CHINESE METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE:
HOW THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
CRITICIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
XIAOJING CHENG

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BALL STATE UNIVERSITY
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Committee Chairperson

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MUNCIE, INDIANA
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Lastly, my heartfelt gratitude goes to my beloved family for their love and great confidence in me through all these years. I could not have done this without them.
DEDICATION

To

my parents

in recognition of their

unconditional love
This dissertation discusses various underlying conceptual metaphors used to describe the issue of Taiwan’s independence in the PRC media in light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The conceptual metaphors underlying linguistic expressions that are used to depict the independence issue in Chinese for a total number of nineteen concepts are examined. It is also argued that the conceptual bases for some chengyu, fixed expressions in Chinese, can be explained within Conceptual Metaphor Theory, but others cannot since some of the conceptual mappings constructed are context specific. The secondary metaphors found in some chengyu are based on the original association of one domain with another in the allusion or historical story. In short, this study provides empirical evidence for Conceptual Metaphor Theory in that the use of metaphor is extremely prevalent in at least one genre of Chinese political writing. It also examines Chinese chengyu from a cognitive point of view.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

This chapter introduces the rationale for conducting this research, the historical background of the target political issue, and the organization of the dissertation.

1. 1. Rationale

Previous studies of Chinese metaphor within Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) mainly focus on semantic and pragmatic features of metaphor outside of a discourse context. For example, Yu (1998) provides a general explanation of samples of Chinese metaphors in the framework of CMT of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999, 2003) and Lakoff (1993), but his discussion is based on data separate from specific contexts. However, Cameron and Low (1999, p. 25) argue that since “the processing of metaphorical language takes place in the context of the discourse”, it is necessary to take account of the context where a metaphor appears as the basis for a well-constructed theory and analytical approach. They point out that since current metaphor theory is “not explicitly related to specific discourse context”, it may appear to work in context-free language in explaining comprehension or production, but the context is always present; it is impossible to talk about metaphor without context. In recent years, both in English and Chinese, there has been increasing discussion of the use of metaphor in specific discourse types such as in news reporting and presidential campaign rhetoric. Wei (2001, 2002, 2003, 2005) discusses metaphors in political discourse in Taiwan, and Li (1993) studies the use of metaphor in Chairman Mao Zedong’s essays, but Wei’s studies are limited to Taiwanese political
discourse, and Li’s focuses on the rhetorical rather than linguistic features of metaphor. The present study of the linguistic nature of Chinese political metaphors from the People’s Republic of China in extended discourse contexts and in the specific genre of newspaper writing should help to expand the range of the available research.

Specifically, this dissertation will contribute to the study of metaphor in political discourse in Chinese by analyzing metaphors collected from 760 newspaper and magazine articles published in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) between 1997 to July 2007 which discuss a current political issue—the debate between the governments of the PRC and Taiwan on whether Taiwan should be independent or not. The purpose of this dissertation is to show how conceptual metaphors are used in political discourse in Chinese on the issue of Taiwan independence.

It draws on the theoretical CMT framework developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999, 2003), Lakoff (1993), and Kövecses (2001) among others, as well as Charteris-Black’s Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (2004, 2005). Specifically, it attempts to answer the following research questions:

(1) What conceptual metaphors are used in the PRC discussion of this particular issue in print media and what is their relative frequency?
(2) How best may the conceptual metaphors be categorized?
(3) What are the consequences of the analysis for Conceptual Metaphor Theory?

The consequences of my analysis for Conceptual Metaphor Theory are also discussed.

In the current political situation, the PRC government is embracing a unification policy, arguing that Taiwan and the Mainland China share the same cultural and ethnic roots and the unification of the two parts is justified by the earlier history of China; therefore, Taiwan is part of China as one of its provinces, and it should not be granted independence. In Taiwan, the issue
of independence has involved a growing consciousness of national identity. Former president Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) took various steps to promote Taiwan’s independence, arguing that cultural identity is not equal to political identity, and that the decision regarding Taiwan’s status should be made by the people. Because of his pro-independence point of view and policies, there were many heated debates between the governments of the PRC and Taiwan when he was in office. However, in the most recent presidential campaign, the Kuomintang Party (KMT), which favors unification with the Mainland, defeated the DPP, and its candidate, Ma Ying-jeou, became president in 2008. This has led to reduced rhetoric on the issue of Taiwan’s independence in the Mainland media, although it still occurs.

As a basis for the research, a corpus was generated with 760 newspaper and magazine articles published in the Mainland media on this topic. In this corpus, a wide range of metaphors are drawn from a variety of areas such as animals, colors, the human body, and Chinese martial arts. I selected those that were pertinent to describing the issue of the independence of Taiwan and occurred more than 20 times. It was considered reasonable to assume that these metaphors could be considered fairly common and familiar to readers of this genre. A total of nineteen conceptual metaphors were chosen for detailed discussion. These metaphors represent both conventional metaphors and novel metaphors created by individual writers or politicians. Many have specific Chinese cultural roots and can be traced back to historical stories and literary texts, which serve as the basis for understanding them. Some metaphors have a more general basis, which is explainable by CMT. Some are language specific which may be found in fixed and conventionalized expressions. In this case, they are not conceptual metaphors in CMT, but can possibly be explained as language specific in a given context. The
metaphors are discussed in light of the claim of CMT that metaphor is a critical basis for the way the human conceptual system works. It is found that the use of metaphors in both general and language specific ways is pervasive in Chinese political writing on the Taiwan independence issue.

It is hoped that this study of metaphor will help us understand the role that metaphor can play in our political lives, and particularly in the PRC. Finally, this dissertation should provide a basis for initiating further in-depth investigation of the highly metaphorical style of writing in Chinese.

1.2. Historical Background of the Independence of Taiwan

Before March 2008, when president Chen Shui-bian was still in office, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) which he represented was the ruling party in Taiwan. Because the DPP advocates an independent Taiwan, he promulgated laws, implemented policies, and carried out various political actions to achieve this goal. For example, public voting was proposed to determine the future of Taiwan and whether Taiwan should join the United Nations; the designation 中华 zhonghua ‘China or Chinese’ was replaced by 台湾 taiwan ‘Taiwan or Taiwanese’ in the names of major companies and public services. For example, the former name 中华邮政 zhonghua youzheng ‘Chinese Post’ was changed to 台湾邮政 taiwan youzheng ‘Taiwan Post’. These actions seemed intended to show that Taiwan had a separate status from the Mainland in all aspects: economy, social traditions and customs, history, and language. His policies made the PRC government very unhappy, and, thus, were under attack in the PRC media.

With the Kuomintang Party (KMT) becoming the ruling party after winning the 2008 presidential campaign, Ma Ying-jeou, the new president, started to carry out policies to promote
more economic and cultural interaction with the Mainland. For instance, in order to facilitate economic growth in Taiwan, the Ma administration lifted a ban prohibiting Mainland enterprises from issuing stock in Taiwan. The “Three Links” of trade, transportation, and mail have been in place in the Mainland and Taiwan since December 2008. In addition, the word 中华 zhonghua ‘Chinese’ has been re-instated, resulting, for example, in changing back the name 台湾邮政 taiwan youzheng ‘Taiwan Post’ to 中华 zhonghua youzheng ‘Chinese Post’. So far, the Ma Administration seems to have taken a more friendly stance toward the Mainland government by welcoming more cultural and economical interaction; thus, the PRC government seems to be pleased for now.

The focus of the debate on whether Taiwan should be independent or not lies in how the two parts are related to each other. According to the PRC government, Taiwan has been a part of China since ancient times, and there are ancestral ties between the Mainland and Taiwan. Therefore, there is a historical basis for unifying Taiwan with the Mainland. However, according to the DPP and other pro-independence activists with a logical pragmatist philosophy, Taiwan has been run under a separate government for many years and there are island minorities who practice different cultural and social traditions; therefore, Taiwan should have independent status.

The PRC government argues that there is historical precedent for considering Taiwan to belong to China, since the 1943 Cairo Declaration and the 1945 Potsdam Proclamation declared Taiwan to be a part of China; therefore, the status of Taiwan has already been determined, contrary to the DPP. The Cairo Declaration states that “all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China” (Baidu Encyclopedia Online). Formosa is an old name used by Europeans for what is
now called Taiwan. The DPP and supporters of the independence policy claim that after WWII, Japan had to give up its sovereignty in Taiwan, but that there is no clear treaty stating that Japan returned Taiwan to China. Thus, the international status of Taiwan has not been determined and the affiliation of this island should be redefined (Zhang, 2003, p. 42).

On the other side, the PRC government argues that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China because the Treaty of Shimonoseki, in which China ceded to Japan “the island of Formosa, together with all islands appertaining or belonging to the said island of Formosa” in 1895, was an unjust treaty forced upon China after it was defeated in war; therefore, it was illegal and did not have any effect; Taiwan should obviously have been returned to China after WWII.

Besides the undetermined status of Taiwan, supporters of Taiwan’s independence policy claimed that the Taiwanese people are different from the Chinese people on the Mainland. In the 1940s to the 1960s, they argued that there is a Taiwanese nationality (台湾民族 Taiwan minzu) which is different from the Han nationality or the Chinese (中华民族 zhonghua minzu). They claimed that Taiwanese people do not have Chinese blood, but rather that over the hundreds years of history, a new nationality, the Taiwanese nationality, has been formed with a mixture of Indonesians, Malaysians, Spaniards, Japanese, and the Chinese aborigines (the PRC calls it 高山族 gaoshanzu ‘people live on mountains’ and Taiwan calls it 原住民 yuanzhumin ‘original inhabitants’). The Chinese aborigines are Austronesian peoples with similar linguistic and genetic ties with other Austronesian ethnic groups such as the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar and Oceania. Thus, the pro-independence groups claimed that the Taiwanese nationality has its own religion, spoken languages, and written language, which are different from those of the Mainland.
In the 70s, the Taiwanese government offered a different rationale. This time, they admitted that the Taiwanese people and the Chinese shared the same cultural and ethnic roots, and that both were of the Han nationality (汉族 hanzu); however, they claimed that a new Taiwanese nationality had developed after three-hundred years of Japanese colonization and anti-colonial struggles (p. 41).

In contrast, the PRC government argues that it is absurd to claim that the Taiwanese people are a new nationality, because they share the ethnicity and cultural traditions of the Chinese people on the Mainland. The Chinese people started to immigrate to the island of Taiwan during the Three Kingdom dynasty, dating back to 188 A.D. In terms of ethnicity, 98% of the population in Taiwan is immigrants or immigrant descendents from the Mainland. In terms of culture and ideology, after the mainlander moved to Taiwan, they brought along with them advanced agriculture, handicrafts, and the Han culture. 郑成功 Zheng Chenggong, an acknowledged national hero in history books on the Mainland, fought troops from the Netherlands that occupied Taiwan in 1642, and recovered Taiwan in 1662; his descendents set up the same administrative and economic systems as the Mainland, and started to worship Confucius under the rule of the Qing dynasty (1636-1912 A.D.)(p. 42). Therefore, the PRC government concludes that it is wrong to say that there are two nations on the opposite sides of the Taiwan Straits; rather, the Taiwanese people are as members of one big Chinese family.

The pro-independence activists in Taiwan propose self-determination for all Taiwanese citizens; that is, the future of Taiwan should be determined by Taiwanese citizens, not others, by vote. When Chen Shui-bian was in office, he decided to use the issue of public voting as a tactic to establish an independent Taiwan. This was strongly objected to by the PRC government. In their view, the rights of self-determination refer to those of all peoples defined by international
laws, which also includes the people on the Mainland, not just Taiwan’s own definition of all citizens of Taiwan. Also, they claim that these rights actually pertain to nationalities that are oppressed and/or treated unfairly in a colonized or non-autonomous region, and do not include minorities who are already protected by the constitution of a sovereign nation. Since Taiwan is considered by the PRC to be a province of China, and its people are therefore members of the Chinese family whose rights are already protected by the constitution, the PRC government says that public voting and self-determination are simply attempts to secede Taiwan from the Mainland (p. 44-45).

With respect to the argument that Taiwan is a de facto sovereign, independent nation, as it has been under a separate government for many years, the PRC government counters that international society admits only one China, that Taiwan is a part of China, and that the PRC government is the only legal government of China. In this sense, the PRC claims that the Taiwanese government is just like a provincial administrative unit directly governed under the PRC government (Zhang, 2003; Li, 2003; Wu, 2004).

According to published materials in the PRC, the controversy over Taiwan’s status has continued since the end of WWII. The KMT has always favored a unification policy, stressing that there is only one China and one legal government of China. The Republic of China was established in Nanjing in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen, a respected former president of China and the KMT. After Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek took control of the KMT and then became the overall leader of the Republic of China in 1928. In 1949, after failing to defeat the Communist troops led by Mao Zedong, he moved the government of the Republic of China to Taipei, Taiwan, where he formally resumed his duties as president in 1950. During his term, he continued to claim sovereignty over all of China, including the Mainland, Taiwan, Mongolia, and
Tibet, and planned to retake the mainland as one of his political goals. Chiang’s government sought to promote Chinese nationalism by forbidding speeches and activities that were related to communism or Taiwan independence (Wikipedia). As Chiang Kai-shek’s successor, his son continued his unification policy.

However, after Chiang Kai-Shek and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, died, and Lee Teng-hui, also a member of the KMT became president. Lee Teng-hui started to carry out policies geared toward bringing about Taiwan’s independence in the late ‘80s and ‘90s. Beginning in 2000, because of the replacement of the DPP as the ruling party, the question of the status of Taiwan has become prominent in relations between the Mainland and Taiwan, and various proposals have been made to show that Taiwan should be a sovereign nation, rather than a part of China. Lee Teng-hui considered the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC to be a special relationship between one nation and another. He stressed that China’s Communist Party is not China; thus, the Republic of China (Taiwan) is a sovereign nation. Thus, the DPP insists that there is a nation on each side of the Straits and that the PRC and Taiwan are in a parallel relationship (p. 45; Wu, 2004, p. 33-34).

The issue still has not been resolved, but, as the KMT has become the ruling party again after winning the 2008 presidential campaign, harsh publications on this issue in the Mainland media seem to have been reduced; the DPP and many of the independence supporters are still active in supporting the independence of Taiwan. Some see the DPP’s pro-independence policy as a political strategy for gaining more votes in elections and therefore more political power. But, with its previous success in political campaigns, the KMT has also altered its original pro-unification policy to a somewhat middle-of-the-road position, as in the proposal of “One China, Two Markets” in order to stay in equal to or gain political advantage over the DPP (Wu, 2004, p.
No matter which position the political parties represent, the battle over the status of Taiwan continues to be waged acrimoniously.

1.3. Significance

This dissertation attempts to extend the study of metaphor and political discourse analysis in Chinese within CMT. Studying metaphor related to a timely political issue should help us better understand the nature of metaphor in political discourse as well as shed light on how political attitudes are expressed through the use of metaphor. As Kövecses (2002) says,

“metaphor plays a role in human thought, understanding, and reasoning and beyond that, in the creation of our social, cultural, and psychological reality. Trying to understand metaphor then, means attempting to understand a vital part of who we are and what kind of world we live in” (p. x-xi).

More specifically, Charteris-Black (2005) argues that

“metaphor is vital to the language of leadership because it mediates between the conscious and rational basis of ideology and its unconscious mythical elements. Metaphor draws on the unconscious emotional associations of words, the values of which are rooted in cultural knowledge” (p. 30).

Therefore, metaphor is considered a highly persuasive tool.

By using corpus data, this dissertation allows us to see how many metaphors reflect the Chinese cultural view. Rather than focusing on one or a few conceptual metaphors, this dissertation provides an in-depth discussion that enables us to see that a variety of concepts is used to describe different attributes of the target issue, which help us understand how this issue is represented in the Chinese conceptual system, while some Chinese cultural features are reflected in the use of conceptual metaphors. The findings of this study are also consistent with the claim in CMT that metaphor is pervasive in the human conceptual system.
The dissertation is also significant in understanding the Chinese language and its particular writing style. In Chinese writing, strong metaphors and “cliché” metaphors are used commonly to express the authors’ feelings and attitudes. Such a style is encouraged and portrayed as a sign of master of the Chinese language, as it requires both knowledge and creativity. Thus, as a native speaker myself, I recognize the metaphorical writing as a common style for the educated writers.

The dissertation provides background for some aspects of teaching English to Chinese speakers and Chinese to other language speakers. It is important to show that learners know typical metaphors and how they are used in different contexts. This dissertation also makes clear the great extent to which metaphors may be used to express subjective emotions and opinions in Chinese political writing.

1.4. Organization

The organization of the dissertation is as follows: Chapter One gives a brief introduction to the rationale and objectives of this dissertation, and provides background information on the Taiwan independence issue. Chapter Two is a literature review of linguistic theories of metaphor, the differences between metaphor and other figures of speech, metaphor research in Chinese, and metaphor in political discourse. Chapter Three presents the research methodology. Chapter Four gives the frequencies of the conceptual metaphors studied. Chapter Five discusses conceptual metaphors in 成语 chengyu ‘set phrases’ in my data. Chapter Six discusses in detail nineteen conceptual metaphors that are not in set phrases and that are pertinent to the issue of Taiwan’s independence. Finally, Chapter Seven offers a conclusion, summarizing the findings and proposing issues for further research.
1.5. **List of Abbreviations**

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>Particle</td>
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Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter provides a detailed review of the theories and previous studies in metaphor in both English and Chinese, and political discourse. First, I will discuss early rhetorical research on metaphor. Second, I will present the linguistic research on metaphor, particularly the Contemporary Metaphor Theory in detail. Third, I will compare metaphor and other figures of speech, specifically, metonymy. Fourth, I will discuss metaphor research in Chinese. Finally, the research on metaphor in political discourse will be reviewed.

2.1. Early Research on Metaphor

Metaphor is an important means of expression in human languages widely, used in both spoken and written discourse. Metaphor has received much attention from both Chinese and Western scholars. The use of metaphor makes discourse vivid, and also shows the unique creativity of the writers and speakers. No wonder Aristotle, the earliest Western scholar who studied metaphor, said:

But the greatest thing, by far, is to be a master of metaphor. It is the one thing that cannot be learnt from others; and it is also a sign of genius since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of similarity of dissimilars. Through resemblance, metaphor makes things clearer. (Aristotle, Poetics, trans. W.D.Ross, 1952, cited in Kittay, 1989, p.2)

According to Aristotle, metaphor consists of “giving the thing a name that belongs to something else” (in Poetics, Ross 1952: 1457b). Yet metaphor is not merely a transfer of names; the meanings are also transferred. In Rhetoric, another well-known work, Aristotle also
discussed the relationship of metaphor to language. He believed that metaphor was based on analogy, and thus, was considered an implicit comparison. The nature of metaphors was to replace one thing with another unrelated thing or to use different words to express this replacement relation. Thus, the use of metaphor was just something nice, not necessary. Aristotle’s comparison theory failed to explain metaphor because it just “takes the imputed literal paraphrases to be a statement of some similarity or analogy, and so takes every metaphor to be a condensed or elliptic simile” (Ortony, 1993, p. 27).

In 1936, Richards proposed a set of useful terms for talking about metaphor: the topic, the vehicle, and the ground. He points out that there are two active ideas in metaphor called “tenor” and “vehicle”. The tenor is the subject to which attributes are ascribed and the vehicle is the subject from which the attributes are borrowed. He emphasizes the contextual conception of meaning in metaphor as tenor and vehicle bring together into new unities the abstract aspects, which are the missing parts of their various contexts. He also proposed the tension theory, which emphasized the conceptual incompatibility, the “tension”, between the topic and the vehicle in a metaphor (Ortony, 1993, p. 3). In his proposal, the tenor is the underlying idea or principle subject of a metaphor and the less well known idea is considered the vehicle of imagined nature (1936, p. 96-97). The ground is the combined relationship between the topic and the vehicle. For example, in the first stanza of Abraham Cowley’s poem “The Wish”, the tenor is the city and the vehicle is a beehive (Britannica Online Encyclopedia):

Well then; I now do plainly see,
This busy world and I shall ne’er agree;
The very honey of all earthly joy
Does of all meats the soonest cloy;
And they, methinks, deserve my pity
Who for it can endure the stings,
The crowd, and buzz, and murmurings
Of this great hive, the city.

He explains that “the vehicle is not normally a mere embellishment of a tenor which is otherwise unchanged by it but that vehicle and tenor in co-operation give a meaning of more varied powers than can be ascribed to either” (p. 100).

Black (1962, 1993) proposed what is usually called the “substitution theory”, which holds that “a metaphor is where a metaphorical expression is used in place of some equivalent literal expression” (Yu, 1998, p. 10). Aristotle’s comparison theory is considered a special case of the substitution theory. He calls the metaphorical sentence the “frame” and the word or words used metaphorically the “focus”. The frame imposes the “extension of meaning upon the focal word” (1962, p. 39). Black uses the term “subsidiary subject”, to indicate the idea signified by the focal word. He explicitly states that a metaphor not merely invokes two subjects but, in the case of the subsidiary subject, involves “a system of associated commonplaces”, which is introduced as the contextual and conceptual inference relating to the focal word (Richards, 1962, p. 39-40). The system is for the contextual and conceptual inferences relating to the focal word(s).

Black (1962, 1993)’s interaction theory, developed on the basis of the substitution theory, states that metaphorical meaning is a result of an interaction between a metaphorical expression, called the “focus”, and its “surrounding literal frame” (1993, p. 27). The two subjects, namely, the primary subject and the secondary subject, in a metaphorical statement interact in three ways: (1) the presence of the primary subject invites the hearer to select some of the
secondary subject’s properties; (2) invites the hearer to construct a parallel implication-complex that can fit the primary subject; and (3) reciprocally induces parallel changes in the secondary subject (p. 28). Black also argues that metaphors sometimes function as “cognitive instruments” (p. 3). A metaphor should not be treated merely as an instrument for drawing implications grounded in perceived analogies of structure between two subjects belonging to different domains, without attention to the state of mind of somebody who affirms the metaphorical statement (p. 31).

Kövecses (2002) states that the traditional conception of metaphor can be briefly characterized by five commonly accepted features. First, metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon and a property of words. Second, metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose. According to Aristotle, it is primarily ornamental. Third, metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified. Fourth, also following Aristotle, metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and one must have a special talent to be able to construct good metaphors (p. vii). Fifth, metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; “we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning” (p. viii).

Although most of these properties of metaphor are still considered to be important to the understanding of metaphor, they are not its only features. The early studies fail to identify other important features. Mac Cormac (1985) argues that “an analogy serves as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the existence of a metaphor” (p. 23). He thinks that “the difference between an analogy and a metaphor depends on the degree of difference between the two referents. Referents that differ substantially can be called metaphors, whereas those that possess more similarities are analogies” (p. 24). Thus, “metaphors possess additional necessary
conditions beyond those of simple analogies” (p. 24). Ortony (1975) also criticizes the comparison theory in that it “does explain their [metaphor’s] intelligibility compared with anomaly but does not well explain the tension. Nor does it account for the important pedagogic value of metaphor” (p.45). With regard to Black’s interaction theory, Mac Cormac (1985) argues that Black left ambiguous the level, cognitive or surface, at which focus and frame operate (p. 25).

Yu (1998) also remarks that the comparison, substitution, and interaction theories have a common feature; that is, metaphor is viewed as “a linguistic phenomenon”, and it is assumed that there is “a fundamental distinction between literal and figurative (or metaphorical in its broad sense) senses” (p. 10). Lakoff (1994) points out that there is a major difference between the early theories and conceptual theory regarding the old literal-figurative distinction. The traditional definition of “literal” is based on “an idealized and oversimplified model of language and thought”, and includes four senses: conventional literality, subject matter literality, non-metaphorical literality, and truth-conditional literality (1986, p. 292). Lakoff argues that, based on the four senses above, it could be assumed that all everyday conventional language is literal, none is metaphorical; all subject matter can be understood without metaphor; and the concepts used in the grammar of a language are literal, not metaphorical (1994, p. 43-44). However, these assumptions are wrong because conceptual metaphors have been discovered to structure our everyday conceptual system and are pervasive in our everyday language. In addition, the traditional theories have taken for granted that metaphor could be defined, thus, “the word ‘metaphor’ was defined as a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept” (p. 42).
Although inadequate, the early studies have helped us to understand some important properties of metaphor. Charteris-Black (2005) argues that in Aristotle’s theory of metaphor, the notion of movement is important because “it is the possibility of movement and change that creates the potential for metaphor to evoke emotional responses” (p. 14). The early research thus serves as stepping stones to linguistic research on metaphor.

2.2. Linguistic Theories of Metaphor

Recent attempts to explain metaphor have a conceptual basis.

To take into consideration the communicative purpose of metaphor, Ortony (1975) proposes three theses as features of metaphor—the compactness thesis, the inexpressibility thesis, and the vividness thesis. The first two theses are largely concerned with the mechanism employed by metaphor. “Together they attempt to explain what is happening in a metaphor and why. The vividness thesis is concerned with what seems to be a consequence of the view so far espoused” (p. 50).

“The compactness thesis argues that metaphor enables the predication of a chuck of characteristics in a word or two that would otherwise require a long list of characteristics individually predicated; the inexpressibility thesis, then, argues that metaphor enables the predication by transfer of characteristics which are unnameable; and the vividness thesis relates to the distinction drawn earlier between the continuity of experience and the discreteness of symbolic systems” (p. 49).

All the three features of metaphor give it its great educational utility (p. 51). Ortony argues that “metaphor is an essential ingredient of communication and consequently of great educational value” (p. 45). Since human experience is continuous, the continuity of experience has ramifications for memory and “memory for what has been perceived incorporates some of this continuity” (p. 46). This type of continuity should be considered for word meaning, in that “words have to be sufficiently flexible to cover the range of possible applications” (p. 46).
The continuity of experience, therefore, is not just a temporal continuity; it is, as it were, a continuity in ‘referential’ space and it is the total continuity of experience which at once underlies and necessitates the use of metaphor in linguistic communication” (p. 46).

The deviance theorists define metaphor as “the intentional misuse of language to present a new insight or to propose a new hypothesis finds support in the recognized difficulty of developing grammatical rules for the production and interpretation of metaphors” (Mac Cormac, 1985, p. 32). Metaphors do seem to violate the normal associations of words; the context in which a metaphor finds interpretation also varies greatly. Thus, it seems that the deviance theory offers a viable way of distinguishing between metaphor and non-metaphor. However, Mac Cormac claims that this theory mistakenly separates the linguistic world into ordinary language that operates according to semantic rules and the metaphoric world of intentionally ungrammatical but insightful constructions. In addition, it does not provide an explanation of semantic change in a metaphor (p. 32). Therefore, this definition does not seem adequate.

In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* marked a break-through in metaphor research. They claim that metaphors develop through experiences and become a part of our basic conceptual system. Through our bodily experiences we learn to connect one thing to something else and the mapping is stored in our brain. Thus, the use of metaphor reflects speakers’ ideas and the interactions with the world. Metaphor, as a linguistic phenomenon, is far more sophisticated. Lakoff (1980) points out that:

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish—a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language. Moreover, metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. For this reason, most people think they can get along perfectly well
without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (p. 3).

Assuming that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured, metaphor in Lakoff and Johnson’s description is not simply a means of expression, but a means of conceptualization (Deignan, 2005; Kövecses, 2005; Yu, 1998).

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson propose Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). As stated in the quote above, CMT claims that metaphor is fundamentally conceptual in nature and is central to language and thought; it resides in thought, and structures thinking and knowledge; and it is grounded in physical experience (Deignan, 2005, p. 13). It is claimed that metaphorical expressions are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, and our conceptual system is systematic and metaphorical in nature. It also makes distinctions between conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors. In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kövecses, 2002, p.4; Deignan, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1993, 2003). A conceptual metaphor is a connection between two semantic areas, or domains. The domain that is described metaphorically is called the “target” domain; the domain that provides the metaphor is called the “source” domain. The source domain is typically concrete and the target domain is typically abstract. CMT states that ideas and knowledge from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain by the conceptual metaphor. The target domain is usually the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain. In this theory, the sets of systematic correspondences between the source and the target are referred to as “mappings” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 2003; Kövecses, 2002; Deignan, 2005; Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005).
For example, in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, journey is the source domain, which is concrete; love is the target domain, which is an abstract idea. Ideas and knowledge from the source domain of journey are mapped onto the target domain of feelings, namely, love. It is through the source domain, journey, that we better understand love, the target domain. It is further explained that conceptual metaphors function at the level of thought, below language, the surface structure; therefore, they can be seen as “a way of describing the connection that exists between two groups of ideas in people’s minds”, but usually not used in speaking or writing (Deignan, 2005, p. 14). Conceptual metaphors refer to “those abstract notions such as ARGUMENT IS WAR and LOVE IS A JOURNEY”, while a linguistic metaphor is the actual words, phrases, or sentences that realize or instantiate those notions in one way or another (Yu, 1998, p. 14; Kövecses, 2002, p.4). Conceptual metaphors are systematic mappings across two conceptual domains: the source domain is mapped onto the target domain. The target domain is that which is described and the source domain or the metaphoric theme provides the terms which the target is described. In English, for example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003, p. 44-45) isolate the metaphor as underlying the expressions in (a)-(i).

LOVE IS A JOURNEY

a. Look how far we’ve come.
b. It’s been a long, bumpy road.
c. We can’t turn back now.
d. We’re at a crossroads.
e. We may have to go our separate ways.
f. We’re spinning our wheels.
g. The relationship isn’t going anywhere.
h. Our relationship is off the track.
i. The marriage is on the rocks.

The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is a conceptual mapping from a source domain (journey) to a target domain (love). Obviously, a wide range of figurative expressions
can often be systematically traced back to a source domain or a metaphoric theme. Lakoff and Johnson use the above expressions as evidence that love is conceptualized as a journey in the English language. These different linguistic expressions form a coherent set based on the same underlying concept. Lakoff (1994) points out that the locus of metaphor lies in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another (p. 43).

However, after the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY was proposed in 1980, it was observed that in (a) to (i) above can describe other kinds of relationships as well. In 1999, Lakoff and Johnson explain further that THE LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is derived from the primary metaphors A RELATIONSHIP IS AN ENCLOSURE and INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS. They also postulate entailments of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor as follows (p. 64; Johnson 1993, p.417):

LOVE IS A JOURNEY
THE LOVERS ARE TRAVELERS
THEIR COMMON LIFE GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS
THE RELATIONSHIP IS A VEHICLE
DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION

In American culture, people in a long-term love relationship are expected to have both an individual and joint purpose in life. Each individual’s life can be seen as a journey and a couple’s life together can also be seen as a journey to common goals. An individual journey is difficult and the task of choosing and pursuing common goals is even more difficult. Thus, LOVE IS A JOURNEY is a complex metaphor that concerns the difficulties faced in setting and pursuing common goals by people in a long-term love relationship (p. 64).
Based on data from *The Cobuild Metaphor Dictionary*, Kövecses (2002) concludes that the most frequent source domains used in English are: the human body, health and illness, animals, plants, buildings and construction, machines and tools, games and sport, money and economic transactions (business), cooking and food, heat and cold, light and darkness, forces, movement and direction (p. 14-20). These examples categories are concrete and closely related to our physical and bodily experience. However, as mentioned earlier, target domains are usually “abstract, diffuse, and lack clear delineation; as a result, they ‘cry out’ for metaphorical conceptualization” (p. 20). The most common target domain and their most important sources are: emotions, desire, morality, thought, society/nation, politics, economy, human relationships, communication, time, life and death, religion, events and actions (p.21-24). According to Kövecses, “these common target domains can be roughly classified as psychological and mental states and events (emotion, desire, morality, thought), social groups and processes (society, politics, economy, human relationships, communication), and personal experiences and events (time, life, death, religion)” (p. 24). The list in (a)-(i) above enables us to see “how the simplified world, as depicted in the most common source domains, fits and ‘maps onto’ the groups of common target domains”; therefore, a conclusion can be reinforced that conceptual metaphors are mostly unidirectional (p. 24).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) further explain the concept of embodiment in cognitive science. They claim that “the peculiar nature of our bodies shapes our very possibilities for conceptualization and categorization” (p. 19). Concepts are “neural structures that allow human beings to mentally characterize our categories and reason about them” (p. 19) and “are not just reflections of an external reality” (p. 22). Thus, the understanding of one idea (a subjective experience) is conceptualized in terms of grasping an object (a sensorimotor experience). The
conceptualization “allows us to use the physical logic of grasping to reason about understanding” (p. 45). In *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999), Lakoff and Johnson develop the notion of primary and complex metaphors. A primary metaphor is an atomic component of the molecular structure of complex metaphors; it is a matter of immediate conceptual mapping via neural connections (p. 57). A complex metaphor is formed from primary metaphors though conventional conceptual blending, that is, “the fitting together of small metaphorical ‘pieces’ into larger wholes’ (p. 49).

An example of a primary metaphor is MORE IS UP and a complex metaphor is A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Because primary metaphors are part of the cognitive unconscious, they are acquired automatically and unconsciously via the normal process of neural learning. “When the embodied experiences in the world are universal, then the corresponding primary metaphors are universally acquired” (p. 56). Lakoff and Johnson also point out that universal conceptual metaphors are not innate, but learned, and not all conceptual metaphors are manifested in the words of a language. They are expressed in languages as well as in gesture, art, or ritual (p. 57).

The primary metaphors “provide subjective experience with extremely rich inferential structure, imagery, and qualitative ‘feel’” and also allow words of sensorimotor experience “to be used to name aspects of metaphorically conceptualized subjective experience” (p. 59).

CMT differentiates ontological and epistemic correspondences by claiming that both are entailed by the conceptual mapping. The ontological correspondences are those in which the entities in the source domain are mapped onto the entities in the target domain, while the epistemic correspondences are those in which knowledge of the source domain is mapped onto knowledge of the target domain to form inference patterns (Yu, 1998, p. 15).

In sum, each metaphorical mapping at the conceptual level is a fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in the source domain and those in the target domain. Once
the fixed correspondences are activated, mappings can project source domain inference patterns onto target inference patterns, resulting in epistemic correspondences (Lakoff, 1993). This forms an intricate conceptual system. Lakoff and Johnson believe that “since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities” (1980, p.6). However, their methodology has been criticized as to whether and to what extent it can actually reveal underlying conceptual systems (Gibbs 1996, Gibbs and Colston 1995, Ortony 1988). Deignan (2005) also points out that because linguistic metaphors form the basis for understanding conceptual metaphors, most of the linguistic metaphors that Lakoff and Johnson and their followers cite seem to have been elicited from informants, whose examples may be rare in normal conditions (p. 27). She suggests that a corpus approach to study linguistic metaphors is able to provide a wider understanding of CMT in regard to exploitation of metaphorical systems as well as the distribution of linguistic metaphors across related target domains (p. 29).

In conceptual metaphors, source domains are used to understand target domains. Only certain aspects of sources are utilized to do so. The various aspects of sources consist of conceptual elements (Kövecses, 2002, p. 104). “When rich additional knowledge about a source is mapped onto a target”, it is called metaphorical entailment. Metaphorical entailments are a common property of conceptual metaphors. For example, in the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR, the fact that wars often produce heroes is not regarded as one of the constituents of the domain of war. Thus, the mapping “war heroes correspond to outstanding political leaders” is not a constituent mapping in this metaphor (p. 94). However, this non-constituent element can be utilized to understand politics. In another metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, there are entailments
that a journey takes place along a path, which corresponds to the progress of a love relationship. In addition, there is additional knowledge about journeys, such as that we can stop following the path. Thus, we have the linguistic metaphorical expression “Our relationship is off track”. We make use of an additional piece of knowledge about journeys to make sense of a possible feature of love.

Kövecses (2005) believes that conceptual metaphors have one or more “meaning foci”, i.e. that “each source domain contributes predetermined conceptual materials to the range of target domains to which it applies” (p. 11). The conceptual materials are agreed upon by a community of speakers who share similar values and cultural practices, and represents extremely basic and central knowledge about the source (p. 11). He gives examples of similar conceptual metaphors that are found in a number of languages, including English, Chinese, Zulu, and Hungarian. Examples include emotion metaphors such as HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN; event structure metaphors such as CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS and MEANS ARE PATHS, and time metaphors, including TIME IS MONEY. Also, he argues that social, cultural, stylistic, individual, and other factors can result in metaphor variation (p. 88). These various divisions of social and cultural life are called dimensions. Because languages are not monolithic, but have varieties reflecting divergences in human experience, metaphors vary not only cross-culturally, but also within cultures (p. 89). A given language community may employ differential metaphorical conceptualization along a social division that is relevant in that society (P. 91). The same may be true in a society with highly segregated ethnic groups (p. 92). Other dimensions that can influence metaphor in a language also include regional factors, as different dialects may be used in different areas, style (communicative settings, audience, subject matter, etc), and sub-cultural factors, including religion, gender, and literature (p. 92-100). An example is THE [sic] ANGRY
PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. It is claimed that this metaphor will only be found in a culture which also has the metaphor of the human body as a container. Kövecses explains that in this metaphor, there is a generic schema that is filled out by each culture that has the metaphor. When the schema is filled out, the metaphor has unique cultural content at a specific level; thus, the metaphor THE [sic] ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER is culture specific (p. 68).

To show how variations occur in conceptual metaphors, Kövecses separates the components in a conceptual metaphor and shows how these components vary; they are involved in conceptual metaphors either by being producers of variations or components affected by it (p. 130). First, although different languages use different source domains at lower levels of conceptual organization, the source domains at higher levels seem to be cross-culturally shared (p. 121). Second, in the cognitive linguistic view, mappings in a metaphor are flexible, as the metaphors they characterize can change through time and vary from culture to culture and from sub-culture to sub-culture. Third, although two languages can have the same conceptual metaphor, the source domain in one language may give rise to a set of entailments which are different from those in the other. Fourth, conceptual integration or blending, a process that makes use of and goes beyond conceptual metaphors, can account for cases in which people imaginatively construct elements that cannot be found in either the source or target domain (p. 127-128). It seems that during the involvement of these components, the source, the target, and the blending produce metaphor variation, whereas the others are affected by it. “The other ‘affected’ components include linguistic metaphors and nonlinguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors” (p. 130).
Kövecses’ arguments expand Lakoff and Johnson’s CMT. It provides further explanations by adding the cultural variations and illustrates how the conceptual metaphor system is affected by them.

In CMT, metaphor structures knowledge, as it plays an important role in facilitating understanding on both academic and specialized knowledge as well as other more widely shared knowledge of the topics that touch on every human being’s experience (Deignan 2005, p. 17). It can connect our diverse experiences by making use of our concrete and universally shared experience of literal journeys. “In this way, some of the central aspects of human life are made to relate to each other and given apparent logic through the structure of a well-known source domain” (p. 17).

Metaphor is also central to abstract language. Deignan argues that it is impossible to find a literal way of describing the “course” of human life and that many metaphorical expressions have no literal paraphrases, “certainly none that are exactly and literally what we mean” (p. 17). Reddy (1993) shows that it is very difficult to talk about communication without using linguistic metaphors from the source domain of physical transfer. He argues that this is a reflection of our ways of thinking about communication, which are inherently metaphorical. Although other new ways of metaphorically conceptualizing communication could be thought up and would result in new linguistic metaphors, it seems impossible to talk about life in a metaphor-free way. “This is because communication is an abstract notion, which, apparently, we cannot understand directly; we can only approach it through the filter of a less abstract and better-understood area” (Deignan, 2005, p. 18).
Conceptual metaphors enable us to quantify, visualize, and generalize about abstract concepts because they make use of relationships within source domains that we know well from our concrete experience. In this way, metaphors are grounded or embedded in our physical experience (p. 19). As Lakoff, Johnson, and many others argue, meaning is based on experience, and especially bodily experience. Our bodily experience in and with the world sets out the contours of what is meaningful to us and determines the ways of our understanding (Yu, 1998, p. 22). Gibbs and Wilson (2002) also argue that many conceptual metaphors used to talk about emotions are motivated by bodily sensations that we experience when we have those emotions. For example, Gibbs (1994) claims that many expressions used to talk about anger are motivated by the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Some examples of linguistic metaphors relating to this are: “She got all steamed up” and “I was fuming” (p. 203). We perceive our own body as a container; when we become angry, we experience physical sensations of heat and internal pressure which threaten to build up to dangerous levels within the perceived container.

Other cross-linguistic studies also support the idea that metaphors for emotions are grounded in physical sensation. Yu (1998) studied metaphors used to talk about anger in Chinese. He found that the heat and pressure elements of the metaphor are the same in English and Chinese. The only difference is that gas is used instead of a fluid to characterize anger in Chinese. Sweetser (1990) also found such similarities between metaphorical mappings in English and non-Indo-European languages. This cross-linguistic evidence adds strength to the argument that metaphors have a physical rather than a cultural basis (Deignan, 2005, p. 20).

Gibbs (1997) further suggests that significant aspects of cultural experience should be taken into consideration when trying to understand what is conceptual about metaphor,
because “public, cultural representations of conceptual metaphors have indispensable cognitive function that allow people to carry less of a mental burden during everyday thought and language use” (p. 146).

In a study of metaphors in political discourse, Charteris-Black (2004) defines metaphor as “a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension. It potentially has linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive characteristics” (p. 21). He states that there are several important features of this definition:

First, metaphor is first and foremost a linguistic phenomenon—though it does have pragmatic and cognitive characteristics. Secondly, because metaphor is an aspect of language use, any word form can be a metaphor if the context makes it such. Next, the shift implies that there is a change in use and therefore there are two domains: a source where the word ‘normally’ occurs and a target where it does not. Crucially, metaphor is therefore a matter of our expectations—based on our previous experience of language (2005, p. 14).

Charteris-Black (2005) also argues that the meanings of words change at different rates for different individuals based on their different experiences of language, and that therefore, metaphor must be considered a relative rather than absolute phenomenon (p. 14). According to him, metaphor’s linguistic characteristic is that “it causes semantic tension either by reification or personification” (p. 15). Reification is “referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete” (p. 15). In political contexts, examples include the phrases of “the path of justice” or “the road to victory”. Personification is “referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate” (p. 15). A common example would be referring to one’s country as
the “motherland” or the “fatherland”. Metaphor’s pragmatic characteristic is that it is motivated by the underlying purpose of persuasion, and its cognitive characteristic is that “a metaphor is caused by, and may cause, a shift in the conceptual system” (p. 15). In political contexts, the use of metaphors particularly conveys and reflects the intentions of the speakers/writers. When a particular metaphor is used in such context, a set of culturally related psychological associations and beliefs which are attached to the metaphor could cause the audience or readers to think and may change their previous opinions (p. 15).

In sum, according to CMT, our conceptual metaphor system is unconscious and automatic, and plays a major role in both grammar and lexicon of a language. It is also central to our understanding of experience and to the way we act on that understanding. Metaphors are structural mappings across conceptual domains. These mappings are asymmetric as they are unidirectional, involving projections from a source domain to a target domain, not the other way around. Metaphorical mappings vary in universality, some of which could also be culture-specific (Deignan, 2005; Kövecses, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Yu, 1998).

But CMT is not a perfect theory of metaphor. According to Cameron and Low (1999), CMT is flawed in its direct inferencing from language use to claims about thought structures (p. 18). Instead, they argue that “in applied linguistic research, centrally concerned with language in use, the processing of metaphorical language takes place in the context of the discourse” (p. 25). According to them, current metaphor theory is “not explicitly related to specific discourse context” (p.25). It may appear to work in context-free language in explaining comprehension or production, but context is always present; it is impossible to talk about metaphor without considering the context (p.25). They point out that “processing metaphorical language takes place in context and draws on the discourse expectations of participants” (p. 25). In this light,
this dissertation takes specific discourse contexts into consideration in analyzing political metaphors.

Following CMT, Mac Cormac (1985) focuses on the semantic conceptual features of a metaphor, and proposes the theory of semantic conceptual anomaly, which asserts that “the difference between metaphor and non-metaphor, especially analogy, rests on the conceptual recognition of the semantic anomaly of metaphor and its interpretation as meaningful” (p.34). He explains that not all semantically anomalous constructions are metaphors; only those semantic anomalies that we can interpret as suggesting new insights and new possible meanings are metaphors (p.34).

Following Black, Kittay and Cohen (1989) propose a newer version of the interaction theory. They argue that a metaphor has six salient features: (1) metaphors are not isolated words, but sentences; (2) there are two components in a metaphor; (3) there is a tension between the two components; (4) the components need to be understood as systems; (5) the meaning of a metaphor arises from an interplay of the components; (6) the meaning of a metaphor is irreducible and cognitive (p. 22-23). They claim that “metaphors exhibit a structure which is distinguishable from language that is at once literal and conventional”. This dynamic, which is inherent in language by which the metaphorical becomes literal and the literal becomes metaphorical, displays an important relation between the meaning of language, convention of usage, and belief (or conceptual) systems (p. 22). Furthermore, in metaphor, one expression supports two contents: one is a content the expression supports literally; the other is a content the expression supports only in the given metaphor (p.24). Under their claim, the vehicle is used to denote the focal terms, that is, the label itself and the content that label conveys literally. The topic is the second content, which is carried by the metaphorical expression. The topic suggests
not an expression in a text, but rather what a text is speaking about, and is not the meaning of a metaphor (p. 26).

In this dissertation, CMT and CMA are used as the theoretical and methodological framework because they provide a model for studying how the issue of Taiwan’s independence is expressed in Chinese. These frameworks provide an explanation for the connection between surface linguistic structures and their underlying concepts. I make no claim about the nature of thought itself, including its neurological basis.

2.3. Metaphor vs. Other Figures of Speech

Metaphor usually is included in discussions of other figures of speech such as simile, metonymy, synecdoche, personification, irony, and catachresis. Of these, metaphor, simile, metonymy, and personification are sometimes confused, as the boundaries between them sometimes seem unclear in particular contexts. However, there are differences between them that can be identified.

Mac Cormac (1985) states that a simile makes explicit the similarities among the referents and that metaphor seems to be a “compressed simile” because “when confronted with a metaphor, hearers must not only consider the similarities between the referents, as they do in the presence of a simile, but also ponder the differences” (p. 34-35). Similes evoke “less tension in the hearer and propose an explicit comparison of similarities, but they do not prohibit a consideration of differences” (p. 35). Yet, both metaphors and similes share some similarities: both involve conceptual activity; “the creator of the metaphor or simile must imagine a combination of referents, and the hearer must search out the connections among the referents as well as take cognizance of the differences (less so in simile)” (p. 35-36). Ortony (1975) argues
that “the traditional distinction between them is made in terms of the presence or absence of words such as ‘like’ and ‘as’” (p. 52); thus, there is no important cognitive difference. The attempt to discriminate between metaphors and similes based simply on the fact that similes express an explicit comparison while metaphors are implicit seems to miss the point that neither simile nor metaphor is in fact explicit. According to Ortony, “in simile, if there is comparison at all, rather than transfer, the comparison can only be with respect to certain characteristics. Determining what these characteristics are is what is involved in understanding the simile” (p. 52). In metaphor there is an apparent claim of identity, but only with respect to certain characteristics. (p. 52).

When comparing metaphor to simile, at least the superficial distinction is easy to identify. But, when it comes to metonymy, the case becomes more complicated. Mac Cormac states that “metonymy employs an attribute as an expression of the entity” (1985, p. 36). In this traditional view, metonymy is defined as “a relationship involving substitution”, namely, X STANDS FOR Y. Radden and Kövecses (1999) claim that like metaphor, metonymy is also a cognitive process (p. 18). They give the example: “She’s just a pretty face”. In this sentence, “face” is taken to be a substitute expression for “person”. So the sentence can be understood as “She is just a pretty person”. Yet, “metonymy does not simply substitute one entity for another entity, but interrelates them to form a new, complex meaning” (p. 19). In another of their examples, “I like Mozart”, “Mozart” refers to music composed by Mozart, not the actual person. The sentence “The bathtub is running over” is understood meaning that the water in the bathtub is running over, not the bathtub itself. Thus, metonymic relationships would be represented more adequately by using an additive notation such as X PLUS Y (p. 19).
Gibbs (1994) defines metonymy as the process by which “people take one well-understood or easily perceived aspect of something to represent or stand for the thing as a whole” (p. 320). He recognizes that metonymy is quite diverse and occurs in a variety of forms in language (1999, p. 63). He suggests that “people experience little difficulty thinking of, speaking of, and understanding metonymic language” (p. 74). Lakoff (1987), and Radden and Kövecses (1999) propose that metonymy should be understood as a conceptual process in which one conceptual entity, the ‘target’, is made mentally accessible by means of another conceptual entity, the ‘vehicle’. In principle, either of the two conceptual entities related may stand for the other. For example, metonymy is basically a reversible process. (p. 54). They also agree “the metonymic process consists in mentally accessing one conceptual entity via another entity” (p. 19). Kövecses (2002) specifies that metonymy involves a mapping within the same domain. Similarly, Lakoff and Turner (1989) claim that “metonymy is used primarily for reference: via metonymy, one can refer to one entity in a schema by referring to another entity in the same schema” (p. 103). Based on the above understanding, Langacker (1993) offers a cognitive explanation for metonymy: metonymy is a “reference-point phenomenon in which one conceptual entity, the reference point, affords mental access to another conceptual entity, the desired target (p. 30). Here, the reference-point entity is the “vehicle” and the desired target is the “target”.

According to Kövecses (2002), “most metonymic expressions are not isolated but come in larger groups that are characterized by a particular relationship between one kind of entity and another kind of entity” (p. 144-145). He characterizes “metonymy as a stand-for relationship between two elements within a single conceptual domain and metaphor as an is-understood-as relationship between two conceptually distant domains” (p. 227). The conceptual
metonymies are realized by metonymic linguistic expressions. Some common types of conceptual metonymies are: THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT (THE AUTHOR FOR THE WORK) ("She loves Picasso"), THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT (Watergate changed our politics"), THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION ("Wall Street is in a panic"), THE CONTROLLER FOR THE CONTROLLED ("Nixon bombed Hanoi"), AN OBJECT USED FOR THE USER ("The sax has the flu today"), PART FOR THE WHOLE ("we need some good heads on the project"), WHOLE FOR THE PART ("America is a powerful country"), INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION ("She shampooed her hair"), EFFECT FOR CAUSE ("It’s a slow road"), PLACE FOR ACTION ("America doesn’t want another pearl harbor"), DESTINATION FOR MOTION ("He porched the newspaper"), PLACE FOR PRODUCT ("Give me my java/mocca"), TIME FOR ACTION ("The 8:40 just arrived") (p. 145). Thus, metonymy is a one-domain model and metaphor is a two-domain model.

