOCRACY in the 15 addresses, but the difference in their distributions may entail ideologies. BUILDING, JOURNEY, and WAR were used frequently in most Presidents' addresses, indicating that DEMOCRACY has been conceptualized in a similar way (in a broader sense) by the presidents: that is, DEMOCRACY should be built (BUILDING); DEMOCRACY may take time to reach its final destination (JOURNEY); and DEMOCRACY (WAR) needs to be protected and fought for. The other four source domains ORGANISM, METAL, WAVE, EXPERIMENT were only manifested after the first direct presidential election, indicating that Taiwan had reached a milestone in establishing democracy. The nature of DEMOCRACY has been conceptualized by the presidents from different perspectives, conveying different ideologies: DEMOCRACY could easily get hurt (ORGANISM); through the tempering process, DEMOCRACY could become solid and valuable (METAL); DEMOCRACY has swept over the world (WAVE); and DEMOCRACY could be tested (EXPERIMENT).

Specifically speaking, more intricate ideologies embedded in the metaphors can be teased out in terms of the scenarios highlighted in the source domains and analysis of discursive strategies, linguistic realizations and the social, historical, and political background plays another pivotal role in interpreting the ideologies that are embedded in the metaphors. Thus, in the following discussion, important social, historical, and political events related to democratization in Taiwan are incorporated to uncover the ideologies embedded in the use of metaphors.

In 1949, after they retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan, the ruling KMT party was under two serious challenges: China's threats and a nationalist Taiwanese overseas anti-government movement uprising after the February 28 massacre in 1947 (Chao & Myers 1994: 215). The KMT was anxious to build people's support and its own legitimacy. Democracy, a worldwide modern value, was advocated by many overseas Taiwanese nationalists. Thus, in order to build legitimacy, the KMT adopted democracy and presented an ideology that democracy was a way to construct (BUILDING), a new order for Taiwan to survive turmoil, and that it was the right path (JOURNEY) needed to be followed for future development. This was implied through the nomination strategies, which focus on abstract objects such as democracy in China (*zhōngguó de mínzhǔ*), constitution (*xiànfǎ*) and on important historical events, processes and actions, such as in chaos (*kānlùn zhōng*). And that ideology was also embedded through predication strategies, which emphasize that building democracy equates to national salvation (*jiùguó de dàyè*). However, at that time, proposing democracy was not

a way to allow people to rule the country: no new political parties were allowed to organize and no candidates from different parties could be nominated for election (Chao & Myers 1994: 216). This was implied through nomination strategies: social actors related to democracy at this period of time in three dominant source domains were mainly the leader of the country or the government (for example, *wǒmen quánguó* ‘we, the whole country’, *wǒ* ‘I’, *wǒmen* ‘we’), indicating that at this time, the decision-maker was mainly the government, which is not consistent with the idea of democracy (it is citizens who make decisions for the country). In addition, due to the tense atmosphere between Taiwan and China (the first and second Taiwan Strait Crises in 1954 and 1958), democracy was regarded by the KMT as both an offensive and defensive strategy (WAR) to avoid interference by China. This was implied through the manifestation of nomination strategies, focusing on the abstract object *gòngchǎn jíquán* ‘totalitarian communism’ and *mínzhǔ zìyóu* ‘democracy and freedom’, and on important actions such as to restore the country (*fǎn gòng fù guó*). Additionally, the relationship between Taiwan and China was implied through perspective and argumentation strategies, expressing the nomination attributions from the anticommunists’ perspective by claiming the rightness of eradicating the toxin of communism.

From 1987 to 1996, two momentous events relating to the development of democracy occurred: the lifting of Taiwan martial law in 1987, and the Wild Lily⁷ student demonstration for democracy in 1990. The presidents conveyed an ideology that democracy should be well established with a robust system (BUILDING), centered on constitutional reform to realize the people’s right to organize political parties and to vote. This was implied through nomination strategies, focusing on important events and actions related to democracy, such as accelerating judicial reform (*jiāsù sīfǎ gǎigé*), improving the civil service system (*jiànquán wénguān zhìdù*), purifying election culture (*jìng huà xuǎnjǔ fēngqì*); and through predication strategies, providing characteristics of important events and actions related to democracy, such as robust party politics (*zhèngdǎng zhèngzhì jiànquán*), a deep and solid foundation for democracy (*mínzhǔ gēnjī shēnhòu*), and stability of the country (*guójiā de chángzhìjiǔ’ān*). At this time, obstacles that might have impeded the development of democracy needed to be overcome to ensure the long-term stability of the country (JOURNEY). The obstacles were illus-

7. The following summary is referenced from Liu (2011) and Dreyfuss (2015). The Wild Lily Student Movement (*yě bǎihé xué yùn*) is the first large-scale student movement in Taiwan which led to momentous democratic reform. This peaceful sit-in protest movement started on March 16, 1990 and ended on March 22, 1990, after President Lee Teng-Hui agreed to meet the protestors’ four main demands, including dissolving the National Assembly, abolishing the Temporary Provisions Against Communist Rebellion, holding a National Affairs conference, and establishing a political reform timetable.

trated through the use of nomination and predication strategies, focusing on the idea of the rule of law and the interference and threat from Mainland China, as shown in the normal development of the constitutional system (*xiànzhèng tízhì de zhèngcháng fāzhǎn*) and the holy war of restoring the country (*fān gòng fù guó de shèngzhàn*). Along with the lifting of martial law, the tense and strained atmosphere between Taiwan and China was lightened. Thus, the presidents pursued an ideology that democracy was the way to obtain peace from the previous tense atmosphere (WAR), as implied through the nomination strategies, focusing on important actions related to democracy, such as seeking reconciliation (*nóuqiú héjiě*).