Fauconnier and Turner (1999) take the same position, claiming that metonymy plays an important role in constructing conceptual integration networks. Conceptual integration is also called “blending”, which is a basic and pervasive mental operation. This allows us to “blend two mental spaces to create a third that is not merely a composition of the first two but instead has emergent structure of its own. A typical conceptual integration network includes two input spaces, a blended space, and a generic space” (p. 77). Conceptual integration operates in metaphor as well as metonymy. A mental space is a conceptual “packet” in the moment of understanding and is always smaller than a conceptual domain (Kövecses, 2002, p. 227). Because of these features, mental spaces are often structured by more than one conceptual domain. For example, in the sentence “Yesterday, I saw Susan”, we can build two mental spaces: a space for the speaker’s present reality and another space, yesterday, in which the speaker is seeing Susan. But, these are not conceptual domains like JOURNEY or FIRE because the mental
space “yesterday” contains the specific speaker and the specific Susan, but a conceptual domain is much more general than that (p. 227-228). Fauconnier and Turner replace the two-domain model of conceptual metaphor and metonymy with a network model, which offers greater systematicity to explain certain metaphorical and metonymic phenomena (p.237).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) admit that metonymy and metaphor are similar in that metonymy is not just a poetic or rhetorical device, nor is it just a matter of language (p. 37). Metonymy also focuses more specifically on certain aspects of what is being referred to; its concepts are systematic in the same way that metaphoric concepts are (p. 37-39). “Metonymic concepts allow us to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else” (p. 39). Lakoff and Johnson point out that, in the example of “She loves Picasso”, when we see Picasso used in this sentence, “we are not just thinking of a work of art alone, in and of itself. We think of it in terms of its relations to the artist, that is, his conception of art, his technique, his role in art history, etc” (p. 39). However, although similar, “metaphor and metonymy are different kinds of processes. Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another”. But it is not merely a referential device; it also serves the function of providing understanding (p. 36).

In sum, like metaphors, metonymic concepts structure not just our language but our thoughts, attitudes, and actions. Like metaphoric concepts, metonymic concepts are also grounded in our experience (p. 40).
2.4. Metaphor Research on Chinese

According to Feng Guangyi (2002), the study of figures of speech as a linguistic phenomenon in Chinese can be traced back to the pre-Qing dynasty (21st century B.C. -221 B.C.). During ancient times, the focus of the study was the function of using figures of speech in context as a kind of analogy (p. 2-3; Sheng, 2003, p. 6). Among many scholars, Confucius proposed the idea that if similarity is found, a figure of speech can be used. In early studies, Chinese scholars did not make a clear distinction between metaphor and other figures of speech. They used words such as 辟 pi, 比 bi, 依 yi (all meaning “like”) to describe metaphor and simile. However, according to Xun Zi, one of the famous philosopher living in the Warring States (403-221 B.C.), 故比方之疑似而通 ‘although the meaning of trope seems confusing superficially, it actually makes sense to people’ (my translation) (cited in Liang, 2004; Hu, 2004). Liu Xiang also drew a basic conclusion on the use of tropes: 以其所知喻其所不知而使人知之 ‘the use of figures of speech is to make unknown things become known to other people’ (my translation) (Liang, 2004, p.1; Hu, 2004, p. 219). During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D), scholars still did not make a clear distinction between metaphor and other figures of speech. But Liu An proposed the idea of 取偶 qu ou ‘obtain metaphor’, i.e. that the users of metaphor need to look for the appropriate similarities according to different objects in order to create a metaphor (my translation). He further explained that the two objects to be compared in a metaphor need to be from different categories and have different properties in nature (cited in Hu, 2004, p. 208; Feng, 2002). In the Nan Song dynasty, 陈骙 Chen Kui made a break-through in Chinese metaphor research. He proposed a clear definition of metaphor, using the formula “a is b”. It was not until 1932 (1975) that Chinese metaphor research made a significant progress towards a contemporary theory of metaphor.
Chen Wangdao (1932/1975/2005) in his famous book *Ideas on Rhetoric* offers extensive and in-depth discussions of figures of speech, and particularly metaphor. He proposes a definition between positive rhetoric and negative rhetoric. In negative rhetoric, meanings are expressed clearly, without any vagueness or distortions, and are usually abstract. In positive rhetoric, however, meanings are expressed by various creative rhetorical devices that need to be vivid and specific (2005, p. 215-126, p. 245-250). He believes that tropes belong to positive rhetoric. In order to classify different types of figures of speech (trope), he proposes three key elements: the topic, the vehicle, and the linker(s). The topic is what is described; the vehicle is what is used to describe the topic; and the linker is what is used to connect the topic and the vehicle. On the basis of the appearance, similarities, and differences of the three components, he then categorizes trope into three different types: simile, metaphor, and metonymy (p. 268).

Tan Yongxiang (1981) argues that Chen Wangdao’s three key elements should be the one and only one standard for distinguishing simile and metaphor. If all three elements appear, it is considered a simile. If only the topic and the vehicle appear, it is a metaphor. He claims that the early criterion of whether or not a linker such as 是 shi ‘is’ and 像 xiāng ‘like’ as the standard to distinguish simile and metaphor is not adequate (Hu, 2004, p. 216; Feng, 2002). Hu agrees with this classification system and thinks that it also follows the Western system of categorization.

Chen Linseng (1987) claims that to create a new metaphor, the vehicle should be fresh. Something should be looked for and used which is close to our life experience and fits into our time; the vehicle can also be imaginary. In addition, the vehicle should come from the creator’s life or work environment (Feng, 2002, p. 195). Other scholars propose that new and creative
metaphors are encouraged to catch people’s attention. The vividness and creativity of metaphor require the creator of metaphor to use new and bold vehicles (p.197-199).

The above research includes a prescriptive discussion on the use of metaphors in Chinese, but lacks a more descriptive analysis of Chinese metaphors.

In the ‘80s, Chinese scholars started to discuss the grammatical structures and functions of metaphor. Yuan Hui (1982) uses a specific basic formula to define metaphor: metaphorical sentence=subject (the topic) + verb (the linker) + object (the vehicle). In addition, the traditional way of identifying metaphor from other types of figures of speech is the presence of the words 是 shì ‘is’ or 像 xiàng ‘like’. Yuan, however, identifies metaphor based on his definitions of three types of linkers.

The first type is called the “explanation” type, in which a dash is used between the topic and the vehicle. For example,

n. 美丽 的 南海 之 花—鼓浪屿,
mei li de nan hai zhi hua—Gulangyu,
beautiful MOD south Sea MOD flower—Gulangyu (name of an island),

假如 有 十 分 姿色,
jiaru you shi fen zise,
if have ten NUM beauty,

三分 姿色 应 分给 这 朵朵 白 帆。
san fen zise ying fengei zhe duoduo bai fan.
san NUM beauty should give to this CLF white sail.

“The beautiful flower of the South Sea—the island of Gulangyu, if there is said to be ten-point beauty, then, three points should be assigned to these many white sails on the sea”.

--柳杞 “夫妻船”
--Liu Qi “Fuqi Chuan” (The Boat of the Couple) (p. 246)
The second type is called the “exclamation” type, in which a comma is used to separate
the topic and the vehicle. For instance,

p. 骆驼，你 沙漠 的 船
luotuo, ni shamo de chuan
camel, you desert MOD boat

你，有 生命 的 山
ni, you shengming de shan
you, have life MOD mountain

“Camel, you are the boat in the desert; you are the mountain of life!”
--郭沫若 “骆驼”
--Guo Moruo “Luotuo” (Camel) (p. 246)

The third type is called the “same position” type, in which the topic and the vehicle are
placed next to each other without a linker in between.

q. 刚 出 土 的 嫩 芽 梁生宝，
gang chu tu de nen ya Liang Shengbao,
just out earth MOD new sprout Liang Shengbao (a person’s name),

无论如何，
wu lun ruhe,
no matter what,

还 需 要 时间 来 证明 他 有 出息。
hai xuyao shijian lai zhengming ta you chuxi.
still need time come prove he have potentials

“Liang Shengbao is a new sprout that just came out of the earth, no matter what, time is still
needed to prove that he has the potential to achieve something”.
--柳青 “创业史”
-- Liu Qing “Chuangye Shi” (The History of Entrepreneurship) (p. 247)

However, this strand of research only touches upon the linguistic realizations of
metaphor; it does not go beyond the surface syntactic structure and punctuation.
Yu's research (1998) looks beyond the syntactic form of metaphors. To add cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives to Lakoff and Johnson’s CMT, Yu (1998) conducted research on metaphors in Chinese newspapers. He focuses on whether certain mappings can be found in Chinese or not; what the similarities and differences are between Chinese and English; and what reasons can account for the similarities and differences. He investigates metaphors of emotion, time as space, and the event structure in Chinese. He collected data primarily from People’s Daily, the official newspaper in mainland China, as well as from other publications and some Chinese dictionaries.

Yu supports the claim that “metaphor is the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning” (p. 237-238). He shows that English and Chinese share the same central conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT. Both languages also use the UP, LIGHT, and CONTAINER metaphors to express their conceptions of happiness.

When expressing anger, in both English and Chinese, the FIRE metaphor can be used. In addition, in English, FLUID expressions are also used, whereas, in Chinese, qi ‘GAS’ is used instead for the same purpose. For example, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS EXCESS GAS IN THE BODY has several mappings: the gas in one’s heart; to hold one’s gas down; one’s gas wells up like a mountain; to hold back a stomach full of gas; the pent up anger gas in one’s breast finally explodes; and to keep in one’s spleen gas (Kövecses, 2002, p. 168-169).

Yu concludes that “metaphors of anger and happiness are primarily based on common bodily experience, with surface differences across language explainable from cultural perspectives” (p. 8). “Qi” ‘gas’ is used as it presents in a variety of places in the body, such as
stomach, heart, and spleen. It is also treated as a gas with an unspecified temperature, whereas, in the English language, the anger is a kind of hot fluid. Thus, in Chinese, there is no entailment involving the idea of steam being produced, in contrast to English as in “She was steamed” to mean that she was angry. Also, the Chinese culture sees qi as a gas whose build-up produces pressure in the body or in a specific body organ; build-up will lead the pressure an explosion that corresponds to loss of control over anger (p. 56-60; Kövecses, 2002, p. 168-169).

In terms of the time as space metaphor, Yu shows that the conceptualization of time in Chinese in terms of space and motion also fits into the two-case model proposed by Lakoff for English. Both languages share “great similarity in following the same principle of spatialization of time” (p. 8). In the last metaphor, Yu demonstrates that there is similarity between the two languages as well. “In Chinese, various aspects of event structure such as states, changes, causes, actions, purposes, means, and difficulties are conceptualized metaphorically in terms of space, motion, and force” (p. 9). In general, “the conceptual mappings at a high hierarchical level of the metaphor system are found [to be] the same in English and Chinese, whereas the specific linguistic instantiation of those conceptual mappings may be similar or different between the two languages” (p. 9). This study reinforces the claim of CMT that metaphorical mappings are primarily conceptual, although they are realized and manifested in various linguistic expressions.

In terms of universality and variation in metaphor, Yu argues that when a particular metaphor is said to be universal, it is likely that it is universal conceptually rather than linguistically, because specific cultural models in different languages may dictate different choices of linguistic realization (p. 238).

Liu (2002) continues Yu’s research direction and compares metaphors used in American English and Chinese. Examining sports and business metaphors in American English, and eating
and family metaphors in Chinese, he concludes that the different sets of metaphors used in the two languages reflect different cultural views of life. While Americans see life in terms of competitive games and business, Chinese tend to view life as family eating events (p. 119). For instance, sports metaphors such as “Three strikes and you’re out” applies widely in business in American society. In talking about politics, the metaphor “selling an agenda” is common in American English. In Chinese, as eating is of great cultural importance, for example, the metaphor 吃苦 chiku ‘eat bitter’, meaning to suffer hardship, is used to describe the uncertainty of life. Also, direct eating metaphors are common in everyday language, for example, 吃官司 chi guansi ‘eat lawsuit’, be involved in a lawsuit, 吃惊 chijing ‘eat surprise’, be surprised, and 吃香 chixiang ‘eat fragrant’, being popular and able to throw one’s weight around.

His findings support the idea that “although the use of metaphor is universal, the choice of specific metaphors for interpreting the world is frequently culture-specific” (p. 4). Which metaphors we choose to help understand and depict the world is largely determined by our life experiences. Thus, “individuals who do not live in the same established world or speech community will sometimes possess rather different conceptual systems and will in turn find each other’s metaphors sometimes difficult to understand” (p. 5).

Several other recent Chinese studies have also concentrated on the use of metaphors in relation to specific discourse context or content in the Chinese language. For example, Li Shaobin (1993) analyzes the linguistic techniques in Chairman Mao Zedong’s work. Li particularly discusses the use of metaphors in Chairman Mao Zedong’s poems and essays. He argues that the extensive use of metaphors in argumentative essays is not common among other writers, yet, it is the large number of metaphors that makes the points in the articles so vivid that they provide the readers immediate guidance and clear explanation. Yao Qinghua (2005) targets the
use of metaphors in news commentary. Examining a large number of metaphors used specifically in news commentary, he concludes that metaphor is essential in this type of article, as it makes the point vivid and close to ordinary people’s life experience. Bo Hua (2006) analyzes the headlines of news articles in several Chinese newspapers and shows that the metaphors used in the headlines are structurally simple; they serve as bridges between what people have known and what not known to decrease the difficulty for readers to comprehend. Han Gang (2001) discusses the translation of metaphor from English to Chinese and from Chinese to English in public speeches. Based on the distinctive structural and functional features of metaphors, and linguistic features of public speeches, he concludes that metaphor should be understood and, thus, encoded and translated, in an overall situational context without ignoring the social, cultural, and linguistic background in both languages. Although his study is not purely on metaphor, we can see that factors other than linguistic are important in understanding the variety of metaphors.

So far, it seems that the contemporary research on Chinese metaphors is mainly on the diverse linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors. It is important to include as much specific discourse as possible because CMT is still in need of cross-linguistic study. However, the study of systematicity and the variations of conceptual metaphors still seem to be an underdeveloped area. This dissertation is intended to contribute to filling the gap.

2.5. Metaphor in Political Discourse

Political discourse has become an important field of Critical Discourse Analysis, which studies “language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance” (Wodak, 1989, p. xv). Wodak encourages the use of multiple methods in language research while emphasizing the importance of recognizing the historical and social aspects (p. xvi). Dellinger (1995) also argues
that “emphasis on both the structure and the social context of media texts can provide a solution which enables the media critic to ‘denaturalize’, or expose the ‘taken-for-grantedness’ of ideological messages as they appear in isolated speech, ...” (p. 1).

According to van Dijk (2002), the contextual properties of a discourse help to determine the kind of discourse category into which it may be placed, for example, conversational, juridical, political, therapeutic, or educational discourse. Relevant properties of political discourse include people speaking or writing in a political context, the role or function(s) of a discourse in the political process. In political discourse, the overall “context of situation” includes the political situations, structures/institutions, and events, as well as the ways political actors interpret the events talked about. It also includes the purpose, aim, and function of the discourse, the actual texts or discourse genres, who the political actors are, who the hearer or target addressees are, the topic (that is, the most important information of text or talk) being discussed, (van Dijk, 1980), and the place where the discourse takes place (Reeves, 1983; Solomos & Black, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; 2002) (Obeng, 2002, p. 5).

Obeng (2002) argues that political discourse structure is heavily impacted by the intended functions of the message. For example, if the message is to criticize an outgroup and call for an action against the group, then the discourse is often structured in such a way as to first present the outgroup’s action or message as problematic, and then to suggest the right course of action the target addressees must take (p. 7). To make such an argument, it is important, first, for the group to make positive presentations of themselves. “Political actors describe or characterize themselves in a positive manner (such as being good, brave, effective, sincere, strong, valiant, persistent, firm on important issues)” (p. 7). On the other hand, they use negative expressions to depict political opponents “as bad, cowardly, ineffective, insincere,
weak, inconsistent and the like, abound in political discourse and may be used effectively to persuade an electorate” (p. 7).

In order for them to “make appeal to the emotions of the recipients, generalize from single examples, and argue from impressions instead of evidence” (p.7), they apply a variety of discourse strategies, which include rhetoric (discourse strategies that pertain to the rhetorical structure of the discourse include circumlocution, parallelism, creativity, etc), intertextuality, political pronouns, analogy, metaphor, euphemism, evasion and others.

Obeng (1997) argues that metaphors in political discourse are more common in developing democracies than in developed democracies. He claims that this is because, in developing democracies, candor is often considered counterproductive and sometimes carries sociopolitical dangers. In such democracies, the political metaphors may help to soften or totally eliminate face-threatening utterances, and may also help to reinforce the point being made (2002, p. 11-12). Specifically, he analyzes metaphors used in Ghanaian political communication in Akan and demonstrates that “the ambiguity inherent in metaphorical utterances helps to leave room for negotiations of meanings and references” (p. 98). He also concludes that “Ghanaian political metaphors are used in persuasive speaking for effective argumentation and for influencing opinion” (p. 98). However, to say that metaphor is used more commonly in political discourse in developing democracies is questionable. Researchers such as Charteris-Black (2004, 2005) and Deignan (2005) have done a number of studies of political texts and speeches in British and American English, and both have found the extensive use of metaphor in these two developed democracies. Both show that metaphor is a powerful persuasive tool in political discourse.
Charteris-Black’s study of metaphors in political discourse mainly focuses on press reporting and religious discourse in English. He believes that “effective rhetoric involves us with the drama of the present by providing convincing explanations of what is right and wrong and convinces us that the speaker is both better and stronger than his/her opponents” (2005, p. xi). A highly effective rhetorical strategy, metaphor, “combines our understanding of familiar experiences in everyday life with deep-rooted cultural values that evoke powerful emotional responses” (p. xi).

He points out that persuasion is an important skill in communication, as it “aims to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of the message receiver” (Jowett and O’Donnell, 1992, 21-6). This is particularly essential in political discourse, as successful performance will result in political support, restoration of public image, and reinforcement of policies and regulations. Charteris-Black points out two important purposes of persuasion: the persuader “either seeks to confirm or to challenge existing beliefs, attitudes and behaviors” (p. 10). In either case, “persuasion is never devoid of intention” (p. 10). He also says that in both cases, “persuasion involves exploiting existing beliefs, attitudes and values rather than introducing completely new ones, ... and messages become persuasive when they evoke things that are already known or are at least familiar” (p. 10). To realize persuasion, metaphor is used as a popular rhetoric tool as its pragmatic characteristic is that “it is motivated by the underlying purpose of persuading” (p. 15). Obviously, as we mentioned above, to influence judgments is the central discourse goal in political speaking and writing (2004, p. 8).

In discussing metaphor in political argumentation, Charteris-Black identifies three types of political discourse where metaphor is used: press reports of politics that are authored by journalists and others working in the press and the media; speeches, policy statements, press
conferences and political debates authored by politicians and their political advisers; and creative works authored by fiction writers (p. 15-16). He concentrates on the first two types and analyzes their characteristics. One of the characteristics he notices in press reporting is that “metaphors provide colorful and accessible means of explaining abstract notions”, that they can be used to “convey the values of the journalist (or the newspaper for whom they are writing)”, and “influence the reader’s interpretation of current political issues” (p. 16). For example, Santa Ana (1999) analyzes linguistic metaphors in the Los Angeles Times and identifies the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS, which expresses a negative evaluation of immigrants.

To study metaphor in a given discourse, Charteris-Black combines Lakoff’s cognitive semantic approach with pragmatic analysis, because “metaphors are always used within a specific communication context that governs their role” (2004, p. 9). He argues that such an approach can be valuable in that “an adoption of a single unified set of criteria for the classification of metaphors permits accurate comparisons to be made of how metaphor is used in different discourse domains” (p. 9). Under this approach, cognitive characteristics of metaphor are not treated “in isolation from their persuasive function in discourse” (p. 9). He claims that “in order to understand why one conceptual metaphor is preferred to another we need necessarily to consider the speaker’s intentions within specific contexts: metaphors are not a requirement of the semantic system but are matters of speaker choice” (p. 9-10). Charteris-Black argues that

“It is indeed underlying utterance meaning—as determined by speaker’s intention—that is central in understanding what metaphor is. And that’s why the critical part of metaphor analysis is identifying the propositions that underlie the cognitive basis of metaphors and reveal the intentions of speakers” (p. 11).
Charteris-Black uses this combined approach in a number of corpus-based studies across a range of discourse types, including political texts (the inaugural speeches of presidents of the U.S.), sports and financial press reports, and religious texts (the Bible and the Koran). In studying American presidential speeches, he found light and fire metaphors associated with purity as well as with emotions and hope. In sports reporting, while the metaphor SPORT IS WAR is still very pervasive, he also found SPORT IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. He gives a list of conceptual keys in the religious texts such as PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, JESUS IS THE LIGHT, SPIRITUAL IS NATURAL, and HUMANS ARE PLANTS, and concludes that “metaphors are vital to persuasive communication of the Christian message” (p. 201).

In a recent study of metaphor in Chinese political discourse, Wei (2003) collected data from newspapers and website coverage on Taiwanese elections and found that a set of metaphors relating to “marriage” and “weather” were used to describe socio-cultural aspects of Taiwanese politics (p.61). Several metaphorical expressions were found to oversimplify, obscure, or even distort a more genuine political discourse (p. 61). For example, the use of “hat” in Taiwanese discourse refers to misconduct. For example, 乱扣帽子 luan kou maozi ‘dumping one’s hat on one’s enemy’ means misconduct by one’s enemy. Also reference to different colors of hats indicates which type of misconduct occurred in politics. For instance, bribery cases are considered red hats and sexual misconduct by party members are yellow hats. According to Wei, the use of hat related metaphorical expressions “disgraces and humiliates one’s opponents in public, while demonstrating one’s own innocence or superiority” (p. 77).

“Show business” related metaphorical expressions, such as 票房保证 piaofang ‘box-office guarantee’, 卡司 kasi ‘cast’, and 戏码 xima ‘episode’ are found to “reflect the public’s indifference to a political world in which policies and issues are insufficient and so
there must be “entertainment” if voters are to get enthusiastic” (p. 69). “War” related metaphorical expressions such as 宣战 xuanzhan ‘declare war’, 轰炸 hongzha ‘bomb’, and 利器 liqi ‘sharp weapon’ are utilized to manifest the similarities between war and political campaigns: one side of the war will eventually win; there is a militant aspect in the campaign (p. 71). She concludes that the use and abuse of such metaphors can influence voters’ choices by pointing out the power struggles between rival political parties, various social issues, and projected cultural practices (p. 62).

In studying the pragmatic and strategic functions of allusions used in the 1996 and 2000 Taiwanese presidential campaigns, Wei collected examples from written sources on the Internet and in magazines and newspapers. She suggests that allusions function similarly to metaphors, which are adopted by Taiwanese politicians “to demonstrate their quick wit or to engage in a verbal power struggle” (2002, p. 123). She recognizes, first, that allusion, as a type of trope, has been understudied. Instead of giving a clear definition of allusion in her article, she uses an example from Dr. Martin Luther King’s last speech, given the day before he was assassinated. The biblical allusion, the Promised Land, was utilized “when he referred to the threats against his life, his experience with the civil rights movements in the United States, and the impossible mission he had committed himself to accomplish” (p. 105). Wei observes that in a Taiwanese politic debate between former president, Lee Teng-hui, and former Taiwan provincial governor, James Soong Chu-yu, allusions to the popular novel, Journey to the West, not only provided a way for readers to surmise the estrangement of the two, “but also served as a showcase where politicians could prove their verbal charm and quick wit” (p. 120).

Wei argues that, like with the use of metaphors in political discourse, allusions can easily connect with the readers and influence their perceptions about certain political issues and the
campaign candidates. She also probes the question of how gender is articulated in metaphorical terms in politics by examining metaphors used to describe the only female presidential candidate in the 1996 campaign. For instance, the candidate was described as a “daughter”, “wife”, “goddess”, and “mother”, depending on the characteristics to be impressed upon voters. It was felt necessary to portray her as neither too masculine nor too feminine (p.2-3). Again, Wei emphasizes that metaphors are used to highlight certain aspects of politics as well as to hide others, and she warns readers to be aware of metaphors’ subtle power to influence (p.3).

In his general study of metaphor in Chinese, Liu (2002) shows that family metaphors are common in the discussion of some cross-strait issues. For example, 兄弟关系 xiongdi guanxi ‘brother-to-brother relationship’ is used to describe the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan. Another commonly used metaphor to describe the relationship across the straight is 骨肉 gu rou ‘bones and flesh’. It shows how closely they are connected. Family metaphors can also be used when the relationship across the straight is not in good terms. For instance, former president, Lee Teng-hui, once said that “We (Taiwan) are the father; the Chinese Communist government is the son. There is no such a thing as a son taking control before the father is dead” (p. 79). It is easy to see that family metaphors are prominent in the Chinese political discourse and are important in revealing “how the Chinese view some of the fundamental aspects of life and society” (p. 86).

Although Liu’s study of metaphor in Chinese political discourse is neither as broad nor as deep as Wei’s, it too shows that the use of metaphor is pervasive in the expression of political opinion in Chinese. Wei’s extensive study of metaphor in Chinese political discourse serves as an interdisciplinary guide that connects the fields of discourse analysis, politics, linguistics, and culture. Liu’s application of CMA to the study of Chinese political discourse contributes to this
area from a Mainland point of view; however, there is still much to be studied from the view point of the other side of the Taiwan Straits—the PRC.
In this chapter, I describe my database and how I conducted the study.

3.1. Data

This dissertation analyzes data collected from 760 selected political articles in Chinese newspapers and magazines published from 1997 to June 2007 in the PRC. The articles present the PRC’s position in an on-going political debate between that government and the government of Taiwan on the issue of Taiwan’s status, which is considered a key issue in the cross-strait (Taiwan Straits) relationship. According to the PRC, when former Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui was in power, he started to officially and vigorously promote independence for Taiwan.

When selecting articles, a keyword search was conducted. Because the Taiwan independence issue is usually referred to in Chinese as 台独 taidu ‘Taiwan independence’, the keywords 台独 taidu were entered into an educational database that contains newspaper and magazine articles published in the PRC. These articles were then saved into a computer. However, not all of them contained metaphors. All articles were read once to determine whether it contains metaphors. If not, the article was not selected for my corpus. For example, if an article containing the keywords 台独 taidu reporting a meeting held in the PRC in which the Taiwan independence issue was discussed did not contain any metaphors related to the target issue, it was not selected for study.
The earliest articles collected are from July 1997, after Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui made the so-called two-China statement on Taiwan’s independent status during an interview. This is seen by the PRC government as an official step by the Taiwanese government toward establishing the independence of Taiwan from Mainland China. The latest articles collected are from June 2007. During this ten-year time span, the Mainland media published a large number of articles on this issue, yielding a very large corpus of metaphors.

The articles related to the subject of “the independence of Taiwan” or “the two-China statement” were selected from a major Chinese government newspaper, People’s Daily, and several other newspapers, the Jinghua Times and the Global Times, and magazines representing the PRC government’s voice from 1997-2007: China’s National Defense, the People’s Forum, Voices from Taiwan, the Unification Forum, the Land, Global Outlook, China Newsweekly, the Leader’s Articles, the Liaowang Newsweekly, Cross-straits Relations, and China Reports. A total of 760 articles, containing about 1,630,000 characters, were selected and analyzed. For technical reasons, characters rather than words were counted. Each character is separated from the other by the same amount of space. Since single words can be represented by one or more characters, word boundaries are not distinguished typographically. This makes it very difficult to do an automatic word count. For example, in this eighteen-character phrase, 在返回台北后竟颠倒黑白为自己涂脂抹粉 zai fanhui taibei hou jing diandao heibai wei ziji tuzhimofen ‘after returning to Taipei, even confounded black and white, and whitewashed for herself’, there are nine words in this phrase with four words containing only one character: 在 zai, 后 hou, 竟 jing, and 为 wei. Three words that contain two characters: 返回 fanhui, 台北 taibei, and 自己 ziji, and two words containing four characters: 颠倒黑白 diandaohaibai and 涂脂抹粉 tuzhimofen. Moreover, it is customary to count the number of Chinese characters, instead of words, to
indicate the length of an article in Chinese. Since Chinese is primarily monomorphemic and highly isolating, and since historically, each character has its own meaning, counting characters makes sense from the Chinese point of view.

Of these articles, 463 were taken from various newspapers and the rest from political magazines. Their length in terms of the number of characters varies. Among the newspaper articles, the shortest contains approximately 570 characters, and the longest 7,600. Among the magazine articles, the shortest contains about 1,100 characters and the longest 8,900.

3.2. Research Method


CMT holds that metaphor is central to thought and language. Abstract topics such as love and time are understood largely or entirely through metaphors (Lakoff 1993). Conceptual metaphors, functioning at the level of thought, below language, can be seen as “a way of describing the connection that exists between two groups of ideas in people’s minds” (Deignan, 2005, p. 14). Researchers use linguistic metaphors as evidence for the existence of underlying conceptual metaphors (p. 14).

CMA is “an approach to the analysis of metaphors that aims to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use” (2004, p. 34). Charteris-Black (2004) describes three stages in CMA: first metaphors are identified, then they are interpreted, and then they are explained.
In order to identify metaphors in my data, I utilized both a rhetorical definition of metaphor as a figure of speech which describes one thing in terms of another without the use of words such as “like” or “as”, and Charteris-Black’s (2004) definition of metaphor as “a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension” (p. 21), which is developed from Lakoff’s (1993) notion of conceptual metaphor, “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system” (p. 203). A domain is a semantic area (Deignan, 2005, p. 14). Charteris-Black (2004) proposes that “a conceptual metaphor is a formal statement of any idea that is hidden in a figure of speech (e.g. metaphor or metonymy) that can be inferred from a number of metaphorical expressions and helps to resolve their semantic tension” (p. 15).

The conceptual metaphors were selected for analysis based on: (1) whether it was relevant to the issue of the independence of Taiwan; (2) frequency; and (3) whether it seemed to exhibit Chinese cultural, physical, or social features. Each article in the corpus described above was read twice and each metaphorical expression specifically related to the independence debate was duly noted. These were then sorted into broad categories according to the general domain of reference, such as animals, business, or journey. Next, following CMT, the categories were studied to identify conceptual metaphors, which were expressed in the form “A IS B”, as in the following set of examples:

A POLITICAL ENTITY IS AN ANIMAL—
1) A POLITICIAN IS AN ANIMAL
2) A POLITICIAN WHO SUPPORTS THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A SNEAKY ANIMAL
3) A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS THE TAIL OF A FOX
4) POLITICAL COMPETITION IS HUNTING
5) A LEADER IS A HUNTING ANIMAL
6) A POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS A RUNNING ANIMAL
7) AN EVIL POLITICAL THEORY IS A RAT
8) COUNTRIES THAT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN ARE LIONS

POLITICS IS BUSINESS—
1) A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION
2) TO GOVERN IS TO RUN A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION
3) POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE BUSINESS OPERATIONS
4) A POLITICAL IDEA IS A PRODUCT
5) POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IS A PRODUCT
6) A POLITICAL SCHEME IS CAPITAL FOR A POLITICAL ENTITY
7) A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS NEGATIVE ASSET
8) TAIWAN’S FOREIGN POLITICS IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION
9) A POLITICAL PROMISE IS A CHECK
10) A POLITICIAN IS A STOCK TRADER

POLITICS IS A JOURNEY—
1) THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IS A ROAD
2) A POLITICAL LEADER IS A TRAVELER
3) A POLITICAL GOAL IS THE END OF A ROAD
4) TO CARRY OUT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IS TO WALK ON A ROAD
5) TO CARRY OUT BAD POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IS TO WALK ON A WRONG ROAD
6) TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL GOAL IS TO BUILD A ROAD

In making these decisions, I had to keep in mind that these may be cases where these are layers of conceptual meaning within a single complex metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) make a distinction between primary and complex metaphors, claiming that primary metaphors are immediate and direct mappings from one domain to another, such as HAPPY IS UP, which appear to be universal, and complex metaphors, which are built upon primary metaphors. In my corpus, complex metaphors appear frequently. For example, generally speaking, a journey metaphor includes a beginning, a path, an end, a traveler, and motion along the path. The metaphorical expression 舵手 duoshou ‘steersman’ is also considered a journey metaphor because a steersman steers a boat, which is a vehicle. Steering is driving a vehicle moving along a course; continued motion of the vehicle toward an end point constitutes a journey, which involves a kind of progress.
The complexity of unpacking layers of metaphors in my corpus also involves unpacking entailments. For example, driver or steersman is an entailment for a certain type of travel. Another example is the poison metaphors, which stress a deadly consequence after taking poison. The metaphorical expression 票房毒药 piaofang duyao ‘box office poison’ consists of layers of conceptual metaphors. A box office is where a theater sells tickets for a movie or a play. It is used metaphorically to refer to the popularity of a movie or a play. A popular movie sells well; thus, a bigger box office, and on another leve, to attract more audience. Poison is used to kill a living being. A box office and poison seem unrelated, but the phrase 票房毒药 piaofang duyao refers to the unpopularity of a political party whose supporting policies are not popular, specifically, the policy toward Taiwan’s independence is conceptualized as poison, which brings deadly consequences for the political party. In addition, this metaphorical expression contains the entailments of a political entity is a living being (a human being) and bad consequence is death.

Generally speaking, the determination of layers of the conceptual mappings depends on the contexts in my data. For example, throughout my corpus, poison is used to refer to unjust policies carried out by the Taiwanese government (e.g. the independence of Taiwan). Then, I use the conceptual metaphor AN UNJUST POLICY IS POISON, although poison can be used to refer to other things.

However, there are also other cases where an expression is metaphorical; it was not selected in my discussion because it is not relevant to the Taiwan independence issue. For example, the metaphorical expression 列车 lieche ‘train’ is a vehicle and the track a train is operated on can be seen as a path. The motion of a train on the track is progress; thus, 列车 lieche is also a journey metaphor. But, this is not included in the discussion because this
metaphorical expression does not specify the movement of the Taiwan independence issue.

Another example from the animal and body part domains is 领头雁 lingtouyan ‘leading goose’.

In this word, 头 tou ‘head’ is a body part that contains the brain. In terms of position, the head is on the top of a living being; thus, 领头 lingtou ‘lead head’ is to stand before the head; in other words, to lead. The phrase 领头 lingtou is a metaphor in Chinese, but it is not discussed in this dissertation because it is irrelevant to the discussion of the Taiwan independence issue.

Concepts that occurred more than 20 times in my data were selected, for example, journey occurred 262 times and Chinese martial arts 20 times. I could not analyze which writers used which metaphors because the articles are anonymous, but I assumed that a frequency of 20 times indicated use by more than one writer. In total, nineteen concepts were selected in detailed analysis. Tokens of various metaphorical expressions that are sub-aspects of a concept were counted in the frequency for each concept. I will illustrate how I counted the tokens from the following example of the illness metaphor (discussed further in section 6.5.3. in Chapter Six):

(112) 阿扁 上台以来, 其“病”症日渐明显:
A-bian shang tai yilai, qi “bing” zheng ri jian mingxian:
Chen Shui-bian up stage since, his “illness” symptom day gradual obvious

先被“台独”分子李鸿禧传染了
xian bei “tai du” fenzi Li Hong-xi chuanran le
first PRT “Taiwan independence” member Li Hong-xi infect PERF

“台独”小感冒, 鼻涕直流, 满脑子都是
“tai du” xiao ganmao, biti zhiliu, man naozi dou shi
“Taiwan independence” little cold, nasal mucus run, full brain all is

“台独”理念; 接着, 患中度“咽喉炎”,
“tai du” linian; jiezhe, huan zhongdu “yanhou yan”,
“Taiwan independence” principle; next, suffer from medium “pharyngitis”,

竭力鼓吹“台独”主张; 下来, “乙肝”
“Since Chen Shui-bian has become president of Taiwan, symptoms of infection from the illness of the independence of Taiwan concept have gradually become apparent: first, he was infected by one of the pro-independence members, Li Hong-xi, with a ‘cold’, with a runny nose and a head full of principles regarding the independence of Taiwan; next, he suffered from ‘pharyngitis’, exhausting his voice by preaching the independence of Taiwan; then, the ‘hepatitis B’ virus recklessly prevailed, as he started to talk about public voting and a new constitution everywhere; then, the virus in his body spread, and he developed some serious problems with his ‘lungs’.

The italicized words and phrases in example (112) indicate that they are metaphorical expressions. In the above example, the illness related metaphorical expressions are: 病症 bingzheng ‘illness symptom’, 小感冒 xiao ganmao ‘little cold’, 鼻涕直流 biti zhiliu ‘nasal mucus run’, 咽喉炎 yanhou yan ‘pharyngitis’, 乙肝病毒 yigan bingdu ‘hepatitis B virus’, 病毒 bingdu ‘virus’, and 肺部 feibu ‘lung’. There are seven expressions in total, and they were counted as seven tokens into the frequency of the illness concept.

In many examples, more than one word or phrase was italicized to indicate a metaphor, although each may be a sub of a different concept. For instance,

(69) 陈水扁 就是这样一面向大陆抛出
Chen Shui-bian just is this way one side towards mainland throw out

带刺的橄榄枝，同时又弯刀出鞘
dai ci de ganlan zhi, tongshi you wan dao chu qiao,
bear thorn MOD olive branch, meanwhile again curved sword out sheath

苦心孤诣地斩断

painstaking heart alone certain degree PRT cut off

两岸关系的脐带.

liang an guanxi de qidai

two side relation MOD umbilical cord

“Chen Shui-bian is just like this: he threw out olive branches with thorns to the Mainland by promising to maintain talks and participate in development with the Mainland while adding content related to Taiwan’s independence in policies and activities; at the same time, he has taken the curved sword out of its sheath by taking actions to attempt to achieve the independence of Taiwan. He has been making extraordinary painstaking efforts to try to cut off the umbilical cord between the two sides”.

In example (69), the metaphorical words and phrases are: 带刺的橄榄枝 daici de ganlan zhi ‘thorny olive branch’, 弯刀出鞘 wandao chu qiao ‘curved sword out of its sheath’, 苦心孤诣 kuxin gu yi ‘painstaking heart alone to certain degree’, and 脐带 qidai ‘umbilical cord’.

Each represents a different concept. 带刺的橄榄枝 daici de ganlan zhi ‘thorny olive branch’ is a plant metaphor. 弯刀出鞘 wandao chu qiao ‘curved sword out of its sheath’ is a war/weapon metaphor. While the last two phrases are the human body metaphors, 脐带 qidai ‘umbilical cord’ is also a family metaphor, indicating a mother-child relationship.

Other concepts such as packing/cover and clothes that were not selected in my analysis because they are not considered specifically reflect the Chinese culture. For example,

A) 用四层厚厚的包装纸,
yong si ceng houhoude baozhuangzhi,
use four layer thick wrapping paper,

把“台独纲领”包起来
ba “tai du gangling” bao qilai
PRT “tai independence guidelines” wrap up
“to wrap up the guidelines of Taiwan’s independence by using four layers of thick wrapping paper”.

In the above example, the italicized metaphorical expressions 包装纸 baozhuangzhi ‘wrapping paper’ and 包起来 bao qilai ‘wrap up’ are packing/cover metaphors, which do not seem to be unique in Chinese; rather, the packing/cover metaphor can be found commonly used in other languages such as English.

Here is an example of a clothes metaphor.

B) 为 “台 独” 量 身 定 做 一 个
wei “tai du” liang shen ding zuo yi ge
for “taiwan independence” measure body custom make one

牢 不 可 破 的 框架
lao bu ke po de kuangjia
firm no can break MOD frame

“a made-to-measure frame that is firm and unbreakable for the Taiwan independence issue”.

In this example, the metaphorical expression 量身定做 liang shen ding zuo is a phrase originated in clothes making that a tailor measures the body of a customer and makes clothes according to the customer’s measurements only. Thus, this expression is a clothes metaphor, which is not particularly unique in representing the issue of Taiwan’s independence in Chinese.

After the concepts were selected in detailed discussions, I asked two Chinese volunteers to read the original sentences containing the metaphorical expressions and identify (1) whether each metaphorical expression was commonly used in everyday Chinese or not; and (2) which seemed to have been created by the political writers. Rater A is an older Chinese speaker with no linguistic background and Rater B is a graduate student with an MA in linguistics. In order to help the volunteers distinguish a conventional and a novel metaphor, I made use of Charteris-Black’s (2004) distinction between conventional and novel metaphor, as described below:
1. “A conventional metaphor is a metaphor that is frequently used and is taken up in a language community, thereby reducing our awareness of its semantic tension” (p.21).

2. “A novel metaphor is a metaphor that has not previously been taken up and used in a language community, thereby heightening awareness of its semantic tension” (p.22).

The volunteers were given Chinese instructions on a conventional and a novel metaphor by both definitions and made-up examples. After reading the instructions, I talked to them individually to make sure they understood the difference between conventional and novel. Then, they were given the sentences containing metaphorical expressions and were asked to mark each expression by a different color (e.g. red) to show whether it is conventional or not, and by using a letter (e.g. A—commonly used in spoken and written Chinese; B—created by individual writers) after a metaphorical expression to indicate whether it was created by political writers or not.

The volunteers identified an average of 16.2% of the metaphors as not commonly used or seen in Chinese (Rater A had 17.7% and rater B had 14.7%). Although regarding the second question, there seemed to be a greater difference between the two raters (Rater A identified 29% of the metaphors were created by political writers; rater B only 12%), the difference is probably not critical, as the raters may have been exposed to more or less such media coverage on the issue of the independence of Taiwan based on their interest in this issue.
Chapter 4

Frequency and Results

In this chapter, I give the frequency of tokens of particular metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions. The total number of chengyu ‘set phrase’ is also provided.

4.1. Types of Concepts

Below is a list of the concepts that are used as source domains and will be discussed in Chapter Six. The total number of tokens of metaphorical expressions that are relevant to the issue of Taiwan independence is 2458 (the total number of articles is 760). The frequency of tokens occurred in each concept is listed below in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journey</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>Natural forces</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shows</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>War/weapon</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human body</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plants</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>Human relations</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical elements</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food/eating/cooking</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>Poison</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>Chinese martial arts</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In my data, I found a huge number of metaphors which were drawn from different aspects of Chinese culture. Although many are relevant with the issue of Taiwan independence, I arbitrarily chose those occurred 20 or more times in detailed discussion in Chapter Six. This is
reasonable because these could be considered fairly common and familiar to readers of this genre.

Other concepts such as clothes, color, and cover/packaging which are not discussed in Chapter Six are not considered specifically reflect the Chinese culture. A couple of examples were provided in Chapter 3, some additional examples are 外衣 waiyi ‘out coat’, 包装 baozhuang ‘wrapping’, and 伪装 weizhuang ‘disguise’.

4.2. Metaphorical Expressions

The tables below list specific tokens of metaphorical expressions that are relevant to the issue of Taiwan independence and their relative frequency.

Table 2: Animal Metaphors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>螳臂</td>
<td>arm of a mantis</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>纸老虎</td>
<td>paper tiger</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蛙</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>跛脚鸭</td>
<td>limp duck</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鸡公</td>
<td>rooster</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狮子</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大象</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蚂蚁</td>
<td>ant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>草蜢</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>凯蒂猫</td>
<td>Hello Kitty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>悬崖勒马</td>
<td>hold the horse before the cliff</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>老鼠</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狐狸尾巴</td>
<td>tail of a fox</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狗 (吠)</td>
<td>dog (barking)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狼狈为奸</td>
<td>two wolves doing bad things together</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蜕变</td>
<td>transform</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>出笼</td>
<td>come forth</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>焚琴煮鹤</td>
<td>burn a musical instrument and cook the crane</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
狼子野心 | wolfish ambition | 3
---|---|---
鸡肋 | chicken rib | 2
作茧自缚 | spin a cocoon around oneself | 2
狮子大开口 | a lion opens its big mouth | 2
变色龙 | chameleon | 2
飞蛾扑火 | flying moth dashing into fire | 2
春燕 | spring swallow | 2
为渊驱鱼, 为林驱雀 | drive fish into deep water, drive birds into woods | 1
鹰犬 | falcon and hound | 1
引狼入室 | invite a wolf into the house | 1
缘木求鱼 | climb a tree to catch fish | 1
浑水摸鱼 | fish in troubled waters | 1
蚊子 | mosquito | 1
骆驼 | camel | 1

Others that were not discussed: 41

In Table 2, the expressions in the table above the double line refer to power; a big animal represents a powerful political entity while a small animal or an insect refers to a less powerful entity. The expressions in the table below the double line refer to political leaders or their behavior. Since these animal expressions are used to describe human beings, most of them carry negative connotations, such as 老鼠 laoshu ‘rat’ and 鹰犬 yingquan ‘falcon and hound’.

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not selected, occur, were not related to the independence of Taiwan issue:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>马(不包括悬崖勒马, 天马行空)</td>
<td>horse (excludes those horse related expressions that were already counted)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>翅膀/翅</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>虎皮</td>
<td>the fur of a tiger</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黔驴技穷</td>
<td>the proverbial donkey in ancient Guizhou has exhausted its tricks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>马首是瞻</td>
<td>take the head of the general’s horse as guide</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尾巴 (不包括狐狸尾巴)</td>
<td>tail (not the tail of a fox)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>骑虎</td>
<td>ride a tiger</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>天马行空</td>
<td>a heavenly steed soaring across the skies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>兔死狗烹</td>
<td>the hounds are killed for food once all the hares are bagged</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>就坡下驴</td>
<td>let the donkey go down the slope</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>选举动物</td>
<td>election animal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鹦鹉学舌</td>
<td>repeat the words of others like a parrot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>杀鸡儆猴</td>
<td>kill the chicken to frighten the monkey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>猛虎</td>
<td>ferocious tiger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乌龟</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>刺猬</td>
<td>hedgehog</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>虎视鹰膦</td>
<td>glare like a tiger and an falcon eyeing its prey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鸵鸟</td>
<td>ostrich</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丑小鸭</td>
<td>ugly ducking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>攀龙附凤</td>
<td>fawn upon the dragon and the phoenix</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白天鹅</td>
<td>white swan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>领头雁</td>
<td>a leading goose</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Business Metaphors

(total frequency: 96)
Others that were not discussed: 20

In the above table, a political entity (e.g. a political party) is referred to as a store; thus, different political activities of a political entity can be described as business activities of a store.

The contexts in which other expressions, which were not selected, occur were related to the political operations and activities inside the DPP or the KMT. For example, because the DPP leaders are portrayed as those who like to give different labels the KMT members and their behavior, the DPP is conceptualized as a company that sells all kinds of hats by using such expressions as 公司 gongsi ‘company’ (3 times) and 生意 shengyi ‘business’ (2 times).

### Table 4: Chinese Martial Arts Metaphors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>招</td>
<td>trick/movement</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>金钟罩</td>
<td>gold bell cover</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>太极拳</td>
<td>Tai Chi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>空手道</td>
<td>Karate</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>铁布衫</td>
<td>iron-clothed garment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>自断经脉,自废武功</td>
<td>cut one’s own veins and blood vessels to abolish kungfu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others that were not discussed: 5

The contexts in which other expressions, which were not selected, occur were not related to the issue of Taiwan independence, but refer to a general state of being or political skills, for instance, 花拳绣腿 huaquanxiutui ‘showy kungfu skills that are not useful’ (1 time), 功力 gongli ‘power of kungfu’ (1 time), 走火入魔 zouhuorumo ‘go too far in what one does or says’ (1 time), and 架式 jiasi ‘posture’ (2 times).
Table 5: Death Metaphors

(total frequency: 57)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>死</td>
<td>die/dead</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>玩火自焚</td>
<td>to burn oneself by playing fire</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>饮鸩止渴</td>
<td>drink poisonous bird blood to stop thirst</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>自杀</td>
<td>committee suicide</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>殉葬</td>
<td>(be) buried alive with the dead</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>捏死</td>
<td>to hold between fingers until dies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>自残</td>
<td>hurt oneself</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>寿终正寝</td>
<td>die a natural death</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>安乐死</td>
<td>euthanasia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>葬送</td>
<td>ruin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>苟延残喘</td>
<td>linger on in a steadily worsening condition</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others that were not discussed: 15

In the above table, different types of death are used to refer to an end of a policy or a bad consequence brought by a bad action.

The contexts in which other expressions, which were not selected, occur were related either to ideology in the past or ex-president Lee Teng-hui. Expressions such as 招魂 zhaohun ‘summon the spirit’ (5 times), 借尸还魂 jieshihuanhun ‘to use the dead body to return one’s spirit’ (5 times), and 阴魂 yinhun ‘evil spirit’ (1 time) are used to refer to ideology in the past. Phrases such as 诈尸 zhashi ‘fake dead body’ (3 times) and 僵尸 jiangshi ‘zombie’ (1 time) are used to refer to ex-president Lee Teng-hui, whose influence is not powerful any more.
Table 6: Food/Eating/Cooking Metaphors
(tot al frequency: 158)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>吃</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>炒</td>
<td>stir-fry</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>饭</td>
<td>cooked rice</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>发酵</td>
<td>ferment/fermentation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奶水/乳汁</td>
<td>milk</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>豆腐</td>
<td>tofu</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蒸</td>
<td>steam</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奶酪</td>
<td>cheese</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冷饭</td>
<td>cold rice</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家常便饭</td>
<td>homely dishes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>望梅止渴</td>
<td>stop thirst by looking at plums</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>画饼充饥</td>
<td>fill hunger by drawing pancakes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>夹生饭</td>
<td>half-cooked rice</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>剩饭</td>
<td>leftover rice</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>残灯冷灶</td>
<td>broken lamp and cold stove</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others that were not discussed: 47

In the above table, the concept of rice is used relatively frequently, compared to other kinds of food. Rice is a symbol of sustenance in the Chinese culture and a major food of much of China. Thus, it is unsurprising to find reference to different types of rice used in my data. As listed in the above, the examples are 冷饭 lengfan ‘cold rice’, 夹生饭 jiashengfan ‘half-cooked rice’, and 剩饭 shengfan ‘leftover rice’.

The contexts in which the following expressions occur were not related with the issue of Taiwan independence; rather, they refer to other political action or political ideas that are not relevant to this issue; therefore, not selected in detailed discussion. For instance, 饼 bing ‘pancake’ (7 times) is used to refer to the popularity of a political party among voters in Taiwan.
or Taiwan’s huge amount of military budget. 米 mi ‘raw rice’ (6 times) is used to refer to Taiwanese politicians and 粥 zhou ‘porridge’ (3 times) refers to a political party in Taiwan.

Table 7: Gambling Metaphors

(totals frequency: 57)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>赌 (动词)</td>
<td>gamble (v.)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>赌注</td>
<td>gambling bet</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>赌徒</td>
<td>gambler</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>赌博</td>
<td>gambling (n.)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Game Metaphors

(totals frequency: 140)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>牌</td>
<td>card</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>游戏</td>
<td>game</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>棋子</td>
<td>piece (of a board game)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>博弈</td>
<td>play a go game</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>险棋</td>
<td>dangerous piece (of a board game)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>文字游戏</td>
<td>word game</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>死棋</td>
<td>dead piece (of a board game)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>儿戏</td>
<td>children’s game</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“车”, “马”, “炮”, “卒”</td>
<td>vehicles, horses, cannons, soldiers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others that were not discussed: 8

In the above table, the competition between the Mainland and Taiwan is portrayed as different games, especially the poker game and different board games which players’ strategies are emphasized in order to win.
The contexts in which the other eight expressions, which were not selected, occur were not relevant to the issue of Taiwan independence; rather, they refer to general political moves in Taiwanese politics: 

- 盤棋 pan qi ‘(number of) round of playing (a board game)’ (4 times),
- 棋牌 qi pai ‘board game and poker’ (2 times),
- 妙棋 miaoqi ‘good piece’ (1 time), and
- 弃車保帥 qichebaoshuai ‘abandon the piece of vehicle to protect the general’ (1 time).

Table 9: Human Body Metaphors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>心</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>面目</td>
<td>face and eyes</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>血脉</td>
<td>blood and veins</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>脐带</td>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“独”心</td>
<td>independent heart</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>嘴脸</td>
<td>mouth and face</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>骨肉</td>
<td>bones and flesh</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大换血</td>
<td>change blood</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>画皮</td>
<td>painted skin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others that were not discussed: 69

In the above table, different parts of a human body refer to the dependent relations between the Mainland and Taiwan.

The contexts in which the other expressions were not selected in discussion in Chapter Six were not relevant to the independence of Taiwan. For example, 四肢 sizhi ‘four limbs’ (1 time) refers to the important leaders in the DPP. The expression 选举细胞 xuanju xibao ‘election cell’ (1 time) refers to Chen Shui-bian’s inborn capacity to win the election. 大嘴巴 da zuiba ‘big mouth’ (1 time) is used as a metonymy to refer to Lee Teng-hui.
Table 10: Human Relations Metaphors
(total frequency of family metaphors: 85)
(total frequency of marriage/love metaphors: 8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>脐带</td>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一家/一家人</td>
<td>one family (family members)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>母亲</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>怪胎</td>
<td>freak</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>兄弟</td>
<td>brothers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>子孙</td>
<td>sons and grandchildren</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大家庭</td>
<td>big family</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>孩童/孩子</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妯爸</td>
<td>nursing father</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>山姆大叔</td>
<td>Uncle Sam</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>败家子</td>
<td>spendthrift of a family</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>孤儿</td>
<td>orphan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>老祖宗</td>
<td>old ancestry</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日本养父母</td>
<td>Japanese foster parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>双生子</td>
<td>twins</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家贼</td>
<td>a thief in the family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>孪生怪胎</td>
<td>twin freaks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>畸形儿</td>
<td>deformed fetus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>龙子</td>
<td>dragon son</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>私生子</td>
<td>illegitimate child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>弃儿</td>
<td>abandoned baby</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>游子</td>
<td>a child travelling faraway</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>前妻</td>
<td>ex-wife</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>凯子</td>
<td>boyfriend</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>离婚</td>
<td>divorce</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>苦恋</td>
<td>bitter love</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other expressions in family concept that were not discussed: 7

The relationship between the Mainland and Taiwan is portrayed as that of siblings or mother-child in the Mainland media. The expression 脐带 qidai ‘umbilical cord’, a human body word, also indicates a mother-child relationship. This is included under the concept of family in the above table.
The contexts in which the following expressions occur were not relevant to the independence of Taiwan; they give reference to a dependent relationship between the DPP and the KMT or an economic relationship between the Mainland and Taiwan: 父母 fumu ‘father and mother’ (1 time), 爹 die ‘father’ (1 time), 早产儿 zaochaner ‘premature infant’ (3 times), 奶妈 naima ‘wet nurse’ (1 time), and 有奶便是娘 you nai bianshi niang ‘whoever has milk is one’s mother’ (1 time).

Other expressions in marriage/love concept that were not discussed: 3

The Taiwanese government describes its relationship with the Mainland as a divorced couple; therefore, expressions such as 前妻 qianqi ‘ex-wife’ and 离婚 lihun ‘divorce’ occurred. The Mainland media uses the expression 苦恋 kulian ‘bitter love’ in such an emotional way that how much the Mainland the Taiwan need to be as one.

The contexts in which the following expressions occur were related to the Taiwanese politics; they were used to describe the interactions between the DPP and the KMT: 政党外遇 zhengdang waiyu ‘political party’s affair outside of marriage’ (1 time), 抛媚眼 pao meiyan ‘throw a favored eye’ (1 time), and 取宠 quchong ‘try to please and obtain favoritism’ (1 time).

Table 11: Illness Metaphors
(total frequency: 132)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>药</td>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>病</td>
<td>illness</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>症</td>
<td>symptom</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伤痕</td>
<td>wound</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>生疮</td>
<td>grow boils</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>流胀</td>
<td>run pus</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 11, different kinds of illness refer to describe problems brought by the independence of Taiwan. Thus, treatments such as medicine and operations are proposed for curing the illness.

The contexts in which the following expressions occur refer to Taiwanese politics, not the issue of Taiwan independence: 诟病 goubing ‘denunciation’ (2 times), 水土不服 shuitu bufu ‘unaccustomed to the climate of a new place’ (2 times), and 流产 liuchan ‘miscarriage’ (2 times).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>毒瘤</td>
<td>poisonous tumor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>瘾</td>
<td>addiction/addict</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>迷魂汤</td>
<td>soup of infatuation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>手术</td>
<td>medical operation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仙丹</td>
<td>elixir of life</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大患</td>
<td>big illness</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>强力剂</td>
<td>empowerment doze</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>定心丸</td>
<td>pill to stable the heart</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>变性手术</td>
<td>transgender operation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>感冒</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>咽喉炎</td>
<td>pharyngitis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乙肝病毒</td>
<td>hepatitis B virus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>肠梗阻</td>
<td>intestine obstruction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>顽疾</td>
<td>persistent ailment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>恶瘤</td>
<td>malignant tumor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中药</td>
<td>Chinese medicine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others that were not discussed: 6

Table 12: Journey Metaphors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>路</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>走</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>步</td>
<td>step (in walking)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>驾驶</td>
<td>drive/maneuver</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>死路</td>
<td>dead-end road</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>修筑</td>
<td>build (a road)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Others that were not discussed: 10

The progress of the issue is conceptualized as movement along a journey, including driving and sailing, where politicians are drivers or steersmen guiding the vehicle.

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not selected, occur were not relevant to the issue of Taiwan’s independence: 橋 qiao ‘bridge’ (6 times), 马车 mache
‘carriage’ (1 time), 列车 lieche ‘train’ (1 time), and 鸣锣开道 mingluo kaidao ‘gong to have an open road ready’ (1 time).

Table 13: Natural Forces Metaphors
(tot al frequency of wind metaphors: 43)
total frequency of water metaphors: 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>春风</td>
<td>spring wind</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风云</td>
<td>wind and cloud</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冷风</td>
<td>cold wind</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>东风</td>
<td>east wind</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴风</td>
<td>sinister wind</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风浪</td>
<td>wind and waves</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风风雨雨</td>
<td>wind and rain (ups and downs)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风向球</td>
<td>wind ball</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风头</td>
<td>the trend of events</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风色</td>
<td>how the wind blows</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>暖风</td>
<td>warm wind</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潮流</td>
<td>currents</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冷水</td>
<td>cold water</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浪</td>
<td>waves/tide</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浊浪</td>
<td>muddy tide</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>逆流</td>
<td>adverse current</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>暗流</td>
<td>undercurrent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>洪波</td>
<td>flood</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>漩涡</td>
<td>whirlpool</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大潮</td>
<td>big tide</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>惊涛骇浪</td>
<td>shocking tides and terrifying waves</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浊流</td>
<td>muddy flow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>回流</td>
<td>backflow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>轩然大波</td>
<td>a great disturbance</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>恶浪</td>
<td>bad tide</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>风急浪高</td>
<td>soaring wind and high waves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>涇流</td>
<td>swift current</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>兴风作浪</td>
<td>stir up wind and waves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浑水</td>
<td>muddy water</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the above table, the expressions above the double line are wind metaphors used to describe power balance in the relations between the two sides; those below the double line are water metaphors. Expressions such as 冷风 ‘cold wind’, 阴风 ‘sinister wind’, and 流 ‘stream or current’ refer to bad influence brought by the independence of Taiwan, while good influence is conceptualized as 春风 ‘spring wind’ and 大潮 ‘big tide’.

Other wind expressions that were not discussed: 12

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not selected, occur were not related to the independence of Taiwan; they were used to describes general Taiwanese leaders or politics: 见风使舵 jianfeng shi duo ‘adjust the steering according to the wind’ (5 times), 风吹草动 feng chui cao dong ‘the rustle of leaves in the wind’ (2 times), 风潮 fengchao ‘agitation’ (2 times), 妖风 yao feng ‘evil wind’ (2 times), and 呼风唤雨 hu feng huan yu ‘summon wind and rain’ (1 time).

In the above table, although the following expressions are relevant to the issue, they do not express the idea of power or force: 风向球 fengxiang qiu ‘wind ball’, 风头 feng tou ‘the trend of events’, 风色 feng se ‘how the wind blows’, and 风云 feng yun ‘wind and cloud’.

Other water expressions that were not discussed: 4

The contexts in which the following expressions occur were not relevant to the independence of Taiwan issue: 死水微澜 sishui wei lan ‘stagnant water barely ripples’ (1 time), 推波助澜 tui bo zhu lan ‘make a stormy sea stormier’ (1 time), and 浪潮 langchao ‘tide’ (2 times). These following expressions do have the sense of force or power: 冷水 lengshui ‘cold water’ and 浑水 hunshui ‘muddy water’.
Table 14: Physical Elements Metaphors
(totals frequency of weather metaphors: 43)
(totals frequency of temperature metaphors: 58)
(totals frequency of fire metaphors: 59)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>春天</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>千层雪</td>
<td>thousand layers of snow</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>雪上加霜</td>
<td>add frost onto snow</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>晴空</td>
<td>cloudless</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>南云</td>
<td>southern clouds</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>戾气</td>
<td>vicious atmosphere</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乌云</td>
<td>dark cloud</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>翻云覆雨</td>
<td>produce clouds with one turn of the hand and rain with another</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>隆冬</td>
<td>mid-winter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>雷电,台风,暴雨,海啸</td>
<td>lightening, typhoon, rainstorm, tsunami</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>骤风暴雨</td>
<td>sudden wind and strong rain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日薄西山</td>
<td>the sun is setting beyond the western hills</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>云块</td>
<td>chunks of clouds</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>南天</td>
<td>southern sky</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>祥云</td>
<td>auspicious clouds</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阴云</td>
<td>sinister cloud</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>雨过天晴</td>
<td>cloudless sky after the rain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>万里无云</td>
<td>cloudless in a thousand miles</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>寒冬</td>
<td>cold winter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>热</td>
<td>hot (verb, adjective)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>降温</td>
<td>lowering temperature</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...热</td>
<td>...heat</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>破冰</td>
<td>break ice</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>升温</td>
<td>rising temperature</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日暖</td>
<td>warming day</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冰封</td>
<td>ice-bound</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>寒</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冰块</td>
<td>ice chunk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乍暖还寒</td>
<td>lukewarm yet still cold</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冰冻</td>
<td>freeze</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冰层</td>
<td>layer of ice</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Situations and changes in situations in the relations between the two sides are conceptualized as different weather conditions, changes of temperature, and fire.

Other weather expressions that were not discussed: 2

The context in which the following expression, which was not selected, occur was not related to the independence of Taiwan; it refers to the Taiwanese domestic politics: 低气压 diqiya ‘low pressure’ (2 times).

Other temperature expressions that were not discussed: 7

The contexts in which the following expressions occur were not relevant to the independence of Taiwan: 冰窖 bingjiao ‘icehouse’ (1 time), 白热化 bairehua ‘turn white-hot’ (1 time), and 烫 tang ‘burning hot’ (5 times).

Other fire expressions that were not discussed: 14

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not selected in discussion, occur were only relevant in describing the Taiwanese domestic politics such as the problems occurred inside the DPP: 灭火 miehuo ‘distinguish a fire’ (5 times), 大火 dahuo ‘big fire’ (2
times), 起火 qihuo ‘start a fire’ (1 time), 放火 fanghuo ‘set fire’ (5 times), and 红火 honghuo ‘flourishing’ (1 time).

Table 15: Plant Metaphors
(total frequency: 172)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>根</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>树</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>稻草</td>
<td>straw</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>花</td>
<td>(all other) flower</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>橄榄枝</td>
<td>olive-branch</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>花开(满园)</td>
<td>flower blossoms (fill a garden)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>苦果</td>
<td>bitter fruit</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>昙花</td>
<td>epiphyllum flower</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>瓜</td>
<td>gourd</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>根脉</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>共生共长</td>
<td>grow and develop together</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>救命草</td>
<td>live-saving grass</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>藤</td>
<td>vine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>摇钱树</td>
<td>a tree sheds money when shaken</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>深埋</td>
<td>deeply bury</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒瓜</td>
<td>poisonous gourd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>祸根</td>
<td>trouble root</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plants conceptualize political ideas or policies; the development of such an idea or policy is conceptualized as the growth of a plant.

Others that were not discussed: 20

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not selected, occur were not relevant to the issue of Taiwan independence; rather, they are used to describes general Taiwanese politics: 培植 peizhi ‘cultivate’ (5 times), 植根 zhigen ‘be rooted’ (1 time), 土壤 turang ‘soil’ (5 times), 土地 tudi ‘land’ (3 times), 镜花水月 jinghuashuiyue ‘flower in the mirror
and the moon in the water’ (2 times), 丛生 congsheng ‘(plants) grow thickly’ (2 times), 种子 zhongzi ‘seed’ (1 time), and 投桃报李 toutaobaoli ‘give a plum in return for a peach’ (1 time).

Table 16: Poison Metaphors
(total frequency: 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>票房毒药</td>
<td>box office poison</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒药</td>
<td>poison</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒招</td>
<td>poisonous move</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒瘤</td>
<td>poisonous tumor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒手</td>
<td>poisonous hand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒箭</td>
<td>poisonous arrow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒心</td>
<td>poisonous heart</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the above expressions will be discussed along with other concepts such as human body (e.g. 毒心 ‘poisonous heart’) and weapon (e.g. 毒箭 ‘poisonous arrow’) in, for example, section 6.3.1. human body metaphors and 6.6.5. poison metaphors in Chapter Six.

Others that were not discussed: 8

毒 du in its verb form was not selected because the context where it occurred (8 times) was not relevant to the independence of Taiwan.

Table 17: Religion Metaphors
(total frequency: 36)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>神主牌</td>
<td>memorial tablet</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>救命菩萨</td>
<td>life-saving Buddha</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>神</td>
<td>god</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above expressions in Table 17 are used negatively to describe the pro-independence leaders and the independence movement.

Others that were not discussed: 18

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not selected, occur were not relevant to the independence of Taiwan: 天王 tianwang ‘sky king’ (5 times), 教父 jiaofu ‘God father’ (2 times), 约书亚 yueshuya ‘Joshua’ (3 times), 和尚 heshang ‘monk’ (2 times), 香火 xianghuo ‘incent’ (4 times), 祭品 jipin ‘sacrificial offerings’ (1 time), and 经 jing ‘script’ (1 time).

Table 18: Show Metaphors
(total frequency: 256)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>演</td>
<td>perform/play</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阿剧</td>
<td>farce</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>秀/戏</td>
<td>show</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唱</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>双簧(戏)</td>
<td>two-man comic show</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>导演</td>
<td>direct</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>变脸</td>
<td>change faces</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>涂脂抹粉</td>
<td>apply powder and make-up</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>主角</td>
<td>leading role</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>粉墨登场</td>
<td>come on stage with full make-up</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>歌功颂德</td>
<td>sing one’s praises</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>魔术师</td>
<td>magician</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黑白脸</td>
<td>black and white faced</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>悲剧</td>
<td>tragedy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
丑剧 | ugly drama | 2  
脸谱 | facial mask | 2  
粉饰 | whitewash | 2  
和平曲 | peace melody | 1  
悲情剧 | sad TV drama | 1  

Others that were not discussed: 19

The contexts in which the following expressions, which were not discussed, occur were not relevant to the issue of Taiwan independence; they give reference to general Taiwanese politicians and their behavior: 舞 wu ‘dance’ (4 times), 舞台 wutai ‘stage’ (11 times), 帮腔 bangqiang ‘vocal accompaniment in some traditional Chinese operas’ (1 time), 谢幕 xiemu ‘answer a curtain call’ (3 times).

Table 19: War Metaphors
(total frequency: 105)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>战争</td>
<td>war</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>火药/火药桶/火药库</td>
<td>gunpowder/gunpowder bucket/gunpowder depot</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>战车</td>
<td>war vehicle</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>急先锋</td>
<td>daring vanguard</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>战火</td>
<td>war fire</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>利器</td>
<td>sharp weapon</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>无硝烟的战争</td>
<td>a war without the smoke of gunpowder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尚方宝剑</td>
<td>the imperial sword</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>地雷</td>
<td>landmine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>弯刀</td>
<td>curve sword</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>双刃剑</td>
<td>double-blade sword</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>毒箭</td>
<td>poisonous arrow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>达摩克利斯之剑</td>
<td>the sword of Damocles</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>杀手锏</td>
<td>a kind of killing weapon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>打响</td>
<td>start (a war)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一决雌雄</td>
<td>compete for championship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Confrontation between the Mainland and Taiwan over the issue of Taiwan independence is expressed through the use of the war metaphors shown in Table 19.

Others that were not discussed: 25

Some war expressions are used to describe party competition in Taiwanese politics, for example, 割喉战 gehouzhan ‘war of cutting throat’, 火力 huoli ‘firepower’, 炮 pao ‘cannon’, 攻陷 gongxian ‘capture’, 混战 hunzhan ‘tangled warfare’, and 炸弹 zhadan ‘bomb’.

4.3. 成语 Chengyu ‘set phrases’

Because of the huge variety of metaphors occurring in the chengyu data, and because of their complex interrelatedness, the frequency of individual chengyu was not counted. The chengyu that are relevant to the issue of Taiwan independence occurred 404 times in total.

Some examples are: 瞒天过海 man tian guo hai ‘hide from sky cross sea’ metaphorically means to act in an underhand way. 柳暗花明 liu an hua ming ‘willow dark flower blooming’ metaphorically refers to a new vista. 搬起石头砸自己的脚 banqi shitou za ziji de jiao ‘lift up stones to break one’s own feet’ metaphorically means to plan to make somebody miserable, but end up getting hurt themselves.
Chapter 5

成语 Chengyu ‘Set Phrase’ and Metaphor

In this chapter, metaphors found in 成语 chengyu ‘set phrase’ are discussed.

From its name, 成语 chengyu literally means set phrases. Shi (1979) defines chengyu as follows: “凡在语言中长期沿用，约定俗成，一般具有固定的结构形式与组织成分，有其特定含义，不能望文生义，在句子中的功能相当于一个词的定型词组或短句，谓之成语” (p. 12-13) ‘A chengyu is a fixed phrase or clause that functions as one word in a sentence; it has commonly been used for a long period of time; it is established by usage and has a particular meaning which cannot be understood literally; and it usually has fixed components in its structure’ (my translation). For example, 眉来眼去 mei lai yan qu ‘eye-brow come eye go’ means to make eyes at each other. 一日三秋 yi ri san qiu ‘one day three autumn’ indicates how fast time goes by. 不费吹灰之力 bufei chui hui zhi li ‘no waste blow dust power’ means things can be done easily. Traditionally, the chengyu in Chinese has been translated as ‘idiom’ in English; however, Shi (1979) argues that the concept of idioms in English cannot be a replacement for 成语 chengyu in Chinese; thus, the common translation of 成语 chengyu as ‘idiom’ is not appropriate. In this dissertation, to avoid this problem, instead of using the word ‘idiom’, I will use the Chinese term ‘chengyu’ to refer to this particular lexical and syntactic structure in Chinese.

In investigating conventional figurative language, including idioms, under the scope of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005, 2006) propose the
Conventional Figurative Language Theory (CFLT), since they argue that CMT is unable to account for the irregular features of idiom semantics and pragmatics. According to CFLT, within cognitive linguistics, most idioms are “considered motivated rather than arbitrary” (2005, p. 8). This means that idioms do not “arise automatically by implementation of productive rules”, but tend to fit one or more patterns that are already present in the speakers’ conceptual system; thus, they are “parts of a conceptual system that is fixed in the metaphors of a given language” (p. 8).

CFLT also assumes that there is a “image component (a specific conceptual structure mediating between the lexical structure and the actual meaning of figurative units)” (2006, p. 26).

Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005) propose to address cultural knowledge as part of the most salient features of conventional figurative units, including idioms. There are five cultural categories in the figurative units:

1. those “whose underlying cultural knowledge can mainly be traced back to knowledge of culture-based social interaction within a given community, including all aspects of social experiences and behavior” (p. 22);

2. those which “reveal image components that can be ascribed to material culture, primarily to artifacts of a given culture, including all aspects of material environment” (p.22);

3. those which are subsumed under “the label ‘textual dependence’”, which means that they are originally quotations or allusions that “are related to certain texts that can be identified as their sources” (p. 22);

4. those which can be traced back in ancient folk theories and pre-scientific concepts of the world, including religion, superstition, ancient beliefs, etc. (p.22);

5. those which deal with cultural symbols, in which the literal and figurative meanings are established in culturally relevant sign systems other than language (p.22).

Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005, 2006) claim that there are idioms in different languages that “cannot be explained via conceptual metaphors based on direct experience, and require rather addressing cultural codes, such as popular beliefs, literature, arts and so on”
In addition, they point out the similarities and differences between conventionalized figurative metaphors such as idioms and individual novel metaphors: “they often use the same mappings; but their value in understanding a situation is quite different” (p. 29; 2006, p. 38); conventionalized figurative metaphors, especially idioms, “convey different kinds of knowledge that they have accumulated in the course of their functioning in the language” (p. 29; 2006, p. 38).

According to Ge (2001), in Chinese, 成语 chengyu ‘set phrase’ belongs to 熟语 shuyu ‘well-known phrase’, a fixed lexical unit that has fallen into a pattern and is used commonly by speakers of a language community. Common features of chengyu include: a) conventionalized usage; b) simple form; c) pithy; and d) a fixed structure (Shi 1979; Liu 1985; Hu, 1995; Ge 2001).

One of the distinctive features of chengyu in Chinese is that many are composed of four characters, which is why many generally call them “four-character idioms”, although some chengyu have three, five or more characters. Although one chengyu is usually composed of three or more characters, its meaning usually surpasses the sum of the meanings expressed by the characters (Shi, 1979; Luo, 2003; Baidu Encyclopedia Online). A common feature of chengyu is ellipsis. For example, 一日三秋 yi ri san qiu ‘one day three autumn’ does not have a verb phrase, but it is understood as “to live one day is like to live three autumns”, indicating how fast time goes by. Chinese chengyu mostly originated in ancient literature and historical events, and the meanings are not always compositional or transparent. For instance, 高山流水 gaoshan liushui ‘high mountain flowing water’ does not literally mean lofty mountain and flowing water, but metaphorically refers to bosom friends. Thus, chengyu are learned as units, some in the process of child language acquisition, and many others consciously in school. Educated Chinese speakers are expected to know the origin of a particular chengyu as well as its meaning.
There are different structures of chengyu. For example, the structure of 光明磊落 guangming leiluo ‘light, bright, open, upright’, which means bright and upright, is called “juxtaposition”, in which all four characters are the same parts of speech, i.e. adjectives. The structure of 世外桃源 shiwei taoyuan ‘world outside peach source’, meaning a heaven outside the human world, is called “modification”. In this chengyu, the first two characters modify the latter two characters. The structure of 好为人师 hao wei ren shi ‘like for people teacher’, meaning like to lecture people, is called the “verb-object” in which the first one or two characters are the verb and the latter characters are the object of the verb. The structure of 胸有成竹 xiong you cheng zhu ‘chest have grown bamboo’, meaning to have grown-up bamboo inside the chest, is called the “subject-predicate” in which the first one or two characters are the subject and the latter characters are predicate of the subject (成语词典 www.chengyu.org).

Chengyu tend to be highly elliptical, and complex semantics is expressed very concisely.

Zuo (2006) studied the acquisition of Chinese chengyu from a cognitive angle. He argues that cognitive linguistics emphasizes the underlying conceptual model behind the motivation of idioms, rather than treating them as fixed combinations, as in traditional research (p.3). By analyzing conceptual mappings in metaphors involving the human body and emotions in general in Chinese, Zuo uncovered some underlying conceptual models of chengyu that with references to the human body and emotions (e.g. anger, happiness, sadness), such as THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER, THE HEART IS A CONTAINER, HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN, and ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER, all of which occur in other languages as well.

Liu (2008) also recognizes the conceptual features in Chinese chengyu. Based on Lakoff and Johnson’s categorization of metaphors, she discusses Chinese chengyu exhibiting three types of metaphors: orientational, ontological, and structural. For instance, some chengyu
include the orientational metaphors: HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, HEALTHY IS UP, SICK IS DOWN, VIRTUE IS UP, and CORRUPTION IS DOWN.

Liu’s and Zuo’s analysis of chengyu within CMT are important steps in the right direction, but both studies consider chengyu in isolation, without reference to the context in which a chengyu occurs, and neither discusses chengyu which may contain conceptual metaphors but which are not fully explainable without recourse to their historical or literary origins and allusions.

In CMT, conceptual mappings connect a source and a target domain. However, in my data, the source domains provided in chengyu seem to be so specific and complex that metaphorical layers must be unpacked. In order to illustrate these points, I will start with a couple of examples in which the conceptual metaphors tend to be more general than language specific. Then, I will discuss examples containing allusions and historical origins.

In examples (1) and (2), there is a source and its corresponding target domain in the context. The two examples of Chinese chengyu contain more than four characters.

(1) 党 内 “炮 火 全 开，火力 四 射”，
    dang nei “pao huo quan kai, huo li si she”
    party inside “artillery fire complete open, fire power four shoot”

    也 出 现 有 “大 绿” 自 救，“小 绿” 保 命
    ye chuxian you “da lu” zi jiu, “xiao lu” bao ming
    still appear have “big green” self save, “small green” protect life

    的 现 象， 连 苏 贞 昌， 游 锡 墾， 吕 秀 莲， 谢 长 廷
    de xianxiang, lian Su Zhen-chang, You Xi-kun, Lu, Xiu-lian, Xie Chang-ting

    “四 大 天 王”，也 “不 约 而 同 与 扁
    “si da tian wang”, ye “bu yue er tong yu Bian
    “four big sky king”, also “no appointment and same and Chen Shui-bian

    各 走 各 的”， 大 有 “树 倒 枭 季 散” 之 势.
Inside the party, ‘the artillery is completely open and there is shooting everywhere’; also, some ‘big Greens’ have tried to save themselves; other ‘small Greens’ have attempted to protect their lives. Even the ‘four big sky kings’: Su Zhen-chang, You Xi-kun, Lu Xiu-lian, and Xie Chang-ting were trying to walk their own way away from Chen Shui-bian without prior consultation; there is a tendency for ‘the monkeys to disperse when the tree falls down’.

In the above example, the artillery and the shooting refer to different kinds of blame and criticism from the DPP party members after Chen Shui-bian and his family and relatives were involved in bribery and corruption scandals in 2006. Since the DPP is referred to as a green-colored party, the color of green is used for its members. The phrase “big greens” refers to relatively important party officials, and “small greens” to those who are not so important DPP party members. The four sky kings are four gods in Buddhism who live on four mountains in four directions. The image of four sky kings is used to refer to the four most important figures of the DPP—Su Zhen-chang, You, Xi-kun, Lu Xiu-lian, and Xie Chang-ting.

The conventionalized set phrase 树倒猢狲散shu dao husun san literally means that when the tree falls down, the monkeys that live on the tree disperse. In this phrase, husun refers to a special kind of monkey species that live in the forest of northern China. The phrase means that once a leader falls from power, those who used to depend on the leader will leave immediately. In the above example, Chen Shui-bian is the leader of the DPP and seen as the one the party members depend on. With his involvement in bribery scandals and lawsuits, he is no longer seen as reliable, and is thus conceptualized as a tree which has fallen down. His dependants—the DPP party members—will leave Chen Shui-bian as the bribery scandals may affect their political career. Thus, in the above example, the conceptual metaphors are: A POWERFUL LEADER IS A TREE and DEPENDANTS ARE MONKEYS.
Here is another example.

(2) This year, DPP candidate although by luck win election, 

but party inside quite a few personage clearly realize arrive 

this definitely not “Taiwan independence” proposition MOD credit, but purely 

because of KMT separate MOD grant, so-called 

This year, although the DPP candidate won the election by luck, many of the DPP members have clearly realized that this is definitely not due to the support for the independence of Taiwan, but is purely a result of a split within the KMT; this is the so-called case of the fisherman profiting when the snipe and the clam fight”.

In 2000, the DPP won the presidential election for the first time after almost 50 years of governance by the KMT. According to the Mainland media, the DPP candidate won not on the basis of their political ideas, such as arguing for the independence of Taiwan, but because of a fight between different KMT leaders within the KMT.

In a story written during the Xihan Dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.), a clam opens its shell for some sunlight on the beach. A snipe comes by and wants to eat the clam with its long beak. The clam closes its shell to protect itself, resulting in gripping the beak of the snipe tightly. No matter how much the snipe tries, it still cannot get out its beak out of the grip of the clam shell; but the
clam cannot go back to the water, either. While they are fighting without letting each other go, a fisherman happens to pass by and grabs them. This is where the chengyu 鹬蚌相争, 渔翁得利 yu bang xiang zheng, yuwe de li in the above example comes from. This chengyu is used nowadays to mean that a third party benefits from a tussle between two others. In the above example, the fight between different KMT leaders within the KMT is seen as resembling the fight between the snipe and the clam; the DPP is conceptualized as the fisherman who profits by winning the election. Thus, the corresponding conceptual metaphors are: A FIGHT INSIDE A PARTY IS A FIGHT BETWEEN THE SNIPE AND THE CLAM; THE BENEFICIARY IS THE FISHERMAN.

The above examples of chengyu show that there are corresponding source and target domains in the context. However, in many chengyu, the conceptual mappings seem to be context specific. I will illustrate my point in the following examples (3) to (7) that contain allusions.

Next,

(3) 虽然离卸任还有两年多时间,
suiran li xieren hai you liang nian duo shijian,
although from (be) relieved from office still have two year over time,

但陈水扁的日子过得一天不如一天.
dan Chen Shui-bian de rizi guode yi tian buru yi tian.
but Chen Shui-bian MOD days spend one day not as good as one day.

有的媒体干脆形容说，他已陷入四面楚歌的尴尬境地.
youde meiti gancui xingrong shuo, ta yi xianru si mian chu ge de ganga jingdi
some media straightforward describe say, he already fall into four side (the state of) Chu song MOD awkward position
“Although there are still more than two years before he leaves office, Chen Shui-bian’s life is getting worse everyday. Some media describe his situation straightforwardly as one where he has already fallen into an awkward position and is utterly isolated”.

The allusion in the idiom 四面楚歌 si mian chu ge ‘four side Chu song’ is to a situation described in the book of Shi Ji ‘The Records of the Grand Historian’ written by a famous historian, Sima Qian (145 B.C.-86 B.C.). Liu Bang, the king of the state of Han, decided to eliminate Xiang Yu, the of Chu, in order to gain more land and power. Xiang Yu and his troops lost a few battles and escaped to a place called Gaixia, where he and the rest of his troops were besieged by Liu Bang’s troops. At that moment, Xiang Yu did not have many soldiers left and had no food. At night, the troops surrounding Xiang Yu started to sing traditional Chu songs. Xiang Yu heard the songs and was surprised, wondering whether Liu Bang had already seized Chu. He lost his will to fight; while drinking, he sang with his favorite concubine. After that, the concubine committed suicide in front of Xiang Yu. Then, Xiang Yu led the remaining soldiers to break through the siege and they finally escaped to the river of Wu with only 28 followers left. He was too ashamed to face his fellow-townsmen, so he killed himself with his sword. From this story, the chengyu si mian chu ge was generalized to describe a situation where one suffers the attack of enemies from all directions and is alone without any assistance.

In the use of above chengyu, there is an allusion to bribery and corruption scandals among Chen Shui-bian’s family members and relatives; lawsuits have been filed; DPP party members and leaders have started to stay away from him and even to consider asking Chen Shui-bian to step down from the presidency. In his situation, no one is supporting him and he is suffering from criticism and attacks from all directions. This situation is conceptualized as Xiang Yu being surrounded by Liu Bang’s troops who sang Chu songs. In this chengyu, the songs from Chu and the enemies are not obviously related; the relationship between the two is
understandable only on the basis of the story described above. Thus, Chen Shui-bian’s enemies cannot simply be conceptualized as the songs from the state of Chu. However, the conceptual mapping works in this example because the metaphorical meaning of the chengyu as a whole, which is only generated from the meaning of the allusion, corresponds to the political situation Chen Shui-bian faces.

Another example is:

(4) 就在“中国七块论”推出后仅仅50天，

李登辉又抛出“两国论”，完全撕下所有

遮羞布，赤裸裸地暴露其庐山真面目。

“Just fifty days after the seven-piece-of-China statement was made publicly, Lee Teng-hui threw out another two-China statement. He has completely torn off all his shame-covering cloth, disclosing his real intentions undisguisedly.”

The chengyu 庐山真面目 lu shan zhen mian mu comes from a poem by Shu Shi (1037-1101 A.D.). While on his way to a place called Ruzhou to which he had been exiled, he visited the Mountain of Lu. He was inspired by the beautiful scenery on the Mountain of Lu and wrote several poems to express his feelings. The chengyu was generalized from the last two sentences in one of his poems: 不识庐山真面目, 只缘身在此山中 bushi lushan zhen mianmu, zhiyuan shen zai ci shanzhong ‘the reason why I am unable to see the real Mountain of Lu is because I

1 The Seven-Piece-of-China statement was proposed in Lee Teng-hui’s book Taiwan de Zhu Zhang ‘Taiwan’s Propositions’ published in May 1999. In this book, he says that China should be divided into seven smaller Chinese countries: Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia, the Northeast, the Southwest and the Southeast, and the Southern part of the Yangtze River.
am in the middle of the mountain'. It means that when a visitor is in the middle of the mountain, his/her view is limited by the mountain as he/she can only see a part of the mountain. This chengyu metaphorically refers to the difficulty of recognizing truth of something or the real nature of someone. Because of the different positions people may take and different angles for looking at things, it is very difficult to fully understand something or someone. In order to do so, we need to be as objective as possible and to look beyond our own point of view.

In the above example, the Mainland media claim that whether it is the seven-piece-of-China statement (see footnote 1) or the two-China statement that is concerned the true intention of both political statements is to separate Taiwan from China so Taiwan can become an independent country. Here, the Mountain of Lu has no obvious relation to a real intention. These two have a clear association only in the context of the poem. Thus, the possible conceptual metaphor A REAL INTENTION IS THE MOUNTAIN OF LU is a secondary metaphor based on the original association of one domain with another in the poem.

Below is another example,

(5) 如果 既 想 回避 政治 谈判, 又 想 借 辜 先生 参访 ruguo ji xiang huibi zhengzhi tanpan, you xiang jie gu xiansheng canfang
if CONJ want avoid political talks, also want make use of Gu master visit
恢复 事务性 商谈, “明 修 栈道, huifu shiwuxing shangtan, “ming xiu zhandao, resume routine negotiation, “explicitly build a plank road along the face of a cliff,
暗 渡 陈仓”, 更 是 昧于 an du chencang”, geng shi meiyu
secretly cross (a river to go to) (the place of) Chencang”, even is ignorant of
两岸 关系 的 现实 与 需要 的. liang an guanxi de xianshi yu xuyao de
two side relation MOD reality and need PRT.

“If the Taiwanese authorities want to avoid political talks, but also want to make use of Mr. Gu’s visit to the Mainland to resume routine negotiations by doing one thing under the cover of
another, they are ignoring reality and the need for relations between the two sides”.

The chengyu 明修栈道,暗渡陈仓 ming xiu an dao, an du chen cang literally means to build a plank road along the face of a cliff in public, but to secretly cross a river to go to the destination of Chencang. This comes from a story about a war. Liu Bang, the founder and the first emperor of the Dynasty of Xihan (206 B.C.-25 A.D.), was leading his troops to defeat the troops of Qin. Among his counselors, one called Han Xin was very good at plotting. In his well-planned schemes to defeat the troops of Qin and other rebellious groups, the first step was to obtain the land of Guanzhong (now the province of Shanxi). He sent soldiers to build a plank road along the face of a cliff, which was burnt down. Liu Bang’s enemy, Zhang Han, heard about this and did not take it very seriously, laughing at what Liu Bang was doing, as it would take a very long time for a few hundred soldiers to re-build the plank road. However, not long after, Zhang Han received a report that Liu Bang’s troops had already conquered Chencang, located in Guanzhong. He did not believe it at first, but when he realized it was true, it was too late for him to react; he had to kill himself in the end. Liu Bang then defeated two other enemies and seized all of Guanzhong. While the soldiers were building the plank road, Han Xin and Liu Bang secretly led the majority of their troops to Chencang via a shortcut, and finally won. Later on, the story was generalized as the above chengyu to describe those who conduct secret activities that are beyond the eyes of others and allow them to achieve their goals in the end.

In example (5), Mr. Gu Zhenfu, the then chairperson of the Straits Exchange Foundation, was invited by the Mainland government to visit the Mainland in 1998. However, according to the Mainland media, the Straits Exchange Foundation did not show a positive reaction towards the invitation; although they accepted it, in terms of discussing the specifics of Mr. Gu’s visit in the Mainland, they were deliberately trying to avoid some sensitive political issues. The
metaphors in this example MR. GU’S VISIT TO THE MAINLAND IS A DISTRACTING PLANK ROAD and AN UNREVEALED INTENTION IS A SECRET PLAN TO CAPTURE CHENCANG are secondary metaphors based on the original association of one domain with another in the historical story. The target domain in the first metaphor is context specific. When the chengyu is used in a different context, the target domain will change.

In the next example, the source-target relationship seems to be more general as it can be used in varied situations.

(6) 李登辉 图穷匕见了.
Lee Teng-hui tu qiong bi xian le.
Lee Teng-hui (a roll of) painting end knife appear PERF.

还有几个月就要离开那个位置的他，
hai you ji ge yue jiu yao likai na ge weizhi de ta，
still have a few CLF month just need leave that CLF position POSS him，

带着失落，焦虑与偏执，提出了海峡
dai zhe shiluo，jiaolu yu pianzhi，tichu le haixia
take PROG losing，anxiety and paranoia，propose PERF straight

两岸是“国家与国家关系”的怪论，
liang an shi “guojia yu guojia guanxi” de guai lun
two side is “country and country relation” POSS strange theory

一头撞向两岸关系的基石——
yi tou zhuang xiang liang an guanxi de jishi——
one head collide towards two side relation POSS cornerstone——

一个中国的原则.
yi ge zhongguo de yuanze
one CLF China POSS principle

“Lee Teng-hui’s knife hidden in a rolled painting has been revealed. In several months, he will leave that position; along with the feelings of loss, anxiety, and paranoia, he proposed a strange statement that the relationship between the two sides is that between one country and another. This statement is on a collision course with the cornerstone of the relations between the sides—the one China principle”.

The chengyu 图穷匕见 tu qiong bi xian literally means that a knife hidden in a scroll
painting appears after the painting is unrolled. It originates from a famous story of an assassin.

During the years 230-221 B.C., the state of Qin became more and more powerful and started to conquer other states. After the king of the state of Zhao was captured, the state of Yan was in danger of being conquered next. To prevent this, the crown prince of Yan sent an assassin named Jing Ke to kill the king of Qin. In order to win the king’s trust, Jing Ke brought the head of the king’s enemy and a rolled up map of the land in Yan that was intended to be given as a present to the king of Qin. Inside the map, Jing Ke hid a sharp knife that was covered with poison. When the king of Qin met Jing Ke, he saw his enemy’s head, and was eager to open out the rolled map. The knife appeared as the map was completely opened. Jing Ke grabbed the knife and tried to stab the king, but the king escaped and Jing Ke was finally killed by the king’s guards. The chengyu phrase means that the truth has finally been revealed.

In example (6), Lee Teng-hui’s statement on the status of Taiwan—the Seven-piece-of-China statement—is described as a disguise for the real intention of making Taiwan independent. According to the Mainland media, Lee Teng-hui’s disguise started when he became president. Before 1994, he supported a unification policy, with the intent of unifying China by utilizing the Three Principles of the People, namely, the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, and the Principle of People’s Livelihood. After 1994, he made several speeches supporting Taiwan as an independent political entity, but did not make it clear that the relations between the Mainland and Taiwan were to be those of one country to another. For example, in his seven-piece-of-China statement, Lee Teng-hui claimed that China should be divided into seven smaller Chinas, including Taiwan. Thus, the statements he made before the two-China statement are conceptualized as a disguise.

In the above example, Lee Teng-hui is described as having his disguise completely removed and his real intention to separate Taiwan from China and establish an independent
country revealed. The conceptual metaphors in this sentence are: A DISGUISE IS A ROLLED-UP MAP and A HIDDEN, DANGEROUS INTENTION IS A KNIFE.

Here is another example:

(7) 陈水扁之流所主张的有悖法理的
Chen Shui-bian and his like so advocate MOD have against legal principle MOD

所谓“公民投票决定台湾前途”，“公投立法”
sowell “citizen vote decide Taiwan future”, “public voting establish law”

只不过是一场自我陶醉
only just is one CLF self intoxicated with self-satisfaction

的黄粱美梦
MOD gold millet beautiful dream

“Chen Shui-bian and his ilk advocate the so-called “citizens vote to decide the future of Taiwan” that is against legal principles; the “public voting to establish laws” is just a golden millet dream that is intoxicated with their own satisfaction”.

The chengyu phrase 黄粱美梦 huang liang mei meng literally means that the golden millet has not cooked well, i.e. that a good dream is already gone. The allusion in this chengyu phrase is to a story where a young student named Lu Sheng was travelling through Han Dan (located in the province of Hebei) and was staying in a small hotel. A Daoist monk named Lu Dongbin happened to be staying in the same hotel as well. When Lu Sheng was talking to Lu Dongbin, he complained how poor he was. Then, Lu Dongbin took a pillow from his luggage and told Lu Sheng, “if you sleep on this pillow, you will gain great wealth and high rank”. At this moment, the owner of the hotel was cooking millet. Since it was too early to have dinner, Lu Sheng took a nap on the pillow. He started dreaming right away. In the dream, he married the beautiful daughter of a wealthy family and was living a very happy life. The next year, he
became an imperial scholar and then an official in the imperial government. Afterwards, he was promoted all the way to Prime Minister. He had five sons who all married daughters from notable families and became important officials. Lu Sheng lived until he was over eighty years old. Then the dream was over and Lu Sheng woke up. He remembered his good dream, but the millet had not even finished cooking yet, even though it does not take long to cook millet. Lu Sheng was surprised about the wealth and high rank he had over his life in such a short dream.

The Daoist monk Lu Dongbin smiled and said, “This is what life is! If you want to enjoy real wealth and high rank, you need to make efforts of your own”. The chengyu phrase *huang liang mei meng* is used to show the illusion of life; nowadays, it is used to mean a dream that is impossible to realize.

In the above example, the Mainland media imply that Chen Shui-bian and the pro-independence groups intend to realize Taiwan’s independence by conducting a vote among Taiwanese citizens. But, according to the Mainland, this will not actually happen, because it is impossible for Taiwan to be independent. This situation is conceptualized as a golden millet dream. The golden millet itself originally had nothing to do with time, but in the chengyu, it is a reference to a short period of time based on the story described above. The conceptual metaphor in this example is: PUBLIC VOTING ON TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE IS A GOLDEN MILLET DREAM. This conceptual metaphor is very specific in this example, and the target domain would be different in another context.

The following examples (8)-(12) contain chengyu originated in ancient Chinese literature or Chinese spoken discourse. I will show in the following that there are layers of conceptual mappings which form secondary metaphors that are based on the original association of one domain with another in chengyu. The unpacking of layers seems to be more complex than the typical source-target relationship.
He also publicly flatter the U.S. and Japan, towards them suggest 'deeply held expectations', especially advocate Japan 'can even strong', ‘restore the past powerful influence’, ‘become the leader and the dominant person in Asia’. He has been trying so hard to flatter the U.S. and Japan that he is a slave licking his master’s hemorrhoids; his ugly manner is just like Shi Jing-tang.

The chengyu 奴颜舔痔 nu yan tian zhi possibly comes from two other chengyu—奴颜婢膝 nu yan bi xi or 奴颜媚骨 nu yan mei gu and 舔痈吮痔 shi yong shun zhi. The first two contain the characters of nu yan, literally meaning the look of a slave. The last one literally means to lick and suck out the pus and blood from the hemorrhoids of others. All of the chengyu are used metaphorically to show one person despicably fawning upon someone else. 舔痈吮痔 shi yong shun zhi comes from an allusion quoted in the book of Zhuangzi, a famous ancient philosopher. Zhuangzi had a neighbor named Cao Shang who was a villain. He was sent to the state of Qin as an envoy of the king of the state of Song. Before his trip, he received several nice carriages and horses from the king. After visiting the state of Qin, the king of Qin also gave him a hundred nice carriages. So, Cao Shang was really happy and went to Zhuangzi’s house to brag about how well
he had done. Zhuangzi did not even look at him directly and said, “When the king of Qin was sick, he told his servants and officials that whoever cured his hemorrhoids would get one nice carriage; whoever licked his hemorrhoids would get five carriages. You received a hundred carriages, does that mean you licked the king of Qin’s hemorrhoids?”

In the above example, in the eyes of the Mainland media, Lee Teng-hui’s flattery of the U.S. and Japan is what a Chinese traitor usually does. His face is portrayed as the look of a slave and his behavior of flattering is licking the master’s hemorrhoids. The vivid portrayal of Lee Teng-hui through this chengyu is a metaphorical image to show how much one tries to fawns upon someone else in such a despicable way. After unpacking different layers, the possible corresponding conceptual metaphors are: A TRAITOROUS LEADER IS A SLAVE; FLATTERY OF A FOREIGN ENEMY IS A SLAVE LICKING HEMORRHOID; A FOREIGN ENEMY IS A MASTER; and FLATTERING WORDS ARE HEMORRHIODS. The last conceptual metaphor is context-specific in this sentence.

Also, at the end of the example, Lee Teng-hui is compared to Shi Jingtang, a historical figure who is also considered one of the most notorious Chinese traitors in history. Shi Jingtang, as the emperor of Houjin (936-942 A.D.), signed a treaty with the Qidan, a non-Chinese minority group, about the cession of Chinese territory to the Qidan. He also acknowledged the king of Qidan as his father and did bad things to common Chinese people in order to gain support from the king of Qidan. The comparison of Lee Teng-hui and Shi Jingtang strengthens the image that Lee Teng-hui is a notorious traitor to the Mainland.

Next,

(9) 李登辉 自知 贪污 受 赂 的 丑 事
Lee Teng-hui zi zhi tanwu shou hui de chou shi
Lee Teng-hui self know corruption accept bribe MOD ugly thing
Lee Teng-hui knows that he has done a big basket load of terrible things, including corruption such as accepting bribes and they are known to the outside world. Once other political parties use the scandal to punish him, he will be unable to protect himself, [like] a clay Buddha crossing a river".

The chengyu phrase 泥菩萨过河自身难保 ni pusa guo he zi shen nan bao literally means it is difficult for a Buddha made of clay crossing a river to protect himself. In many temples, the statues of Buddha are made of clay. When clay meets water, it will dissolve, regardless of how powerful a Buddha may be. Thus, this chengyu phrase metaphorically refers to someone who cannot even save him-/herself, let alone anyone else. Strictly speaking, this expression is 歇后语 xiehou yu, a two-part common expression in Chinese. There are also a few slightly different forms of this expression in Chinese, such as in 泥菩萨落水自身难保 ni pusa luo shui zi shen nan bao, instead of 过河 guohe ‘cross a river’, 落水 luoshui ‘fall into water’ is used.

In the above example, Lee Teng-hui is conceptualized as a clay Buddha. Although the river in this chengyu phrase emphatically refers to a possible bad result, a river is full of water; water can be conceptualized as public knowledge of Lee Teng-hui’s scandal; if the scandal is known to the public, even as a leader, he will suffer bad consequences. In this sense, the concept of a clay Buddha refers to a situation where what looks good will be destroyed when revealed in public. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example are: A CORRUPT LEADER IS A
CLAY BUDDHA, TROUBLE IS WATER, A SITUATION LEADING TO A BAD CONSEQUENCE IS A CLAY BUDDHA CROSSING A RIVER, and DISSOLVING IS A BAD CONSEQUENCE.

Another example is,

(10) “人 无 信 不 立”, 陈水扁 企图 借 几 句 “people no credit no foothold”, Chen Shui-bian attempt jie ji ju “soft” MOD make use of a few sentence “软性” 的 表态, 欺骗 国际 舆论 和 “ruanxing” de biaotai, qipian guoji yulun he “soft” MOD make known his position, deceive international opinion and

两 岸 所有 中国 人, 掩护 “台 独”, liang an suoyou zhongguo ren, yanhu “tai du”, two side all Chinese people, cover “Taiwan independence”,

骗 取 选票, 到头 来 终 会 是 pian qu xuanpiao, daotou lai zhong hui shi cheating obtain ballot, to the end come finally PRT is

“竹 篮子 打 水 一 场 空”, 为 其 “台 独” “zhu lanzi da shui yi chang kong”, wei qi “tai du” “bamboo basket scoop water one CLF empty”, for his “Taiwan independence”

真正 面 目 留 下 可耻 的 注脚. zhenzheng mian mu liu xia kechi de zhuoju real face eye leave down shameful MOD footnote

“A person will not gain a foothold if he does not have credibility. Chen Shui-bian attempts to deceive international society and all Chinese people on both sides by saying a few ‘soft’ sentences about his own position, trying to cover up [his real goal of] the independence of Taiwan, in order to obtain ballots by cheating. In the end, he will get nothing, like using a bamboo basket to scoop water; what will be left are the shameful footnotes of the real intention to achieve the independence of Taiwan”.

The chengyu 竹篮打水一场空 zhu lan da shui yi chang kong literally means that scooping water with a bamboo basket is fruitless. A basket made of bamboo has holes around the sides and on the bottom; therefore, it is impossible for it to hold water. This is used metaphorically to mean nothing is achieved although efforts have been made.

In the above example, the Mainland media portray Chen Shui-bian as a deceitful leader
whose real goal is the independence of Taiwan, but is trying to cover up his intention by
deceiving international society and the Chinese people. No matter how hard he is trying to cover
up his real intention, his efforts will end in vain, as people will find out the truth. The bamboo
basket is a container metaphor, referring to a flawed container for holding water. Water is used
to conceptualize the apparent results that were achieved early. Thus, the conceptual metaphors
are APPARENT EARLY RESULTS ARE WATER, A WRONG APPROACH IS AN EMPTY BAMBOO
BASKET, and A FRUITLESS RESULT IS SCOOPING WATER WITH AN BAMBOO BASKET.

Next,

(11) 而 台湾当局虽然一直把新闻交流挂在嘴边，
er Taiwan dangju suiran yizhi ba xinwen jiaoliu gua zai zui bian,
CONJ Taiwan authority although always PRT news exchange hang at mouth side

但近年来的所作所为可以看出，
dan jin nian lai de suozuosuowei keyi kan chu,
but recent year come MOD behaviors can see out,

他们实际上是在阻碍两岸新闻交流，
tamen shijishang shi zai zuai liang an xinwen jiaoliu,
they in fact is at hinder two side news exchange,

是扯两岸新闻交流的后腿。
shi zai che liang an xinwen jiaoliu de hou tui
is at pull two side news exchange MOD back leg

“And although the Taiwanese authorities have always talked about news exchange [with the
Mainland], from what they have done in recent years, it can be seen that they are actually
hindering news exchange between the two sides; they are pulling back the legs of news
exchange [with the Mainland].”