From 1996, several pivotal events relating to the development of democracy occurred: the third Taiwan Strait Crisis (1995–1996), the success of the first direct presidential election (1996), and the success of three party alternations in 2000, 2008, and 2016. Because of the success of the first direct presidential election and three party alternations, the presidents relayed the ideology that democracy was finally established but needed to be stabilized and reformed (BUILDING). This was implied through nomination strategies, focusing on events and actions related to democracy, such as consolidating the achievement of democracy (*gǒnggù mínzhǔ chéngguǒ*) and promoting government reform (*tuīdòng zhèngfǔ gǎizào*). They further claimed that Taiwan reached a milestone of democratization (JOURNEY), as implied through nomination strategies, focusing on objects related to democracy, such as milestone (*lǐchéngbēi*) and next stage (*xià yīgè jiēduàn*); and through predication strategies, providing features to social actors related to democracy, such as successful (*chénggōng de*). They also emphasized that a desirable outcome could be achieved through a strategy of using democracy to defend the country (WAR). This was implied through nomination strategies, focusing on events related to democracy, such as victory (*shènglì*). It is also worth noting that the nomination strategies manifested in each excerpt listed from this period carry different ideas related to democracy. Different from the previous excerpts, where the social actors were mainly the government and non-elected officials, the social actors in this period were a new government (*xīn zhèngfǔ*), people on this land (*zhè yīkuài tǔdì shàng de rénmín*), we (*wǒmen*), political parties (*zhèngdǎng*), individuals (*gèrén*), we 21.3 million compatriots (*wǒmen liǎng qiān yībǎi sānshí wàn tóngbāo*), country (*guójiā*), Taiwanese (*Táiwānrén*). These differences demonstrate that democracy in Taiwan in this period were truly consistent with the idea that citizens are the ones who make the decisions for the country, implying that democracy had been well-established and had achieved a remarkable milestone. Furthermore, new perspectives were developed through the manifestation of other source domains: democracy in Taiwan was in its youth but showed increasing maturity (ORGANISM); democracy in Taiwan had been tempered into

a whole-new key, which could unlock a new future (METAL); the third wave of democracy had influenced and brought hope to many countries, including Taiwan (WAVE); the system of democracy had been successfully tested and positive results had been confirmed (EXPERIMENT).

4. Concluding remarks

Applying the DHA approach to analyze metaphorical expressions of DEMOCRACY in the 15 Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses, this study investigated (a) what source domains were used, (b) what different scenarios in a source domain were highlighted, and (c) what and how ideologies were shaped.

Firstly, seven source domains were identified. The distributive patterns of the presidents' choices differed along with the development of democratization, indicating that the historical and social-political background were reflected and embedded in metaphor use. Secondly, different scenarios highlighted in source domains were detected. Along with the development of democratization, the scenarios in BUILDING changed from construction to strengthening to consolidation; in JOURNEY, they changed from choosing the right path to overcoming obstacles to reach a milestone; in WAR, they changed from using offensive and defensive strategies to obtaining peace to achieve victory. Finally, ideologies that the different presidents aimed to impose were embedded as have been unearthed by various specific scenarios. These correspond with the pace of democratization. Through the DHA approach, a more comprehensive picture of the diachronic variations of the DEMOCRACY metaphor has been provided: the scenario development in the DEMOCRACY metaphor was highly influenced by the social, historical and political situation in Taiwan. This is in accord with findings in previous studies although in different political contexts (e.g., Cibulskienė 2012).

Three empirical implications for metaphors can be drawn from this study. First, this study demonstrates how metaphorical expressions can be systematically and objectively identified and analyzed. The metaphorical identification procedures (MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007), MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010)) and the source domain verification procedures (Ahrens & Jiang 2020) have been adopted systematically, and the results demonstrated that the two procedures are highly applicable. For instance, with the use of corpus tools (e.g., WordNet, online dictionary, Sketch Engine), the instances provided in this study can be checked to verify their metaphoricality and source domains. Second, this study demonstrates how the discourse-historical approach (DHA) can be implemented to analyze and interpret metaphor in context. Metaphor interpretation is so much context-dependent (Kövecses 2015), and our endeavor to explore specific contextualization factors

enhances its analytical rigor. Third, with supportive linguistic evidence based on authentic usage, our data illustrates that metaphor in political discourse is a cognitive mechanism that not only serves the function of improving and enriching people's understanding of abstract concepts but also carries and delivers rich embedded evaluative ideological implications.

In this current research, to explore ideologies associated with the metaphorical expressions along with the development of democratization, cases of the source domains used in the development of democracy were analyzed and compared in detail. In a future study, investigation will focus on whether or not the ideologies embedded in the metaphors facilitate the candidates or the government to “wash people's brains”, persuade and influence people to change their behavior to obtain or maintain power (Fairclough 1989; 2001, Goatly 2007, Charteris-Black 2019).

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List of abbreviations

CL	classifier	PART	particle
COP	copula	PFV	perfective marker
DE	possessive or adjective marker	PROG	progressive marker

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