The three-character chengyu 扯后腿 che hou tui literally means to pull back a leg. The
image shown here is a person who is trying to move forward, but is unable to because someone
else is holding one of his/her legs and pulling it back to stop the movement. Metaphorically, this
chengyu refers to making use of an intimate relationship or feelings to restrain others’ actions.
In the above example, the Mainland media criticizes the Taiwanese authorities for hindering
news exchange between the two sides. Although they exhibit a cooperative attitude, they are really trying to prevent it. Here, “leg” is a reference to a forward movement, and news exchange with the Mainland is personified as a human being. The conceptual metaphors here are: NEWS EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IS A PERSON and TO HINDER IS TO PULL BACK A LEG. The first metaphor is context-specific in this sentence.

Another example is given in below,

(12) 其实，民进党 抢到手的也是一个烫手的番薯。国民党盘踞台湾政坛多年,根深蒂固,盘根错节,其影响成事不足,败事有余。留下的摊子虽不烂,棘手的问题和重大隐患却不少。

“In fact, what the DPP seized is a hand-burning yam. The KMT has forcibly occupied the political circle in Taiwan for many years; it is firmly fixed with twisted roots and gnarled branches; its influence is unable to accomplish anything but liable to spoil everything. Although the market stall that the KMT left is not broken, there are quite a few thorny problems and major hidden troubles”.

There are three chengyu in this example. The five-character chengyu 烫手的番薯 tang shou de fan shu, literally meaning a hand-burning yam, comes from a similar expression 烫手的
山芋 *tang shou de shan yu*, which has the same meaning except that it refers to a different kind of yams. Metaphorically, it means there is a thorny problem, or there is something very good, but a person may get hurt in obtaining it. When a yam is roasted, its hot skin and flesh burn the skin of the person holding it, so that the person has to handle the yam gingerly by tossing it back and forth between the hands while blowing on it to cool it down.

In example (12), the domestic political, economic, and social situations of Taiwan are conceptualized as a burning hot yam which needs careful handling. There are several layers of conceptual mappings. The hand in this chengyu can be seen as a political party; thus, this is a human body metaphor. The hot yam refers to a problematic situation in which the person holding the yam switches hands, as they do not know what else to do. The heat of the yam can be seen as political damage, because the heat can burn the hands of the holder, which is considered a bad result. Thus, the conceptual metaphors are A PROBLEMATIC SITUATION IS A HOT YAM and A BAD RESULT IS BURNED HANDS.

The other two chengyu 根深蒂固 *gen shen di gu*, literally ‘deep root firm stems’, and 盘根错节 *pan gen cuo jie*, literally ‘twisted roots intricate gnarls’, are both used to describe plants, often big trees, in their literal meanings. The former chengyu refers to the fact that a tree with a firm trunk and deep roots difficult to knock down. The latter chengyu, describing an old tree, metaphorically refers to something that is complex and difficult to handle.

In the above example, the KMT is described by the Mainland media as a party with a long history in governing Taiwan; thus, it has powerful influence in politics and on Taiwanese society. Because of its complexity and power, it is a formidable opponent for the DPP to deal with. The chengyu 根深蒂固 *gen shen di gu* vividly portrays the powerful KMT as a big tree
since only big trees have deep roots and firm trunks; thus, the conceptual metaphor is A
POWERFUL POLITICAL PARTY IS A BIG TREE. The other chengyu 盘根错节 pan gen cuo jie
provides another image of the KMT, i.e. that it is complex; thus, the conceptual metaphor is A
COMPLEX POLITICAL PARTY IS A TREE WITH TWISTED ROOTS AND INTRICATE GNARLS.

In conclusion, it seems that in some chengyu, a clear corresponding mapping can be
created easily (see examples (1)-(2)). However, in others, conceptual mappings must be
unpacked in layers, because the metaphorical meanings are generated through historical or
literary allusions or literary quotes. The mappings are context specific and may not be applied
generally in another context. As claimed by CMT, the conceptual metaphors are constructed
based on bodily experience, which tends to be universal; however, the conceptual bases for
some chengyu do not seem to support CMT when the mappings constructed are context specific.
This may be explained in the way that the allusions and historical stories from which some
chengyu are generated serve as lessons the Chinese people have learned. They seem to be the
representations of conventional wisdom which has been accepted as true and as part of the
Chinese value system in the past. This is shown in the form of fixed and conventionalized
phrases in the Chinese language. In this sense, CMT and chengyu are incomplete. The
conceptual mappings do exist beyond the surface structures of the fixed and conventionalized
phrases, and chengyu are based on the conceptual mappings from our bodily experience.
Chapter 6
Discussion

This chapter is organized on the basis of the characteristics of politics related to the independence of Taiwan. First, I will discuss the conceptual metaphors of business and journey which are used to describe the operation and the movement of politics. Second, I will discuss animal, natural forces, and physical elements metaphors, which are used to show power and power balance in politics. Third, human body, family, and love/marriage metaphors will be analyzed which depict the central debate between the Mainland and Taiwan. Fourth, animal metaphors will be discussed to portray animal-like politicians and their behavior. Fifth, the features of sustenance and growth of politics will be discussed in plant, food, illness, and death metaphors. Finally, a list of negatively viewed metaphors will be analyzed in the concepts of gambling, game, show, war, Chinese martial arts, poison, and religion.

6. 1. The Operation and the Development of Political Entities

In this part, business and journey metaphors are used to describe the operation and the development of political entities.

6.1.1. Business Metaphors

As Lakoff (1992, 1996) and Kövecses (2005) have shown, politics in American culture is discussed in such metaphors as POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, and THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A RACE. Wei (2001) found the A CAMPAIGN IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION metaphor in her research on Taiwanese political discourse. She shows that in the 1997 city and
county magistrate campaign in Taiwan, politicians and different interest groups tried to calculate different issues as taking a profit or accepting a loss when political promises were made as comparing to writing checks, as in example (13) (p. 73):

(13) Lee Teng-hui sichu wei hoxuanren beishu, da pi DPP de bushi.
    Trans: President Lee Teng-hui [hypocritically] criticizes the misconduct of the DPP’s endorsing checks for the [KMT] candidates. (p. 74)

From my observation, the concept of politics working as a business may not be very old or have not been influential in the Chinese language and the Chinese culture in the past, as the country used to be a feudal society ruled by one emperor. With the change from a feudal to a more democratic Chinese society, the way how the country is governed is also changed. In addition, under a possible influence of the Western political ideology such as the concept of democracy, the concept of politics as business has been accepted and appears more often in the Chinese language. I also found the POLITICS IS BUSINESS metaphor in my data. Specifically, I found the following types of conceptual metaphors relating to POLITICS IS BUSINESS:

A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION
TO GOVERN IS TO RUN A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE BUSINESS OPERATIONS
A POLITICAL IDEA IS A PRODUCT
POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IS A PRODUCT
A POLITICAL SCHEME IS CAPITAL FOR A POLITICAL ENTITY
A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS NEGATIVE ASSET
TAIWAN’S FOREIGN POLITICS IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION
A POLITICAL PROMISE IS A CHECK
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE TRades AT THE STOCK MARKET
A POLITICIAN IS A STOCK TRADER
A POLITICAL NEGOTIATION IS A BARGAIN
SUPPORT IS A MARKET

The following are examples from my data illustrating how the above concepts.

(14) 国民党 虽 已 失去 政权,
“Although the KMT party has lost power in govern Taiwan, it is, after all, a party that has a long history. If it can seriously clean out the pernicious influence of Lee Teng-hui’s wrong-headed guidelines, it is possible that the party can become the ruling party again”.

(15) “台湾者，早为中国人所经营，
Taiwan zhe, zao wei zhongguo ren suo jingying
Taiwan PRT, early for Chinese people PRT manage

中国之土地也。”这 般掷 地 有 声，
zhongguo zhi tudi ye. zhe ban zhi di you sheng
China MOD soil PRT. This like throw earth have sound

是 郑成功当年收复台湾时
shi Zheng Chenggong dannian shoufu Taiwan shi
is Zheng Chenggong then recover Taiwan when

give Netherlands governor MOD induce to capitulate letter
“Taiwan was governed by Chinese people for a long time; therefore, it belongs to China’. This is what Zheng Chenggong wrote in a letter to the Governor of the Netherlands to induce them to capitulate when he recovered the land of Taiwan. His words are so loud that is like the sound made by throwing something to the ground”.

In examples (14) and (15), the KMT party is treated as an old shop with a long history of management and operation. Compared to the DPP party, which was established in the last 20 years, the KMT party has more resources and connections in Taiwanese politics; thus, there is still hope that they could become the ruling party again after losing a presidential election to the DPP. The Chinese phrase 经营 jingying ‘manage’ is used for a business entity. Thus, Taiwan is seen as a business organization which can be managed and operated by China. The conceptual metaphors are A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION and TO GOVERN IS TO RUN A BUSINESS ORGANIZATION.

The following examples (16)-(18) are related to political activities.

(16) 分裂 不 得 人 心, “台 独” 市场 有 限。 fenlie bu de ren xin, “tai du” shichang you xian separate no have person heart, “Taiwan independence” market have limit

“The idea of separating China is not welcome in the hearts of the Chinese people; the market for the independence of Taiwan is limited; it is not popular at all.”

(17) 现在 进行 谈判, 台湾 xianzai jingxing tanpai, Taiwan now carry on negotiation, Taiwan

还有 一些 讨 价 还 价 的 砝码, hai you yixie tao jia huai jia de fama still have some ask price return price MOD weight

时间 越长, 砝码 就 越少, 当局 必须 清醒。 shijian yuechang, fama jiu yueshao, dangju bixu qingxing time longer, weight then fewer, authority must sober
“If the Mainland and Taiwan carry on negotiations now, there are still some bargaining chips in Taiwan’s hands; if the Taiwanese authorities wait longer, their bargaining chips will become less important; thus, they need to know clearly what to do”.

(18) 陈水扁 玩弄 “三通牌”：空头支票
Chen Shui-bian wannong “san tong pai”: kongtou zhipiao
Chen Shui-bian play “three link card”: empty check

“Chen Shui-bian is playing the Three Links card; his promises on the Three Links are an empty check”.

Here, political activities are conceptualized as business operations and political ideas as products produced by different business organizations; examples (16), (17), and (18) illustrate the following conceptual metaphors: SUPPORT IS A MARKET; A POLITICAL NEGOTIATION IS A BARGAIN; and A POLITICAL PROMISE IS A CHECK. The support of a political idea, a political leader, or a political party is conceptualized as a market for a product. If it gains support, the market expands. If it does not have much support, the market shrinks. In example (16), the use of the metaphor of a limited market reinforces the unpopularity of the political idea of the independence of Taiwan. People do not buy a product because they cannot accept it emotionally. In example (17), negotiations in politics share the same features of bargains in business as each party weighs the offers from the opposite party and decides whether it makes a profit or a loss. The phrase 讨价还价 tao jia huai jia ‘bargain’ indicates that the Mainland government is encouraging the Taiwanese authorities to grab the opportunity to create a win-win situation for both sides; otherwise, when the right time has passed, Taiwan will become the loser in the negotiation. In example (18), although the Three Links (of trade, mail, and transportation services between the mainland and Taiwan) have been proposed for a long time, a timetable for the realization of the Links has not been set. Taiwanese leaders have talked about the Three Links on paper, but no real action has been taken. This situation is
conceptualized as Chen Shui-bian offering an empty check which is thus not cashable. Contrary to the concept of an empty check in English, reference to an empty check in Chinese means that a promise has been made orally without taking action to realize it.

In addition, there is also a game metaphor in example (18). These related conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A POKER GAME, A POLITICAL PROMISE IS A POKER CARD, and A POLITICIAN IS A POKER PLAYER will be discussed in 6.6.3.

Next,

(19) 要 让 民 进 党 认识到 “台 独”
yao xiang rang min jin dang renshi dao “tai du”
want think let democratic progressive party realize “Taiwan independence”

是 其 发展 的 负 资产, 进 行 政 党
shi qi fazhan de fu zichan, jinxing zheng dang
is its develop MOD negative asset, carry on political party

理念 的 转 型, 看 来 少 不了 遭受 几 次
linian de zhuan xing, kan lai shao buliao zaoshou ji ci
theory MOD change style, see come less no suffer a few time

沉重 打击 的 经历.
chenzhong daji de jingli
heavy attack MOD experience

“The DPP party will be slow to realize that its support for the independence of Taiwan is a negative asset for the party; it will suffer a few heavy attacks before its political principles change”.

When a business organization carries too many negative assets, it does not operate very well and risks bankruptcy. Similarly, if the ideas of a political party are not supported or welcomed, it is difficult for the party to develop or even exist. Thus, in example (19), the phrase referring to negative assets clearly points out the possible consequences the DPP may suffer in the end if it continues to carry out policies supporting the independence of Taiwan.
Another example is,

(20) 而为维持其所谓的“国际空间”，

yet for maintain its so-called MOD “international space”

台湾当局频频成为“邦交国”的“提款机”.

Taiwan authority frequently become “diplomatic relation country” MOD ATM

“In order to maintain its so-called international space, Taiwanese authorities have frequently become the ATMs of those countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan”.

In example (20), Taiwan’s foreign relations are conceptualized as a financial transaction.

An Automated Teller Machine (ATM) is used whenever a person wants to withdraw money from it instead of going to a bank which may be closed after office hours. Ironically, the relationship between Taiwan and the countries with which it has diplomatic relations is based on monetary transactions. These countries’ seeking diplomatic relations with Taiwan is to ask for funds from the Taiwanese government whenever Taiwan needs political favors from them in exchange. Not only does the phrase 提款机 tikuaji ‘ATM’ in this example create irony to describe the real intention of such countries, but also it indicates some degree of sadness for the helpless efforts Taiwan has been making to maintain its international status.

Next,

(21) 用岛内媒体的话说就是,

use island inside media MOD words say then is,

陈水扁坚信“饿死胆小的”.

Chen Shui-bian strongly belive “hungry dead gall small PRT,
撑死胆大的“。

他把整个台湾岛和台湾民众的前途，作为本钱，孤注一掷，置台湾于战火之中也在所不惜。

“To cite the words of the Taiwanese media, Chen Shui-bian strongly believes that those who are cowards will die in hunger, but those who are courageous will die with full stomachs. He uses the entire island of Taiwan and the future of the Taiwanese people as his capital, stakes everything on a single throw, and does not hesitate to lead Taiwan into war”.

In this example, Chen Shui-bian is criticized for using the future of Taiwan and Taiwanese people as political capital in dealing with cross-strait relations. Capital is a necessary resource for business organizations wishing to expand and further develop. However, instead of using this resource for a good purpose, Chen Shui-bian used it for a bad purpose, which is the independence of Taiwan. Therefore, it will jeopardize Taiwan and the Taiwanese people, as well as himself in the end.

The conceptual metaphor in the following examples (22)-(23) is related to stock market.

(22) 也许可以将扁这种已经用过

无数次要的所谓“进两步退一步”的
perhaps it can be seen as a farce that Chen Shui-bian has used the so-called technique of “two steps forward, one step back” many times, also it can be taken as that he is speculating on the stock market.

The stock market changes swiftly, as purchases and sales take place every second. The main purpose of stock trading is to invest in order to generate capital for businesses and for investors to make profits. However, it is dangerous to speculate on the stock market, as the speculators may end up losing their investment. In example (22), Chen Shui-bian is portrayed as a dishonest speculator who is trying to do fictitious transactions to cheat on his buyers. As the leader of the DPP party, he planned to promote independence by changing the name of the country, establishing new constitution, and developing the economy; however, these plans became empty promises; he only really cared about pursuing an independence policy. The conceptual metaphor, A POLITICIAN’S BEHAVIOR IS SPECULATION ON THE STOCK MARKET, carries a negative connotation and implies that he is not trustworthy and, as a result, his actions will lead to have a bad ending.

Besides the business metaphor, there is also a show metaphor in this example, which will be discussed in 6.6.1.

Another example illustrating the stock market metaphor is:
自从他上台以来，对外没接触过大的政治家，而打交道的净是些见利忘义的小国领导人，他们与台湾发展“友邦”的唯一目标是钱，经常公开对台勒索，毫无政治信义，这多少影响了陈水扁的个人政治行为方式，加剧了他在“草根时期”打打杀杀形成的恶习，使他做事很不大气，喜欢短线操作，能捞一把是一把。

注：
2 The phrase 草根时期 caogen shiqi refers to an initial stage or period of time when things are just getting started and are not in their final form. Nowadays, the phrase 草根 cao gen ‘grass root’ is used more in the phrase 草根文化 caogen wenhua ‘grass-rooted culture’, indicating a culture that has its roots in the common people, not the government or the elite.
“Since Chen Shui-bian became the president, he never had contact with real politicians, but only some leaders from small countries who forget what is right at the sight of profits. Their only purpose for diplomatic relations with Taiwan is to get money; they often blackmail Taiwan publicly and have no political credibility. This, more or less, influenced Chen Shui-bian’s style of politics and made his bad habits, which were formed during his early political career, worse. He became a narrow-minded person who likes day trading to get what he can when he can”.

In example (23), Chen Shui-bian is mocked as a short-sighted politician who only does day trading on the stock market. He lacks the experience to handle foreign relations, and he only focuses on short-term benefits; thus, he is blackmailed by the countries with which Taiwan has diplomatic relations. The stock terminology 短线操作 duan xian caozuo ‘to operate on day trading’ also has a negative connotation in this example, meaning that Chen Shui-bian is an incompetent leader who is unable to plan long-term benefits for the future of Taiwan.

It is necessary to point out that business related language used to describe politics in Chinese used to be limited to ideas in regards to traditional Chinese business such as stores and abacuses as seen in example (14), where a political party with a long history is conceptualized as an old shop. The abacus, 算盘 (suanpan), as a calculating device, has been used for the purpose of accounting in business in China for a long time. A good old-time accountant, 帐房 (zhangfang), knew how to use the abacus very well and needed to be very skillful at managing money. Therefore, the metaphor of the abacus is used to describe careful planning or plotting in a neutral or negative way.

It is interesting to note that as business organizations and financial transactions have grown rapidly in China, new terminology of business has been introduced, such as bankruptcy, capital, assets, and stock market. The vocabulary has become part of everyday experience in Chinese culture and is not just used in reference to politics. To take the stock market terminology as an example, it is also used to describe people’s relationships of love and
marriage in a humorous way. When a person looks for a partner, it can be described as picking a stock, 选股 (xuangu); to get married is to strike a bargain, 成交 (chengjiao); the newly wedded are called the initial offerings, 原始股 (yuanshi gu); to have a marriage that is no longer going so well is called to be trapped in the stock market, 套牢 (taolao); the break-up of a marriage is called the crash of the stock market, 崩盘 (bengpan).

To summarize, political entities are conceptualized as business organizations and thus, the activities of these entities can be seen as carrying out different business activities.

While the operation of politics is conceptualized in the form of business metaphors, in my data, the development of the cross-strait relations is discussed in journey and transportation metaphors.

### 6.1.2. Journey Metaphors

Lakoff and Turner (1980, 1989) originally proposed the LOVE IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphors. A journey is used as a source domain because it prototypically has a beginning, an end, a path to connect the beginning and the end, and entities that move along the path. Charteris-Black (2005) argues that there is the potential for both positive experiences (e.g. making friends) and negative experience (e.g. meeting a dead end) on journeys. Thus, the journey frame provides the potential for elements such as travel and guides to be developed in the rhetorical context of the metaphor, and its rhetorical purpose is “to create solidarity in order that positively evaluated purposes may be successfully attained” (p. 46). For instance, in a political speech, a politician may represent himself as the “guide” and his policies as “maps” (p. 46).

In the Chinese language, journeys can be separated into good and bad journeys depending on whether the traveler takes a good or a bad path, i.e. travels towards a good or a
bad destination. In my data, a good path is that the traveler walks on or towards the destination of unification; otherwise, it is a bad path. Since a path links the present to the future, if the traveler chooses to pursue the wrong future, the present is also affected. As the movement towards the independence of Taiwan is described as a bad path, those who choose to walk on the bad path are not doing the right things from the very beginning. In this sense, I found the following conceptual metaphors related with the concepts of journey and transportation:

POLITICS IS A JOURNEY—
THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IS A ROAD
A POLITICAL LEADER IS A TRAVELER
A POLITICAL GOAL IS THE END OF A ROAD
TO CARRY OUT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IS TO WALK ON A ROAD
TO CARRY OUT BAD POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IS TO WALK ON A WRONG ROAD
TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL GOAL IS TO BUILD A ROAD

POLITICS IS TRANSPORTATION—
A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A VEHICLE
A POLITICAL IDEA IS A VEHICLE
A POLITICAL LEADER IS A DRIVER
TO GOVERN IS TO DRIVE
TO LEAD IS TO DRIVE
A POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A BOAT
A POLITICIAN IS A SAILOR
TO CARRY OUT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IS TO SAIL A BOAT
A POLITICAL DESTINATION IS THE COAST

The POLITICS IS A JOURNEY metaphor is illustrated in the following examples (24)-(31).

(24) 让 我们 来 看看 这些 人 在
rang women lai kankan zhexie ren zai
let us come see these person at

“渐进式台独”路上的
“jian jin shi tai du” lu shang de
“gradual forward style Taiwan independence” road up MOD

一串串 “肮脏”脚印.
“Let us come and see these dirty footprints left on the road of Taiwanese independence gradually moving forward”.

As the journey metaphor includes an end and a path, in example (24), the gradual progress of the independence of Taiwan is seen as a road; the goal to realize the independence of Taiwan is the end of the road. Thus, the movement on the road is represented as the footprints left behind. As mentioned earlier, if a path is bad, the other elements involved are bad. Because the independence of Taiwan is portrayed as a bad political idea from the Mainland’s point of view, the actions made towards the idea are bad as well; thus, 肮脏 angzang ‘dirty’ is used to describe the footprints. In this example, there is also another conceptual metaphor: BAD IS DIRTY. Without the use of the phrase 肮脏 angzang ‘dirty’ the entire example does not seem to be at all negative; yet, with the phrase, the entire example has a negative sense, which arouses the readers to recall and reflect on what the leaders have done to pursue the independence of Taiwan.

Next,

(25) 他公然宣称 “中华民国是一个主权独立的国家”，直至抛出“两国论”，把两岸关系引进死胡同。

“two country theory”, take two side relation lead into dead alley
“He (Lee Teng-hui) claimed in public that the Republic of China is a sovereign, independent country, and, then, he tossed out the two-country statement, which led the relations between the two sides into a dead-end alley”.

In example (25), the conceptual metaphor A POLITICAL GOAL IS THE END OF A ROAD is further developed into A BAD POLITICAL GOAL IS THE DEAD-END OF A ROAD. Not only does the end have no other way out, but the road is not like any other ordinary road; it is just a narrow, off-the-main-traffic alley. The road’s description as small and narrow indicates that the independence of Taiwan is not a justifiable, welcomed political goal; therefore, it is doomed to fail as it will meet the dead end. At the same time, the phrase, gongran ‘undisguisedly’, shows negativity. Because of the position of this phrase at the beginning of the sentence, the readers are able to predict that something bad is going to be brought up in the rest of the example. In addition, the verb phrase paochu ‘throw out’ instead of tichu ‘propose’, used to describe the two-country theory, indicates that, on the one hand, the proposal of the theory was surprising and unexpected; on the other hand, it was not the same as other ideas; it was a bad idea. The combination of these phrases in this example designates a bad start—the claim and the two-country theory, a bad path—an alley, and a bad ending—the dead-end of the alley. This designation gives the impression that the bad idea will receive a bad result during the progress and in the end.

Another example is,

(26) 陈水扁 赤裸裸 鼓吹 “台 独” 是 在
Chen Shui-bian chiluoluo guchui “tai du” shi zai
Chen Shui-bian undisguised advocate “Taiwan independence” is at

“台 独” 分裂 道路 上 又 迈 出 的
“tai du” fenlie daolu shang you mai chu de
“taiwan independence” separate road up again step out MOD
“Chen Shui-bian took another step on the separation road of the independence of Taiwan by undisguisedly advocating the independence of Taiwan”.

In example (26), the various movements and actions made towards the independence of Taiwan are seen as steps taken on a road. The use of steps in this example indicates that a political action is taking place, focusing on the present. In example (24), however, the use of footprints indicates the things that have been done already. There are traces left for the readers to recall and reflect and the example focuses on the past. In example (26), it is clearly pointed out that the independence of Taiwan is a road of separation, which sets the background for describing the step as being dangerous. Naturally, dangerous steps lead to bad consequences.

Next,

(27) 两岸和平统一之路,
      liang an heping tongyi zhi lu,
      two side peace unification MOD road,

      要靠全中华民族不停修筑.
      yao kao quan zhonghua minzu buting xiuju
      need depend entire Chinese nationality continuously build

“The road of peace and unification of both sides needs to depend on continuous building by all Chinese people”.

As mentioned earlier, there are two types of roads in my data: bad and good. In example (27), there is a good road of peace and unification. Although a good road, it is not complete. There are difficulties and obstacles that have to be overcome in order to achieve the final goal of peace and unification. Here, the elements of a journey are also implied—the start, which is not mentioned in the example itself, but can be understood as the current situation of
the two sides, an end, which is the goal of peace and unification, and a path, which is incomplete and requires all Chinese people to keep building.

Below is another example,

But if Chen Shui-bian clings obstinately to his course and insists on walking on the road of Taiwanese independence until dark, then he is gambling on the well-being of over 20 million Taiwanese people. He, the Son of Taiwan, will become the biggest spendthrift of the family”.

In example (28), there are two verbs, 行 xing and 走 zou to indicate the kind of movement along a path. In Modern Chinese, both verbs mean to walk, although 行 xing earlier meant to walk and 走 zou meant to run. The path here is the road to the independence of Taiwan. Again, the example describes Chen Shui-bian as a traveler who is moving forward on the road towards his political goal, the independence of Taiwan. However, the journey metaphor here is not sufficient to show that the independence of Taiwan is a bad thing to do. In the
negative idiomatic phrase 一意孤行 yi yi gu xing ‘cling obstinately to one’s course’ emphasizes that Chen Shui-bian and his political ideas are not supported or welcomed; it is predicted that there will be bad consequences if he is obstinate in what he does.

In the above example, the color hei ‘black’ or ‘dark’ is used in the phrase 走到黑 zou dao hei ‘walk until dark’, strengthening the idiomatic phrase 一意孤行 yi yi gu xing ‘cling obstinately to one’s course’ and is consistent with the journey metaphor—A POLITICAL GOAL IS THE END OF A ROAD, indicating a bad result in the end; thus, there is BAD IS BLACK/DARK metaphor. In this example, there is the A BAD POLITICAL GOAL IS THE DARK END OF A ROAD metaphor.

Also, to intensify the degree of negativity, gambling and family metaphors are also used and will be discussed further in 6.6.2.: gambling metaphors and 6.3.2.: family metaphors.

Next,

(29) 陈水扁 胸前贴着“牵手护台湾加入联合国”
Chen Shui-bian xiong qian tie zhe “qian shou hu Taiwan jiaru lianheguo”

的标语到中美洲开“峰会”,
de piaoyu dao zhong meizhou kai “fenghui”,
MOD sign arrive Central America attend “summit”

拿 着 支 票 本 为 “入 联” 铺 路,
na zhe zhipiao ben wei “ru lian” pu lu,
take PRT check book for “join U.N.” pave road

“友邦 国”却拒绝将“中 美洲 各 国”
youbang guo” que jujue jiang “zhong meizhou ge guo “friendship country” yet refuse take “Central America individual country

支持 台湾 为‘主 权 独立 国家’,
zhichi Taiwan wei “zhu quan duli guojia’,
support Taiwan as “sovereign rights independent country”,

130
有权限参加联合国、世界卫生组织等
have rights join U.N., World Health Organization and so forth

国际组织的条款列入
international organization” MOD regulation list into

会后的联合公报.
meeting after MOD united communiqué

“Chen Shui-bian had a sticker on his chest, saying “hand in hand to promote Taiwan’s joining the U.N.”, to attend a summit held in Central America, planning to pave the road for Taiwan to join the U.N. with his checkbook; however, Taiwan’s friendship countries refused to allow Taiwan to join international organizations such as the U.N. or the W.H.O. as an sovereign, independent country. Taiwan was not listed as a member in the united communiqué published after the summit”.

Example (29) creates a vivid image of how Chen Shui-bian made efforts for Taiwan to join an international organization as an independent country. The verbs 贴 ‘stick’, 拿 na ‘take’, and 铺 pu ‘pave’ create the image of an ambitious leader who is trying very hard to achieve his goal. However, the outcome turns to be that not only did he not achieve his goal, but also was betrayed by his allies, Taiwan’s friendship countries, which he intended to bribe by writing them checks. The contrast ironically shows that Chen Shui-bian is just a laughing stock. In this example, the destination of a road is to make Taiwan independent. The action of paving a road requires one to use bricks or stones to smooth out the surface of a road. Here, the paving refers to Chen Shui-bian’s attempt to use money to smooth out a road so that Taiwan can be allowed to join an international organization as an independent country. If Taiwan could join an international organization, it would be indirectly recognized as a sovereign, independent
country, not a part of China. Here, the metaphor, TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL GOAL IS TO PAVE A ROAD, produces a negative and sarcastic tone regarding Chen Shui-bian and his behavior.

Next,

(30) “台独” 先天是 一 条
“Taiwan independence” inborn is one CLF

走不通的死路.
walk no through MOD dead road

“The independence of Taiwan is intrinsically a dead-end road that cannot be walked through”.

In example (30), it directly points out that the independence of Taiwan will not work out from the very beginning. The verb phrase走不通 zou bu tong ‘unable to walk through’ is consistent with the metaphor, A BAD POLITICAL GOAL IS THE DEAD-END OF A ROAD, to emphasize the independence of Taiwan is a bad political goal.

Here is another example,

(31) 当前 台湾海峡局势正处于
present Taiwan strait situation just in

何去何从的十字路口.
where go where follow MOD crossroad

“At present, the Taiwan Straits situation is just at a crossroads, necessitating a choice of which course to follow”.

In example (31), a crossroad is where traffic stops at all four directions and goes according to the directions given by the traffic lights or signs. The time when the example was written was when the presidential election in Taiwan was just finished. During the election, the
KMT lost and Chen Shui-bian, the leader of the DPP became the new president of Taiwan; his party, the DPP, became the ruling party. At that time, it was hard to predict whether the new government would continue its unification policy or adopt a new policy of working towards independence. That situation is portrayed as similar to traffic stops at a crossroads; there is no clear sign which direction to progress. Thus, the NO POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS AT THE CROSSROAD metaphor clearly portrays that the situation between the two sides was not clear and those who were involved were waiting for a clear sign to take action.

The POLITICS IS TRANSPORTATION metaphor will be illustrated in the following examples (32)-(37).

(32) 由于岛内分裂势力走“独”木桥，
because island inside separation influence walk “single”(independence) plank bridge

几年来两岸政治关系持续僵持，
a few year come two side political relation continue stalemated

加剧了岛内政经困局，引起
aggravate PERF island inside political economic difficult situation, cause

工商界和多数中间选民的不满。
industrial business world and majority middle voter MOD discontent

“Because the separatist groups in Taiwan continue their independence policy, in recent years, the political relations between the two sides have remained stalemated, which has aggravated the difficult political and economic situation inside Taiwan and caused discontent among those who are in the fields of industry and business, and the majority of middle-of-the-road voters”.

In example (32), there is an interesting rhetorical and metaphorical phenomenon in the phrase du mu qiao ‘single-plank bridge’. A single-plank bridge is usually very narrow and only
allows one person to cross at a time; it is also easy to fall from if one is not careful. A person who falls from this type of bridge will end up in a river or a ditch, and it is possible that the person will die or be severely injured. Therefore, to walk on a single-plank bridge is to do something dangerous, which may result in bad consequences. The metaphor THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A SINGLE-PLANK BRIDGE indicates that to carry out policies towards the independence of Taiwan is dangerous. As the example further states, the political and economic situations in Taiwan have already suffered enough. In addition, the independence of Taiwan is referred as 台独 tai du in Chinese, which has the same character of 独 du in the phrase 独木桥 du mu qiao 'single-plank bridge’. It uses the same character to indicate multiple meanings, which creates a vivid picture in the readers’ mind and plays a role of warning them the danger of the independence of Taiwan.

As shown in examples (25)-(31), the journey metaphor requires a traveler move along a path—either a road or a bridge, the progress of a political idea can also be conceptualized as the movement of the traffic by some sort of transportation, for example, by driving a car and by sailing a boat.

The next two examples are related to the concept of driving a car.

(33) 每到两岸关系发展顺利的时候，
mei dao liang an guan xi fazhan shun li de shihou
every arrive two side relation develop smooth MOD time

台湾当局都要出来踩一踩“刹车”，
Taiwan dangju dou yao chulai cai yi cai “shache”,
Taiwan authority all want come out step on one step on “brake”,

开倒车.
kai dao che
drive backward car
“Whenever there is a good and smooth situation developed in the two-side relations, the Taiwanese authorities always come out to step on the brake or drive backwards, trying to stop the development and even to let it go back”.

(34) 一方面 李登辉和陈水扁，

yi fangmian Lee Teng-hui he Chen Shui-bian

one side Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian

为争当“台独飙车手”和增加对

wei zheng dang “tai du biao che shou” he zengjia dui

for fight become “Taiwan independence race car hand” and increase toward

“台独”势力的控制力

“tai du” shili de kongzhi li

“Taiwan independence” influence MOD control power

明争暗斗.

ming zheng an dou

open fight hiding struggle

“On one hand, Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian were fighting to see who would become the one to facilitate the independence of Taiwan, and they escalated the fight both in and out of the open to control the groups that support the independence of Taiwan”.

Similar to the journey metaphor, the transportation metaphor also includes the concepts of a beginning, movement, and a destination. In addition, it contains a type of vehicle and an operator of the vehicle. In my data, there are two types of transportation vehicles—a car and a boat. Therefore, specially, there is the A POLITICAL IDEA IS A VEHICLE metaphor. The progress of how the political proposals have been realized is compared to the movement of a type of transportation as both share similarities such as a political proposal tries to reach certain political purpose (destination). The political leaders are the ones who propose, facilitate, and control the direction and the movement of these ideas. In my data, Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian are compared to drivers and steersmen; thus, there is the A POLITICAL LEADER IS AN
OPERATOR metaphor. Just like operating a car or a boat, the operator has the ability of directing, re-directing, slowing down, or speeding up the progress of a political issue or situation.

Brakes used to slow down or stop a moving vehicle. In example (33), the Taiwanese authorities were trying to slow down or stop the development of the two-side relations by taking negative actions. Thus, there is the NEGATIVE POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE BRAKES metaphor. In August 2002, Chen Shui-bian, for the first time, proposed the One-side One-country theory, emphasizing that Taiwan is a sovereign independent country and only Taiwanese people have the rights to determine the future and destiny of the country (2006, Lianhe Zao Bao). This caused a major disturbance in the two-side relations. However, before that, the Chen Shui-bian government had been somewhat active in making positive progress in the two-side relations, including claiming Taiwan would not claim independence on his 2000 inaugural speech, opening the three direct links (post, trade, and transport services) between Jinmen, Mazu, and Xiamen, and mentioning the normalization of economic and political relations between both sides in several meetings in 2001 and May 2002. These efforts had been seen, from the Mainland government, as positive development towards the unification of both sides, which can be compared to a car moving forward. Although the trend was expected to continue, Chen’s proposal of the One-side One-country theory, which denied the principle that Taiwan is part of China, completely stopped the forward movement; it is like stepping on the break to stop the car. Even so, the proposal of the theory turned back the progress both sides had made just like driving backwards. Thus, the NEGATIVE POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE BRAKES metaphor clearly describes the political situation then between both sides and warns the readers that the Chen Shui-bian government is not trustworthy.

In example (34), there are the POLITICAL RIVALRY IS CAR RACING and POLITICAL RIVALS ARE RACE CAR DRIVERS metaphors. In a race car game, drivers race as they drive their cars in a
very fast speed and use different driving techniques to win. Example (34) describes similar domestic political situations in Taiwan in 2005. The DPP lost in the election of legislative members to the KMT. In the mean time, the Taiwan Solitary Union led by Lee Teng-hui could not gain more supports from Taiwanese people. In order to keep its strength, Lee Teng-hui decided to compete for the control of groups who support the independence of Taiwan and actions towards it with Chen Shui-bian. This kind of competition between the two leaders is similar to a car racing game as both have a result in the end of who loses and who wins, and both need the drivers to apply different techniques in order to win. Again, the metaphors vividly picture the political situations in Taiwan and the actions of the Taiwanese leaders then.

Similar to the driving metaphors in example (33) and (34), the boat/sailing metaphors also have an important element that is the movement or progress between the start and the end. In the following examples (35) to (37), there are POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE BOATS and POLITICAL LEADERS ARE STEERSMEN metaphors. The uniqueness of using such metaphors instead of the driving metaphors is possibly because of the geographic location of Taiwan. It is well known that metaphor is closely related with our bodily experience. Taiwan, as an island off the south coast of the mainland China, is located in the Pacific Ocean and is separated from the mainland by the Taiwan Straits. Therefore, from the human experience of sailing, it is seen as a boat in the ocean. In addition, different from the driving metaphors in which there is a clear end point (destination A→destination B), there may not have a clear end point in the sailing metaphors (destination A→) as will be shown in example (36). However, the lack of a clear end point actually indicates the lack of responsibility of political leaders and stresses that a wrong action has been taken which leads to failure in the end.

In the TO GOVERN A COUNTRY IS TO DRIVE metaphor, a country is conceptualized as a car; to forward movement is conceptualized as the future of the country that is seen as
something new, good, and modern; and new and modern means good; thus, to drive forward is conceptualized as to develop towards a good future of the country. When communications between the mainland and Taiwan are discussed in the forms of metaphors, our bodily experience with the geographic knowledge of both sides tells us that it is more suitable to use the sailing metaphors as communications need to go across the Taiwan Straits in both ways, just like a boat sailing across the straits.

(35) 大三通被“肠梗阻”，而小三通正

da san tong bei “chang gengzu”, er xiao san tong zheng

big three link PRT “intestine obstruct”, but small three link PRT

方兴未艾地冲破浓浓迷雾海涛,

fangxingweiai de chongpo nongnong mi wu hai tao

(be) in the ascendant PRT break through thick dense fog sea waves

驶向双方民众和民间

shi xiang shuang fang minzhong he minjian

sail toward both side people and non-governmental

贸易的彼岸.

maoyi de bian

trade MOD the other shore

“The proposal of the Big Three Links was obstructed, but the proposal of the Small Three Links was able to get passed and is now being carried out between both sides”.

In example (35), the small Three Links are a boat sailing towards the destination located on the coast of the Mainland. The use of the POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE BOATS metaphor here draws a vivid picture for the readers that how difficult it had been for the realization of the Three Direct Links between a few cities in both sides; yet, how exciting it is for the final realization of it. The proposal of the Three Direct Links of post, trade, and transport services between both sides was suggested in 1979 by the then Mainland government. However, the
proposal was not recognized or welcomed by the then Taiwanese government right away. From 1979 to 2001, there was only non-official, indirect post service from both sides, which was time-consuming and distance-consuming. It was until 2001, after 20 years of efforts, the so-called small Three Links was able to directly connect Jinmen, Mazu of Taiwan and some coastal cities of Fujian province. Thus, the use of the verb phrases 冲破...海涛 chongpo...haitao ‘break through ... sea waves’ and 驶向...彼岸 shixiang...bian ‘sail towards ... the other shore’ used to describe how the boat was sailing, give the metaphor an exciting tone to make the readers feel that, although long, the final result is full of firm hope that something better is coming. As the end point of the metaphor, 彼岸 bian ‘the other shore’, literally meaning the other side of the river/ocean/lake, is also used to express the kind of realm that everyone looks forward to. In Buddhism, this phrase is referred to a place of finally escaping away from all the troubles and annoyance in the living world.

Generally speaking, 彼岸 bian ‘the other shore’ is a positive phrase in Chinese, expressing to yearn for something good to happen. Therefore, it has a double meaning in this example: first, the physical end point is the Mainland or Taiwan as postal service goes both ways; second, the final consequence is in the near future, indicating the full realization of the Three Direct Links between all possible cities in Taiwan and the Mainland.

Furthermore, there are two other types of conceptual metaphors included in this example. First, the sickness metaphor, POLITICAL ACTIONS TO BLOCK PROGRESS IS A SICKNESS, specifically, the sickness is the intestinal obstruction. By its name, it is a kind of sickness that the things inside the intestines cannot pass through the intestines. The implementation of the Three Direct Links has to come from the government leaders who are on top; the actual executives are on the bottom; thus, it is like a passage. As explained earlier, the Three Links had been proposed
for a long time, but had always encountered difficulties to being carried out. The situation with the plan is just like having a disease of the intestinal obstruction; the plan was not able to get implemented as the things inside the intestines cannot get passed through.

Second, the natural world elements such as fog and sea waves are used to indicate unclear attitudes and difficulties of the political situations encountered in regard to the Three Links. The image of a boat breaking through the fog and waves and keeping on sailing towards its destination indicates that the implementation of the small Three Direct Links had overcome difficulties and was not easy; however, it finally started to happen. Thus, there are these conceptual metaphors in this example: UNCLEAR POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE FOG and DIFFICULTIES ARE SEA WAVES.

Here is another example,

(36) 如果 台湾 领导人 还不 醒悟，闭上 眼睛
ruguo Taiwan lingdaoren hai bu xingwu, bi shang yanjing
if Taiwan leader still no wake up to reality, close up eye

迷思 如何 避开 一个 中国 原则，不断
misi ruhe bikai yi ge zhongguo yuanze, buduan
get lost in thinking how avoid one CLF China principle, constantly

换 招牌，仍然 驾 著 “台 独” 的
huan zhaopai, rengren jia zhe “tai du” de
change signboard, still sail PRT “Taiwan independence” MOD

孤 舟 在 苦 海 里 乱 阔,
gu zhou zai ku hai li luan chuang
lonely boat at bitter sea inside in confusion rush

其 后果 是 能够 预料 得 到 的.
qi houguo shi nenggou yuliao de dao de
demonstrative consequence is can predict COM arrive PRT
“If the Taiwanese leaders still have not woken up to reality, if they keep their eyes closed and keep getting lost in thinking how to avoid the One-China principle, keep changing names to substitute for [a more open movement toward] the independence for Taiwan, and still keep sailing the lonely boat of the independence of Taiwan in the bitter sea, the consequence can be predicted”.

In example (36), there is the POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE BOATS metaphor. The independence of Taiwan is compared to a lonely boat sailing as it does not have many upporters.

To strengthen the effect of being a lonely boat, there is the phrase of the sea of bitterness, 苦海 kuhai ‘bitter sea’, to show the medium of sailing. 苦海 Ku hai ‘bitter sea’, originally a Buddhist phrase to mean the living world of troubles and annoyance, is now used in ordinary Chinese to mean very difficult situations. With this phrase, the example sends such a message to the readers that the independence of Taiwan is already in a bad situation that there are not many supporters and it is getting worse because of its difficult surrounding situations. These situations include Taiwan’s domestic political, economic, and social conditions as well as the attitudes from the Mainland and the international community. The verb phrase 乱闯 luanchuang ‘rush in confusion’ strengthens how the sailing is taken place, indicating an unclear end point, a possible bad consequence. Therefore, it can be predicted that the independence of Taiwan will end in bitterness.

Here is one more example,

(37) 吕秀莲 则 说, 最近 大家 觉得 头 昏 脑 涨,
Lu Xiu-lian then say, recently people feel head dizzy head swollen

忽 东 忽 西, 都 是 “北京 政治 魔术师”
hu dong hu xi, dou shi “Beijing zhengzhi moshushi”

造成 的, 但是 她 希望 “陈 舵手” 在 急 转弯
zaocheng de, danshi ta xiwang “Chen duoshou” zai ji zhuankan
“Lu Xiu-lian then said, recently people have felt dizzy and swollen because of the sudden changes made by the Beijing government, but she hopes that President Chen Shui-bian would also tell them first before making a sudden change [in policy-making].”

In example (37), Chen Shui-bian is called a steersman by Lu Xiu-lian, another politician who also supports the independence of Taiwan. The conceptual metaphor, A POLITICAL LEADER IS A STEERSMAN or A POLITICIAN IS A SAILOR, is driven from the concept of TO GOVERN A COUNTRY IS TO SAIL A BOAT. This metaphor is similar to A POLITICAL LEADER IS A DRIVER as it uses the concept of a car or a boat to describe a country that needs an operator (a leader). To say Chen Shui-bian as a steersman of a boat also uses the geographic knowledge of Taiwan is an island in the Pacific Ocean as Taiwan is conceptualized as a boat in the ocean. Therefore, as the leader of Taiwan who is important in leading the country and its people, it is natural to use the metaphor of A POLITICAL LEADER IS A STEERSMAN.

As can be seen from the above examples, the use of business, journey, and transportation metaphors captures the nature of political entities and political activities. A political entity operates as a business organization; its political activities are business transactions such as financial transactions, bargaining, and stock trading; the political propositions proposed by political entities are the products and capital of a business organization; and the support of political schemes is the market of the product. In addition, political leaders are drivers and sailors to operate a car or a boat. To govern a country is to direct a car or a boat making movements towards the destination (a prosperous future of a country). The journey and transportation metaphors outline the important roles of leaders in
leading and directing, and the traces of progress made in political activities. These elements indirectly reveal the consequences of these political actions.

6.2. Power and Power Balance of Politics and Changes of Political Situations

Power and power balance in politics are portrayed in animal and natural forces metaphors. Changes of political situations are described by using physical elements metaphors such as weather, temperature, and fire metaphors.

6.2.1. Animal Metaphors

Kövecses (2005) observes that in English-speaking as well as other societies, a number of animal expressions are used by men to describe women, such as chick, bunny, and bird. He proposes the conceptual metaphor: WOMEN ARE (SMALL) FURRY ANIMALS. In men’s conceptions in these cultures, women are perceived as being weak and cute, which is reflected in the above expression. In the corpus of the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher, a former Prime Minister of Britain, Charteris-Black (2005) also found Thatcher expressed negative evaluations by using metaphors referring to “insects that cause damage insidiously or animals that are prone to making violent attacks” (p. 109).

In my data, a number of the animal metaphors found are related to power in politics: powerful political entities are metaphorized as big and powerful animals such as elephants and lions; weak entities are conceptualized as small and weak animals such as insects and ducks. The concept of power is thus perceived on the basis of the size of an animal and the degree of violence it can enact. In addition, in my data, the degree of power is viewed as dependent on whether the political entity is just or not. If not, it is believed that there will not be much support for it, and it will lack power. Therefore, based on the two levels of concepts, the
conceptual metaphors can be expressed as A POWERFUL POLITICAL ENTITY IS A BIG ANIMAL, AN UNJUST POLITICAL ENTITY IS AN INSECT, and AN UNJUST POLITICAL ENTITY IS A SMALL ANIMAL.

These conceptual metaphors do not all create negative images of a political entity; some are sarcastic while some are not. Some specific examples are given below:

(38) “台 独 汉 奸” 不断 向 中国 统一
“tai du han jian” buduan xiang zhongguo tongyi
“Taiwan independence Chinese traitor” continuously towards China unification

挑衅， 正 是 “草蜢 弄 公鸡”.
“tiaoxin, zheng shi “caomeng nong gongji” provoke, exactly is “grasshopper play with rooster”

“Those traitors who betray China and support the independence of Taiwan continuously have taken provocative actions against the unification of China. This is just the grasshopper trying to play with the rooster”.

In example (38), obviously, the so-called traitors who betray China and support the independence of Taiwan are perceived as a grasshopper while those supporting the unification of China are a rooster. The use of grasshoppers to conceptualize Taiwan appeared only twice in my data and its use is creative, rather than conventional. However, although the reference to the rooster only shows up once in my data, a rooster is a common symbol of China in Chinese as the shape of the map of China resembles a rooster. The comparison of the power capabilities of the two different kinds of animals is clear. First, a rooster is much larger than a grasshopper; second, a rooster eats small insects such as grasshoppers as its food; therefore, the image of a grasshopper playing with a rooster suggests that the grasshopper will be eaten by the rooster eventually; thus, the independence of China will not succeed in the end; those who support the independence of Taiwan will have bad results.

Next,
(39) 社评说，吕秀莲近日在 “世界和平，台湾
she ping shuo, Lu Xiu-lian jinri zai “shijie heping, Taiwan
news agency comments said, Lu Xiu-lian recently at “world peace, Taiwan

发声中再次大放厥词，
fa sheng” de huodong zhong zaici dafangjueci
make sound” MOD activity middle again spout a lot of non-sense

把一个中国描绘成一个可怕的陷阱，
ba yi ge zhongguo miaohui cheng yi ge kepa de xianjing
PRT one CLF China depict become one CLF horrible MOD trap

声称接受一个中国，就是把 “凯蒂猫推到
shengcheng jieshou yi ge zhongguo, jiu shi ba “kaidi mao tui dao
claim accept one CLF China, just is PRT “Hello Kitty cat push to

狮子的笼子”，其结果一定是血淋淋的.
shizi de longzi", qi jieguo yiding shi xuelinlin de
lion MOD cage", its result must is bloody PRT

“According to a news agency, Lu Xiu-lian recently said a lot of nonsense again at the rally “World Peace, Taiwan Reacts”. She depicted the One China policy as a horrible trap, claiming that to accept the One-China policy is to push Hello Kitty into a cage with a lion, and that the result must be bloody”.

Example (39) quoted Lu Xiu-lian’s own words, which is the point of view of a Taiwanese leader. In this example, she used a fake animal image, Hello Kitty, which is a popular cartoon character in the form of a cat. Clearly, Taiwan is perceived as Hello Kitty, the Mainland as a lion, and the cage with the lion is the One-China policy. Although there is a conventional phrase 狮子大开口 shizi da kaiko ‘a lion opens its big mouth’ in Chinese, referring to greed, the lion metaphor used in this example is different. The Hello Kitty image as well as the lion image in this example appears to be original, and I was unable to find it in other articles in my data. Regardless of the fact that Hello Kitty is just a cartoon character, it represents a small, weak, cute, sweet, and lovable animal. At the same time, the image of a lion creates a sharp contrast
to the image of a Hello Kitty, as the lion is very violent, powerful, and large in size. The cage that holds the lion is a restraint, which means that the Hello Kitty has no way to escape being eaten once put inside with the lion. Under this conceptualization, if Taiwan accepts the One-China policy, it will suffer the same consequence of being eaten by the Mainland in a brutal and bloody way. To use Hello Kitty to conceptualize Taiwan is to evoke a sweet, cute, and friendly image of Taiwan, in contrast to the image of the Mainland as a ferocious lion. The use of the metaphors A POWERFUL COUNTRY IS A LION and A POWERLESS COUNTRY IS A SMALL AND WEAK ANIMAL by a Taiwanese leader is meant to evoke sympathy for Taiwan and dislike of the Mainland.

In the following example (41), an elephant is used to conceptualize a powerful country. Thus, the conceptual metaphor is A POWERFUL COUNTRY IS A BIG ANIMAL.

Next, (40) Taiwan从来就不是一个国家,
Taiwan conglai jiu bu shi yi ge guojia,
Taiwan never just no is one country
任何人如果企图改变台湾是中国一部分的事实,
renheren ruguo qitu gaibian Taiwan shi zhongguo yi bufen de shishi,
anybody if attempt change Taiwan is China one part MOD fact
无异于螳臂挡车,
wu yi yu tang bi dang che,
no different from mantis arm stop chariot,
必将受到历史的严惩.
bijiang shoudao lishi de yan cheng
must PRT receive history MOD severe punishment

“Taiwan has never been a country by itself; if anyone attempts to change the fact that Taiwan is a part of China, it is the same as the mantis trying to stop a chariot: eventually he/she will receive severe punishment in history”.
In example (40), another type of insect is used to show the concept of a powerless political entity: A POWERLESS POLITICAL ENTITY IS A MANTIS. 螳臂当车 tang bi tang che ‘a mantis trying to stop a chariot’ is a four-character chengyu in Chinese, which is used to mock those who attempt to do things they are not capable of doing. A mantis has a pair of big forearms with the shape of a sickle. Because of these, it is viewed by Chinese as being very proud of itself and thinking that it can do anything with its sickle-shaped arms. However, it is clear that a mantis is very small and cannot be compared to a vehicle such as a chariot which is very big and powerful; therefore, it is impossible for a mantis to stop a chariot, instead, the mantis could be run over by the chariot. The conceptual metaphor here warns those who support the independence of Taiwan that they are doomed to failure.

Next,

(41) 这就是我们台湾今天的处境,
zhe jiu shi women Taiwan jintian de chujing,
this just is our Taiwan today MOD situation,

主要是由于在这些阴阳颠倒, 眼睛长错地方的
zhuyao shi youyu zai zhexie yinyang diandao, yanjing zhang cuo
mainly is because at these yinyang reverse, eye grow wrong place

政治全为一小撮的政客把持.
zhengzhi quan wei yi xiao cuo de zhengke bachi
politics entirely for one small CLF MOD politician control

哪知这些阴阳颠倒, 眼睛长错地方的
na zhi zhexie yinyang diandao, yanjing zhang cuo
do who know these yinyang reverse, eye grow wrong place MOD

井底之蛙, 竟敢学螳臂挡车, 蚂蚁撼树,
jing di zhi wa, jinggan xue tang bi dang che, mayi han shu,
well bottom MOD frog, dare learn mantis arm stop chariot, ant shake tree
This is the present situation in Taiwan. It is mainly because, in over 10 years, politics in Taiwan has been controlled by only a few politicians. Who knows these frogs living in the bottom of a well, which have their eyes in the wrong place and which turn things upside down; they are even daring to imitate a mantis trying to stop a chariot and ants trying to shake a tree, trying to establish ties with the American elephant to unite in their efforts to attempt to shake the holy tree of 5000 years and knock it down by continuing to talk about the independence of Taiwan”.

In example (41), Taiwan is conceptualized as a frog sitting in the bottom of a well, a mantis, and an ant, and the U.S. as an elephant. The four-character chengyu 井底之蛙 jing di zhi wa ‘the frog sitting on the bottom of a well’ is used in Chinese to describe those who are short-sighted. A frog that sits in the bottom of a well can only see the sky above the well, so it assumes that the sky is just as big as the well. Thus, there is the metaphor TAIWANESE POLITICIANS ARE FROGS IN THE BOTTOM OF A WELL.

There are also these conceptual metaphors in the above example TAIWANESE POLITICIANS ARE ANTS and TAIWANESE POLITICIANS’ ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN ARE ANTS SHAKING A TREE. The conceptualization of politicians as ants comes from a fable: an elephant wanted to eat the fruit of a thousand-year-old tree. But because the tree was so big, the elephant could not shake the fruit down by itself. Then, the elephant saw many ants on the ground and told them that they could cooperate to shake the tree and knock it down so that the elephant could get the fruit and the ants could eat the leaves. The elephant’s original plan was to have the ants get into the trunk and eat the wood from the inside. When the tree trunk was empty inside, the elephant could then knock it down. However,
the ants did not understand the elephant, and thought he/she want them to simply shake the tree. Of course, no matter how hard they tried, they could not knock down the tree. Similar to this chengyu 螳臂当车 *tang bi dang che* ‘a mantis trying to stop a chariot’, this story tells us that we cannot go beyond our abilities to accomplish impossible things. The elephant is the U.S., while the tree represents China.

In example (41), there are POWERLESS POLITICIANS ARE SMALL ANIMALS AND INSECTS, POWERFUL COUNTRIES ARE BIG ANIMALS, and A BIG COUNTRY IS A BIG TREE metaphors. These metaphors express that, like small animals which cannot beat big animals, Taiwan is not going to become independent because it is less powerful than the PRC.

In addition, there is a homonym in this example: yao （谣 vs 摇). The first yao, meaning ‘rumors’ or ‘folklore’, is the one used in the example. The second yao means ‘to shake’. The folklore here refers to the different statements regarding the independence of Taiwan, such as the two-China statement and the seven-piece-of-China statement. In the Mainland media, the Taiwanese government at the time was believed to be trying to use the two-China statement and the seven-piece-of-China statement to influence people to separate from the Mainland; thus, this situation is conceptualized as the tree is been shaken and knocked down.

Here is another example,

(42) 台湾 民众 知道, 陈水扁 早 已 是 “跛脚鸭”
Taiwan minzhong zhidaoshuang, Chen Shui-bian zao yi shi “bo jiao ya”,
Taiwan people know, Chen Shui-bian early already is “lame foot duck”

就 连 美国 对 他 也 不予理睬.
jiu lian meiguo dui ta ye buyulicai
even include U.S. towards him also ignore

“Taiwanese people know that Chen Shui-bian is already a lame duck, and even the U.S. is ignoring him”.

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Example (42) is concerned with the domestic situation in Taiwan in 2005. Inside Taiwan, there were discussions about the Mainland’s gift of panda bears and the policy of zero tariff on importing Taiwanese fruits to the Mainland. Because of these friendly actions from the Mainland, even some members of the DPP wanted to attend the forum held on the Mainland regardless of the fact that the DPP’s goal is to depend only on Taiwan and refuse to expand trade between the two sides. As the leader of the Taiwan, Chen Shui-bian had been attempting to minimize communications between the two sides, but the domestic situation did not allow him to achieve his goal; thus, this is conceptualized as him being a lame duck that is unable to fully carry out his policies. The concept of a lame duck might have been quoted from the description of Chen Shui-bian in the Taiwanese media, as it appeared three times in my data.

In the above examples, it can be seen that the size of an animal is directly related to the concept of power. However, mere size is not equal to being powerful. When an unreal animal is used in an animal metaphor, its material may become the focus of what the metaphor really intends to express. The following is such an example.

(43) 台湾的反导系统如同虚设，只不过
Taiwan de fan dao xitong rutong xushe, zhi buguo

是 一个外强中干的“纸老虎”罢了.
shi yi ge wan qiang zhong gan de “zhi laohu” bale

“The anti-missile system in Taiwan exists in name only, it is just a paper tiger that looks strong on the outside, but is empty on the inside”.

The anti-missile system is a powerful weapon that is conceptualized as a paper tiger. Although a real tiger is a big and dangerous animal, a paper paper is delicate and easily torn. It thus lacks power. Under this conceptualization, the anti-missile system is not as powerful as it
appears; it looks powerful from the outside, but is not really effective; thus, the metaphor THE ANTI-MISSILE SYSTEM IS A PAPER TIGER.

6.2.2. Natural Forces Metaphors

Wei (2001) found meteorology metaphors in her data concerning city and country magistrate elections in Taiwan in 1997. She found that reference to “natural disasters such as tornadoes, storms, or cyclones” is used to “convey the idea of upheaval and change in politics” (p. 72). She concludes that the conceptual metaphor A CAMPAIGN IS WEATHER indicates the unpredictable nature of politics in Taiwan. For example,

“Xuanju yao zhuazhu chaoliu, xianzai shi renmin dangjia zuozhu. Trans: The campaigners should be familiar with the trends [tides] of the situation because the people are the masters of the house.” (p. 73)

Because weather is changing and unpredictable, it is suitable to conceptualize political situations which share the same features as different kinds of weather. In terms of these features, I will discuss the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WEATHER in detail in section 6.2.3.1. In regard to the example above, Wei categorized the phrase chaoliu ‘tide’ as a weather metaphor and her data did not include weather metaphors used to conceptualize the power balance of politics in Taiwan. In my data, however, phrases relating to water are categorized as water metaphors, which are a sub-category of physical world metaphors, including other natural elements such as weather and fire. In addition, under the physical world metaphors, there is another big sub-category of natural power, i.e. that power of natural elements such as water and wind can be used to conceptualize power and the balance of politics. Thus, the conceptual metaphors are: POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS WIND, TROUBLES ARE WIND AND WAVES, POLITICAL
POWER IS A WATER COURSE, A POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS A FLOW OF WATER and UNSTEADY POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE TIDES.

6.2.2.1. Wind Metaphors

Wind is the flow of air created by an imbalance in air pressure. In political situations, because of the imbalance of powerful versus powerless political entities as well as the imbalance created by their political proposals or actions, certain political situations can be created or changed. Thus, the imbalance of political situations can be conceptualized as a natural phenomenon—wind.

The wind metaphors will be illustrated in the following examples (44)- (46):

(44) 两岸同胞热盼大熊猫赴台的
   liang an tongbao re pan da xiongmao fu tai de
two side compatriot enthusiastic long for giant panda go Taiwan MOD

   “东风”，台湾当局却猛刮冷风.
   “dong feng”, Taiwan dangju que meng gua leng feng.
   “east wind”, Taiwan authority yet fierce blow cold wind

   而这阵阵冷风的风源,
   er zhe zhenzhen leng feng de feng yuan,
   and this CLF cold wind MOD wind source

   就是民进党当局的“台独”心态.
   jiu shi minjindang dangju de “tai du” xintai
   just is DPP authority MOD “Taiwan independence” intention

“People from both sides have been enthusiastically longing for the pandas to go to Taiwan; however, the Taiwanese authorities kept blowing the cold wind of refusal to let the pandas come. The source of the cold wind is the intention [to work toward] the independence of Taiwan by the DPP ruled government”.

The political background in example (44) was that the Mainland government decided to give Taiwan a pair of panda bears as friendship presents after Lian Zhan, the president of the
KMT at the time, visited the Mainland for the very first time after almost 50 years since the KMT and its troops had fled to Taiwan when they lost the civil war to the Chinese Communist Party. On the Taiwanese side, non-official organizations and zoos started to prepare for the pandas' arrival. However, while people on both sides were preparing enthusiastically for welcoming the panda bears, the Taiwanese government refused entry to the pandas, and accused the Mainland of using the pandas as tools to press for unification. Here, the good expectation of welcoming the panda bears is conceptualized as the east wind, which is also called the spring wind, and which is supposed to bring people the warmth of spring after a cold winter. The cold refusal of the panda bears by the Taiwanese government is conceptualized as a cold wind. The metaphors of GOOD POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS THE EAST WIND and BAD POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS COLD WIND create a sharp image of a power struggle over the issue of the panda bears. Reference to the east wind and a cold wind is also very common in describing other similar situations in Chinese.

Next,

(45) 自从 去 年 7 月 李“摩西” 提出 要 把 台湾 与 中国分开 的 “两 国 论” 后，台湾海峡阴风再起，一股戾气笼罩着台湾岛.

“Since last July, after Lee Teng-hui [Li Moses] put forward the two-China statement regarding separation of Taiwan from China, a sinister wind rose again over the Taiwan Straits and the island of Taiwan has been subject to with horrific atmospheric conditions”.
In example (45), the proposal of the two-China theory by Lee Teng-hui is conceptualized as the rising of a sinister wind; thus, there is the BAD POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS A BAD WIND metaphor. In Chinese, any bad influence can be conceptualized as bad wind. Here, the concept of sinister wind indicates the bad influence the two-China statement had brought to the relations between the two sides. Not only does it indicate a change of situation in the relations between the two sides, but also a power imbalance between them. The two-China proposal was put forward the year before Lee Teng-hui 's last year (the year of 2000) as the president of Taiwan. He wanted to create as many chances as possible for the realization of the independence of Taiwan; therefore, his actions created an imbalanced power situation in the relations between the two sides. Moreover, Lee Teng-hui conceptualized himself as Moses who in the Bible, opened the Red Sea and led the Jews out of Egypt. Likewise, Lee Teng-hui attempted to lead the Taiwanese people out of one China and to establish Taiwan as an independent country. However, in this example, the use of Lee Moses instead of Lee Teng-hui is sarcastic and ironic in that Lee Teng-hui is not Moses, but a trouble-maker and a traitor to all Chinese people and Chinese history; his attempts to separate Taiwan from China will not be successful.

Here is one more example,

(46)目前，陈水扁正企图举办针对大陆的所谓 "防御性公投"，为紧张僵持的台海再添风浪。

at present, Chen Shui-bian attempt hold aim at mainland MOD so-called "defensive public voting", for tense stalemate MOD Taiwan sea again add wind wave
“At present, Chen Shui-bian is attempting to hold the so-called “defensive public vote”, aimed at the Mainland in order to create more trouble, like rising wind and waves in the already tense and stalemated situation between the two sides.”

In example (46), Chen Shui-bian is represented as another trouble-maker in the relations between the two sides. There are the following metaphors: THE DEFENSIVE PUBLIC VOTING IS WIND AND WAVES IN THE TAIWAN STRAITS and TO STIR UP TROUBLES IS TO ADD WIND AND WAVES. Chen Shui-bian’s call for public voting as a defense is conceptualized as creating trouble between the two sides, as the Mainland thought the real intention of the public voting was to realize the independence of China; thus, the Mainland government totally disagreed on public voting. The public voting itself is conceptualized as wind and waves in the sea, which creates a disturbing and terrible image of the relations between the two sides. If this situation continues, the relationship will be harmed and people on both sides will be affected. These metaphors make a comparison between a calm sea versus a sea with wind and waves and between the two sides in a peaceful and pleasant relationship versus an unsteady and troubled relationship between the two sides. This comparison indirectly tells the readers that there will be no good results in the end if the steady and peaceful relations between the two sides are sabotaged.

6.2.2.2. Water Metaphors

In addition to wind metaphors used to show the power and power balance between the two sides, there are also water metaphors. They will be illustrated in the following examples (47)-(49).

(47) 挟洋自重，搞“台独”铤而走险.
    xie yang zi zhong, gao “tai du” tingerzouxian
    seize foreign self importance, make “Taiwan independence” risk danger in desperation
Chen Shui-bian and Lee Teng-hui think they are important because they have some foreign support, so they risk the danger of working for the independence of Taiwan in desperation; they are just a muddy stream, which will be swamped by the big movement toward unification of the country.

The degree of power in question appears to be symbolized by the quantity of the water flow or the size of the waves. In example (47), liu refers to a small stream with a light current in contrast to da chao a big, forceful tide. Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian form a minority favoring the independence for Taiwan, the majority of Chinese people favor unification; thus, PEOPLE WHO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN ARE STREAMS and THE MOVEMENT TOWARD UNIFICATION IS BIG TIDES. Here, the trend is conceptualized as a flowing river merging with various branches on the way to its end. Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, and their supporters are described as just a small stream which will eventually be swallowed by the big river, indicating that their attempts will be in vain, and the unification of China will eventually come about. In addition, the small stream is not clear, but muddy, as in the phrase ‘muddy stream’, indicating that the independence of Taiwan is unjust. In Chinese culture, it is believed that bad things lead to bad results; therefore, Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian will suffer bad consequences for doing bad things.

Next,

Lee Teng-hui back against history current, “two country theory” only is CLF
“Lee Teng-hui went against the current of history, and his two-China statement is only an opposing whirlpool which cannot block the rolling trend of continuing to surge forward; Lee Teng-hui is just a beach that blocks the road, which can only be rolled away by the powerful trend of history”.

In example (48), the movement toward unification is conceptualized as a flowing river with powerful currents. The two-China statement, which goes against the movement toward unification, is then conceptualized as a whirlpool that goes in the other direction. However, a whirlpool, although it goes against the flow, cannot change the direction of the flow as a whole. In this example, the unification trend is seen as the norm, and the activities related to the independence of Taiwan as something against the norm; thus, the unification is the standard order while the independence of Taiwan is not. Also, it is dangerous for a boat or a swimmer to be close to a whirlpool; thus, a whirlpool also implies that something bad may occur. To say that the two-China statement is just a whirlpool is to show that, although the activities related to the independence of Taiwan are bad and against the unification policy, they will not ultimately be very influential in the unification of the Mainland and Taiwan. Thus, there is the A BAD POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS A WHIRLPOOL metaphor.
Furthermore, Lee Teng-hui is conceptualized as a beach blocking the way the river flows. But, the beach will eventually be submerged as any beach is when the sea tide comes; thus, a beach is powerless compared to tides or a flood. The trend of the unification of China is thus conceptualized as a flood, even more powerful than mighty currents. The great power of a flood also indicates that the unification of China is unstoppable. Thus, there is the JUST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE FLOOD metaphor.

Here is one more example,

(49) 与祖国分离的台湾根本没有能力抵御太平洋上的惊涛骇浪，而最终只会沦为列强的殖民地或大国的势力范围；统一而强大的祖国永远是台湾和平与安全的坚强后盾。

“Taiwan, separated from the motherland, has no ability to resist changing international situations, the shocking tides and terrifying waves of the Pacific Ocean, and eventually it will fall into being a colony of various powerful countries or become the sphere of influence of some big countries; [but] the unified and powerful motherland is the powerful backbone for Taiwan’s peace and safety forever”. 
In example (49), the Pacific Ocean, as the largest ocean, in the world refers to international society. The power competition among countries in the world is intense and unpredictable; thus, there is the UNSTEADY POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE WAVES AND TIDES metaphor. Because Taiwan is a small political entity without power, it needs powerful backing in order to be competitive. Here, China is conceptualized as a mother who is able to protect her children: CHINA IS A MOTHER and TAIWAN IS HER CHILD. The phrase of zu guo ‘motherland’ indicates that Taiwan is part of China and should go back to its mother’s arms for protection. The wave metaphor in this example indirectly indicates that Taiwan possesses little political influence in international society, and is incapable of protecting itself internationally.

To summarize, the degree of power of a political entity or the potential of a political activity can be conceptualized in terms of quantity of water or types of winds. Water metaphors can also be used in describing non-political situations. For instance, a big trend is conceptualized as big tides in fashion and social changes; unsteady situations can be conceptualized as shocking waves and tides in a person’s life or historical events; and a whirlpool is used to describe something or someone that goes against the norm.

6.2.3. Physical Elements Metaphors

Other natural features can also be used to conceptualize the political world, including weather, seasonal changes, and fire. In the following, I will discuss the weather, temperature, and fire metaphors.

6.2.3.1. Weather Metaphors

As mentioned earlier, weather or meteorology metaphors are used to show the unpredictable and constantly changing features of political situations. In my data, these are
conceptualized as weather conditions such as temperature changes, which in the physical world accompany changes of season. Temperature variation is used to conceptualize an improving or worsening situation since warmth makes people feel good, while cold brings discomfort.

The following conceptual metaphors related to weather, season, and temperature:

DIFFERENT POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE DIFFERENT WEATHER, UNFAVORABLE SITUATIONS ARE WINTER, FAVORABLE SITUATIONS ARE SPRING, AN UNFAVORABLE SITUATION IS COLD, HINDRANCE IS ICE, AN INTENSE SITUATION IS RISING TEMPERATURE, and TO HINDER IS TO LOWER THE TEMPERATURE. It should be noted here that the above weather and temperature metaphors are also used to characterize non-political situations, such as business and interpersonal relations.

The weather metaphors will be illustrated in the following examples (50)-(56).

(50) “一 边 一 国 论” 必 将 给 本 已 是 隆 冬 的
“yi bian yi guo lun” bi jiang gei benyi shi longdong de
“one side one country theory” must PRT give already is mid-winter MOD

两 岸 关 系 雪 上 加 霜, 受 到 影 响 的 将 是
liang an guanxi xue shang jia shuang, shoudao yinxiang de jiang shi
two side relation snow on add frost, suffer influence MOD PRT is

台 湾 低 迷 的 经 济, 而 最 终 受 害 者 将 是
Taiwan dimi de jingji, er zuizhong shouhanzhe jiang shi
Taiwan depressed MOD economy, and final victim PRT is

台 湾 人 民, 将 台 湾 引 向 灾 灾.
Taiwan renmin, jiang Taiwan yin xiang zainan
Taiwan people, PRT Taiwan lead towards disaster

“The one-side one-country statement will definitely create wintery relations between the two sides, making it even worse, as if adding frost onto snow, which will greatly affect the bad economy in Taiwan, and the final victim will be the Taiwanese people. Eventually it will lead Taiwan towards disaster”.

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In example (50), there is the BAD POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE MID-WINTER metaphor. In mid-winter, the temperature is very low, plants have died, and animals have migrated or are hiding from the cold. This image sends out the message that there seems to be no hope and everything looks depressing. With regard to the political situation between the two sides, no development is taking place and an adverse political atmosphere exists. To take bad political actions is to make the situation worse; thus, the four-character chengyu, xue shang jia shuang ‘to add frost onto snow’, describes the worsening situation in the relations between the two sides. Here, the metaphors are THE ONE SIDE, ONE COUNTRY THEORY IS FROST and BAD POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE SNOW.

Next, (51) 如今 春天 来 了, 海峡 两 岸 迎来 了 一 阵 rujin chuntian lai le, haixia liang an yinglai le yi zhen nowadays spring come PERF, strait two side welcome PERF one CFL

又 一 阵 春 风, 难道 就 始终 解 不 开 you yi zhen chun feng, nandao jiu shizhong jie bu kai again one CFL spring wind, could it be just from beginning to end undo no open

两 岸 间 多 年 积 成 的 liang an jian duo nian ji cheng de two side between many year accumulate become MOD

“千 层 雪” 吗? “qian ceng xue” ma

“thousand layer snow” PRT

“Now the Mainland has shown good will in the relations between the two sides as the spring has come; the two sides welcomed the spring wind of the Vice Minister from the Mainland; can this melt the thousand layers of snow accumulated between the two sides?”.

In example (51), a bettering situation is conceptualized as the season of spring because, after several months of cold and white winter, spring brings different colors back to earth, the
weather gets warmer, and plants start to grow. Spring is seen by many cultures as the season of life; thus, an improving situation means that new and good things are starting to happen, therefore, bringing development and hope. In the same sense, spring wind is gentle and refreshing, while winter wind is brutal and freezing; thus, spring wind is used to conceptualize good suggestions that will bring good changes. This example comes from an article written after Vice Prime Minister Qian Qichen made a speech which mentioned that the Mainland would welcome members of the DPP to come and visit the Mainland at an appropriate time. Regardless of the rejection of the one China principle by the Taiwanese government, the Mainland government showed a friendly attitude towards Taiwan, which is seen as spring wind bringing hope for the development of the relations between the two sides. Thus, there are the metaphors AN IMPROVING POLITICAL SITUATION IS SPRING and A GOOD POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS A SPRING WIND.

At the end of the example, the thousand layers of snow conceptualize the differences, problems, and animosity between the two sides over almost 50 years. As the temperature goes up in spring, snow and ice melt, just as positive political activities or proposals could change a bad political situation.

It is worth noting here that the use of snow to describe a bad and stagnant situation occurs in business and other social relationships as well in Chinese, although the phrase qian ceng ‘a thousand layers’ is not usually used together with snow in conventional metaphors. Here, the concept of a thousand layers emphasizes the large number of issues that need to be discussed and overcome between the mainland and Taiwan; thus, there are the following metaphors: DIFFERENCE IS A LAYER, HUGE DIFFERENCES ARE A THOUSAND LAYERS, and BAD POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE SNOW.

Here is another example,
Chen Shui-bian is surrounded by dangerous and constantly changing political situations like shocking waves and terrifying tides in the sea between two sides; his addiction to the independence of Taiwan makes his situation even worse. Let’s throw him a buoy to save him from his deadly disaster and bring him home safe and sound”.

As mentioned earlier, Wei (2001) found that weather-related terms such as tornados are used to conceptualize the political upheaval and changing situations in Taiwan. Such images are also found in example (40). Terms referring to violent weather situations such as “lightning”, “rainstorm”, “tsunami”, and “typhoon” are used to refer to the changing, adverse political situations between the two sides. Thus, there is the ADVERSE POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE ADVERSE WEATHER metaphor. Because of the geographical location of Taiwan, it draws a clear and vivid picture of Chen Shui-bian trying to survive in different political situations in order to carry out activities related to the independence of Taiwan, which is conceptualized as him
swimming in a stormy sea; therefore, there are the POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE WEATHER ON A SEA and ATTEMPTS TO SURVIVE POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE TO SWIM IN A SEA metaphors.

Terms for weather conditions and sea-related activities are also used for business and social change in Chinese. For instance, since the Open door policy was implemented in China, many people have started to conduct business on their own to make more money. This economic and social phenomenon is conceptualized in one phrase—下海 xia hai ‘go into the sea’, meaning to become a business man.

Use is also made of homonymy, a common rhetorical phenomenon. In this example, 独 du, means ‘independent’, as in the independence of Taiwan, while 毒 du is poison; the play on the homonymy of “du” indicates that the independence of Taiwan is poison; thus, there is the INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS POISON metaphor. Because Chen Shui-bian is pushing for the independence of Taiwan, he is then conceptualized as one who is addicted to poison; therefore, there is the PEOPLE WHO TRY TO REALIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN ARE POISON ADDICTS metaphor. These metaphors indicate that those who support the independence of Taiwan will end up badly, as poison kills living beings. In order to save Chen Shui-bian from being “killed” by drowning and drug-addiction, the Mainland government needs to throw a lifesaver to “save” him, which conceptualizes their friendly and kind political reactions, attitudes, and policies towards Taiwan. Here, there is the FRIENDLY POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND POLICIES ARE LIFESAVERS metaphor, based on the idea that a lifesaver and kind policies share the features of helping someone get out of trouble.

Here is one more example containing weather metaphors:

自那时以来, 台湾岛和海峡上空的自 nashi yilai, Taiwan dao he haixia shang kong de since then come, Taiwan island and strait above sky MOD
From then on, the international intervening forces and Taiwan’s separatist forces have been the southern clouds conspiring with each other, and their power has become bigger as the clouds have gotten thicker and larger. Will the situation suddenly worsen just as the clouds have become darker? This is the question people of the two sides are all concerned and worried about.

In example (53), clouds cover the sun and make it gloomy and unpleasant. The two characters 乌 wu and 黑 hei both mean ‘black’ in this example are used to strengthen the gloomy sky. An unclear and worsening situation is conceptualized as a chunk of clouds that covers good prospects. The magazine article from which this example is taken states that the phrase 南云 ‘a cloud of the south’ originally occurred in a poem by Mao Zedong to indicate the overseas and domestic groups who support the separation of Taiwan from China. “South” refers to the geographic location of Taiwan to China, and a cloud represents something that hinders the development of the unification of Taiwan and China. When clouds get darker and
thicker, it is a sign that the weather is turning really bad and there is a storm on the way. This particular weather condition is used to indicate that activities related to the independence of Taiwan are increasing. When a storm comes, it brings a great deal of precipitation and wind, which may affect people’s lives. The series of weather changes illustrate the nature of the political situation—it changes quickly as different interest groups take actions towards reaching their political goals; as a result, all parties involved are influenced in one way or another. The words zhou ‘sudden’ and bao ‘heavy’ also imply the unpredictability of politics. Thus, in this example, there are the following metaphors THE HINDRANCE IS CLOUDS, BAD IS BLACK, and BAD POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE STORMY WEATHER.

6.2.3.2. Temperature Metaphors

The temperature is generally described in Chinese as hot, warm, cool, or cold. It seems that the concept of cold is negatively valued by Chinese speakers. For example, 冷风 leng ban deng ‘cold bench’ means being (treated) coldly, while the concepts of warm and hot tend to be positively valued, as in the phrases 温柔 wen rou ‘warm tender’, meaning tender and loving, and 热心肠 re xin chang ‘hot heart’ meaning warm-hearted. Besides being used to describe human emotions and personality traits, Gao and Yan (2008) show that the concept of temperature is also used to describe a dangerous or difficult situation as well as social status and power. In English, such phrases as icy stare and cold reception are also used metaphorically in depicting social exclusion (Zhong and Leonardelli, 2008, p. 838). Zhong and Leonardelli (2008) conducted experiments with the temperature and found that there is a psychological basis for linking cold with feelings of social isolation. Their test results show that those who were told to think about a socially isolating experience gave lower estimates of the temperature. Their results tell us that “the domains of different experiences merge and intertwine such that the
activation of one is automatically accompanied by another” (p. 840); thus, “the subjective feeling of coldness may be an integral part of our experience of social rejection” (p. 840).

Similarly in the political discourse, the concept of cold and its related phrases refer to a bad or worsening situation, while the concepts of warm and hot refer to a good or bettering situation. Thus, there are these conceptual metaphors:

**POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE TEMPERATURES**
- A GOOD IS A WARM TEMPERATURE
- A BAD SITUATION IS A COLD TEMPERATURE
- HINDRANCE IS ICE
- INCREASING INTEREST IS RISING TEMPERATURE
- TO HINDER IS TO LOWER THE TEMPERATURE

These conceptual metaphors will be discussed in the following examples (54)-(56).

(54) *迈入 2005 年，两岸关系呈现 出乍暖 还寒之*  
*After the start of the year 2005, the relations between the two sides are still not satisfactory, but have become better, as the temperature turns lukewarm yet is still cold. A series of interactions and adjustments between the two sides has engendered close attention from both the domestic and overseas parties that are interested in the situation of the Taiwan Straits*.

**“After the start of the year 2005, the relations between the two sides are still not satisfactory, but have become better, as the temperature turns lukewarm yet is still cold. A series of interactions and adjustments between the two sides has engendered close attention from both the domestic and overseas parties that are interested in the situation of the Taiwan Straits”.**

In example (54), temperature is used to indicate a good or bad situation between the two sides. A good situation is conceptualized as a warm temperature while a bad situation as a
cold temperature. Thus, there are the POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE TEMPERATURES, A GOOD SITUATION IS A WARM TEMPERATURE, and A BAD SITUATION IS A COLD TEMPERATURE metaphors. In this example, a situation that is generally unsatisfying, but improving is conceptualized as a lukewarm weather condition.

Next,

(55) 随着 不久 前 国民党 大陆 参访 团 所 进行 suizhe bujiu qian guomindang dalu canfang tuan suo jinxing follow soon before KMT mainland visit group PRT carry out

的 "破冰之旅", 两岸交流 活动 de "po bing zhi lu", liang an jiaoliu huodong MOD “break ice MOD journey”, two side communication activity

日 渐 热络, 似乎 台湾 海峡 的 春天 真的 已经 ri jian reluo, sihu taiwan haixia de chuntian zhende yijing day gradual comradely, seem Taiwan strait MOD spring really already

来 到 了. 可是, 转 眼 之 间, 刚刚 lai dao le. keshi, zhuan yan zhi jian, ganggang come arrive PERF. but, turn eye Possessive between, just

转 暖 的 海 面 上 又 出现 了 厚厚 的 zhuan nuan de hai mian shang you chuxian le houhou de turn warm MOD sea surface up again appear PERF thick MOD

“冰 块”, 让 有 心 行走 于 两 岸 之 间 “bing kuai”, rang you xin xingzou yu liang an zhi jian “ice chunk”, let have heart walk at two side MOD between

的 人 免 不 了 心 有 余 悸. de ren miao buliao xin you yu ji MOD person avoid not heart have remaining fear

“Since the ‘ice-breaking journey’ of the KMT group’s visit to the Mainland, communications between the two sides have been increasing. It seems that the spring of the good situation of the Taiwan Straits had already come, but then all of a sudden, ice chunks appeared and
worsened the situation again. It inevitably makes people who think about doing business between the two sides still have fear in their hearts”.

In example (55), like mentioned in example (54), an improving situation between the two sides is conceptualized as spring warming; therefore, there is the AN IMPROVING POLITICAL SITUATION IS WARMING WEATHER metaphor. In addition, ube ‘ice’ occurs twice. The first reference to ice in the phrase “ice-breaking journey” refers to the impasse of no official visit between the two sides in almost 50 years. Thus, to break the impasse or, to break ice, is seen as a good sign for both sides. The second instance of ice in the phrase of “ice chunk” refers to the DPP and the Chen’s government’s actions to attempt to block further communications between two sides, including to pause authorizing reporters from the Xinhua News Agency to interview in certain places in Taiwan; to pass the law of protecting sensitive technology in Taiwan; and to set limits on hiring fishermen from the mainland. Thus, to make ice is to stop development in the relations between the two sides. Although the ice metaphor—HINDRANCE IS ICE—is the same in both places, the contrast is created by using different verbs: the first one is to break ice while the second is to make ice, which depicts for the readers how the political situations between two sides have been constantly changing.

Here is another example,

(56) 现在 台湾 岛 内 “大陆 热” 升 温,
xianzai taiwan dao nei “dalu re” sheng wen,
now Taiwan island inside “mainland heat” rise temperature

陈水扁 认为 两岸 关系 的 发展
Chen Shui-bian renwei liang an guanxi de fazhan
Chen Shui-bian think two side relation MOD development

越来越 不利 于 “台 独”, 陈水扁 试图
yuelai yue bu li yu “tai du”, Chen Shui-bian shitu
more more no benefit MOD “Taiwan independence”, Chen Shui-bian attempt
“Right now, the Mainland has become a hot topic on Taiwan. Chen Shui-bian thinks that the development does not benefit the independence of Taiwan and is attempting to lower the temperature in order to restrain such interests inside Taiwan”.

In example (56), a contrast between two extreme situations regarding the mainland is also created by referring to either rising or lowering temperatures. The conceptual metaphor—POPULARITY IS HEAT is used to show that Taiwanese people have shown great interest in the Mainland. The rising temperature conceptualizes the upward trend in the popularity of and increasing interest in the Mainland China among Taiwanese people; thus, INCREASING INTEREST IS A RISING TEMPERATURE. However, Chen Shui-bian and his government have attempted to decrease the interest among ordinary people; thus, TO HINDER IS TO LOWER THE TEMPERATURE. The contrast created with these two metaphors also indicates that different interest groups use different ways to achieve their goals and, thus, create changing situations in the relations between the two sides.

From examples (50) to (56), we have seen how season and temperature are used to describe changing situations in the relations between the two sides. The general trend is that a warm season and rising temperature are associated with improving conditions and a cold season and decreasing temperature with worsening situations.

6.2.3.3. Fire Metaphors

According to Charteris-Black (2004), fire is often linked to emotions (p.100). For example, LOVE IS FIRE, ANGER IS FIRE, ENERGY IS FIRE, SEXUAL DESIRE IS FIRE, and EMOTION IS FIRE (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Kövecses and Szabó, 1996; Kövecses, 2002). In ANGER IS FIRE, the
speed and the rate of burning are highlighted and, thus, referred to negatively. Charteris-Black found the conceptual metaphor PURIFICATION IS FIRE used in English when the U.S. embarked on the Gulf War in the Middle East. He claims that fire is positively evaluated in his corpus in the sense that it is “associated with a scientific sense of purification” as well as “the quality of fire to produce light” (p. 102); thus, it can be concluded that “different aspects of the source domain are therefore highlighted in metaphor choice” (p. 102). In my data, I found the concept of TROUBLE IS FIRE, which highlights the fact that fire is able to destroy things. Here are some examples:

Example (57) was written shortly after the earthquake in Hualian, Taiwan, in September 1999, and not long after Lee Ten-hui proposed the two-China statement. The word 气焰 qi yan ‘a big, shooting flame’ itself is generally used negatively in Chinese. Qi yan ‘flames’ describes the political situation in regards to the two-China statement, as it was at its peak with great flames
in the metaphor A BAD POLITICAL IDEA IS FIRE. However, a fire will eventually extinguish; this also indicates that the two-China statement will eventually fail.

Next,

(58) In the year of 2004, Taiwan is going to hold the next presidential election, Chen Shui-bian obviously has ulterior motives in vigorously stirring up trouble with the independence of Taiwan issue, like burning a wild fire).

"In example (58), the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a wild fire that can be lit whenever there is wind. This represents the idea that whenever Chen Shui-bian takes action towards establishing the independence of Taiwan, it is like fanning the flames of a fire by creating air movement or wind. Therefore, it causes troubles in the relations between the two sides. There is thus the TROUBLE IS FIRE metaphor.

Another example is,

(59) is for stir up two side tense situation, to achieve “fire middle take chestnut”
“台独”分裂势力的本质。
“Taiwan independence” separate influence MOD nature

The main motive of the words and behavior of Chen Shui-bian and the DPP is to stir up a tense situation between the two sides in order to achieve the despicable goal of the independence of Taiwan through their dangerous actions, like to taking chestnuts from a fire, but, more or less, this has also disclosed the nature of the separatist influence in Taiwan.

In the above example, this chengyu 火中取栗 huo zhong qu li ‘to take chestnuts from a fire’ is from a French fable by Jean de La Fontaine. The fable tells the story of a cat and a monkey. Both of them see that there are chestnuts roasting in the fire and want to eat them. The monkey asks the cat to steal them, so the cat does. But, after the cat risks the danger of burning its paws to get the chestnuts out of fire, the nuts are all eaten by the monkey. In the above political situation, Chen Shui-bian is the monkey, while the U.S. is the cat. Chen Shui-bian's plan was to create a tense situation between both sides, expecting the U.S. to back up Taiwan in order to realize the independence of Taiwan. This is conceptualized as obtaining the chestnuts from the fire. The tense situation between the two sides is the fire, and the independence of Taiwan is the chestnuts. Accordingly, the conceptual metaphors in this example are: A TENSE SITUATION IS FIRE, COUNTRIES ARE ANIMALS, and DESPICABLE POLITICAL PURPOSES ARE CHESTNUTS. A tense situation is definitely troublesome for the development of the relations between the two sides; thus, it is a reflection of the concept of TROUBLE IS FIRE.

Here is one more example,

美国人，请不要在油库边抽烟.
meiguoren, qing buyao zai you ku bian chouyan
American, please no at gas depot side smoke
“Americans, please do not smoke at a gas station”.

In example (60), although there is no direct term for fire; the concept of fire and explosion is implied. It is known that fire or any behavior that may trigger a fire, such as smoking, is prohibited at a gas depot. In this example, Taiwan is conceptualized as a container, specifically, a gas station. Because of the extremely tense political situation between Taiwan and the mainland, there might be a war at any time; this is conceptualized as gas, which may be used to start a fire easily. Therefore, if the U.S. stirs up more troubles in the tense relationship, a very bad consequence may occur. This is conceptualized as smoking beside a gas station, implying that because a dangerous explosion may occur. In this example, there are the following metaphors: A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER, TROUBLE IS FIRE, TENSE POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE GAS, and TO STIR UP TROUBLES IS TO SMOKE BESIDES A GAS STATION.

To summarize, in section 6.2., I have discussed examples using different concepts of animals and natural resources to conceptualize the power of political entities. Negative evaluations of animal metaphors are associated with unjust political entities; thus, the use of insects is used to conceptualize that as in these conceptual metaphors: A POLITICAL ENTITY IS AN ANIMAL, A POWERFUL POLITICAL ENTITY IS A BIG ANIMAL, AN UNJUST POLITICAL ENTITY IS AN INSECT, and AN UNJUST POLITICAL ENTITY IS A SMALL ANIMAL.

The contrast of the powerful and the powerless is also created in the quantity of natural resources such as water. While power is conceptualized as rolling flood or tides, lack of power is conceptualized as small streams of water or muddy flows. Thus, there are the following metaphors: POLITICAL INFLUENCE IS WIND, TROUBLES ARE WIND AND WAVES, POLITICAL POWER IS A WATER COURSE, A POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS A FLOW OF WATER and UNSTEADY
POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE TIDES. In addition, the contrast of power versus lack of power is also one of the just versus the unjust.

In describing changing political situations, natural resources are used to conceptualize that because natural conditions such as various types of weather, including temperature changes and atmospheric conditions, can change into different states and conditions; thus, bring various outcome. Accordingly, the conceptual metaphors are: DIFFERENT POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE DIFFERENT WEATHER, UNFAVORABLE SITUATIONS ARE WINTER, FAVORABLE SITUATIONS ARE SPRING, BAD IS BLACK, AN UNFAVORABLE SITUATION IS COLD, HINDRANCE IS ICE, AN INTENSE SITUATION IS RISING TEMPERATURES, TO HINDER IS TO LOWER THE TEMPERATURE, and TROUBLE IS FIRE.

6.3. The concepts used to depict the key issues of unification and independence

From the viewpoint of the Mainland, Taiwan is seen as an inseparable part of China. To illustrate the point, concepts such as the family and the body are used as source domains in metaphors in the Mainland media. Since it is cruel to intentionally separate a family or to hurt a human body, ideas and activities related to the independence of Taiwan are conceptualized as ones which harm the family or the body. From the viewpoint of Taiwan, although the Mainland and Taiwan were somehow once related historically through the immigration of Chinese to Taiwan from the Mainland, the current situation should allow Taiwan to claim independence; thus, the concept of marriage is applied.

6.3.1. Body Metaphors

The human body is another fruitful source domain used in Chinese to conceptualize abstract complex systems. Kövecses (2002) points out that although abstract complex systems
are conceptualized as persons, the source domain of this type of metaphor is not the entire person, but rather, only the body of the person (p. 129). In English, for example, there is the primary **AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE HUMAN BODY** metaphor, and the secondary metaphors, **SOCIETY IS A HUMAN BODY** and **A COMPANY IS A HUMAN BODY**.

(61) Politicians are being blamed for all the _ills_ of society. (p. 129)
(62) Women are the church’s _backbone_ but rarely hold any positions of leadership. (p. 130)

In Kövecses’ understanding of the human body metaphor, there are two main meaning focuses: first, the appropriateness of the condition; second, the structure of an abstract system (p. 130). These mappings then yield these metaphors: **AN APPROPRIATE CONDITION IS A HEALTHY CONDITION; INAPPROPRIATE CONDITIONS (DIFFICULTIES, PROBLEMS) ARE ILLNESS; THE STRUCTURE OF AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE HUMAN BODY** (p. 130).

Similarly in Chinese politics, I found that the human body metaphor is used in these specific metaphors:

- **A COUNTRY/REGION IS A HUMAN BODY**
- **A POLITICAL PARTY IS THE BODY OF A HUMAN BEING**
- **A POLITICAL GOAL IS THE HEART OF A HUMAN BODY**
- **A DISGUISE IS THE SKIN**
- **HISTORY IS A PERSON**

In examples (63) to (65), the source domains are parts of the human body and all are negatively evaluated.

(63) 如今, 他更 是 “自 我 戳 破 画 皮”,
rujin, ta geng shi “zi wo chuo po hua pi”,
nowadays, he even is “self I poke broken painted skin”,

背 信 弃 义, 交 易 隐 性 “台 独” 为
bei xin qi yi, bian yinxing “tai du” wei
violate faith abandon righteousness, change hidden “Taiwan independence” as
“Nowadays, he even poked through his painted skin, abandoned faith and righteousness with all Chinese people, and turned the policy of the independence of Taiwan from hidden into noticeable, which has fully disclosed his true face and eyes”.

In example (63), Chen Shui-bian’s empty promises about not announcing the independence of Taiwan and not including the two-China statement in the constitution are conceptualized as painted skin. The painted skin comes from a ghost story in a famous novel, 聊斋志异 liao zhai zhi yi ‘The Strange Tales of Liao Zhai’, which tells about a devil who conceals his true ugliness and terrifying nature by hiding in the human skin of a beautiful woman so he can seduce young men in order to drain their blood. Every night, when no one is around, the devil takes off the skin and puts beautiful make-up on it. In modern Chinese, the phrase 画皮 huapi ‘painted skin’ is used to describe a beautiful exterior covering ferocious features and an ugly nature.

According to the Mainland media, when Chen Shui-bian became president, he promised that he would not announce independence, or push forward a public vote on whether Taiwan should be independent or united with the mainland; however, what he really did was not what he promised: he refused to acknowledge the one-China principle and obstructed negotiations between the two sides; therefore, it is claimed, his real intention behind his empty promises was to attempt to achieve the independence of Taiwan. The conceptual metaphors used in the above example are: POLITICAL PROMISES ARE A DISGUISE; A DISGUISE IS HUMAN SKIN; EMPTY
BUT BEAUTIFUL PROMISES ARE PAINTED HUMAN SKIN. These metaphors and the famous ghost story all Chinese people know paint a picture of Chen Shui-bian as a sneaky and ferocious politician.

In addition, the phrase 面目 mian mu ‘face eye’ is used to conceptualize the true look or the real nature of something. Thus, there is the metaphor THE TRUE NATURE (OF SOMETHING OR SOMEONE) IS THE FACE AND EYES OF A HUMAN BEING. In Chinese culture, it is believed that the facial structure and eyes cannot be disguised, as they reflect who the person is. In this example, this metaphor is negative, as Chen Shui-bian’s real intention is to promote the independence of Taiwan, which is believed by the Mainland to be a terrible policy.

Blood is the body part in focus in example (64):

(64) 实际上 都 是 为 其 推行 的 “台 独”
   shijishang dou shi wei qi tuixing de “tai du”
   in fact all is for his carry out MOD “Taiwan independence”

路线 扫除 障碍. 其中 一 个 大 动作 就是
   luxian saochu zhangai. qizhong yi ge da dongzuo ji shi
   line clean up barrier. among one CLF big move just is

对 台 军 进行 “大 换 血”, 逐渐 增加
   dui tai jun jinxing “da huan xue”, zhujian zengjia
   toward Taiwan troops carry on “big change blood”, gradually increase

台湾 本 土 籍 将领 的 比例.
   Taiwan ben tu ji jiangling de bili
   Taiwan native land membership general MOD ratio

“In fact, all of this is for him to clear away the barriers so that he can carry out activities related to the independence of Taiwan. One of the big moves is to change “blood” in the Taiwanese troops, gradually increasing the ratio of the native Taiwanese generals and higher-ranked officers”.

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In example (64), increasing the ratio of Taiwanese native officers in the army is conceptualized as changing blood, in that the ethnic composition of the officers will be changed. The general conceptual metaphors in this example are: THE ARMY IS A HUMAN BODY, HUMAN RESOURCES ARE THE BLOOD OF A HUMAN BODY, and POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE MEDICAL OPERATIONS. Specifically, the secondary metaphors in this example are OFFICERS (SOLDIERS) IN THE ARMY ARE HUMAN BLOOD and TO INCREASE OFFICERS IN THE ARMY IS TO CHANGE BLOOD IN A HUMAN BODY. Here, the army is conceptualized as a human body, and the blood refers to ethnicity. Thus, to change “blood” represents increasing the ratio of native Taiwanese officers and generals. In addition, the reference to blood in this example is also considered a metonymy since it involves part for whole representation. Blood is a part of a human body, which supplies nutrition to the entire body and defends against diseases. Thus, there is a metonymy based upon the body metaphor.

After the KMT lost the Civil war to the communist party, they went to Taiwan with their troops. Therefore, when the KMT governed Taiwan, the military in Taiwan was under the control of KMT related or pro-KMT officers and generals. After Chen Shui-bian became president in the year 2000, he started to replace those pro-KMT officers and generals; instead, he promoted more officers and generals who were born and raised in Taiwan. This is seen by the Mainland government as part of his plot to achieve the independence of Taiwan.

Below is another example:

(65) 以 美元 换 飞弹，是 “台 独” 势力 依靠 的 “定 心 丸”.

yi meiyuan huan feidan, is “tai du” shili use U.S. dollar change missile, is “Taiwan independence” influence  

yikao de “ding xin wan” depend MOD “stable heart pill”
“Purchasing missiles from the U.S. is using a pill-to-stabilize the heart to reassure the groups who support the independence of Taiwan”.

Because of the strong U.S. military power, its weapons are considered advanced, powerful, and effective. Therefore, those who purchase U.S. weapons feel their defensive system will be stronger and safer if equipped with those. In the above example, the U.S. missiles purchased are conceptualized as a pill for stabilizing the heart. Thus, there is the metaphor ADVANCED WEAPONS ARE PILLS. In traditional Chinese medical practice, the heart is the most important human organ in the torso, which dominates the other organs. In Chinese, 心 xin ‘heart’ occurs in many compound words referring to emotions, conditions, or processes inside the human body and even in 心理 xinli ‘psychology’. The heart is seen as the source of human emotion and inner feelings. It is noteworthy that three major Chinese philosophical systems all make significant reference to the heart. Confucianism emphasizes the significance of correcting one’s heart to be sincere; Buddhism focuses on centering the heart so that a person will not be disturbed by materials or desires such as money and fame; Taoism centers on taking actions according to natural indications, rather than forcing something to happen, which is believed to disobey the heart.

In the above example, the Mainland media express the belief that the Taiwan government purchased many advanced weapons from the U.S., hoping that their military strength would help win a possible war or at least stave off the Mainland. Thus, the purchased weapons from the U.S. form a kind of reassurance for the Taiwanese government. In Chinese culture, a feeling of reassurance comes from inside the heart; therefore, reassurance is conceptualized as to stabilize the heart so that it does not feel anxiety. This type of metaphor is also commonly used in other situations in Chinese.
In the above examples, different body parts as the source domain occur in contexts with negative connotations from the point of view of the PRC. In contrast, in the following examples (66) and (67), Taiwan and the Mainland are conceptualized as necessary components of a healthy human body; thus, there is the A COUNTRY/REGION IS A PART OF THE HUMAN BODY metaphor, which signifies in this context that there are positive necessary and significant bonds between the two sides.

(66) 台湾 同胞 与 祖国 大陆
Taiwan tongbao yu zuguo dalu
Taiwan compatriot and motherland mainland

血 脉 相通, 骨 肉 相连.
xue main xiangtong, gu rou xianglian
blood vein interlinked, bone flesh linked together

“Taiwanese compatriots and the mother mainland are interlinked by blood and veins, and are joined together as bones and flesh”.

In example (66), Taiwan is conceptualized as blood and flesh, while the Mainland is conceptualized as the veins and bones. Not only are these important parts of the human body, but they also have dependent relationships with each other. Both blood and flesh must have a structure that contains or supports them. Thus, it is implied that Taiwan is dependent on the Mainland. Here, there is the THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP OF A REGION AND A COUNTRY IS THAT OF BODY PARTS metaphor. In the Chinese language, this metaphor is very common to describe a close relationship between people or things.

Further examples of body are included in (67). The non-body-related metaphors are discussed in other sections.

(67) 台湾 是 大陆 母亲 远 游 的 龙 子,
Taiwan shi dalu muqin yuan you de long zi,
Taiwan is mainland mother far away travel MOD dragon son
Taiwan is the mother mainland’s son of the dragon who is travelling far away; the Taiwan Straits are the scar in the heart of the mother—a deep blue scar spanning over a hundred kilometers”.

In example (67), the Taiwan Straits are conceptualized as a scar on a human body. Thus, the conceptual metaphor in this example is: A COUNTRY IS A HUMAN BODY. The use of this metaphor in this example shows that Taiwan belongs to China and expresses ardent expectation of uniting with Taiwan.

The examples (68)-(70) illustrate the use of body metaphors to express a negative evaluation. The other metaphors are discussed in other sections.

(68) 一 次 是 “脱 衣 秀”. 这 就 是 最近 的
yi ci shi “tuo yi xiu”. zhe jiu shi zuijin de
one time is “take off clothes show”. this just is most recent

一 次，衣服 全 脱 光，一 颗 原 裹 着
yi ci, yifu quan tuo guang, yi ke yuan guo zhe
one time, clothes entire take off nothing left, one

多 重 外 衣 的 “毒 (独) 心”
duo chong wai yi de “du (du) xin”
many layer out coat MOD “poisonous (independent) heart”

终于 全部 露 出 了.
zhongyu quanbu lu chu le
finally entire appear out
“One of Lee Teng-hui’s political shows regarding Taiwan independence is to take off the clothes—to try to get rid of the unification guidelines, which was what happened recently. He said that the Constitution is a very old coat with patches; he had already abandoned the unification guidelines and the committee to handle unification affairs, and he used different methods to attempt to achieve the independence of Taiwan: first, he said that the Republic of China actually referred to Taiwan; then, he repeated the two-China statement; now, he has mentioned the non-existence of the Republic of China. These steps and words are just like taking off layers of clothes and finally, a poisonous heart is revealed”.

In the above example, Lee Teng-hui’s real intention to separate Taiwan from the Mainland is conceptualized as the heart. Thus, there is the metaphor A POLITICAL SCHEME IS AN ORGAN OF THE HUMAN BODY. The other concepts such as show and poison are discussed in sections 6.6.1. and 6.6.7., respectively.

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3 The patches refer to different policies Lee Teng-hui had taken toward either unification or independence. First, his government created the Guidelines for National Unification in 1991, claiming to unify China by utilizing the Three Principles of the People (the principles of nationalism, democracy, and people’s livelihoods). Then, he claimed Taiwan as a sovereign, independent political entity in 1995. In May 1999, he stated that China should be divided into seven pieces. In July 1999, he made the so-called two-China statement (Wikipedia).
same time, he has taken the curved sword out of its sheath by taking actions to attempt to achieve the independence of Taiwan. He has been making extraordinary painstaking efforts to try to cut off the umbilical cord between the two sides”.

In example (69), Chen Shui-bian is portrayed as a tricky politician who knows how to play all kinds of tricks with the Mainland government. According to the Mainland media, the so-called good will from Chen Shui-bian regarding his promises on promoting and facilitating the economic and cultural communications between the two sides, including the Three Links, is conceptualized as an olive branch; however, the basis of the communications between two sides, according to Chen Shui-bian, should be the acknowledgement from the Mainland government that the Republic of China is Taiwan; thus, the Mainland government says that Chen Shui-bian’s premises violate the one-China principle and actually save to implement the policy of the independence of Taiwan. The content related to Taiwan’s independence is conceptualized as thorns on an olive branch. The Mainland media further complain that, in Chen Shui-bian’s following steps towards achieving the independence of Taiwan, he later claimed that the Mainland was considered a foreign country in the eyes of the Taiwanese government, denying the common recognition made by the governments between two sides in 1992; he also allowed the Ministry of Education in Taiwan to make changes in history textbooks to divide the history of Taiwan from the history of China.

The heart metaphor in the four-character chengyu 苦心孤诣 ku xin gu yi ‘bitter heart lonely certain degree’, meaning to make extraordinary painstaking efforts, indicates in a sarcastic way how much plotting he has done in order to work towards his goal and that he is very good at scheming.

At the end of the example, the relationship between the Mainland and Taiwan is conceptualized as an umbilical cord. An umbilical cord is a rope-like connection for transferring
nutrition from a mother to a fetus and for the fetus to send out waste; thus, it is very significant in the healthy development of the fetus. The conceptual metaphor A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP IS AN UMBILICAL CORD indicates the importance of the Mainland to Taiwan; thus, it is unnatural and harmful to separate Taiwan from China.

Generally speaking, the human body metaphors associated with the independence of Taiwan is used negatively, while the dependant relations between the Mainland and Taiwan are conceptualized in positive way.

6.3.2. Family Metaphors

As a Confucian society, Chinese people take family relations very seriously. In Chinese culture, the concept of family not only refers to wife, husband, and child/children, but also includes the extended families of both the wife and the husband: grandparents from both sides, siblings of the wife and the husband, and spouses of the siblings, etc. As long as there is some kind of genetic connection, a person is considered to be a part of the family. Therefore, it is natural that a family should unite together, instead of being separate. It is expected that a travelling person will finally go back to be with his or her family. In Chinese tradition, the Mid-Autumn Festival celebrates the reunion of all family members on the night of a full moon. Thus, the family concept has an essential place in Chinese culture.

Liu (2002) shows that family metaphors are common in the discussion of cross-strait issues. For example, the metaphorical expression 兄弟关系 xiongdi guanxi ‘older brother younger brother relationship’, meaning the brother-to-brother relationship, is used to describe the relationship between the Mainland and Taiwan. The use of family is also a source domain for the following conceptual metaphors in my data:
CHINA IS ONE BIG FAMILY
CHINESE PEOPLE ARE FAMILY MEMBERS
THE TWO SIDES ARE SIBLINGS
TAIWAN IS THE CHILD OF MAINLAND CHINA.

These conceptual metaphors will be illustrated in examples (70)-(76).

(70) 台湾同胞是祖国大家庭中的一员，Taiwan compatriot is motherland big family middle MOD one member

台湾人也是中国人，两岸本来就是一家人，Taiwanese also is Chinese, two side originally just is one family person

而不再是 “亲” 与 “邻” 的关系。yet no is what “relative” and “neighbor” MOD relationship

“Taiwanese compatriots are members of the big family of the motherland. Taiwanese people are also Chinese; the two sides were originally members of a single family, neither [simply] relatives nor neighbors”.

In the above example, the following conceptual metaphors occur: CHINA IS ONE BIG FAMILY and CHINESE PEOPLE ARE FAMILY MEMBERS. Their use implies that it is natural that family members of China be together and not separated. This creates one of the basic principles for the unification policy held by the Mainland government and the KMT. On the other hand, pro-independence supporters claim that the Taiwanese people are only distant relatives or just neighbors, which implies that Taiwan has no reason based on common ancestry to unite with the Mainland. In the Mainland media, to call Taiwanese people family members is to show the closeness and the genetic connection between Taiwan and the Mainland; thus, to increase a family affection among the readers.
Next,

(71) 一个没有自己祖国的民族，
yi ge mei you ziji zuguo de minzu,
one CLF no have self motherland MOD nationality,

实际上已经成了人类可悲的弃儿。
shijishang yijing cheng le renlei kebei de qi er
in fact already become PERF human being sad MOD abandon baby

“One nationality without having its own motherland, in fact, has already become a sad, abandoned baby”.

In example (71), the conceptual metaphor—TAIWAN IS A CHILD OF CHINA—calls for the return of Taiwan to the arms of the Mainland. It shows that if Taiwan were abandoned by the Mainland, it would end in a very sad result.

(72) 中国共产党和中国国民党是半个殖民地
zhongguo gongchan dang he zhongguo guomindang shi ban zhimidi
Chinese communist party and Chinese KMT is half colonial

半封建中国社会的一对双生子，
ban fengjian zhongguo shehui de yi dui shuangshengzi,
half feudal Chinese society MOD one pair twin,

近一个世纪的风风雨雨使国共
jin yi ge shiji de fengfeng yuyu, shi guo gong
almost one CFL century MOD wind rain, cause KMT communist

两党之间有那么多的恩恩怨怨。
liang dang zhijian you name duo de enen yuanyuan
two party between have that many MOD gratitude resentment

“The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese KMT are a pair of twins [born] in the half-colonial and half-feudal society of China; the ups and downs between the two parties during the period of almost one century led to much complicated emotional history between the KMT and the Communist Party”.

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The conceptual metaphor here is: THE TWO SIDES ARE TWINS. The phrase *shuangshengzi* ‘twin’ implies that both parties have the same mother—China; thus, the implication is both sides should re-unite. Although strictly not a family metaphor, the four-character *chengyu* 风风雨雨 *feng feng yu yu* ‘wind wind rain rain’, meaning ups and downs, is interesting here in that it shows there have been good and bad times between the two parties, just as there might be in a family or other close relationship. Thus, no matter what has happened between them, since the parties are twins, they belong to the same family and should be together.

The following example (73) contains family metaphors that have a negative connotation.

(73) 即便 惹起 战争， 她 只 消 逃 到 “山姆 大叔” 或 “日本 养 父母” 那里，就 可以 荏延 此 生， 至于 台湾 人民 的 灾 福， 她 是 从来 就 未曾 放 在心 上 的， 所谓 “亲 民”， “为 民” 都 不过 是 欺世盗名 的 政治 伎俩 罢了。

“Even if a war is stirred up, she [Lu Xiu-lian] only needs to run to Uncle Sam or the Japanese foster parents, and she can linger on the rest of her life; as to the disaster and/or the happiness of Taiwanese people, she has never really cared about that. The so-called pro-people and for-people [principles] are just her political tricks to gain fame by deceiving the public”.

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In the above example, the Mainland media portray the U.S. as an older relative of Lu Xiu-lian and Japan as her foster parents. Thus, the conceptual metaphors A FOREIGN COUNTRY IS A PARENT SUBSTITUTE and A FOREIGN COUNTRY IS A CLOSE RELATIVE show that Lu Xiu-lian has betrayed her Chinese identity and the Taiwanese people. It is considered very bad for a Chinese person to betray his/her family origins. Plus, the Mainland government and media are particularly sensitive to intervention by the U.S. and Japan in the Taiwan problem. These governments are considered evil in their intention to separate Taiwan from the Mainland. Thus, the metaphors are negative in tone.

Next,

(74) 台湾说白了是一个淘气不听话的
Taiwan shuo bai le shi yi ge taoqi bu ting hua de
Taiwan speak clear PRT is one CLF mischievous no listen talk MOD

孩童，一边天天惹大人生气，
haitong, yi bian tiantian re da ren shengqi, child, one side everyday make big person angry

一边肚子饿了还是想回家吃。
yi bian duzi e le hai shi yao hui jia chi
one side stomach hungry PRT still is want return home eat

“To speak clearly, Taiwan is just a mischievous child who does not listen to his parents. While he makes his parents angry, he still goes home to eat when he gets hungry”.

In this example, Taiwan is portrayed as a mischievous child and the Mainland China as a parent. Thus, there are the conceptual metaphors: TAIWAN IS THE CHILD OF CHINA; CHINA IS A PARENT. A child belongs to his/her family no matter what he/she has done to his/her parents. The activities of the Taiwanese government oppose the unification of China are seen as mischief and as disobedience to one’s parents. The child goes home to eat when it gets hungry refers to
the belief that Taiwan will eventually be united with the Mainland because of the dependence of a child on its parents. This also implies that the Mainland is a generous and forgiving parent to Taiwan. These metaphors signify a close and inseparable bond between the two sides. Although there have been frictions and disputes between them, in the long run, the two sides will become one family.

The examples (75)-(76) also contain family metaphors that have negative connotations.

(75) 台湾“公投”并不是从今天才开始的,
Taiwan “public vote” also no is from today just begin PRT
它是中国现代史上一个
it is Chinese contemporary history up MOD one CLF
畸形儿，与“台独”是一对孪生
jixing er, yu “tai du” shi yi dui luansheng deform fetus, together with “taiwan independence” is one pair twin
怪胎，从一开始，“公投”就与“台独”
guaitai, cong yi kaishi, “gong tou” jiu yu “tai du” freak, from one beginning, “public vote” just together with “taiwan independence”
结下了不解之缘.
jie xia le bu jie zhi yuan produce down PERF no separate MOD predestined affinity

“Public voting in Taiwan is not a new idea that just started today; it is a deformed fetus in the contemporary history of China, and one of a pair of twin freaks together with the independence of Taiwan. They have had their unseparable, predestined affinity from the beginning”.

The family metaphor in this example is negatively evaluated as it is associated with the independence of Taiwan. The public voting Chen Shui-bian advocated was on whether Taiwan should be united with the Mainland or be independent. The Mainland government has been afraid of the vote as the result may not be what they expect. If a public vote actually takes place
and the result shows that independence is favored, the Mainland government will be in an awkward situation. Thus, it has opposed the public vote from the very beginning. Different from the above metaphors where a political party, a region, or a country is conceptualized as a family member, in this example, a certain political action, public voting, and a political goal, the independence of Taiwan, are conceptualized as fetuses and siblings. Thus, there are these conceptual metaphors: A POLITICAL GOAL IS A HUMAN BODY and A RELATED POLITICAL GOAL AND ACTION ARE TWINS. To refer the goal of the independence of Taiwan and public voting to fetuses is to claim that neither is fully developed.

In addition, there are the metaphors IMMATURITY IS A FETUS and SOMETHING BAD IS A DEFORMITY. In these metaphors, the concepts of freaks and deformity carry negative connotations, as deformed babies are considered by Chinese look scary and to be abnormal human beings. Although in real Chinese society, people with disabilities are not discriminated, the use of the phrases “freak” and “deformed” in example (75) only indicates the ugly goal to make Taiwan independent.

Below is one more example with a family based metaphor.

(76) 李登辉 为 当好 “台 独 奶 爸”，
Lee Teng-hui for act as good “Taiwan independence milk father”,
不 惜 再次 挑 起 台湾 社会 的 族 群
not spare again stir up Taiwan society MOD nationality group
矛盾 和 统 独 争 议.
contradiction and unification independence dispute
“In order to be a good nursing father for the independence of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui stirred up the contradiction of the different national groups in Taiwan society and the dispute over unification or independence again”.

It is unnatural to have a father as the one to nurse a baby. In this example, Lee Teng-hui, as a former KMT leader and ex-president, supported Chen Shui-bian, the leader of the DPP, and his actions to achieve the independence of Taiwan. This is conceptualized as him being a good nursing father. Thus, the conceptual metaphors are: A POLITICAL LEADER IS A PARENT, TO SUPPORT A CAUSE IS TO NUllSE, and RESOURCES FROM A MALE LEADER IS MILK FOR NURSING. Supposedly, the political leader should take care of his party and party members. However, in Lee Teng-hui did not do so; instead, he is said to have provided financial and other resources for the KMT’s political opponent, the DPP and its leader. A male does not produce milk for nursing his child/children, the resources Lee Teng-hui has had accessed to are conceptualized as milk. The conceptual metaphors in this example show the irony of Lee’s actions, which is evaluated negatively. The reference to a nursing father seems to be novel in this discourse.

To summarize, as the concept of family is very important in the Chinese culture, it is natural to find family metaphors in this discourse, especially when they are used to describe the close relations between the two sides. Generally, those metaphors which are highly positively evaluated are common in other discourses in Chinese. However, there are also negatively evaluated family metaphors such as in examples (73), (75), and (76), where they are used to show the betrayal of Lu Xiu-lian of her family origins, the immaturity and adversity of the independence principle and its related actions, and the irony of Lee Teng-hui’s help to Chen Shui-bian to achieve the independence of Taiwan. It seems that while the genetic connection of family and normal family relations are represented in a positive way, non-genetic connections, and family-related abnormalities are represented negatively.
6.3.3. Love and Marriage Metaphors

Wei (2001) discusses relationship metaphors in her data from discourse on the 1997 Taipei city and county magistrate elections. She found that marriage metaphors were used to highlight responsibilities and tensions between Taipei and the Taipei City Council and specifically, between Chen Shui-bian, the mayor of Taipei, and the head of the Taipei City Council, who was a senior member of the KMT (p. 66-67). The use of phrases such as 怨偶 yuanou ‘bickering couple’, 分分合合 fenfenhehe ‘splitting and reunion’, and 貌合神离 maoheshenli ‘seeming harmony’ facilitates the comparison between marriage and politics; that is, when politicians are in conflict, they are conceptualized as bickering couples that sometimes split up; when they try to patch things up to please the public, they are then conceptualized as a couple only seemingly experiencing a reconciliation (p. 67). Wei also argues that the marriage metaphor is relationship-oriented. It “highlights problems in relationships and reflects the public pressure on politicians as well as the inevitable obstacles in a relationship that must be endured” (p. 67). In her opinion, the marriage metaphor in her data seems to be used in a neutral manner rather than being aggressive and confrontational (p. 68).

Similarly marriage and love metaphors also occur in my data. However, I do not completely agree with Wei’s analysis. This may due to the differing nature of the data: while she focused on the conflicts and cooperation of political parties in Taiwan, the present research centers on the confrontation between the Mainland and Taiwan caused by the issue of the independence of Taiwan. Thus, the use of the marriage and love metaphors in my data shows a different purpose. While the Mainland government emphasizes the genetic bond between the Mainland and Taiwan using the family concept to represent aspects of its unification policy, the Taiwanese government describes the relationship between the two sides as a marital
relationship, which is not as close or unseparable as the genetic family relationship. Thus, the
time when Taiwan belonged to China is seen as a couple that is still married. The time period
during which Taiwan and the Mainland have not gotten along with each other anymore is seen
as involving divorce. Thus, the Mainland and Taiwan are no longer one country. The conceptual
metaphors found in my data are THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IS A MARITAL
RELATIONSHIP; A CLOSE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP IS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP. Both metaphors are
negatively evaluated by the Mainland media as either a marital relationship or a love
relationship is not as closely bound as a genetic family relationship; things may go smoothly for
a while, but there are always problems which may bring an end to the relationship through
seperation or divorce.

These conceptual metaphors will be illustrated in examples (77)-(78).

(77) 她 置 两 岸 和 谈 的 基 础— 一 个 中国 原则
ta zhi liang an he tan de jichu—yi ge zhongguo yuanze
she place two side peace talk MOD basis—one CLF China principle

于不顾，主张 大陆 应该 以 更 “罗曼蒂克 的 方式”
yu bugu, zhuzhang dalu yinggai yi geng “luomandike de fangshi”
in ignore, advocate mainland should use even “romantic MOD method”

对待 台湾 这位 “前 娶”，以 赢得 台湾 的 “芳 心”.
duidai Taiwan zhe wei “qian qi”, yi yingde Taiwan de “fang xin”
treat Taiwan this CLF “former wife”, to win Taiwan MOD “fragrant heart”

“She ignores the basis of the peace talks between the two sides—the one China principle,
advocating that the Mainland government should be more romantic in its treatment of the ex-
wife of Taiwan in order to win her heart”.

As a supporter of the independence of Taiwan, Lu Xiu-lian refers to the relationship
between the two sides as that of a former husband-wife relationship. This involves the following
conceptual metaphors THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TAIWAN AND THE MAINLAND IS A
MARITAL RELATIONSHIP and TAIWAN IS THE EX-WIFE and THE MAINLAND IS THE EX-HUSBAND.

As the marriage between Taiwan and the Mainland is already finished, there is no connection between them anymore. If the Mainland wants Taiwan to have loving feelings for the Mainland again, the Mainland government should treat Taiwan nicely in order to “win her heart”. In the Mainland media, Lu Xiu-lian’s marriage metaphor puts Taiwan on an equal footing with the Mainland, which is the opposite of what the Mainland describes as Taiwan’s subordinate position. Also, the phrase 芳心 fangxin ‘fragrant heart’ in Chinese usually refers to a woman, which is very common in general writing in Chinese. The combination of the common phrase “fragrant heart”, which is also a body part metaphor, with the uniquely created marriage metaphor in this example shows how the supporters of the independence of Taiwan perceive Taiwan’s status. It also emphasizes the confrontation between Taiwan and the Mainland.

Below is another romance-related example,

(78) 但是 “凯子 外交” 就是要替 “友邦”

danshi, “kaizi waijiao” jiu shi yao ti “you bang”

but, “boyfriend diplomacy” just is need on behalf of “friendship country”

付钱的，到时候又小气起来，不给钱了.

fu qian de, daoshihou you xiaoqi qilai, bu gei qian le.

“But, the diplomacy of having a boyfriend is to have the boyfriend pay for the countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan. When it is time to pay, the boyfriend becomes stingy and does not want to pay anymore”.

In the above example, Taiwan is conceptualized as a boyfriend. 凯子 kaizi ‘boyfriend’ is a colloquial word in Chinese for boyfriend with the slightly negative connotation that a girl looks for such a kaizi to cover her expenses, not because of real love. The diplomatic strategy of the Taiwanese government is viewed as one in which Taiwan becomes the boyfriend of the
countries with which it has diplomatic relations, and gives them money to maintain their diplomatic relations. Thus, the conceptual metaphor here, A CLOSE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP IS A LOVE RELATIONSHIP makes fun of the monetary-based diplomacy of Taiwan. In particular, the use of this colloquial word in formal written discourse depicts the relationships between Taiwan and the countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan, in a humorous way.

In 2007, Taiwan failed again to become a member of the World Health Organization. In voting for Taiwan’s appeal to join WHO, only seventeen members voted yes. The countries are seventeen of the twenty-five countries with which Taiwan has diplomatic relations. The number indicates that the other eight member countries did not support Taiwan in the appeal. Thus, in the Mainland media, Taiwan is mocked for being a stingy boyfriend who did not give the other eight membership countries enough money to buy their votes.

In the above examples, the marriage and love metaphors are used in a negative manner to highlight the confrontation between Taiwan and the Mainland as well as the claimed monetary basis for the diplomatic relations between Taiwan and its friendship countries. In a divorce situation or a money-based relationship, the obstacles which might be expected to be overcome in a normal relationship do not occur. In other words, the relationships are over or illegitimate. This implies that the relations between the two sides described by the pro-independence supporters do not exist; the diplomatic relations between Taiwan and other countries are not normal; thus, they will not last long.

6.4. Animal-like Behavior of Pro-independence Politicians

When the concept of animals is used to refer to humans or human behaviors in Chinese politics, the underlying conceptual mapping depicts the target domain as unreasonable, irrational, greedy, and sneaky. These negatively treated attributes are shown in the use of
different kinds of animals in metaphors. In this section, I will discuss the use of animal metaphors in my data.

When examining religious texts such as the Bible, Charteris-Black (2004) found that there were twenty-seven different types of animal metaphors, the most frequent being sheep and lions (p. 182). According to him, the conceptual metaphor, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, is based on the semantic transfer of attributes associated with animals to the behavior of human beings (p. 182). He notes that the commonly known metaphors JESUS IS SHEPHERD and CHRISTIANS ARE SHEPHERDS conceptualize the ideas that “sheep reflect the model virtues of Christianity—humility, gentleness, refraining from acts of violence etc”. Sheep were important for biblical nomadic tribes’ survival, and “were also slaughtered at times of festival or celebration” (p. 184).

In the previous section, it was also mentioned that the conceptual metaphor, WOMEN ARE (SMALL) FURRY ANIMALS, in English-speaking as well as other cultures, is based on the perspective that women are cute and weak. Thus, cultural beliefs play an important role in how things are perceived and whether the perception is treated as negative or positive.

In my data, the concept of animals is associated with pro-independence Taiwanese politicians and their behavior. Since the independence of Taiwan and its related activities are offensive to the Mainland government, the descriptions related to them in the Mainland media are also expressed in a negative way. The following conceptual metaphors from my data utilizing animal-related concepts will be discussed:

A POLITICIAN IS AN ANIMAL
A POLITICIAN WHO SUPPORTS THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A SNEAKY ANIMAL
A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS THE TAIL OF A FOX
POLITICAL COMPETITION IS HUNTING
A LEADER IS A HUNTING ANIMAL
A POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS A RUNNING ANIMAL
AN EVIL POLITICAL THEORY IS A RAT
COUNTRIES THAT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN ARE LIONS

In examples (80) to (84), the animals are associated with common negative opinions in Chinese culture; therefore, they represent negative evaluations of the Taiwanese political leaders who support the independence of Taiwan. The A POLITICAL LEADER (WHO SUPPORTS THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN) IS A SNEAKY ANIMAL metaphor is one example. The political schemes these leaders propose or follow are also referred to negatively with the A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS THE TAIL OF A FOX metaphor.

(79) 为了稳定政局，民心，陈水扁不得不将台独的“狐狸尾巴”暂时掩藏起来。

“In order to stabilize the domestic political situations and people’s minds, Chen Shui-bian has to temporarily cover up his fox tail—the real intention being the independence of Taiwan”.

In this example, a bad political scheme, the independence of Taiwan, is conceptualized as the tail of a fox. Thus, there is the conceptual metaphor: A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS THE TAIL OF A FOX. In Chinese culture, a fox is seen as a cunning and sneaky animal who knows when and how to pretend to be something nice and beautiful while hiding its real nature from others. A fox’s real nature is believed to be harmful. In traditional Chinese folklore, a fox is able to turn into a beautiful woman and seduce men in order to drink their blood. However, the fox cannot hide its tail even after appearing in a woman’s face and body. Therefore, the tail of a fox refers to the evidence of the true features of a bad person or the bad intention to deceive and confuse other people. In example (79), the Mainland article describes a political situation where Chen Shui-bian deceived the voters in order to win the presidential election by promoting the
realization of the Three Direct Links (of post, trade, and transport) and the possibility of visiting the Mainland to establish better relations with the Beijing government. But after he became the president, he started to promote a policy of Taiwan’s independence, which is the opposite of what he claimed before, which shows his true intentions. This kind of political behavior is conceptualized as the fox finally revealing his tail.

Next,

(80) 台湾与祖国大陆的骨肉同胞情，

Taiwan yu zuhuo dalu de gu rou tongbao qing
Taiwan and motherland mainland MOD bone flesh compatriot affection

绝不是几个“台独”分子的
jue bu shi ji ge “tai du” fenzi de
absolutely no is a few CLF “Taiwan independence” member MOD

“The affection of flesh and bone by the compatriots of Taiwan and the mother Mainland absolutely cannot be cut off by the crazy barking made by a few supporters of the independence of Taiwan”.

In example (80), the supporters of the independence of Taiwan are conceptualized as dogs and their words and clamor as dogs barking. Thus, there is the SUPPORTERS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN ARE DOGS metaphor (A detailed discussion of the flesh and bone metaphor in this example is given in 6.3.: body metaphors). Dogs are an animal with a long history of close relations with human beings. In the Chinese language, there are many phrases with the word 狗 gou ‘dog’ or related words to describe human behaviors. Although dogs are seen as smart and loyal, in the traditional Chinese culture, phrases associated with dogs are mostly negative. For example, 疯狗 feng gou ‘crazy dog’ describes a crazy person who does
crazy things; 狗腿子 gou tui zi “the leg of a dog’ describes a person who helps another bad person to do bad things. In example (80), because the people who support the independence of Taiwan are negatively referred to as dogs, their words to support the political scheme are as dogs are pictured as barking. This negative evaluation in the Mainland article shows the readers that the political scheme of the independence of Taiwan is unimportance and can be ignored completely, just like how we treat a dog’s barking on the street.

Another example is,

(81) 李登辉 和 他的 “两 个 国 论” 顿时 成为
Lee Teng-hui and his “two country theory” immediately become

“过 街 老鼠，人人 喊 打”，其 分裂 本质 和 真实
“across street rat, everyone shout hit”, its separate nature and real

面 目 在 世 人 面前 暴露 无 遗.
face eye at common people front reveal no omit

“Lee Teng-hui and his two-China statement immediately became the rat crossing the street; his real nature and that of his theory are to separate Taiwan from China, which is revealed completely before the people”.

In example (81), Lee Teng-hui and his two-China statement are conceptualized as rats crossing the street. Therefore, there are the A POLITICAL LEADER IS A RAT and A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS A RAT metaphors (Discussion on the A REAL INTENTION IS THE FACE AND EYES metaphor in this example is given in 6.3. body metaphors). Rats are seen as an annoying and filthy animal. This negative association gives the metaphors negative connotations that Lee Teng-hui and his two-China statement are annoying and hated by everybody. In this example, the degree of negativity is emphasized by the phrase of 人人喊打 ren ren han da ‘everyone
shouts to hit the rat. When a rat appears in public view, everyone shouts “Hit the rat! Hit the rat!” Thus, the concept of the rat stresses the unpopularity of Lee Teng-hui and his two-China statement.

Next,

(82) 李登辉自喻“台湾之父”, 陈水扁也
Lee Teng-hui calls himself “the Father of Taiwan” and Chen Shui-bian also

自诩为“台湾之子”, 一“父”一“子”,
self brag as “Taiwan MOD son”, one “father” one “son”,

“Lee Teng-hui calls himself “the Father of Taiwan” and Chen Shui-bian calls himself “the Son of Taiwan”. This “father” and the “son” imitate each other’s moves in the way that two wolves do bad things together; one proposed the two-China statement and the other also shouted, ‘one side one country’.”

In example (82), there is a four-character chengyu 狼狈为奸 lang bei wei jian ‘a wolf and a wolf-like animal do bad things together’. 狼 bei is actually an imaginary animal like a wolf (thus, the translation of “bei” as wolf is not quite accurate). In a Chinese legend, there is a “bei” which has short forelegs while its hind legs are long. The wolf has long forelegs, but short hind legs. Neither can steal livestock easily unless they collaborate. So, the wolf climbs to the shoulders of the “bei” to steal lambs or other livestock for food. Both animals in this idiom carry a negative connotation regarding doing bad things. Thus, this idiom indicates that people gang
up to do bad things together. In the Mainland article, this is used to conceptualize that Lee
Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian collaborate to try to realize the independence of Taiwan by making
similar political statements; thus, the POLITICAL LEADERS ARE SNEAKY ANIMALS metaphor.

Below is another example that contains negative animal metaphors.

(83) 何况，台湾当局如果敢冒天下之大不韪，
heckuang, Taiwan dangju ruguo gan mao tianxia zhi dabuwei,
let alone, Taiwan authority if dare risk world MOD condemnation,

甘当外国进攻大陆的鹰犬，
gan dang wai guo jingong dalu de ying quan,
looking become foreign country attack Mainland MOD eagle dog,

为其提供军事基地和桥头堡，必将首先
wei qi tigong junshi jidi he qiaotoubao, bi jiang shouxian
for them provide military base and bridgehead, must PRT first

遭到毁灭性打击。
zaodao huimixing daji
suffer exterminate strike

“If the Taiwanese authorities dare to risk world condemnation and are willing to become the
eagles and dogs for foreign countries by providing them military bases and bridgeheads for
attacking the Mainland, Taiwan must be the first to suffer the exterminating strike from the
Mainland”.

In example (83), the Taiwanese authorities are conceptualized as the falcons and
hounds in hunting. Thus, the POLITICAL COMPETITION IS HUNTING and POLITICIANS ARE
FALCONS AND HOUNDS metaphors. The words of 鷹 ying ‘falcon’ and 犬 quan ‘hound’ do not
have any negative associations by themselves. Usually, hunters bring falcons and hounds with
them to hunt so that the animals can help in detecting and chasing the prey, which increases the
chance for hunters to get more game. In this sense, the falcons and hounds are used in a
negative way to describe those who are hired to do bad things for a master or someone in
power. In political competition between countries, to have falcons and hounds will increase the chance of winning. Such a political situation is then conceptualized as a hunt. In this particular case, the competition refers to the one between the Mainland and the U.S. From the Mainland’s point of view, because of the importance of the geographic location of Taiwan to the Mainland as well as the close cultural and economic ties with the Mainland, the Mainland government is afraid that assistance from the Taiwanese government will possibly help the U.S. to win in the competition with the Mainland, particularly on the issue of the Mainland’s national defense.

In the above examples, we have seen that political leaders and bad political schemes are conceptualized as sneaky and annoying animals such as rats, foxes, and wolves. These metaphors are negative in creating bad images of the political leaders in Taiwan and the concept of the independence of Taiwan for the audience. Thus, these metaphors express very strong emotions of rejection. It is interesting to note that in my data the phrase 走狗 zougou ‘running dog’, which some American readers may be familiar with from reportage during the Vietnam war ear, does not appear. Zougou refers to those who help others to do bad things in order to obtain a favor (i.e. political support on a particular issue) in return. A possible explanation could be the phrase is outdated, as it was used frequently in the 1950s during the Mao era. The image created by this in the political content of that time does not fit the current political situation with Taiwan because not everyone in the Taiwanese authorities is a zougou.

In examples (84)-(88), the concepts of different animals create an ironic image of the pro-independence leaders and their behavior.

(84) 面对中美洲“邦交国”狮子大开口
mian dui zhong meizhou “bangjiao guo” shizi da kai kou
face towards central America “friendship country” lion big open mouth

要经援，吕秀莲愁上心头.
The greedy countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan opened their big lion mouths; their requests for economic assistance with large sums of money make Lu Xiu-lian worry a lot.

In example (84), the phrase 狮子大开口 shizi da kai kou ‘a lion opens its big mouth’ is used to describe asking for a very high price or a large amount of money in return for a small favor. According to the Mainland media, there are only a few countries in Central America that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Taiwan is always being laughed at by the Mainland government for having diplomatic relations based on money. To stabilize their relations, the Taiwanese government has to give large sums of money as economic assistance to those countries. In this example, the political situation is that the vice president of Taiwan, Lu Xiu-lian, was on a tour visiting four Central American countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan; however, the diplomatic trip did not go very well. Because Lu Xiu-lian was not authorized to give monetary aids to these countries, she is laughed at by the news writers for being worried and having nothing to offer. Thus, the following conceptual metaphors occur:

COUNTRIES THAT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN ARE LIONS and COUNTRIES THAT ASK FOR LARGE SUMS OF MONEY ARE LIONS OPENING THEIR BIG MOUTHS. They satirize the monetary basis of the diplomatic relations between Taiwan and other countries.

Next,

这些举动再次表明陈水扁在“公投”的道路上根本没打算悬崖勒马，

危险道路上根本没打算悬崖勒马，
These actions made it clear that Chen Shui-bian does not have any plan at all to hold the horse at the cliff on the road towards public voting. But this way of doing things is just clinging obstinately to his own course and cannot cover the fact that public voting has become a chicken rib.

In this example, this chengyu 悬崖勒马 xuan ya lei ma ‘hold the horse before the cliff’ is used to describe to turn back from where it is on the edge of danger. The cliff indicates the edge of a terrible consequence, as to keep riding the horse to the cliff’s edge without stopping will result in both the horse and rider falling from the cliff. Here, the cliff indicates the danger of a failure to realize Taiwan’s independence. Thus, it should be treated as a boundary metaphor—on one side, there is safety; on the other, there is danger. To hold the horse is to stop the activities related with the independence of Taiwan. The conceptual metaphors are thus: TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS TO RIDE A HORSE and TO STOP THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS TO STOP THE HORSE BEFORE THE CLIFF EDGE. The entailment of these metaphors is THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A HORSE. These metaphors have a warning effect, indicating the danger of continuing the policy of working for the independence of Taiwan.
The phrase 鸡肋 ji lei ‘chicken rib’ at the end of the example is taken from a story in Chinese history. During the Three Kingdom period (220-280 A.D.), Cao Cao was forced to retreat and was stationed in a valley after losing a battle to Zhuge Liang. He was having chicken soup while one of his officers came in and asked him about the password for the night watch. So Cao Cao said, “chicken ribs”. After the password was told to Yang Xiu, another officer in the military, Yang Xiu told the other officers and soldiers to start to pack and get ready to go home. When he was asked the reason why he started to do that, he said that chicken ribs had no meat on the bones, but were still tasty; thus, it is pitiful to throw them away, but it is not worth it to keep eating them. This was just like the war situation here: it was impossible to defeat Zhuge Liang if Cao Cao went forward; he would become a laughing stock to others if he retreated; so it was best just to go home and come back in the future. Since then, the phrase ji lei ‘chicken rib’ is used to describe something that someone is reluctant to give up, although it is already useless.

In this example, the Mainland article compares the independence of Taiwan to a chicken rib, i.e. something useless to pursue, but Chen Shui-bian still holds on to it and is reluctant to change the guidelines for the DPP for better development. The conceptual metaphor THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A CHICKEN RIB shows the uselessness of the concept of the independence of Taiwan and how useless Chen Shui-bian’s attempts are no matter how much he tries.

Below is another example,

实际上，“台独”势力在“为渊驱鱼，为丛驱雀”，但“台独”的浅水
in fact, “Taiwan independence” influence PRT “for pool chase fish, for woods chase bird”, but “Taiwan independence” MOD shallow water
In fact, the supporters of the independence of Taiwan are driving fish into deep waters and birds into woods. But, the political theory of the independence of Taiwan itself is a pool of shallow water that cannot hold fish and sparse woods that cannot hold birds. As long as the overseas Chinese people devote themselves to unity and collaboration, to oppose the independence of Taiwan, and to protect and facilitate the peace and unification of the motherland, it definitely will make all children of the Yellow Emperor who may have different ideals stand altogether in the same trench against the independence of Taiwan and facilitate the unification”.

In example (86), the forcible actions of attempting to unite different interest groups by supporting for the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as driving fish into deep waters and chasing birds into woods. Here, the deep waters and the woods refer to the independence of Taiwan. Thus, there are the following metaphors: A POLITICAL SCHEME IS A POOL; A
POLITICAL SCHEME IS WOODS; SUPPORTERS OF A POLITICAL SCHEME ARE ANIMALS; and TO
ATTEMPT TO UNITE SUPPORTERS OF A POLITICAL SCHEME IS TO DRIVE FISH INTO A DEEP POOL
AND TO CHASE BIRDS INTO WOODS (Discussions of the additional conceptual metaphors TO
OPPOSE THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN AND TO UNITE CHINA IS A WAR and ALL CHINESE
PEOPLE ARE MEMBERS OF A FAMILY are given in 6.6. war metaphors and 6.3. family metaphors,
respectively). The phrase 为渊驱鱼,为林驱雀 wei yuan qu yu, wei lin qu que ‘to drive fish into
deep waters, to drive birds into woods’ is used to describe the inability to unite people and
because of this, some who could have been united are driven to the opposite side. In this
example, the political situation is that Lee Teng-hui and other supporters of the independence
of Taiwan such as the DPP are uniting to attempt to realize the independence of Taiwan, while
other parties such as the KMT are against independence of Taiwan; therefore, these anti-
independence groups could possibly be united with those in the Mainland as well as many
overseas Chinese people who also oppose the independence of Taiwan to stop the movement
towards Taiwan’s independence. According to the Mainland media, after Lee Teng-hui’s two-
China statement was made, many overseas Chinese groups announced that they were against
the independence of Taiwan. This situation is like Lee Teng-hui and his followers driving the fish
into a deep pool and birds into woods. It is natural and good for fish to live in deep water and
birds in woods; however, because the pool and the woods, which is the independence of Taiwan,
are believed to be unjust and doomed to failure, they do not attract fish or birds, which are
supporters for the concept of independence; thus, this concept is conceptualized as shallow
water and sparse woods--shallow water is unable to hold many fish and sparse woods cannot
hide many birds.

Next,
“The DPP knows fully well that the independence of Taiwan is a bundle wrapped in cloth, also, the new middle line is made to benefit the party. Why can’t the party just take this opportunity to jump out of the muddy pit of the independence of Taiwan? This is what is said: the DPP is spinning a cocoon around itself”.

First, in order to better understand the animal metaphor, I will explain the muddy pit metaphor. In this example, the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a muddy pit. A person who falls or stays in the muddy pit gets dirty. Thus, the conceptual metaphor—A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS A MUDDY PIT—indicates the bad effect brought by a bad political policy. According to the Mainland article, the DPP’s willingness to stay in the pit shows that they are stubborn and stupid, although they know that the party would do under better with better political principles. Their behavior only results in one consequence: they are caught in their own trap, which is conceptualized as spinning a cocoon around themselves. Here, the conceptual metaphors are: A POLITICAL PARTY IS A WORM; A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS A COCOON; TO
PROPOSE A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS TO SPIN A COCOON; NOT BEING WILLING TO ABANDON A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS TO SPIN A COCOON AROUND ONESELF. Silk worms make cocoons towards the end of their life and the silk threads of the cocoons are the raw material to make the fabric of silk. When a cocoon is made, the silk worm wraps itself inside before it turns into a moth. When the worm wraps itself in the cocoon, it cannot eat, but dies. If the cocoon is not dipped in warm water to get the silk threads, after some time, the worm turns into a moth and gets out of the cocoon. This type of state of being is used to describe a situation where someone gets him/herself in trouble and is unable to get out. The above conceptual metaphors indicate that the independence of Taiwan is a problem or a trap that has been constructed by the DPP itself. Now, they are stuck with the scheme and unable to get themselves out of trouble. Generally speaking, the four-character chengyu 作茧自缚 zuo jian zi fu ‘to spin a cocoon around oneself’ is used negatively in Chinese. In this example, it expresses a negative as well as sarcastic tone on the DPP and the political scheme of the independence of Taiwan the party supports.

Additionally, the concept of the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a bundle wrapped in cloth. In older times in China, a piece of cloth was used to wrap clothes so it was easy to carry along when travelling was needed. However, because a bundle is something extra that is added to a traveler, later on, it has become a metaphor to refer to a burden. A burden hinders development. Thus, the Mainland media believe that the concept of making Taiwan independent is a burden which hinders the development of the DPP. The conceptual metaphors are AN UNJUST POLITICAL SCHEME IS A BURDEN and A BURDEN IS A BUNDLE WRAPPED IN CLOTH.

Here is one more example.
To set limits on trade and economical communications between the two sides will harm the profits of Taiwan; and please do not treat the panda bear presents to Taiwan from the Mainland in a bad way like burning a musical instrument and cooking a crane”.

In example (88), the panda bears chosen to be gifts to give to Taiwan are conceptualized as a traditional musical instrument and a crane. 琴 qin ‘a traditional Chinese musical instrument’ and 鹤 he ‘crane’ are seen as auspicious symbols in Chinese culture. The panda bears are an endangered species and known as the national treasure of China. They are usually given as gifts to express friendship and good wishes on the part of the country and the Chinese people. However, according to the Mainland media, the good wishes brought by these precious gifts are treated as tools for trying to win the war of unification or independence by the Taiwanese government, which, in the Mainland’s opinion, distorted and ruined the friendship message the Mainland government was trying to send. The four-character chengyu 焚琴煮鹤 fen qin zhu he ‘burn the musical instrument, cook the crane’ means to ruin auspicious things through horrible actions. In the above situation described in example (88), to refuse to accept panda bears as gifts and to keep them from entering Taiwan are conceptualized as such horrible actions as to destroy auspicious things such as a musical instrument and a crane. Therefore, the conceptual metaphors are: FRIENDLY ACTIONS FROM THE MAINLAND ARE AUSPICIOUS THINGS and TO REFUSE AND REJECT FRIENDLY ACTIONS IS TO DESTROY AUSPICIOUS THINGS. These metaphors
show the hurt feelings of the Mainland and try to draw the readers’ sympathy towards the Mainland government.

From the above examples, we can see that countries, political parties, political leaders, and political schemes are conceptualized as animals in my data. Bad and unjust political entities and schemes are associated with negatively reviewed animals that are sneaky and annoying such as the fox and the rat. When the concept of animals is used in a more ironic way shown in examples (84)-(88), the animal-related chengyu and common sayings in the context send the message that bad and unjust political schemes proposed by bad political entities will not end in good results.

6.5. Sustenance and Growth of Politics

As we have seen in 6.3., political entities can be seen as a human body. As a live entity, it undergoes sustenance, development, and even death. In this part, I will discuss the concepts of plants, food, illness, and death in describing different features of politics: development, resources, and problems.

6.5.1. Plant Metaphors

Kövecses (2002) concludes that, in English, there are conceptual metaphors using plants as the source domain in such conceptual metaphors: SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (COMPANIES) ARE PLANTS; RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLANTS. For example:

(89) ...a local branch of this organization (p. 121)
(90) They remembered her as she’d been in the flower of their friendship. (p. 122)

He argues that abstract complex systems such as society, the mind, social organizations as well as economic systems, are characterized as “typically abstract complex configurations of
entities, where the nature and relationships of the entities vary from case to case” (p. 127). In the target domain of the complex systems, there are more specific concepts such as organizations, economic and political systems, relationships, our view of the future, as well as arguments and problems (p. 133). The conceptual mapping of the above target domain and plant as the source domain lies in that the development of an abstract complex system is conceptualized as the natural growth of a plant (p. 133).

Specifically in political systems, Charteris-Black (2004) found that conventional metaphors of growth and flourish are common in his data of British party political manifestos. Both of them imply positive evaluations in that growth describes economic expansion while flourish “identifies those social entities that are highly valued” by British parties (p. 77). In his opinion, “metaphors such as nurture and take root are extensions of the highly conventionalized use of growth to refer to economic expansion” (p. 78). Here, a healthy economy is conceptualized as a healthy plant which is in need of preconditions such as fertility and has to go through a natural process to become mature. Therefore, Charteris-Black argues that “plant metaphors are used to highlight social agency and to imply a strong positive evaluation because of the connotation formed by the association of fertility with life” (p. 78).

In Chinese, plants are also used as a common source domain to conceptualize the growth or development of something. In my data, metaphors using plants as the source domain are used frequently. However, different from what Charteris-Black found in his data that the plant metaphor is associated with strong positive evaluations, some of the plant metaphors in my data have strong negative connotations in certain contexts.

I will discuss specific examples of the following conceptual metaphors:

A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A PLANT
AN ORIGIN IS THE ROOT(S) OF A PLANT
THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IS A GROWING PLANT
CONSEQUENCES ARE FRUIT
GOOD THINGS ARE FLOWERS

Examples (91) to (93) illustrate the general conceptual metaphor AN ORIGIN IS A ROOT OF A PLANT.

(91) “台 独” 是 威胁 台湾 安全 的 总 祸 根.
“tai du” shi weixie Taiwan anquan de zong huo gen
“Taiwan independence” is threaten Taiwan safety MOD overall trouble root

“The policy of Taiwanese independence is a root of trouble threatening the safety of Taiwan”.

In Chinese culture, the concept of roots is important as it shows the origin of a person or a thing. For a person, the origin may include his/her hometown and the ancestral family. For a thing, the origin shows how something is started. Since roots provide necessary nutrition for a plant to grow, the roots of a person shows his/her family background and the characteristics of the person; the roots of a thing influences the development of the thing. Thus, if it is a bad root, the person may not become a very good person; the thing may not be well-developed.

In example (91), the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a root of a plant. This concept is expressed in a negative way because the Chinese character, 根 gen ‘root’, is used in the phrase of 祸根 huo gen ‘trouble root’ in this example. Thus, the independence of Taiwan is described in the Mainland article as the root of all troubles threatening the safety of Taiwan. This means that if the Taiwanese government and Taiwanese leaders continue implementing policies towards independence, the Mainland government will not ignore it and will declare war to prevent independence. Thus, the concept of being the root of all troubles has the effect of warning and exhorting the Taiwanese government not to continue on this path.

Here is another example,
Trees will wither if they do not have roots and water will dry up if there is no source. Those
groups that support the independence of Taiwan who attempt to cut off the root, the source
and the course of what Taiwan is dependent on are actually forfeiting the future of Taiwan”.

In example (92), Chinese culture and the Chinese blood connection with the Taiwanese
culture are conceptualized as the root of Taiwan and its cultures. In 2005, one of the Taiwanese
political party leaders, Song Chu-yu, visited the Mainland. During his visit, he made several
speeches, confirming his strong opposition to the independence of Taiwan and affirming his
identity as a member of the Chinese family. However, at that time, the official relations between
the two sides were in an adverse situation: the supporters of the independence of Taiwan
argued that the island of Taiwan was first claimed by Western powers; all historical events and
figures from the Mainland that were related to Taiwan were treated as foreign affairs or foreign
intruders. However, the Mainland media claim that the Taiwanese arguments are not consistent
with the historical facts. The counter arguments from the Mainland are that although there are
aboriginal people born and raised on the island of Taiwan such as the Gaoshan minority group,
the majority of the people are originally from the Mainland and were brought to Taiwan with
the KMT military troops after the Civil War (August 1945 to September 1949) (Wikipedia).

Therefore, the Chinese culture is embedded in the Taiwanese culture, different from the Japanese culture, which is considered borrowed from a foreign country. Moreover, contrary to what the pro-independence supporters claim that the Chinese language, specifically Mandarin, is a foreign language in Taiwan since it was brought to Taiwan by the KMT, the Mainland argues that the Chinese language is not a foreign language in Taiwan (in fact, Taiwanese is a Chinese language) and Chinese history is not described as foreign history in the textbooks in Taiwan. All of these components are seen as roots of what Taiwan has become today. Thus, the Mainland government emphasizes that Chinese culture and Chinese blood have been of great importance to the development of Taiwan itself.

In this example, the consequence of getting rid of the root is conceptualized as a tree withering without its roots and water drying up without a source. The conceptual metaphors are: CHINESE CULTURE IS A ROOT; A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A PLANT; and CHINESE CULTURE HELPING THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWAN IS THE ROOT PROVIDING NUTRITION FOR A PLANT. Roots provide necessary nutrition for a plant to grow healthily; thus, without roots, a plant cannot develop. This concept as used in the above metaphors shows the significance of recognizing and keeping Chinese culture for the healthy development of Taiwan.

The following example is another example.

(93) Taiwan renmin de “根”是深深埋在台湾海峡
Taiwan people MOD “root” is deeply buried at Taiwan straight

彼岸那一片五千年更年绵延不断
the other shore that one CLF five thousand more year stretch long unbroken

孕育炎黄子孙的芬芳泥土中.
“The roots of the Taiwanese people are deeply buried in the piece of the fragrant land on the other side of the Taiwan Straits where it has bred over an extended and unbroken period of the Yellow Emperor for over five thousand years”.

In example (93), again, Chinese culture and Chinese blood are conceptualized as the roots of the Taiwanese people. Similar to example (92), the concept of a root is used in a positive way. As I explained in example (91), in Chinese culture, the concept of the root is significant, as it concerns where a person is from and where he/she belongs to. An old Chinese saying, 叶落归根 ye luo gui gen ‘falling leaves settle on their roots’ is a reflection of the culture that believes that a person residing elsewhere finally returns to his/her ancestral home. The Mainland believes that, in the relations between the two sides, the identification of the cultures of both sides lies on the agreed identification of the roots. The anti-independence groups in Taiwan also argue that since the root of the Taiwanese culture and the majority of the Taiwanese people lies in the Mainland, Taiwan and the Mainland should unite as one China. In this example, the two verb phrases, 深埋 shen mai ‘deeply bury’ and 孕育 yun yu ‘breed’, indicate that the Chinese soil and Chinese culture are the source of the Taiwanese people, and the origin of its culture and history. These phrases strengthen the concept of the root in Chinese culture and denote unification.

Roots provide necessary nutrition for the growth of a plant. However, a bad root will destroy a plant, as in example (91), where the policy of the independence of Taiwan is the root of all troubles. Good roots provide good nutrition and facilitate the development as in examples (92) and (93) where Chinese culture is the root for Taiwan.
In the following examples (94)-(101), different types of plants are used to conceptualize political entities and political activities.

(94) 可以说 它们 是 一 根 藤 上 结 的 两 个
keyi shou tamen shi yi gen teng shang jie de liang ge
can say they is one CFL vine up form MOD two CFL

“独” 瓜，骨子里都是“独”.
“du” gua, guzi li dou shi “du”
“independence” gourd, bone inside all is “independence”

“It can be said that both of them are the two gourds grown on the same vine; both of them are actually pro-independence in nature”.

In example (94), the pronoun 它们 tamen ‘they’ refer to Lee Teng-hui’s two-China statement and Chen Shui-bian’s one country on each side statement. These two statements are conceptualized as the two gourds on one vine, which is the tendency towards the independence of Taiwan. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example are: A POLITICAL SCHEME IS THE BRANCH OF A PLANT and POLITICAL STATEMENTS ARE FRUIT. In the Mainland’s opinion, although the statements made by different Taiwanese leaders have different names, the nature of them is the same; that is, the tendency to separate Taiwan from China and to realize the independence of Taiwan. These metaphors here are negative, as the gourds are described as “poisonous”. The Chinese character to mean poisonous is not clearly written in this example; instead, a homonym is used: 独 du ‘independent’, which has the same pronunciation as 毒 du ‘poison’ or ‘poisonous’. This phenomenon was also noted in 6.1. This expresses the idea that the independence (独 du) of Taiwan is poisonous (毒 du). Therefore, the two gourds mentioned in this example as the political statements of two-China and one country on each side are
“poisonous”, which are strongly negatively evaluated. This warns the readers about the danger of these political statements, which should be avoided and not accepted.

Next,

(95) 不管是“两国论”，或“七块论”，甚至buguan shi “liang guo lun” huo “qi kuai lun”, shenzhi no matter is “two country theory”, or “seven piece theory”, even

“决战境外论”等等的童谣,
“jue zhan jing wai lun” dengdeng de tong yao, “decisive battle country outside theory” so forth MOD child folk rhyme,

其目的只有一个，那就是要唱衰这棵qi mudi zhi you yi ge, na jiu shi yao chang shuai zhe ke its purpose only have one CLF, that just is want sing decline this Classifier

大树，再来分解当柴烧.
da shu, zai lai fenjie dang chai shao big tree, again come break down become firewood burn

“No matter whether it is the two-China statement, the seven-piece statement, even the take-a-decisive-battle-outside-the-country statement, and such children’s folk rhymes, there is only one purpose, that is, to use these statements to make the big tree break down”.

In example (95), China is conceptualized as a big tree. Thus, there is the A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A PLANT metaphor. A big tree represents power and has exuberant vitality, which indicates that China is a powerful country; thus, very difficult to compete or even attempt to do something bad to break it down. Furthermore, the different political statements related with the independence of Taiwan are seen as children’s folk rhymes, implying that these are immature and unimportant to make any big influence. Here, there is the BAD POLITICAL SCHEMES ARE CHILDREN’S FOLK RHYMES metaphor. In this example, the combination of the big tree and children’s folk rhyme metaphors is to show the impossibility of trying to take down a powerful country with political statements and their related activities that are not influential.
Below is another example,

(96) 日本情结与台独情结共生共长.
riben qingjie yu tai du qingjie gong sheng gong zhang
Japan feelings and Taiwan independence feelings together grow together develop

“The feelings towards Japan and the independence of Taiwan grow and develop altogether”.

In example (96), the verb phrase as a novel four-chacater expression, 共生共长 gong sheng gong zhang ‘grow and develop altogether’, is usually used to describe two plants grown and are dependent on each other. Here, it is used to conceptualize Lee Teng-hui’s pro-Japan and pro-independence of Taiwan inclinations. The Mainland media claim that, personally, Lee Teng-hui has been proud to be educated in Japanese and even being a Japanese citizen because Taiwan was occupied by Japan when he was growing up (Taiwan was occupied by Japan as its colony from 1895 after the signing of Treaty of Shimonoseki to 1945 after the end of WWII. Lee Teng-hui was thus educated in Japanese during that period. During World War II, he even became a lieutenant officer in the Japanese Army (Zhuang, 1999, p. 10)). Lee Teng-hui hoped that Japan could help Taiwan to become independent since it had occupied Taiwan for almost 50 years. In this example, there is the POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IS THE GROWTH OF A PLANT metaphor.

Below is another example,

(97) 有分析人士认为，台当局在这次“外交角逐”
you fenxi renshi renwei, tai dangju zai zhe ci “waijiao juezhu”
have analyst people think, Taiwan authority at this time “diplomacy contend”

中仍然充当着别国的
zhong rengran chongdang zhe bie guo de
middle still act as PRT other country MOD

“提款机”和“摇钱树”，追求着
“ti kuan ji” he “yao qian shu”, zhuiqiu zhe
“extract money machine” and “shake money tree”, pursue PRT

“一 时 的 快感”.
“yi shi de kuaigan”
“one time MOD pleasure”

“Some analysts think that during the diplomatic competition [with the Mainland] this time, the Taiwanese authorities are still acting as an ATM and a money tree shedding for other countries when shaken. They are only pursuing short-term pleasure”.

In example (97), Taiwan is conceptualized as an ATM and a tree that sheds money when shaken, for giving money to the few Central American countries that still have diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Thus, there are the A POLITICAL ENTITY IS AN ATM and A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A PLANT metaphors. The first metaphor is discussed in 6.1. business metaphors and will not be discussed further here. In the second conceptual metaphor, a tree that sheds money when shaken occurs in traditional Chinese mythology. Nowadays, it is used to refer to people or organizations do favors in return for money and wealth. Taiwan is seen as this treasured tree because it is shaken for money by countries from whom it needs political and diplomatic support. By most countries, however, it is only recognized as a political region, not a sovereign country. The metaphor here is sarcastic. Taiwan is laughed at for buying its diplomatic relations. At the end of the example, the ironic tone is strengthened by stating that the benefit to Taiwan will only makes them be short-lived.

The concept of a plant is also shown in example (98):

(98) 加强 美 台 军事 合作, 是 台湾当局 执行 jiaqiang mei tai junshi hezuo, shi Taiwan dangju zhixing strengthen U.S. Taiwan military cooperation, is Taiwan authority implement

“台 独” 路线 的 一 根 “救 命 草”.
“tai du” luxian de yi gen “jiu ming cao”
“Taiwan independence” line MOD one CLF “save life grass”
“To strengthen military cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwan is a piece of life-saving grass for the Taiwanese authorities to carry out their policy of independence”.

In example (98), grass is referred to because it is very small and powerless. As the U.S. is a very powerful country, the cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwan should be very powerful; but instead, the cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwan is conceptualized as grass. The Mainland creates this contrast, implying that no matter what Taiwan is trying to do and no matter how other foreign countries help Taiwan, they will not succeed in achieving independence for Taiwan. Here, the conceptual metaphor is: AN UNJUST POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A SMALL PLANT. According to the Mainland media, Chen Shui-bian planned to strengthen the defensive systems of Taiwan in order to be able to compete with the Mainland, and even to win, if engaged in a war with the Mainland. Thus, Taiwan has purchased advanced weapons and fighters from the US. In addition, the U.S. government has claimed numerous times that it will provide military protection to Taiwan if the Mainland engages in war to solve the Taiwan problem. This metaphor here, however, shows the determination of the Mainland that the quest for Taiwan’s independence will fail no matter how advanced Taiwan’s defense system is.

In example (94), the idea of Taiwan independence is seen as a plant; its related political statements are conceptualized as gourds, fruit that grow on this plant. The fruit concept in example (94) is used in a creative way, but such a concept of bitter fruit in the following example seems to be more conventional in Chinese:

(99) 李登辉 自己 种 下 的 苦 果
Lee Teng-hui ziji zhong xia de ku guo
Lee Teng-hui self plant down MOD bitter fruit

“Lee Teng-hui planted the bitter fruit himself”.

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In this example, a bad consequence is conceptualized as bitter fruit; thus, there are the A CONSEQUENCE IS FRUIT and BAD IS BITTER metaphors. In 2000, the DPP won the presidential election for the very first time in Taiwan. Lee Teng-hui, the chairman of the KMT, was the former president. During that time, he and his party, the KMT, lost in the presidential campaign. Shortly after that, he had to resign from the chairman position of the party. Therefore, these are regarded as bitter fruit. The phrase 自己种下 ziji zhong xia ‘self plant down’ shows that he deserved the bad consequence because he caused it. During his term as president, he is believed by the Mainland to foster the groups that support the independence of Taiwan and sent financial funds to the DPP. While he governed Taiwan, its economy did not improve, and government officials were involved in bribery scandals. Because of his bad political behavior and sparse political achievements, voters and the KMT party members did not trust him anymore, and he was asked to step down from the chairmanship of the KMT by many party members after the KMT lost the presidential campaign. In Buddhism, it is believed that what a person does leads to what he/she receives, i.e. good karma or else retribution for one’s wrong doing. Lee Teng-hui performed horribly as the leader of Taiwan in many people’s opinions; as a result, he received a bad consequence. Thus, the metaphors in this example sarcastically reflect Lee Teng-hui’s behavior as well as the sad results.

In the following I will discuss examples of flower metaphors. Flowers are seen as beautiful and colorful; they are usually associated with something good or precious; thus, they are evaluated positively. However, in Chinese, whether the flower evaluation is positive or negative depends on how it is used in a context.

(100) 李登辉 “两 国 基础” 只 会 是 回光返照
Lee Teng-hui “liang guo jichu” zhi hui shi huiguangfanzhao
Lee Teng-hui “two country basis” only PRT is last radiance of the setting sun
的 一 现 昙花 而已。de yi xian tanhua eryi
MOD one appear epiphyllum flower just

“The two-China basis proposed by Lee Teng-hui will only be the last radiance of the setting sun, like the broad-leaved epiphyllum flower, which blossoms only briefly”.

事实上, 只要 回 到 “ 一 中 立场”, 停止 一切
in fact, as long as return to “one China position”, stop all

“台 独” 分裂 活动, 尊重 台湾 主流 民 意,
“Taiwan independence” separate activity, respect Taiwan mainstream people will

两 岸 关系 就 能 花 开 满 园.
liaan an guanxi jiu neng hua kai man yuan
two side relation just can flower blossom full garden

“In fact, as long as the Taiwan government returns to the principle of one China, stops all separatist activities related to the independence of Taiwan, and respects the mainstream will of the Taiwanese people, the relations between the two sides will become good again, as flower blossoms fill a garden”.

In example (100), reference is made to the broad-leaved epiphyllum plant, which bears only a few flowers one at a time and the flower only blossoms for a very short period of time.

But, when the flower is in blossom, it is very beautiful and precious. The blossom of the epiphyllum plant is considered a good sign in terms of its rarity and beauty. It only lasts very briefly; thus, it is unfortunately difficult to predict when it will blossom and therefore hard to catch in flower. Generally speaking, the four-character idiom 昙花一现 tan hua yi xian ‘the broad-leaved epiphyllum blossoms briefly’ is neutral to indicate something will not last long. The other four-character idiom in example (100), 回光返照 hui guang fan zhao ‘last radiance of the setting sun’, can be used negatively in the sense that old things sometimes have a spurt of
activity before they are extinguished. Lee Teng-hui’s two-China statement and its related activities are conceptualized as the last radiance of the setting sun, indicating it will be extinguished as a final result; the briefly-blooming flower of the epiphyllum plant is conceptualized as the two-China statement will not lasting long. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example are: AN UNJUST POLITICAL SCHEME IS A SHORT-BLOSSOMED PLANT and AN UNJUST POLITICAL SCHEME IS THE SETTING SUN. The metaphors here are negatively evaluated, indicating that the independence of Taiwan is doomed to failure and does not have much time left.

In example (101), good situations between the two sides are conceptualized as flower blossoms filling a garden. Thus, there is the GOOD SITUATIONS ARE FLOWERS metaphor. This romantic and poetic way of describing the relations between the two sides expresses good expectations of an improving situation in the coming year (i.e. 2005). Therefore, the flower metaphor in this example has a strong positive connotation regarding the cross-strait relations.

In conclusion, in Chinese, a complex political system can be conceptualized as a plant based on the conceptual mapping that the growth of a plant can be seen as the development of a political entity. As a healthy plant needs good nutrition, a healthy political system also needs good political leaders, parties, and policies for better development.

6.5.2. Food Metaphors

In section 6.3., we saw that politics is conceptualized as a human body and it is natural for a human body to obtain nutrition from outside of itself. Kövecses (2002) discusses a conceptual metaphor that is common in English: IDEAS ARE FOOD, including the following mappings:

    cooking       \rightarrow thinking
In Chinese culture, food plays an important role in people’s daily life. Thus, there is the common phrase: 民以食为天 *min yi shi wei tian* (people as food for sky) ‘hunger breeds discontent’. Different types of food are closely associated with various Chinese holidays. For example, mooncakes are one of the typical food for the Mid-Autumn Day. For the Chinese New Year, fish is one of the materials used for cooking in the Southern China and dumplings are made as the main dish in the Northern China. Chinese people also treat food and the way of eating so seriously that the practice of Chinese traditional medicine is also involved in the way of cooking and eating. In addition, all important occasions such as weddings, funerals, as well as anniversaries include an essential component, that is, food. Therefore, it would be unusual if there were no food metaphors in this discourse in Chinese. In my data, besides IDEAS ARE FOOD, there are also the following conceptual metaphors, which will be discussed with respect to specific examples below: RESOURCES AND BENEFITS ARE FOOD; POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE WAYS OF COOKING; and EMPTY POLTICIAL ACTIONS ARE IMAGINARY FOOD.

(102) 对 支持 “台 独” 甚至 出售 武器 给 台湾
dui zhichi “tai du” shenzhi chushou wuqi gei Taiwan
towards support “Taiwan independence” even sell weapon give Taiwan

的 外国 企业 下 禁 杀 令, 不 让 他们
de waiguo qiye xia jin sha ling, bu rang tamen
MOD foreign enterprise issue prohibit kill order, no let them

享受 大陆 的 “奶酪”; 对 中国 友好, 支持
xiangshou dalu de “nailao”; dui zhongguo youhao, zhichi
enjoy mainland MOD “cheese”; towards China friendly, support

中国 统一 的 国家 和 企业, 多 分 “奶酪”,

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"The mainland government should prohibit trade with those foreign enterprises that support the independence of Taiwan and even sell weapons to Taiwan and not let them enjoy the cheese of the mainland; to those countries and enterprises that are friendly with China and support the unification of China, the mainland government should distribute more cheese to them and provide preferential terms for their investment in China.”

Cheese is a kind of Western food that Chinese people usually do not eat; thus, it seems odd to use this foreign food in the context. A possible reason could be because of the great influence of a famous, popular book called *Who Moved My Cheese?* This book tells the story of four characters, two mice, “Sniff” and “Scurry”, and two little people, “Hem” and “Haw”, who live in a maze, and their journey looking for cheese. The maze in the book represents one’s environment and the cheese refers to happiness and success. Being so popular and well-known in China, the word “cheese” has become a popular phrase to represent happiness and success in life in Chinese. Thus, the idea of cheese in the above example may be from that book. In the business field, China is well-known for its huge market and enormous business opportunities; overseas enterprises can make huge profits when their products and services enter the Chinese market. Thus, the conceptual metaphor here is: BENEFITS ARE FOOD.

Another example is,

(103) 把 “台独” 写入 党纲 的  
ba “tai du” xie ru dang gang de  
PRT “Taiwan independence” write into party platform MOD
The DPP party which has the independence of Taiwan included in its party platform, is fed on the KMT’s milk by Lee Teng-hui”.

“Milk” refers to the KMT’s rich resources, including financial, human, and others. Although Lee Teng-hui was the chairman of the KMT, he was said to provide resources for the DPP to help it grow and expand because the DPP’s political goal is to make Taiwan independent, which is the same as Lee Teng-hui’s. Thus, there is the RESOURCES ARE FOOD metaphor.

Here is another example,

“Next, Chen Shui-bian again stir-fries the leftover rice of the statement that the Mainland is a threat to the world, saying that not only the scary shadow and the dark influence are directly
threatening the current peaceful situation in the Taiwan Straits, but is also the biggest hidden concern of the stability of the region and the safety of the world”.

The statement that the Mainland is a threat to the world was proposed in the 1990s when military actions were active in the Mainland China. In some countries and for some political figures, it is believed that the Chinese Communist authorities seek its dictatorship in China by showing its military power to the international society. However, the Mainland government has denied this, arguing that the purpose of military actions in China is to protect nationalism and fight against hegemonism, and that China will never attack any other country by using armed forces (Wikipedia). Over the years, this statement has been made stronger in some time while weaker in other times.

In Chen Shui-bian’s speech made on October 10, 2004, he brought up the statement again that the Mainland is a threat to the world, referring the scary shadow and the dark influence to the Mainland, in which he emphasized that the great number of armed forces in the Mainland is a threat to peace of the region and the world. This is seen by the political writer as blaming the Mainland as the trouble-maker, attempting to shift people’s focus away from the independence of Taiwan; however, in the political writer’s opinion, the independence of Taiwan is the real trouble-maker in the Taiwan Straits. The conceptual metaphors in this example are: IDEAS ARE FOOD; UNPOPULAR POLITICAL IDEAS ARE LEFTOVER FOOD; and POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE WAYS OF COOKING. Leftover food does not taste good; thus, the statement that the Mainland is a threat to the world will not make such an influence as Chen Shui-bian has expected.

Next,

(105) “去中国化”是一锅永远
“qu zhongguo hua” is one pot forever
De-sinicization is a pot of half-cooked rice that will never be cooked”.

The phrase 去中国化 “de-sinicization” was created to refer to the legal action of erasing the characters of 中国 ‘China’ in documents in Taiwan; instead, the characters of 台湾 ‘Taiwan’ are replaced to emphasize its independent status. According to the Mainland media, the Taiwanese authorities have been trying to use this legal action to shift people’s focus from other problems in Taiwan such as the sluggish economy and the anti-Chen Shui-bian movement. However, the action of de-sinicization did not draw as much attention from people as the Taiwanese government hoped; the domestic situation did not improve after this was carried out. Thus, this situation is conceptualized as being half-cooked and half raw rice, which does not taste good. In this example, the conceptual metaphors are:

**POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE WAYS OF COOKING; BAD RESULTS ARE UNTASTY FOOD.** These metaphors make fun of the Taiwanese authorities and their actions.

In the following example, the food metaphor is shown in two four-character idioms.

(106) 如今，台湾当局领导人在一个“台独”组织的会上，突然脱稿宣布在“中华民国”护照上加注“台湾”字样，

如今，台湾当局领导人在一个“台独”组织的会上，突然脱稿宣布在“中华民国”护照上加注“台湾”字样，“Chinese republic” passport up add note “Taiwan” character
Now, at a meeting with one of the pro-independence organizations, the leaders of Taiwan suddenly announced from a prepared draft that the Taiwanese government would add the characters for ‘Taiwan’ on passport from the Republic of China, claiming that this is a gift for the organization. Their crazy actions and yelling of ‘come on’ at the meeting just serve assuage thirst by looking at plums and to satisfy hunger by drawing a pancake on paper”.

There are two four-character chengyu in this example: 望梅止渴 wang mei zhi ke ‘look at plums to assuage thirst’ and 画饼充饥 hua bing chong ji ‘draw a pancake to satisfy hunger’. Both refer to using the imagination in order to comfort oneself. To only look at plums with one’s eyes will not stop the feeling of thirst, and to draw a pancake on paper will not fill someone up. In this example, the announcement about the Chinese characters for “Taiwan” onto the passport from the Republic of China is not considered official because the meeting mentioned in the above example was not an official government one and was not supposed to make such an announcement; thus, it is considered very inappropriate. However, for those who support the independence of Taiwan, this unofficial announcement acts as some kind of comfort to their expectation of an independent Taiwan. Thus, the conceptual metaphor: EMPTY POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE IMAGINARY FOOD, which makes fun of pro-independence organizations and their members.

Next,
“Because of the continuing fermentation of the destructive influence of the two-China statement, the Chinese National Federation of Industries and other Taiwanese organizations were forced to cancel their trips to visit the Mainland”.

Fermentation refers to a chemical reaction in which sugar changes to alcohol. It refers to a situation where troubles and problems have been building up underneath, but have not shown up yet on the surface. In this example, the troublesome effect is caused by Lee Teng-hui’s two-China statement. After the two-China statement was made in public, the stock market in Taiwan went down and Taiwanese enterprises with factories on the Mainland began to worry about the future of economic and trade relations between the two sides. Thus, the conceptual metaphor: PROBLEMATIC POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE FERMENTATION clearly shows the damaging effect brought by a bad political statement.

The following example contains an eating metaphor.

“嘴里吃着中华民国，眼中望着台湾共和国” — “台独”分子扬言换“国旗”.

“Fermentation refers to a chemical reaction in which sugar changes to alcohol. It refers to a situation where troubles and problems have been building up underneath, but have not shown up yet on the surface. In this example, the troublesome effect is caused by Lee Teng-hui’s two-China statement. After the two-China statement was made in public, the stock market in Taiwan went down and Taiwanese enterprises with factories on the Mainland began to worry about the future of economic and trade relations between the two sides. Thus, the conceptual metaphor: PROBLEMATIC POLITICAL SITUATIONS ARE FERMENTATION clearly shows the damaging effect brought by a bad political statement.

The following example contains an eating metaphor.

“嘴里吃着中华民国，眼中望着台湾共和国” — “台独”分子扬言换“国旗”.
“While they are eating the Republic of China, they are staring at the Republic of Taiwan—the pro-independence members are threatening to change the national flag of Taiwan”.

The political situation described in the above example occurred in 2002, two years after Chen Shui-bian became president. At this time, it was claimed that he was carrying out policies supportive of the independence of Taiwan under cover, so his pro-independence actions were still hidden. But other pro-independence members had already asked to change the name of the Republic of China to the Republic of Taiwan, thus asserting the independent status of Taiwan. The national flag of Taiwan was designed and is used by the KMT, which supports the unification of China. Thus, the pro-independence members intended to change the flag to represent Taiwan’s independence. The two verb phrases in the above example, 吃着 chi zhe ‘eating’ and 望着 wang zhe ‘looking at’, actually come from a set phrase in Chinese 吃着碗里, 望着锅里 chi zhe wan li, wang zhe guo li ‘eating what’s inside the bowl and also looking at what’s left in the pot’, which means greed or greedy. The combination of these phrases portrays the independence supporters as greedy politicians. In this example, the political author borrowed such an idea in the above situation to show that the Mainland government can somehow accept the name and the flag of the Republic of China, but is unable to accept an independent Taiwan. The phrase 吃着 chi zhe ‘eating’ indicates something that is possessed. In this case, the Republic of China was governed by Chen Shui-bian, a pro-independence leader; thus, the independence supporters “possessed” Taiwan. The other phrase 望着 wang zhe ‘looking at’ refers to something that is beyond the acceptance of others. In this case, it is unacceptable for the Mainland government to let the independence supporters claim Taiwan independent by different means. Thus, the conceptual metaphor is: TO POSSESS IS TO EAT.

Below is one more example,
“But, history itself is unfortunate as well as fortunate. To look at it in a specific case at a specific time, it may not escape the fate of a servant girl who is used by others. Sometimes, some parts of history have been dressed up to look beautiful; some have been raped by being forcibly changed; some were even were taken advantage of and eaten as tofu”.

In example (109), history is conceptualized and personified as a servant girl; thus, the conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS A PERSON is unique and creative in this example; it ridicules the Taiwanese government’s actions in revising the teaching guidelines of history in the textbooks in Taiwanese high schools. According to the Mainland government, the history of Ming Dynasty is important in Chinese history regarding the status of Taiwan. During the Ming Dynasty, a particular historical event occurred in the year of 1662 when Zheng Chenggong, a commonly acknowledged national hero in the Chinese history, defeated the Dutch colonists in Taiwan and recovered Taiwan as part of China. The Mainland government was offended when the Taiwanese government revised such changes in their history books. These changes included catagorizing a large portion of the history of the Ming Dynasty, including the recovery of Taiwan in 1662, as well as the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911 as world history; also, the
history of the development between the two sides was also included in world history, rather than the history of China. These are seen by the Mainland as attempts to build up a country-to-country relation between the Mainland and Taiwan; thus, violates the one-China principle. The personification of history as a servant girl seems to be from a common notion that, in older times in China, a servant had to obey his/her master and was often taken advantage of by the master; therefore, living a sad and painful life. In the above example, history is seen as such a servant girl being used for achieving different political purposes; different ways to distort, change, or misrepresent parts of history are conceptualized as the servant girl being raped, beautified, even eaten as tofu.

The phrase, 吃豆腐 chi doufu ‘eat tofu’, has become popular in recent years in Chinese, especially in the spoken discourse. Nowadays, it has almost become a reference for “sexual harassment” in Chinese, particularly to refer to that a girl is harassed sexually. According to Baidu Encyclopedia Online, in older times in China, tofu was usually made in a small shop run by husband and wife. The husband made tofu in the early morning; the wife sold tofu during the day. Because of constantly eating tofu, the wife usually had very smooth and white skin, and had to play the coquette somehow in order to attract customers. Male customers visited the tofu shop to flirt with the wife in the name of eating tofu. Later on, the wives of the male customers often used the question “Did you go eat tofu again today?” to blame their husbands. Then, the phrase 吃豆腐 chi doufu ‘eat tofu’ is used to refer to a male philander a female.

Thus, in general, food, cooking, and eating metaphors have negatively connotations when they are associated with the independence of Taiwan. The frequency of this metaphor in my data is 158. Out of 158 tokens, 111 of them are relevant in describing the issue of Taiwan’s independence. The others are used in describing other political situations and entities.
6.5.3. Illness Metaphors

In 6.3., I discussed a political entity being conceptualized as a human being. It is therefore quite natural to conceptualize the problems that such an entity is experiencing as types of illness and the stages of these problems in terms of the development of the illness (p. Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 150). Sontag (1978) discusses primarily two types of diseases used as metaphors—tuberculosis and cancer, and how the use of the two metaphors has changed over time. She argues that both have been used to express “complex feelings about strength and weakness, and about energy” (p. 61). While tuberculosis provides “a metaphoric equivalent for delicacy, sensitivity, sadness, powerlessness”, cancer is associated with being “ruthless, implacable, predatory” (p. 61). Furthermore, she points out that the illness metaphor has always been used commonly to show that a society is corrupt or unjust (p. 72). Traditional illness metaphors, comparing to the modern metaphors, are relative contentless (p.72). For example, Shakespeare’s metaphors make no distinction between a contagion, an infection, or a sore (p. 72). However, “the modern metaphors suggest a profound disequilibrium between individual and society, with society conceived as the individual’s adversary” (p. 73); in this sense, a society is judged not as “out of balance but as repressive” (p. 73).

Classical philosophers such as Plato and Hobbes analogize a political disorder to an illness on the classical medical and political idea of balance, as illness was believed to come from imbalance. To retrieve the right balance, in other words, to cure the illness, is to restore the right hierarchy. Sontage believes that this prognosis is optimistic as society never catches a fatal disease (p. 76-77). Because society is presumed to be in basically good health, illness or disorder, in principle, can be manageable (p. 80).
In contrast, in modern political discourse, because of the French Revolution, “a modern idea of politics has been complemented by a modern idea of disease” (p. 81). Since disease is seen as death, society has been seen as having a radical and horrible illness; some diseases cannot be treated or managed, but have to be attacked (p. 81-82). In this sense, the illness metaphor is a sign of evil which needs to be punished. In the case of cancer, it represents an event or situation that is unqualifiedly and unredeemably wicked (p. 82-83). Sontag gives the example that the Gang of Four in China had become “the cancer of China” in 1977. She explains that a phenomenon described as a cancer is “an incitement to violence” and that “the use of cancer in political discourse encourages fatalism and justifies ‘severe’ measures—as well as strongly reinforcing the widespread notion that the disease is necessarily fatal” (p. 84).

Sontag believes that with the development of medical science, a disease such as cancer can finally be understood and the rate of cure become higher, the mystification overlaid with the illness metaphor also evolving (p. 86-87). However, Charteris-Black (2004) argues that, in his corpus of financial reporting, metaphors that contain ill-health related keywords such as recovery, paralysis, and contagion convey very strong negative evaluations (p. 150).

In Chinese, I found illness metaphors which also convey negative connotations in my data. The illness metaphor is an entailment to the conceptual metaphor that SOCIETY IS A HUMAN BEING; bad or unjust political schemes are considered as diseases which cause chaos in society or hinder its development, so that action needs to be taken to stop the bad influence; in other words, the society needs to be treated and cured. Below I will discuss the following conceptual metaphors relating to illness: AN UNJUST POLITICAL ENTITY IS A SICK BODY; BAD POLITICAL SCHEMES AND ACTIONS ARE DISEASES; POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE MEDICAL OPERATIONS; POLITICAL SOLUTIONS ARE MEDICINE.
The DPP is very corrupt, which should have already been known in the society; however, this still does not stop making people feel extremely surprised that the DPP has been so unexpectedly corrupt to the extent that it is completely rotten with boils on the head and feet running with pus.

The degree of corruptness is conceptualized as the head developing boils and the feet infected with pus. Thus, there are the conceptual metaphors: A POLITICAL PARTY IS A HUMAN BODY; CORRUPTNESS IS ILLNESS; AN UNJUST POLITICAL PARTY IS A SICK HUMAN BODY; and COMPLETENESS IS HEAD TO FEET. The head and feet are the two extremes on a human body. It is rare for both to have problems at the same time. But readers can infer that the infection must be very strong to create such bad symptoms on both ends of the body. When an organization is corrupt, the members of the organization may only care about favoring the bribers to get money, forgetting to serve the people. This is similar to a sick human body that cannot function healthily. The conceptual metaphors in this example represent that the DPP is as an unhealthy political party that no longer works for the benefit of common people, but rather for its own.

Another example is,
“The independence of Taiwan concept is a poisonous tumor, and a stone that people stumble over, hindering the development of the relations between the two sides”.

A tumor may hinder the healthy functioning of human organs; a stone that people stumble over inhibits smooth movement. Thus, the conceptual metaphors here are: HINDRANCE IS A DISEASE and HINDRANCE IS A STONE THAT PEOPLE STUMBLE OVER. Medically, a tumor can be categorized as benign or malignant. A benign tumor may not do harm to a human body, but a malignant one does. In example (111), the independence of Taiwan is referred to as a poisonous tumor, which can do great harm to the health of a human body. In this sense, there is the conceptual metaphor: A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS A DISEASE. The implication of these metaphors is hindering normal functioning, that is, the concept of the independence of Taiwan can be cured by dropping that idea, resulting in a healthy relationship between the two sides.

In the following example, different diseases depict the degree of illness:

(112) “台独” 上台以来, 其“病”症日渐明显:
A-bian shang tai yilai, qi “bing” zheng ri jian mingxian:
Chen Shui-bian up stage since, his “illness” symptom day gradual obvious

先被“台独”分子李鸿禧传染了
xian bei “tai du” fenzi Li Hong-qi chuanran le
first PRT “Taiwan independence” member Li Hong-xi infect PERF

“台独”小感冒”, 鼻涕直流, 满脑子都是
“tai du” xiao ganmao, biti zhiliu, man naozi dou shi
“Taiwan independence” little cold, nasal mucus run, full brain all is
“台独”理念；接着，患中度“咽喉炎”，“Taiwan independence” principle; next, suffer from medium “pharyngitis”,

竭力鼓吹“台独”主张；下来，“乙肝”
jie li guchui “tai du” zhuang; xialai, “yan”

病毒肆行，到处口喷“公投票新宪”
bingdu si xing, dao chu kou pen “gong tou xin xian xian”

“Since Chen Shui-bian has become president of Taiwan, symptoms of infection by the illness of the independence of Taiwan concept have gradually become apparent: first, he was infected by one of the pro-independence members, Li Hong-xi, with a ‘cold’, with a runny nose and a head full of principles regarding the independence of Taiwan; next, he suffered from ‘pharyngitis’, exhausting his voice by preaching the independence of Taiwan; then, the ‘hepatitis B’ virus recklessly prevailed, as he started to talk about public voting and a new constitution everywhere; then, the virus in his body spread, and he developed some serious problems with his ‘lungs’”.

The series of diseases listed in this example represents the gradual steps Chen Shui-bian has taken to try to realize the independence of Taiwan and how serious each action has become. Here, the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as various diseases with different symptoms. The conceptual metaphors are: A BAD POLITICAL SCHEME IS A DISEASE and ACTIONS AND STEPS TO REALIZE BAD POLITICAL SCHEMES ARE SYMPTOMS OF A DISEASE. The illness, ranging from a cold to the hepatitis B virus, show the degree of “infection” Chen Shui-bian has been affiliated with as he has evolved his independence of Taiwan concept. While a cold may be easy to cure, hepatitis is not so easily cured. This implies that Chen Shui-bian has gone further and further in his attempts to achieve the independence of Taiwan.

The next example contains a medical operation metaphor:
“Chen Shui-bian’s action in increasing the ratio of native Taiwanese officers in the military is to perform a sex-change operation on the Taiwanese troops”.

For a long time, the Taiwanese military was called the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) troops because they were brought from the Mainland after the Chiang Kaishek-led KMT lost the Civil War to the communist troops led by Mao Zedong. Before the DPP led by Chen Shui-bian won the presidential election in 2000, Taiwan was under the governance of the KMT; therefore, until 2000, the troops had been under the control of the KMT, which opposed independence for Taiwan. When Lee Teng-hui became president and after the pro-independence DPP became the ruling party in Taiwan, the military troop gradually went through a process called “nationalization” (Li, 2002, p. 18). This involved a legislative change which removed control over the Taiwanese military from the KMT; instead, this change states that the military should be loyal to the Constitution of Taiwan, regardless of whether the government is for independence or unification.

After Chen Shui-bian became president of Taiwan, he started to take action to increase the number of native Taiwanese officers in the military and promote those who supported independence for Taiwan. In this way, the Taiwanese military changed its original stance of opposing the independence of Taiwan under the influence of the KMT to supporting Taiwan’s independence. This change is conceptualized as a sex-change operation. The conceptual metaphors are: MILITARY TROOP IS A HUMAN BODY and A POLITICAL ACTION IS A MEDICAL OPERATION. Medical operations are usually conducted on an unhealthy human body. A sex-change operation, however, is performed on a healthy body to change the sex of the patient.
The conceptual metaphors here clearly portray Chen Shui-bian as manipulating government, including military policy, in order to achieve the independence of Taiwan.

Next,

(114) 这是从李氏到陈氏的一服
zhe shi cong Lee shi dao Chen shi de yi fu
this is from Lee surname to Chen surname MOD one CLF

“抗统” 强力剂, “促独”
“kang tong” qiang li ji, “cu du”
“resist unification” strong power tonic, “facilitate independence”

迷惑汤, 从反统到抗统以至
mihun tang, cong fan tong dao kang tong yizhi
deceiving concoction, from against unification to resist unification up to

促进的自持本钱.
cu du de zi chi benqian.
facilitate independence MOD self hold capital

“This is the strengthening tonic dose of ‘resisting unification’ and the deceiving concoction with ‘facilitating independence’ from Lee to Chen; this is also the capital they hold from a position against unification, to resisting unification, and to facilitating independence”.

In example (114), 这 ‘this’ refers to the so-called “democracy” of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian. In the political writer’s opinion, it is just a fake democracy which is determined by their own will, rather than the will of the Taiwanese people. Thus, their “democracy” is indeed “against unification and pro-independence”, which is conceptualized as a dose of a strengthening tonic and a deceiving concoction. Thus, the conceptual metaphors are: A COUNTRY IS A HUMAN BODY and DEMOCRACY IS MEDICINE. In addition, there is the DEMOCRACY IS CAPITAL metaphor.

氏 shi ‘surname’ is used more popularly in older times and now in written discourse in Chinese. It is usually added to in the end of the last name of a person. 氏 shi can be used to refer
to a particular person who has been influential or has achieved greatly in a particular field. In older times, it was used often by families who were referred by the last name(s) of their fathers and/or husbands. In this example, the use of 氏 shi after the last names of Lee and Chen, rather than their full names, seems to have a slight negative connotation. Also, the use of 氏 shi seems to be refer to two types of democracy developed by two different leaders, and therefore, there are followers of each. However, the use of their full names does not provide such a connotation.

In Chinese, 汤 tang ‘soup’ refers to a type of liquid food as well as a traditional herbal concoction that is made by boiling Chinese herbs in water. In English, the concept of soup is positive as it provides nourishment for a sick human body. In Chinese, nourishment provided for a sick person is particularly associated with porridge although soup cooked with Chinese herbs is also recommended for patients with different diseases. Medicine is needed to help the body to become healthy again when it gets sick. However, it seems that, in this example, the two types of medicine are not intended to cure a sick body. The kind of democracy developed by Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian is conceptualized as a strengthening tonic administered to strengthen the forces resisting unification, as they claim that unification is not what the Taiwanese people want. It is also conceptualized as a deceiving concoction, since democracy is what Lee and Chen used to cover the real intention of realizing the independence of Taiwan. These conceptual metaphors used by the political writer show the readers the true nature of the fake democracy of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian; thus, the types of medicine referred to here are not to cure diseases, but to maintain and exacerbate the disease of Taiwanese independence.

In sum, a political entity is seen as a living being which it becomes ill, needs medicine, and even medical operations. When a bad political scheme is proposed and carried out, it is conceptualized as a kind of diseases. Steps taken to achieve these political schemes are seen as
symptoms of diseases or medical operations. While the purpose of medical interventions such as medicine and operations is to cure illness, it is represented that those related to the independence of Taiwan do not act in this way.

6.5.4. Death Metaphors

Since all living beings are mortal, death can be viewed as the final destination. In Charteris-Black’s (2005) analysis of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s speeches, the metaphors of life force vs. death force are used to conceptualize political orientation. The metaphors occurred in her speeches are CONSERVATISM IS A LIFE FORCE and LABOR/SOCIALISM IS A DEATH FORCE metaphors. In my data, the death metaphor is associated with the independence of Taiwan. The conceptual metaphors UNJUST POLITICAL ACTION IS A DEATH FORCE; AN UNJUST POLITICAL PRINCIPLE IS A DEATH FORCE; and AN UNJUST POLITICAL STATEMENT IS A DEATH FORCE occur in my data, as illustrated in examples (115)-(119).

(115) 实际上 也是 阿扁 在 一次次 不时 地 发出
shijishang ye shi A-bian zai yi cici bushi de fachu
in fact also is Chen Shui-bian at one CLF often PRT send out

战争 挑衅，其 目的，就是 想 把 台湾 的 老百姓
zhanzheng tiaoxin, qi mudi, ju shi xiang ba Taiwan de laobaixing
war provoke, his intention, just is want PRT Taiwan MOD civilians

推上 “台 独” 的 战 车，让 无辜 的
tui shang “tai du” de zhan che, rang wugu de
push onto “Taiwan independence” MOD war vehicle, let innocent MOD

民众 为 “台 独” 殉葬.
minzhong wei “tai du” xunzang
people for “Taiwan independence” bury alive with the dead
“In fact, the reason why Chen Shui-bian frequently speaks in ways that could provoke war is to push ordinary Taiwanese civilians onto the war vehicle of the independence of Taiwan, letting these innocent people to be buried alive with the dead for the independence of Taiwan”.

There are two conceptual metaphors in the above example. One is DANGEROUS POLITICAL ACTION IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON, where the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a weapon involved in a war. This metaphor will be discussed in 6.6.: War Metaphors. The other metaphor is associated with the concept of death: UNJUST POLITICAL ACTION IS A DEATH FORCE. To risk innocent people’s lives in a war is conceptualized as being buried alive with the dead because that is a very cruel way for a living human being to die. This tradition was used in ancient China when slaves, concubines, or servants were buried alive with their dead master. This conceptual metaphor used in the Mainland media implies that the attempts to achieve the independence of Taiwan will not succeed; thus, it is evil for Chen Shui-bian to risk the lives of innocent Taiwanese people in a war with the Mainland which is doomed to failure. The use of the death metaphor here highlights a possible horrible consequence that may occur to ordinary people. It is a warning from the Mainland government to Chen Shui-bian and his government.

In addition, 阿扁 A-bian is a nickname for Chen Shui-bian and the use of A-bian instead of his full name is supposed to sound close to common people. The use of A-bian in this example sounds ironic. If Chen Shui-bian was truly close to common people, he would not risk the lives of them.

Next,
“Some prominent figures in the DPP said that this is the best present Lee Teng-hui has given them; the name of the Republic of China will disappear slowly as by euthanasia”.

The gift from Lee Teng-hui mentioned in this example refers to the two-China statement announced in July 1999, which clearly states that the relationship between Taiwan and the Mainland is one between country to country. His statement puts the status of Taiwan as independent and equal to the Mainland, which has not been accepted by the Mainland government. The gradual disappearance of the name of the Republic of China is conceptualized as euthanasia, which is considered a peaceful and happy way of dying in Chinese culture. In the word 安乐死 an le si ‘euthanasia’, 安 an means peace or peaceful; 乐 le means happy; and 死 si means die or death. In the Chinese conception, euthanasia allows people to die without suffering or pain; thus, it is a peaceful and happy way of dying. The conceptual metaphor in this example is AN UNJUST POLITICAL STATEMENT IS A DEATH FORCE. According to the Mainland media, the independence supporters hope to establish a country by the name of Taiwan, instead of China. Therefore, the official publication of the two-China statement from Lee Teng-hui, the president of Taiwan, is seen as the first official step to establishing an independent country of Taiwan. After the principle of an independent Taiwan is established by the government, it is expected that steps will be taken to achieve the goal. The use ‘euthanasia’ in describing such a political situation appears to be novel.

The following example is,

(117) 中共 如果要 我们 再说 “一个 中国
If the Chinese Communist government wants us to repeat the one China principle, it wants to hold Taiwan between its fingers until it dies.

The above example is a quote from Chen Shui-bian regarding the relations between the two sides. He is said by the Mainland government to be resistant to accepting the one China principle as the fundamental basis for the peace talks between the two sides. To show how unwillingly he and his government are to accept the one China principle, Chen Shui-bian uses the death metaphor—A POLITICAL PRINCIPLE IS A DEATH FORCE—to argue that Taiwan will die if the one China principle is accepted. In his opinion, to accept the one China principle is to admit that Taiwan is subordinate to the Mainland, not an independent country. This is unacceptable for independence supporters.

Another example is,

(118) 陈水扁为了 一 己 之 私, 企图 通过
Chen Shui-bian in order one self MOD selfishness, attempt by means of
挑衅 一 个 中国 原则 来 转移 岛 内 民众
provoke one CLF China principle come divert island inside people
的 视线, 来 缓和 目前 的 经济 困境,
MOD attention, come alleviate present MOD economic predicament
完全 是 南 轴 北 缰,
completely is south shaft of a carriage north track of a wheel,
In order to satisfy Chen Shui-bian’s own selfishness, he attempted to shift the Taiwanese people’s attention away by disputing the one China principle in order to alleviate the current economic predicament in Taiwan. His behavior is to try to go south by driving the chariot north, to drink the blood of a poisonous bird to stop thirst; it is no different from hurting himself or committing suicide”.

In the above example, Chen Shui-bian is portrayed by the Mainland media as a selfish politician who does not care about the means of livelihood of the Taiwanese people, only how to maintain his political career. He is criticized by the Mainland for being unable to retrieve the depressed economy in Taiwan; instead, he has been trying very hard to achieve the independence of Taiwan in order to shift people’s attention away from his poor governing achievement. His behavior is conceptualized as committing suicide by drinking wine with poison from a poisonous bird to stop thirst. The death metaphor here is: UNJUST POLITICAL ACTION IS A DEATH FORCE. 鸩 zhen is said to be a poisonous bird with poisonous feathers and blood in Chinese mythology. Although drinking wine containing bird poison could help ease thirst, the one who drinks it will also die. This chengyu 饮鸩止渴 yin zhen zhi ke ‘drink the blood of a poisonous bird to stop thirst’ is used to describe big troubles caused by only solving a current problem without considering the future. In this example, Chen Shui-bian is portrayed as shortsighted, as he has been trying to use the independence of Taiwan issue as his political emphasis to alleviate current domestic problems; however, without solving the economic problem appropriately, he will face even greater troubles in the future.
The other four-character chengyu, 南辕北辙 nan yuan bei zhe ‘go south by driving the chariot north’, is used to describe the opposite directions of actions and intentions. In this example, Chen Shui-bian’s intention was to alleviate domestic economic problems; yet, his actions were to try to achieve the independence of Taiwan. Therefore, his actions do not solve the real problems.

The last example,

(119) 那就是为台湾大多数民众和工商界人士所不齿的“戒急用忍”政策，

“Our proposal for Taiwanese investors to ‘avoid eagerness and be tolerant’, which has been despised by the majority of Taiwanese people and those who are in the fields of industry and business. No matter what happened, it has now died naturally and has become a pile of historical trash that is so stinky that it makes people cover their noses’.

Unlike the death phrases and metaphors in previous examples, the four-character chengyu, 寿终正寝 shou zhong zheng qin ‘die in one’s home because of old age’ refers to the end of the policy of avoiding eagerness and being tolerant as advice given to Taiwanese investors. Thus, the conceptual metaphor in this example is—THE END OF AN UNJUST POLITICAL POLICY IS DEATH. This policy was proposed by Lee Teng-hui for Taiwanese investors in the
Mainland in 1996 and was abandoned in 2000 by Chen Shui-bian (Wikipedia). According to the Mainland government, this policy was not welcomed by Taiwanese investors as it set limits for Taiwanese companies on what could be invested in the Mainland. Therefore, it is natural that it would be ended because it was against the interests of Taiwanese business. The concept of death in this metaphor is expressed in a slightly positive way. The other conceptual metaphor, A BAD POLITICAL POLICY IS TRASH, will not be discussed here.

In conclusion, the death metaphor mainly represents a possible dying consequence which is put into effect by an unjust political statement or action as a death force. In most of these examples, the death metaphor is evaluated negatively. It seems interesting that the means of death in the above examples depend on whether a death force is viewed negatively or positively. In example (119), the ending of a bad policy is seen as a natural way of dying because of old age; thus, this is positively evaluated. The other means of death, such as being buried alive with the dead, to die by receiving a special doze of a medicine, or to die by drinking poisonous wine are all unnatural ways of dying, and are evaluated in a negative way.

In this part, features of the sustenance and growth of politics have been highlighted in the concepts of plants, food, illness, and death. Plant metaphors give prominence to the development of political movements or actions; food metaphors emphasize the importance of resources in politics as well as the similarities of cooking and taking political action such as, in cooking, food is obtained in the end; while by taking political action, a political result is achieved; illness metaphors represent serious problems in politics; and death metaphors stress the terrible consequences of certain political policies and actions. The practice of politics in our society is expressed through the discussed metaphors of plants, food, illness, and death.
6.6. Negatively Viewed Politics

In this part, I will focus on metaphors that I have not discussed in earlier sections; the concepts of them are associated with shows, gambling, games, and war/violence. What is common in these metaphors is that, from the view of the Mainland China, they all are derogatory in describing the pro-independence leaders and government in Taiwan as well as their activities.

6.6.1. Show Metaphors

Although politics is commonly viewed in English as a show and politicians as show performers, I have found no specific research on the metaphor POLITICS IS A SHOW. Apart from using the show metaphor to describe politics, it is also used to conceptualize social organizations. Bryant (1993) probes the use of the theatrical metaphors. He argues that the theatrical metaphor “recognizes the active part played by individuals and groups in making sense of what it is that they are all caught up in, and the responsibility which we all share for taking action and shaping outcomes” (p. 553). Social organizations share similar attributes as the theatrical metaphor since

“the art of theatre is to create a performance as a 'given': one that is as it is because it just is as it has to be. This sense of the inevitability of a performance is as much part of everyday social life as it is of the world of the theatre, for in social life, situations are defined by an intuitive negotiation between those involved, through their careful management of the impressions which they give and give off: their performance” (p. 554).

In conceptualizing politics as a show, the conceptual mapping lies in the deliberate performance and its projected goal to influence the emotions of the audience, for example, to amuse in a comedy, to please in a concert), and to shed tears in a tragedy. In politics, politicians
are seen as show performers; the goal of their deliberate actions and behavior is to attract potential supporters for what the politicians want them to believe and follow. This is viewed negatively, since a politician is expected to serve the country and the people, not only to maintain his/her own political career. The Mainland media employ this underlying concept in discussing the pro-independence leaders and their activities, creating a negative image of them.

In my data, the conceptual metaphors related with the concept of show are:

- POLITICS IS A SHOW
- A POLITICIAN IS A SHOW PERFORMER
- A LEADER IS A LEADING PERFORMER
- POLITICAL ACTION IS A DRAMA
- POLITICS IS A CHINESE OPERA
- A POLITICIAN IS A CHINESE OPERA SINGER
- A POLITICIAN IS A SINGER
- POLITICAL STATEMENTS ARE MUSIC
- PRAISE IS MAKE-UP

The above conceptual metaphors will be illustrated in examples (120)-(127).

(120) Misch 
Chen Shui-bian and Lee Teng-hui again perform two-man comic show 

"Chen Shui-bian and Lee Teng-hui are performing a two-man comic show again; they have adopted the tactic of each working separately on his own division to achieve the same goal,
which is to have the principle of the independence of Taiwan written into the Constitution of Taiwan”.

双簧 Shuanghuang ‘a two-man comic show’ is a type of traditional humorous show in China with one person standing in front and the other hiding behind the one in the front. The performer standing in the front performs actions; the other hiding behind talks or sings. A two-man comic show requires good collaboration on the part of each performer, as the action has to match the rhythm of talking or singing. The phrase of shuang huang ‘a two-man comic show’ can also refer to any collaboration in which one appears in public while the other manipulates behind the scenes in other relations, such as business and social.

In 2004, the Taiwan Solidarity Union party Lee Teng-hui chaired and other groups supporting Taiwan’s independence, excluding the DPP and its party leader, Chen Shui-bian, published an announcement to support Taiwan as a sovereign, independent nation and to advocate a new constitution for an independent Taiwan. It was believed that the intentional exclusion of the DPP and Chen Shui-bian occurred because they were actually manipulating the event behind the scenes. In this example, the collaboration of Chen Shui-bian and Lee Teng-hui to achieve the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a two-man comic show. Thus, there are the conceptual metaphors—POLITICS IS A SHOW and A POLITICIAN IS A SHOW PERFORMER. The second conceptual metaphor A POLITICIAN IS A SHOW PERFORMER is explicit in this example, but the first one is implicit and inferred from the second conceptual metaphor.

Next,

近日，台湾岛内某些当权人士，
jinri, Taiwan dao nei mouxie dangquan renshi,
recently, Taiwan island inside some hold power people
上演了一出分裂祖国的闹剧，
shangyan le yi chu fenlie zuoguo de naoju,
Recently, some leaders in power in Taiwan performed a farce concerning separating from the motherland; Lee Teng-hui played the leading role.

A farce 'Nao ju' is also a type of humorous show in which the behaviors of the characters are exaggerated through funny storylines and exciting scenes. On July 9, 1999, the then president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui, made an announcement during an interview with the *Voice of Germany* that the relations between the Mainland China and Taiwan are those of one country to another (Guo, 1999, p.1). Since the announcement was made, pro-independence groups and the Taiwanese authorities have taken actions to support his statement. This situation is conceptualized as a farce and Lee Teng-hui is conceptualized as the leading performer in the farce. Thus, there are the POLITICS IS A SHOW and A LEADER IS A LEADING PERFORMER metaphors. In this example, the farce metaphor indicates that the behavior and action towards the independence of Taiwan are only for entertaining the audience and will not be able to succeed.

Another example is,

“How long will the sad drama of Taiwan’s independence keep playing?”

In 2007, Taiwan failed to become a member of the World Health Organization for the 11th time. The Mainland government criticized the Taiwanese authorities as not really caring about the health of the Taiwanese people, but rather as attempting to join the WHO every year.
simply to capture international attention. Thus, the failure of Taiwan to join the WHO is
culturalized as a sad drama. Identified as a novel metaphor, which occurred once in my data,
it mocks the Taiwanese authorities and claims that Taiwan will not achieve independence. The
conceptual metaphor in this example is: POLITICAL ACTION IS A DRAMA.

Next,

(123) 至 此，“台 独” 的 言论 正式
zhi ci, “tai du” de yanlun zhengzhì
until now, “Taiwan independence” MOD statement officially

在 台 岛 粉 墨 登 场.
zai tai dao fen mo deng chang
at Taiwan island make-up ink come on stage

“So far, the statement of Taiwan’s independence officially came on stage in Taiwan with full make-up”.

粉墨登场 fen mo deng chang ‘come onto stage with full make-up’ is usually used in
Chinese opera, describing the singers as ready to perform on stage with their costumes and
make-up. Thus official statement about Taiwan’s independence is conceptualized as an actor
coming onto a stage with make-up. Usually, a statement is made by a person; but, in this
example, the statement itself is personified to be a Chinese opera singer. According to Charteris-
Black (2005), personification is found commonly in Winston Churchill’s political oratory. He
argues that “the ideological basis for using personification is either to arouse empathy for a
social group, ideology or belief evaluated as heroic, or to arouse opposition towards a social
group, ideology or belief that is evaluated as villainous” (p. 41). For example, social groups,
ideologies and beliefs that are positively evaluated are associated with heroic human attributes
such as courage and determination. In Churchill’s positive evaluation, the country of Britain is
described as if “it were a plucky hero who is prepared to fight to the death” (p. 41); thus, the
The four-character chengyu 粉墨登场 fen mo deng chang ‘appear on the stage with full make-up’ in example (123) is usually used in an ironic way in political discourse in Chinese, describing something has been fully plotted before its official appearance or announcement. In Chinese opera, the appearance of a character is usually accompanied by the loud playing of gongs and drums. Here, the official publication of a statement of Taiwanese independence is conceptualized as the appearance of an opera singer on the stage with this loud, rhythmic gong and drum playing. This gives the impression that the statement was a showy display for the public. Thus, the personification of the statement of Taiwan’s independence gives the readers the negative impression that the political statement was secretly plotted behind the scenes and away from the public attention, like an opera singer who puts on make-up and costumes behind the stage, rather than being the product of public discourse. Thus, there is the conceptual metaphor: A POLITICAL STATEMENT IS A CHINESE OPERA SINGER.

Next,

(124) 陈水扁 一 大 特 点 是 言 行 不一,
Chen Shui-bian yi da tedian shi yan xing buyi,
Chen Shui-bian one big distinguishing feature is word behavior not same,

善于 变 脸. 陈水扁 上 台 以来,
shanyu bian lian. Chen Shui-bian shang tai yilai,
good at change face. Chen Shui-bian up stage since,

的确 搞 了 不少 “变 脸” 绝活.
dique gao le bushao “bian lian” juehuo
indeed make PERF quite some “change face” unique skill
“One big distinguishing feature of Chen Shui-bian is that his words and behavior are not the same, he is good at changing faces. Since he has come on stage, he has indeed shown quite a unique skill in face-changing”.

The phrase 变脸 bianlian ‘change face’ appears twice in the above example. The first occurrence emphasizes Chen Shui-bian’s inconsistency in his political behavior. The second instance refers to a unique skill in performing a type of Chinese opera. In the Sichuan opera, face-changing is one of the stunts in which a performer changes from one mask to another in a matter of seconds. This unique skill requires years of practice, as the performer has to change the masks so swiftly that the audience is unable to catch how he has done so. The face-changing skill in this example refers to Chen Shui-bian being good at being inconsistent in his words and behavior. The conceptual metaphor here— A POLITICIAN IS A CHINESE OPERA PERFORMER—thus portrays him as a sneaky and dishonest leader.

Next,

(125) 他 放任 死硬 “台 独” 分子 吕秀莲
he let alone die-hard “Taiwan independence” member Lu Xiu-lian

与 其 大 唱 “黑 白 脸”, 重 拾
with him loudly sing “black white face”, again pick

“台湾 地位 未 定 论” 陈 腔 滥 调.
“Taiwan status not settled theory” old accent hackneyed tune

“He let the die-hard supporter of Taiwan’s independence, Lu Xiu-lian, sing loudly in ‘black and white face’ with him, trying to use the same old clichés regarding the unsettled status of Taiwan”.

In the Western culture, the color of white is associated with wedding, a happy occasion, while in Chinese culture, it is associated with funeral and death. Where people wear black in
funerals in the Western culture, Chinese people usually wear white. At weddings, the color of red is essential in Chinese culture, but is not the same in the Western culture.

In Chinese opera, the different colors the performers put on their faces represent different types of characters. For instance, red signifies a character that gets angry easily, while white indicates a calm and level-headed character. The colors black and white in Chinese refer to what is right and what is wrong, the good and the evil, respectively. Thus, an opera performer with black-colored make-up on his face represents a good character while one with white-colored make-up is an evil character. In this example, Lee Teng-hui is portrayed as the good black-faced character, while Lu Xiu-lian is the evil white-faced character. Their cooperation on saying different things about the unsettled status of Taiwan is trying to confuse the audience so that more supporters can be drawn to believe their justification of Taiwan’s independence. Thus, there is the conceptual metaphor: A POLITICIAN IS A CHINESE OPERA SINGER.

Another example is,

(126) 然后，“5.20” 就 职 时，忽然 风 头 一 转，
ranhou, “5.20” jiu zhi shi, huran feng tou yi zhuan,
then, “May 20” assume office when, suddenly wind direction one turn around

调 低 嗓门， 唱 出 一些 美丽
tiao di sangmen, chang chu yixie meili
adjust low voice, sing out some beautiful

而 动听 的 “和平 曲”，
er dongting de “heping qu”
and pleasant to listen to MOD “peace melody”

“Then, when he (Chen Shui-bian) assumed office on May 20th, suddenly, the direction of the wind turned—he lowered his voice and sang a peaceful melody that sounded pleasant to the audience in the Mainland and the U.S.”.
In example (126), Chen Shui-bian is portrayed as a leader who is good at playing political tricks. According to the Mainland media, before his inauguration on May 20, he talked about rejecting the unification policy and refusing the one-China principle. When it was time for his inauguration, in order to make the U.S. happy and to leave the Mainland government with no excuses, he pretended that he was willingness to maintain a peaceful and improving relationship between the two sides. Chen Shui-bian’s inaugural speech on May 20, 2004, was deceiving to the public. Rather than showing his real intention of separating Taiwan from the Mainland in public, he used some cheating tricks such as replacing the one-China principle to the one-China issue and the defensive public voting to peaceful voting. His words may sound peaceful, but are indeed intentionally avoiding the one-China principle and refusing to recognize that both the Mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. The political writer describes the Mainland government’s view that his words and actions are a kind of show. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example are: A POLITICIAN IS A SINGER and AN IRONIC POLITICAL STATEMENT IS MUSIC.

Here is the last example in show metaphors:

(127) 吕秀莲则称历史上日本殖民者的
Lu Xiu-lian ze chen lishi shang Riben zhiminzhe de
Lu Xiu-lian however claim history up Japanese colonialist MOD

霸占台湾是台湾的大幸，为日本
ba zhan Taiwan shi Taiwan de da xing, wei riben
forcibly occupy Taiwan is Taiwan MOD big fortune, for Japanese

侵略者涂脂抹粉，歌功颂德
qinluuezhe tu zhi mo fen, ge gong song de
intruder apply blush daub make-up powder, sing merit praise virtue
“However, Lu Xiu-lian claimed that the occupation of Taiwan forced by the Japanese colonialists in history was good fortune for Taiwan. The purpose of her claim is to whitewash the behavior of the intruders by applying powder and make-up on them, and by singing their praises”.

The four-character chengyu 涂脂抹粉 tu zhi mo fen ‘apply blush and daub on powder’ can be used generally in either a positive, neutral, or negative way, depending on the context. In example (127), Lu Xiu-lian’s statement is conceptualized as make-up, including powder, as women use for beautification. The Japanese invasion of Taiwan is considered a shame in Chinese history in the PRC; however, it is represented here as something fortunate for Taiwan in the eyes of Lu Xiu-lian. Thus, 涂脂抹粉 tu zhi mo fen ‘apply blush and daub on powder’, shows that Lu Xiu-lian’s attempt to justifying the Japanese invasion of Taiwan is like covering an ugly face by applying make-up. Thus, the conceptual metaphors are PRAISE IS MAKE-UP and MAKE-UP IS A COVER.

The other four-character chengyu used in this excerpt, 歌功颂德 ge gong song de ‘sing merits and praise virtues’, is used mostly in a negative way. The merits and virtues are actually bad attributes or behavior; to sing and praise are also to beautify; therefore, the two idioms in this example have the same sense of whitewashing the Japanese invasion of Taiwan; the use of both idioms strengthens the underlying tone that Lu Xiu-lian is portrayed by the Mainland media as a traitor.

To summarize, in the above examples, the politics associated with the issue of Taiwan’s independence is conceptualized as a two-man comic show, a sad drama, and the Chinese opera; pro-independence politicians such as Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, and Lu Xiu-lian are conceptualized as show performers and Chinese opera singers. In addition, pro-unification rhetoric is seen as pleasant music, and positive words used to whitewash bad behavior are conceptualized as make-up. When the publication of a political statement makes a forceful
appearance after a long time of planning and plotting, it is personified as the appearance of a Chinese opera singer on stage. The combination of the above concepts associated with the concept of a show conveys a negative attitude toward the pro-independence leaders and their actions.

6.6.2. Gambling Metaphors

The concept of gambling is metaphorically reflected in many common phrases in English, such as “to cash in one’s chips”, “chip in”, and “above board”. In Chinese, however, it seems under my impression that it is fairly recent for the Chinese (the Mainland) media to use the concept of gambling to describe politics. In Chinese, the concept of gambling is also used to describe business, particularly in dealing stocks. In gambling, the participants take risks by using money or other material things to bet. The result of gambling is unpredictable since one may lose or win. Gambling requires the participation of more than two people. As I mentioned earlier, in China, as a formerly feudal country ruled by one emperor, there seemed to be no political behavior that could be conceptualized as gambling. In a democratic society, however, politicians participate and compete in various ways in order to become the one who is more successful and can attract more supporters than others and thus, to sustain a longer political career. This situation is similar to gambling.

In my data, since the concept of gambling is associated with risk-taking, the gambling metaphors are used in a negative way. In the following examples, pro-independence activities are conceptualized as gambling; political leaders who are involved are conceptualized as gamblers. Their behavior is considered dangerous and irresponsible as they are not making efforts to achieve a better future of a country or its people. Thus, the concept of gambling is used by the Mainland media to criticize the activities of politicians connected with the
independence issue. These conceptual metaphors include: POLITICS IS GAMBLING; A POLITICIAN IS A GAMBLER; AN UNJUST POLITICAL STATEMENT IS A GAMBLING BET.

For example,

(128) 但 陈水扁 已经 铁 下 心 来, 把 推动
dan Chen Shui-bian yijing tie xia xin lai, ba tuidong

“台 独” 作 为 挽救 自己 个人
“Taiwan independence” make as save self individual

政治 生命 的 唯一 赌注.
political life MOD only bet

“But Chen Shui-bian has already been unshakable in his iron-hearted determination; the only bet he uses to save his individual political life is to push forward the independence of Taiwan”.

In this example, the effort to realize the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a gambling bet, and Chen Shui-bian is portrayed as a gambler. According to the Mainland media, gamble, however, is not for the benefit of Taiwan or its people, but for Chen Shui-bian’s own political career. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example—A POLITICIAN IS A GAMBLER and AN UNJUST POLITICAL STATEMENT IS A GAMBLING BET-- show in a negative way that Chen Shui-bian is conceptualized a selfish leader who only cares about his own gain.

Next,

(129) Lee Teng-hui de “两 国 论” 是 一 种 政治 赌博,
Lee Teng-hui MOD “two country theory” is one CLF political gamble

是 以 其 残 年 碎 梦 赌 台湾 前途,
is use his remaining year broken dream gamble Taiwan future
"Lee Teng-hui’s two-China statement is one type of political gamble; it is to use his broken dream for the rest of his life to bet on the future of Taiwan; it is to gamble the well-being of the Taiwanese people for what he desires”.

The two-China statement is conceptualized as a gambling game; Lee Teng-hui’s dream and political desire for Taiwan’s independence are conceptualized as gambling bets. Similarly to example (128), the use of the conceptual metaphors—AN UNJUST POLITICIAN IS A GAMBLER and AN UNJUST POLITICAL STATEMENT IS A GAMBLING BET—shows the readers that Lee Teng-hui is a selfish leader. In addition, the realization of Taiwan’s independence is conceptualized as a broken dream. The conceptual metaphor—AN UNJUST POLITICAL THEORY IS A BROKEN DREAM—indicates the impossibility of realizing the independence of Taiwan from the Mainland’s point of view.

Next,

No matter whether it is the two-China theory or the one country on each side theory, neither is new; neither is taking the life and the property of the Taiwanese people seriously; both are political gambling with the Taiwanese people".
In example (130), the two-China statement and the one country on each side statement are conceptualized as gambling for the pro-independence leaders’ own interests. The gambling bets are the life and property of the Taiwanese people. Since gambling is risky, it is irresponsible for the leaders to do so. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS GAMBLING is expressed in this example explicitly. This conceptual metaphor A POLITICIAN IS A GAMBLER is implicitly conveyed.

In general, in the Mainland media, the concept of gambling has negative connotation with pro-independence politicians and activities. Since the intention of their activities is to pursue their personal political goal, the concept of gambling is associated with selfishness and risk-taking.

6.6.3. Game Metaphors

Game metaphors are used to emphasize strategies, gains, and loses. The concept of the game, including sports, plays an important role in American culture in describing politics, business, and even interpersonal relationships. Liu (2002) observes that the concept of sports is ubiquitous in describing politics in America. Not only a great variety of sports terms is involved, but also is associated particularly closely with political debates (p. 37). Activities are often discussed in terms of sports in American English--baseball, football, boxing, etc. (p. 3). For example, the word race is used to refer to election campaigns and the phrase “running mate” refers to one’s campaign partner (p. 3). In analyzing American political discourse on President Clinton’s impeachment hearing in 1998, he argues that “sports and politics are a-married-couple-turned identical twins” (p. 27).

The concept of the game is also associated closely with politics in other languages. Semino and Masci (1996) investigated former Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi’s
discourse and found that the use of metaphors, and particularly the football (soccer in the U.S.) metaphor, was critical in creating a positive image for himself and his party. The conceptual metaphor—POLITICS IS FOOTBALL—is “instrumental in creating a scenario where, in spite of his political inexperience and his conflict of interests, Berlusconi is perfectly qualified to take charge of the government of the country” (p. 249). Semino and Masci argue that although Italian citizens in general were highly disillusioned and cynical about politics and politicians in Italy, the use of the football metaphor by Berlusconi somehow successfully associated politics with the connotations of enthusiasm, competitiveness, and personal involvement that is usually associated with the game of football by many Italians (p. 251).

Although it seems that the concept of the game usually refers to election campaigns, wars, and other types of political competition, Bridgeman (2002) found that game metaphors were used in describing peace talks between Israel and Palestine. She investigated these in the U.S. press coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and she questions the use of the game concept associated with this particular issue. She claims that elements of the source domain (game) cannot be assigned easily to correspond with elements of the target domain (peace process) (p. 166); however, I do not think her arguments are appropriate since strategies are applied in peace talks and such a concept is emphasized in the concept of the game.

Often seen as leisure activities, games such as poker and chess involve two or more players who need to use different strategies during play, and there is always a result in the end: win, lose, or draw. In Chinese, the concept of the game can be used to describe politics, business, and life. In my data, since the relations involve two governments, the interactions and competition between the two are conceptualized as two playing a game. The concept of the game also refers to the Taiwanese politicians’ political tricks in domestic politics as well as in cross-strait relations.
I will discuss in detail the following conceptual metaphors found in my data under the general concept—POLITICS IS A GAME:

- A POLITICAL LEADER’S SPEECH IS A WORD GAME
- THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ARE A CHILDREN’S GAME
- A POLITICAL IDEA IS A CARD
- A POLITICAL ELECTION IS A POKER GAME
- DEALING WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IS A POKER GAME
- A LAW IS A CARD
- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE A CHESS GAME
- A COUNTRY/REGION IS A CHESS PIECE
- A POLITICAL ACTION IS A CHINESE CHESS PIECE
- THE UNIFICATION OF CHINA IS A GO GAME

(131) 但假的就只是假的，陈水扁的包装再“精美”，但假的就只是假的，陈水扁的包装再“精美”，

文字游戏玩弄得再老到,也掩盖不了其“台独”分裂本质。

“But what is fake is fake, no matter how beautiful Chen Shui-bian’s packaging is, no matter how good he is at playing word games, it cannot cover up the separatist nature of his independence of Taiwan [plan]”.

The above example was taken from an article published in May 2004, shortly after Chen Shui-bian made his inaugural speech as president for a second term. According to the Mainland media, Chen Shui-bian claimed that the promises he made in the year of 2000 had not changed and would not change in the next four years; however, he kept breaking his promises, especially in dealing with the relations between the two sides. For instance, he talked about his desire to promote a peaceful relationship between the two sides, but did not even mention the one China principle, which is for the PRC, the basis of peaceful negotiation (People’s Daily, p. 1, 2004).
words in Chen Shui-bian’s inaugural speech about peace and good relations are thus represented as beautiful packaging, which only looks good on the surface. His behavior is conceptualized as playing a word game, because a word game player is good at using nice phrases, but may not turn the words into real action. By using nice words, Chen Shui-bian intentionally evades the unification issue. Here, there are two concepts—packaging and game. The packing conceptual metaphor BEAUTIFUL WORDS ARE A BEAUTIFUL COVERING and the game related metaphor AN UNTRUSTWORTHY POLITICAL LEADER’S SPEECH IS A WORD GAME portray Chen Shui-bian as a tricky politician who is not serious at solving the cross-straight relations. The combination of the packaging and the game concept strengthen the picture of his deceitful behavior.

Next,

(132) 台湾当局切莫把两岸关系当儿戏.
Taiwan当局切莫把两岸关系当儿戏.
Taiwan authority be sure not PRT two side relation as child game

“The Taiwan authorities should never treat the cross-straight relations as a child’s game”.

The above example is the title of an editorial published in July 1999. A child’s game is for fun; however, political issues are not for fun. The concept of a child’s game used in this example is to warn Lee Teng-hui to take his actions and words seriously in dealing with the relations between the two sides. In July 1999, he made the two-China statement; a few days later, he said he was against the independence of Taiwan; he even refused to acknowledge that he had ever made the two-China statement. According to the Mainland media, the series of Lee Teng-hui’s words and actions is self-contradictory. The conceptual metaphor THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ARE NOT A CHILD’S GAME used in a title of an article attracts the attention of
the readers and warns the Taiwanese authorities to be serious and responsible in dealing with
the relations between the two sides.

Another example is,

(133) 陈水扁 本来 是 用 两 张 牌 上 台 的,
Chen Shui-bian benlai shi yong liang zhang pai shang tai de,
Chen Shui-bian originally is use two piece card up stage PRT

一 张 是 清廉 牌, 一 张 是 “台 独” 牌.
yi zhang shi qinglian pai, yi zhang shi “tai du” pai
one piece is free from corruption card, one piece is “Taiwan independence” card

清廉 牌 现在 已经 完全 破产 了;
qinglian pai xianzai yijing wanquan pochan le
free from corruption card right now already completely bankrupt PERF

他 想 用 “台 独” 牌 来 凝聚 群众
ta xiang yong “tai du” pai lai ningju qunzhong
he want use “Taiwan independence” card come condense people

的 支持, 所以 才 会 有 “终 统” 和
de zhichi, suoyi cai hui you “zhong tong” he
MOD support, thus just PRT have “terminate unification” and

“宪 改” 的 说法.
“xian gai” de shuofa
“constitution reform” MOD wording

“Originally, Chen Shui-bian used two cards to become president: one is termed ‘freedom from
corruption’; the other is ‘the independence of Taiwan’. Right now, the first card completely
bankrupt; he wants to use the second one to get the support of the Taiwanese people. That is
why he use the phrases ‘termination of unification’ and ‘reform of the Constitution’”.

In 2006, Chen Shui-bian was involved in a family corruption lawsuit and experienced a
low point in his political career as president. The above example was cited in the Mainland
media by a professor of politics at a Taiwanese university, which could be more convincing to
readers since the political situation in Taiwan was analyzed by a Taiwanese professor instead of
a Mainland scholar. The concept of a poker game refers to the presidential election; the concept of a poker card conceptualizes the political idea of Taiwan’s independence. Indirectly, Chen Shui-bian is conceptualized as a poker player. Thus, there are these conceptual metaphors: A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A POKER GAME; A POLITICAL IDEA IS A POKER CARD; and A POLITICAL LEADER IS A POKER PLAYER. In a poker game, the winner is the one who knows how to use the poker cards in his/her hands. Similarly in a presidential election, the candidates need to propose different ideas to attract voters in order to win. The concept of the game in portraying Chen Shui-bian and his political behavior indicates that he is not a good leader for Taiwan any more.

In addition, the use of a business metaphor in the phrase 破产 po chan ‘bankrupt’ has been discussed in section 6.1.

(134) 这年三月，大陆打出了“以法制独”
今年三月，大陆打出了“以法制独”
This March, the Mainland government played a law card against those who support Taiwan’s independence to restrict activities related to the independence of Taiwan by issuing the Anti-Secession Law.

In my data, the Mainland media used most of the poker game related metaphors in a negative way to describe Taiwanese leaders as well as their pro-independence words and actions. However, in the above example, the concept of a poker game refers to issuing a law by the Mainland government. The conceptual metaphors are DEALING WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IS A POKER GAME, A LAW IS A CARD, and A CARD IS A STRATEGY.
Similar to playing poker, the confrontation between the Mainland government and the pro-independence Taiwanese politicians focuses on how either the unification or the independence side is going to win by using different political strategies. The strategy in the concept of a poker game in this example indicates the determination of the Mainland government to win over the pro-independence groups.

Next,

(135) 长期以来,美国将台湾视为其全球战略,亚洲战略
long term since, US take Taiwan see as its global strategy, Asian strategy

和对华战略中的一个棋子.
and towards China strategy middle MOD one Classifier piece (in a board game)

“For a long time, the U.S. has seen Taiwan as a piece in its board games with China, Asia, and the World”.

In the eyes of the Mainland government, the U.S. has repeatedly interfered with the relations between the two sides. For example, the U.S. government has sold advanced weapons to Taiwan, trying to use Taiwan to limit the military might of China. Thus, the concept of a playing piece in a board game refers to Taiwan. The conceptual metaphor--INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE A CHESS GAME and TAIWAN IS A CHESS PIECE—indicates a passive and controlled status on the part of Taiwan in the triangular relations of Taiwan, the U.S., and China.

Here is another example,

(136) 在解决台湾问题时,我们需要锁定斗争对象,
at solve Taiwan problem when, we need lock combat target

要“车”,“马”,“炮”,“卒”并用, 多手段,
yao “ju”, “ma”, “pao”, “zu” bing yong, duo shouduan, need “vehicle”, “horse”, “cannon”, “soldier” combine use, multiple means
多途径针对目标对象进行强势进攻。

“When solving the Taiwan problem, we need to fix the sights of all the game on the target, and to carry out a strong attack by using multiple means via multiple channels”.

In playing Chinese chess, the target is the other side’s general. The player who captures the other side’s general wins the game. The other pieces, such as vehicles, horses, cannons, and soldiers, are used to attack the enemy and to protect the general. In this example, the target refers to the pro-independence groups. The various chess pieces are different strategies the Mainland government uses. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example are TO DEAL WITH THE TAIWAN PROBLEM IS TO PLAY A CHINESE CHESS GAME and A POLITICAL GOAL IS A CHESS-piece. In a Chinese chess game, the final result is either win or lose. The concept of strategizing to win a Chinese chess game as well as the mention of violence in the phrase进攻jin gong ‘attack’ indicates the determination of the Mainland government to win. The attack concept is also a metaphor within the chess game from war. Conceptual metaphors related to attacks and other forms of violence will be discussed further in the section 6.6.4. on war metaphors.

Another example is,

(137)实际上, “台独”是步死棋.

in fact, “Taiwan independence” is dead piece (in a board game)

死棋只能越走越被动.

dead piece (in a board game) only can more move more passive

“In fact, the independence of Taiwan is a dead piece in a board game; a dead piece can only move in a passive way”.
In a chess game, single wrong move could result in losing the entire game. In the above example, a dead chess piece conceptualizes the independence of Taiwan. A dead chess piece is of no use to the player as it does not have the possibility of attacking or protecting. In the Mainland media’s description, the independence of Taiwan issue is not useful any more for Chen Shui-bian. Thus, the conceptual metaphor THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A DEAD CHESS PIECE indicates that Chen Shui-bian is not a good leader.

The following example contains a go game metaphor:

“The unification of China is the essential benefit of the entire Chinese nationality, but the emergence of the independence of Taiwan and its rampanty is hard to use conventional means to stop; therefore, this will be a go game [between the Mainland government and the pro-independence groups] that lasts for a long time”.

Go is a traditional Chinese game, in which two players alternately place black and white stones (playing pieces) on the vacant intersections of a grid of 19×19 lines to capture territory. The object is to control a larger portion of the board than the opponent. Players need to use varied strategies to avoid having a stone or a group of stones be captured and removed by the
opponent. A go game is usually very time-consuming and good players spend hours playing a single game.

In the above example, the phrase 博弈 boyi ‘play a go game’ refers to the unification of China. Whether it will be achieved or not depends on the Mainland government’s strategy. One of the features of a go game is that usually it takes a long time. Thus, the conceptual metaphor THE UNIFICATION OF CHINA IS A GO GAME, neutrally evaluated, indicates the unification of China is not going to be easy and will take a long time.

The concept of the game can be used negatively, positively, or neutrally in describing politics; in my data, when it is used to conceptualize independence-supporting leaders and their actions, the concept is viewed negatively. The relations between the two sides are also conceptualized as different games—a poker game, a word game, a chess game, a Chinese chess game, and a go game.

6.6.4. War Metaphors

The concepts of war and violence are used to conceptualize politics in a number of languages. In English, Charteris-Black (2005) observes that in Margaret Thatcher’s speeches, “conflict metaphors are used to describe government policies as if they were part of a military campaign” (p. 90). By using the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT, Thatcher constructed herself as a heroine who struggled against enemies comprising the political opposition of the Labor Party (she herself was a member of the Conservative Party), the social and economic problems of inflation, etc. (p. 90-91). In this way, the agent of conflict is positively represented as a heroine, while the target of conflict is negatively represented as having an alien ideology (p. 90). For example, Charteris-Black found the following metaphors: INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS IS A BATTLE; SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE ENEMIES; and POLITICAL OPPONENTS ARE ENEMIES.

Rungrojsuwan (2006) discusses the use of war metaphors in politics and sports in headline news in Thai newspapers. For instance, political leaders are conceptualized as commanders; political declarations as the declaration of a war; competitive words between different political leaders are represented as attacks; and a political victory in winning a negotiation is seen as a defeat in war. He concludes that by using war metaphors, politicians are portrayed not only thinking about how to manage and develop the country successfully, but also as attacking their opponents and trying to maintain their own power as long as possible (p. 6).

In Chinese, the concept of politics as war is not completely new. Wei (2001) found CAMPAIGN IS WAR as the most predominant metaphor in her data. The phrases of da xuan zhan ‘fight campaign war’, gongji ‘attack’, and liangrendao ‘double-edged sword’ were used to highlight the aggressive, confrontational, and sensational aspect of the presidential campaign (p. 16). In conceptualizing the campaign as a war, it identifies the presidential campaign as “a battleground in which the candidates are seen as opponents fighting against each other” (p. 17). Although there was no real military battle or weapons among them, a verbal battle was perceived and enacted; strategies applied by different candidates were considered weapons for attacking their opponents’ hard-line issues or weak spots; and candidates were forced to take either the offensive or the defensive side, reacting from other candidates’ plots or strategies (p. 17). These features of a campaign are similar to those of a war.

In my data, the concept of war also refers to the competition and confrontation between the Mainland and Taiwan over the issue of Taiwan’s independence. In the Mainland government’s opinion, the concept of Taiwan’s independence is a literal war and the Mainland
has to defeat it to realize the goal of uniting Taiwan with the Mainland. Therefore, there are these conceptual metaphors under the most general concept POLITICS IS WAR:

- A POLITICAL COMPETITION IS A WAR WITHOUT GUNPOWDER
- A POLITICAL LEADER IS A LEADER IN THE FRONT LINES
- THE MOVE TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON
- AN UNJUST GOVERNMENT IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON
- A JUST POLITICAL PLEDGE IS A SUPER WEAPON

These conceptual metaphors will be illustrated in examples (139)-(143).

(139) 两岸三通的较劲是

两 岸 三 通 的 较 劲 是

A POLITICAL COMPETITION IS A WAR WITHOUT GUNPOWDER

一 场 “无 烟 的 战争”

yi chang “wu xiaoyan de zhanzheng”

The competition over the implementation of the Three Links between the two sides is a war without the smoke of gunpowder”.

The above example was originally from former president, Lee Teng-hui, and quoted in the Mainland media. From the Mainland’s point of view, the tense impasse between the two sides was initiated by the Taiwanese leaders who support the independence of Taiwan. In terms of the Three Direct Links (of post, trade, and transportation), the Mainland government blamed the Taiwanese government for obstructing and intentionally putting off its realization by all means, and accused Chen Shui-bian for making use of the Three Links to deceive the public. On Taiwan’s side, according to Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, if the Three Direct Links became true, it would mean Taiwan had given in. This situation is conceptualized as a war in the above example. However, in a war, weapons are usually used and casualties result. In a “war” between the Mainland and Taiwan on the issue of the Three Links, there is no engagement of weapons, such as gunpowder; thus, there is no shooting or explosion. Therefore, the conceptual mapping
of such a political competition to a war lies in the intense and competitive environment that is usually involved in a war. The conceptual metaphor in this example is A POLITICAL COMPETITION IS A WAR WITHOUT GUNPOWDER. More specifically speaking, the concept of a war without gunpowder can also be used in describing competitions in the business field in Chinese.

Next,

(140) 而 吕秀莲 则 是 “台 独” 势 力 的 急 先锋, 

er Lu Xiu-lian ze shi “tai du” shili de ji xianfeng,

but Lu Xiu-lian then is “Taiwan independence” influence MOD daring vanguard,

不 遗 余 力 地 为 “台 独” 谬论

bu yi yu li de wei “tai du” miulun

no remain left power PRT for “Taiwan independence” fallacy

摇 旗 呐喊, 更 死心塌地 地 为 李登辉

yao qi nahan, geng sixintadi de wei Lee Teng-hui

shake flag cheer, even have one’s heart set on PRT for Lee Teng-hui

分裂 国家 的 活动 “保 驾 护 航”.

fenlie guojia de huo dong “bao jia hu hang”

separate country MOD activity “protect driving protect sailing”

“But Lu Xiu-lan is the daring vanguard of the group who support the independence of Taiwan; she does her utmost to cheer on and support this fallacy; she even has her heart set on Lee Teng-hui’s separatist activities, protecting their implementation”.

The phrase 先锋 xianfeng ‘vanguard’ in Chinese is neutral and refers to the officers and troops that start off before the others. To avoid the misunderstanding caused by English translation, I use ‘a leader in the front lines’ to translate 先锋 xianfeng. As one of the most active supporters of the independence of Taiwan, Lu Xiu-lian is conceptualized as a leader in the front lines. According to the Mainland media, she is described as one who always tries her best to advocate and promote the independence of Taiwan. In my data, the conceptual metaphor A
POLITICAL LEADER IS A LEADER IN THE FRONT LINES is used seven times to refer to Lu Xiu-lian.

This shows how negatively she is portrayed in the Mainland media.

Next,

实际上 也是 阿扁 在一次次 不时地
in fact also is Chen Shui-bian at one CLF frequently PRT

发出 战争 挑衅， 其 目的, 就 是 想 把
send out war provocation, his goal, just is want PRT

台湾 的 老百姓 推 上 “台 独”
Taiwan MOD ordinary civilian push onto “Taiwan independence”

的 战车, 让 无辜 的 民众 为
MOD war vehicle, let innocent MOD people for

“台 独” 殉葬.
“Taiwan independence” bury alive with the dead

“In fact, Chen Shui-bian has frequently spoken of war provocation; his goal is to involve ordinary Taiwanese people in a war by pushing them onto the war vehicle of the independence of Taiwan, letting these innocent people be buried alive with the dead for the independence of Taiwan”.

For the Mainland government, the independence of Taiwan means a literal war. In order to be competitive with the military power with the Mainland, Taiwan has purchased advanced weapons from the U.S. In the description from the Mainland media, Chen Shui-bian has gone crazy for Taiwan’s independence. As he is so eager to make it happen, he is portrayed as one who sacrifices common people to achieve his personal goal. In this example, the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as a war vehicle; thus, there is the conceptual metaphor THE

INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON. The use of the independence of Taiwan
as a war vehicle appeared 10 times in my data, which shows a negative image of the evil purpose of the independence of Taiwan as well as the selfish leaders who only care about their own benefits. The death metaphor in the phrase 殉葬 xunzang ‘bury alive with the dead’ has been discussed in section 6.5.

Another example is,

(142) 台湾是中美关系的地雷。
Taiwan is a landmine in Sino-U.S. relations.

“Taiwan is a landmine in Sino-U.S. relations”.

The above example was originally spoken by former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage in 2005 since the Taiwan problem has always been a sensitive issue in the Sino-U.S. relations recognized by both countries. During this time, Chen Shui-bian was serving his second term as president. In 2005, the Mainland media quoted this example in an article on the stalemated political situation, but fast development of trade between the two sides. The Mainland believes that the international space for Taiwan’s independence has shrunk; the U.S. government also showed its opposing attitude towards the independence of Taiwan by saying Taiwan was a landmine in the Sino-U.S. relations. A landmine is not timed and can explode any time it is stepped on. Taiwan is conceptualized as a landmine since it is unpredictable when and how Taiwan makes troubles again. When it does, it affects badly the relations between the two sides as well as those between China and the U.S. Thus, there is the conceptual metaphor: AN UNJUST GOVERNMENT IS A DANGEROUS WEAPON. In addition, in this example, the use of Taiwan is a metonymy since it is the Taiwanese government that makes troubles, not the island of Taiwan itself.

Here is one more example,
“The pledge by the Mainland government to use armed forces to solve the Taiwan problem still sounds powerful soaring through the universe. This is the backbone and the sudden thrust of the mace to keep the territory of all sovereign countries intact; it is also the sword of Damocles hanging above the head of the separatists”.

According to Wikipedia, in a Greek legend, Damocles was a man very good at flattering his king, Dionysius, by saying how fortunate he was being a king with power and authority. Dionysius then offered to switch places with Damocles for a day so he could taste the good fortune himself. One evening in a banquet when Damocles was enjoying being treated as a king, he happened to look up and saw a sharp sword hanging directly above his head by a single horse hair. He lost all taste for the food and women right away, and asked Dionysius to let him go, saying he did not want to be so fortunate any more. The Sword of Damocles usually refers to an imminent and ever-present danger. The Mainland media see its government’s pledge to use armed forces to solve the Taiwan problem as the Sword of Damocles. Thus, the conceptual metaphor A JUST POLITICAL PLEDGE IS A SUPER WEAPON indicates the determination of the Mainland to confront the pro-independence groups. For the Mainland, this pledge is a super
weapon to defeat the pro-independence groups; for Taiwan, it is an ever-present threat so that the pro-independence groups will not make any decisions or take action easily. In addition, the phrase杀手锏 sha shou jian ‘a kind of a killing weapon’ is used in the same weapon metaphor, strengthening the promise for keeping fighting for unification.

In conclusion, it is evident in my data that the Mainland media perceive the issue of the independence of Taiwan as an aggressive and confrontational war between the Mainland and Taiwan. The use of war metaphors highlights how seriously the Mainland government treats the issue of the independence of Taiwan: it would even risk engaging in a real war with Taiwan to prevent independence, even if the engagement in a real war would mean the huge consumption of financial, material, and labor resources as well as the sacrifice of thousands of lives.

6.6.5. Poison Metaphors

The literature on the concept of poison as a metaphor is sparse. The poison metaphor in Chinese is commonly used in describing different aspects such as social life, business, politics, and personality. The poison metaphor used to describe other things is viewed as harmful, such as television. Unlike other source domains in which the particular attributes correspond to those in the target domains, I think the result is emphasized in correspondence with the target domain in the poison metaphor. In the metaphor BAD POLITICS IS POISON, just as poison hurts the physiological functioning of a human body and can cause death, politics is seen as something that can cause harm. Since the poisonous effect is on a human body, the metaphor POLITICS IS POISON also involves another metaphor A POLITICAL PARTY IS A LIVING BEING, which is personification. In my data, the concept of poison refers to unjust policies. Thus, there is the conceptual metaphor: AN UNJUST POLICY IS POISON. This poison metaphor is illustrated in the following examples (144) and (145).
The independence of Taiwan is the poison of the box office in the election.

There are two conceptual metaphors in the above example. The concept of the box office refers to the popularity of a political party. Similar to the idea that the box office will make a lot of money if a movie or a play is popular, if a political party comes up with political ideas that are supported by many voters, it is possible that it will win an election. If the political ideas are not popular among voters, the party may lose an election, which could be deadly for a political party. In the Mainland media’s description, the independence of Taiwan is conceptualized as poison. Thus, the conceptual metaphor is AN UNJUST POLICY IS POISON. Since this independence policy does not attract voters, the DPP may fail to win the election in the end as a bad result. This situation is further likened to death. Losing the support for the independence of Taiwan or the election is conceptualized as death or physical harm. Thus, the entailment of the poison concept here is A POLITICAL PARTY IS A LIVING BEING and LOSING POLITICAL SUPPORT IS DEATH.

The following example contains the same poison metaphor:

总之，“终 统”是 陈水扁 基于
in general, “terminate unification” is Chen Shui-bian base on

一 己 之 私， 破坏 台 海 和平 稳定 的
one self MOD selfish, damage Taiwan sea peace stability MOD

一 个 毒 招， 是 射 向 两 岸 关系
one CLF poisonous move, is shoot towards two side relation
“In general, based on Chen Shui-bian’s own wish, his policy of ‘the termination of unification’ is a poisonous move damaging peace and stability in the Taiwan sea; it is a poisonous arrow shooting towards the steady development of the relations between the two sides; and it is a dangerous move in a chess game to push forward the legal independence of Taiwan”.

The concept of poison is expressed in its adjective form in the above example to describe a political trick that Chen Shui-bian is viewed as playing. The policy of termination of the quest for unification is conceptualized as a poisonous move and a poisonous arrow. Since the Mainland government takes the one-China principle very seriously, Chen Shui-bian’s policy on terminating the unification policy in Taiwan has made the Mainland government extremely angry. Thus, the Mainland media treat the Taiwanese government’s intention to separate from the Mainland as a deadly move or weapon trying to kill the plan for the unification of the Mainland and Taiwan. The use of poison with the weapon metaphor in the word 箭 jian ‘arrow’ strengthens the image of the bad effect that may occur.

In the above examples, the concept of poison refers to the unjust policies of carrying out the independence of Taiwan and the termination of unification. The stress on the bad effect in this metaphor indicates how that Mainland media sees the separatist policies as seriously harmful as if killing a human being.
6.6.6. Chinese Martial Arts Metaphors

The concept of Chinese martial arts may be unique to Chinese as a basis for metaphors. The concept of Chinese martial arts as a basis for metaphors seems to be a common language phenomenon in Chinese since martial arts are a part of Chinese culture. Besides being used in politics, the concept of martial arts can also be used in describing social relations, business, as well as personal life.

Although there are only 20 tokens of Chinese martial arts occurred in my data, the metaphors related to different types of martial arts and the way how martial arts is practiced reflect the conceptual attributes of martial arts and politics. Practicing different types of martial arts can be seen as using different tricks in dealing with various political situations; the action taken in politics can be harmful or beneficial for the person who practices martial arts. These conceptual metaphors occur:

- POLITICS IS CHINESE MARTIAL ARTS
- TO TAKE A POLITICAL ACTION IS TO PRACTICE MARTIAL ARTS
- TO TAKE A POLITICAL ACTION THAT PUTS ONESELF IN A DISADVANTAGE IS TO LIMIT ONESELF WITH THE RESULT OF NOT BEING ABLE TO PRACTICE ONE’S KUNGFU SKILLS
- A SUPER WEAPON IS A SUPER KUNGFU SKILL
- TO PLAY POLITICAL TRICKS IS TO PRACTICE MARTIAL ARTS

These metaphors are illustrated in examples (146)-(148).

(146) 大陆如果为了缓和两岸关系而同意进行

316x52
6
6.6.
Chinese Martial Arts

Metaphors

The concept of Chinese martial arts may be unique to Chinese as a basis for metaphors. The concept of Chinese martial arts as a basis for metaphors seems to be a common language phenomenon in Chinese since martial arts are a part of Chinese culture. Besides being used in politics, the concept of martial arts can also be used in describing social relations, business, as well as personal life.

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- A SUPER WEAPON IS A SUPER KUNGFU SKILL
- TO PLAY POLITICAL TRICKS IS TO PRACTICE MARTIAL ARTS

These metaphors are illustrated in examples (146)-(148).
“If the Mainland agrees to carry out weapons control in order to improve the relations between the two sides, it is the same as ‘cutting one’s own veins and blood vessels to abolish kungfu’.

According to the Mainland media, while the Taiwanese government purchased many advanced weapons from the U.S., it has treated the armed forces on the Mainland as a great threat and has asked the Mainland government to limit the number and types of weapons it has, which would limit the Mainland’s capability to engage in a war. However, the Mainland media has realized that this would put the Mainland itself to great disadvantage if it agreed to limit weapons on the Mainland. This situation is conceptualized as a kungfu master who intentionally cuts off his/her own veins and blood vessels so that he/she is unable to practice kungfu any more. The conceptual metaphor—TO TAKE A POLITICAL ACTION THAT PUTS ONESELF TO A DISADVANTAGE IS TO LIMIT ONESELF WITH THE RESULT OF NOT BEING ABLE TO PRACTICE KUNGFU—indicates that the Mainland government is well aware of the influence of having great armed forces to restrict activities related to the independence of Taiwan.

Next,

(147) 显 而 易 见，“爱国者” 导弹 成 不了 “台 独”

xian er yi jian, “aiguozhe” daodan cheng buliao “tai du”

obvious and easy see, “patriot” missile become not “Taiwan independence”

分子 抵御 导弹 打击 的 “金 钟 罩” 和 “铁 布 衫”,

fenzi diyu daodan daji de “jin zhong zhao” he “tie bu shan”,
member resist missile attack MOD “gold bell cover” and “iron cloth garment”

那么 其 花 巨 资 购买 来 的 所谓

name qi hua ju zi goumai lai de suowei
then they spend huge amount of money purchase come MOD so-called
“利器”，也不过是一根救不了台湾当局
“sharp weapon”, also only is one CLF save not Taiwan authority

某些执迷不悟者性命的稻草而已.
some refuse to come to one’s senses person life MOD straw just

“It can be seen obviously that the Patriot missile system will not become the ‘gold bell cover’ or the ‘iron-clothed garment’ for the pro-independence members to defend a missile attack [from the Mainland]; then this so-called ‘sharp weapons’ that was purchased for huge amounts of money is just a piece of straw that cannot save the lives of those Taiwanese authorities who refuse to come to their senses”.

金钟罩 Jin zhong zhao ‘gold bell cover’ and 铁布衫 tie bu shan ‘iron garment’ are two types of super kungfu skills that protect the body of the person who practices them from being hurt by weapons or harmful force used by kungfu opponents. A gold bell could protect a person’s body since gold is difficult to pierce or break. A garment made of iron is protective because iron is also difficult to pierce or break. In this example, the U.S. made Patriot missile system is conceptualized as these two types of super kungfu skills. Some pro-independence Taiwanese leaders think of this system as a super weapon that could protect Taiwan from the attack of the Mainland. However, in the Mainland media, the system is contrasted with a piece of straw that is unable to save life. Thus, there are two conceptual metaphors: A SUPER WEAPON IS A SUPER KUNGFU SKILL and A FOREIGN WEAPON IS A PIECE OF STRAW. The sharp contrast created in the above example implies determination on the part of the Mainland that Taiwan will not become independent no matter how many advanced weapons the Taiwanese government purchases.

Another example is,

(148) 纵观他的言行，他确实是在演戏.
zong guan tade yan xing, ta deque shi zai yanxi,
look far and wide his word behavior, he indeed is PRT perform

特征之一就是变换手法，在两岸关系

上打起“太极拳”，耍起“空手道”。

To carefully observe his words and behaviors, he [Chen Shui-bian] is indeed performing; one of the features is to change tricks—to practice ‘tai chi’ and ‘karate’ on the relations between the two sides”.

Tai chi is a type of popular Chinese martial art that is famous for its slow and gentle moves. A Tai chi master knows how to use these moves to overcome an opponent’s hard and powerful moves. Karate is another popularly practiced martial art, which emphasizes the power of the legs and hands without the use of weapons. In the above example, these two types of martial arts are used to conceptualize Chen Shui-bian’s political tricks: superficially, he claimed that he would keep his promises not to proclaim Taiwan independent or do anything related to establishing independence for Taiwan, but, in reality, he has taken small steps to bring this about, such as making one of the dialects in Taiwan, the Minnan dialect, in other words, Taiwanese (one of the Chinese languages that is originated in the south of Fujian province), the official language of Taiwan instead of Mandarin; and to get rid of the Chinese characters for “China” by replacing them with the characters for “Taiwan”. Chen Shui-bian’s “soft” way of handling the relations between the two sides is conceptualized as practicing Tai chi; his empty promises on not claiming Taiwan independence is conceptualized as practicing karate with bare hands. The phrase for karate, 空手道 kong shou dao, literally means martial arts with bare hands. Chen Shui-bian’s empty promises are like bare hands, as it is implied that he will not keep
his promises and does not have any real offers for the Mainland. Thus, the conceptual metaphor—TO PLAY POLITICAL TRICKS IS TO PRACTICE MARTIAL ARTS—indicates that Chen Shui-bian is sneaky and not reliable in handling the relations between the two sides.

To summarize, the Chinese martial arts metaphors have negative connotations that independence supporters are conceptualized as those who practice martial arts, and their tricks are different martial arts.

6.6.7. Religious Metaphors

According to Charteris-Black (2005), the use of religious words such as “sacred”, “crusade”, and “spirit” found in former president Bill Clinton’s speeches reflects the use of the concept of religion to conceptualize politics. He argues that “the religious source implies the purity of intention since these metaphors imply that political motives are religious ones” (p. 136). According to him, religious belief has always been acceptable in describing American politics. The evidence he presented ranges from religious wording in the American Constitution to the biblical references employed by Martin Luther King (p. 136-137). By conceptualizing politics as religion, a myth is created whereby political leadership is seen as equivalent to spiritual guidance (p. 137); thus, “the domain of religion is to enhance the ethos of the speaker because it implies that political decisions are made on the basis of high principle rather than crude self-interest” (p. 136).

In both the Mainland and Taiwan, Buddhism is very popular and important among other religions. However, the use of religious metaphors might be unexpected in the Mainland media, particularly in newspapers and magazines that speak for the government, because the Mainland government claims to be atheist. But, in example (138), the concept of religion is used in
describing the Mainland government as a powerful Buddha, which is the only case in my data where the Mainland government is so conceptualized. To conceptualize the Mainland government as a Buddha is probably because it is used in the fixed expression in Chinese 如来佛的掌心 rulai fo de zhangxin ‘the palm of the Tathagata Buddha’. This expression does not give readers the impression that the Mainland government is departing from atheist, however, as people are familiar that this expression does not impose a religious belief on the target.

Furthermore, in my data, the pragmatic function of the religious metaphor is the opposite from what Charteris-Black discussed in American English. Instead of using the domain of religion to show what the political leader has a higher and more pure principle than self-interest, the religion metaphors in my data ironically indicate that the pro-independence leaders’ self-interests are placed higher than the virtues in a real religion. Thus, what seems to be nice for all people is actually selfishness for one person. The following conceptual metaphors expressing the general concept of politics as religion occur in my data:

A POLITICAL LEADER IS A BUDDHA
A POWERFUL GOVERNMENT IS A POWERFUL BUDDHA
AN UNJUST POLITICAL IDEA IS A MEMORIAL TABLET
A POLITICAL SOLUTION IS A LIFE-SAVING BUDDHA

These conceptual metaphors are illustrated in examples (149)-(153).

(149) 李登辉的“民主”，“民意”病患不也如此嘛？
Lee Teng-hui de “minzhu”, “min yi” binghuan bu ye ruci ma?
Lee Teng-hui MOD “democracy”, “people will” illness no also such PRT

在“众言堂”的假庙中实际
zai “zhong yan tang” de jia miao zhong shiji
at “people word hall” MOD fake temple middle in fact

尊供的是“一言堂”之神。
zun gong de shi “yi yan tang” zhi shen
respect enshrine and worship MOD is “one word hall” MOD god
“Lee Teng-hui’s illness of democracy and the will of people is also just such: in the middle of a fake temple that is called the temple of people’s words, what is really enshrined and worshiped is the god in the temple of one person’s words”.

By democracy, it is understood that common people have the right to participate in and discuss governing their own country. The Mainland media criticizes Lee Teng-hui by accusing him of using the name of democracy to realize his own political desires. He claims that the will of the Taiwanese people is to make Taiwan independent, but the Mainland argues that this is his own will, not the will of common people. The Mainland media claim that the mainstream tendency among common Taiwanese people is unification; however, they claim that Lee Teng-hui has ignored the will of the mainstream and decided to carry out policies towards making Taiwan independent on his own to satisfy his own political desires. Thus, the democracy in Lee Teng-hui’s definition is conceptualized as a fake temple which is called the hall of people’s words; Lee Teng-hui himself is portrayed as the god/Buddha being worshiped in the fake temple. A temple is a sacred place and a Buddha can be thought of as virtuous; similar to democracy, which is a fine political principle. However, it is claimed that the concept of democracy has been used by Lee Teng-hui as a tool for realizing his own selfish political desires, ignoring the will of the common people. Thus, the conceptual metaphors in this example: DEMOCRACY IS A FAKE TEMPLE and A POLITICAL LEADER IS A BUDDHA create a negative image of Lee Teng-hui and his behavior for the Mainland readers.

Next,
also generally turn over no out “Tathagata Buddha” MOD palm

“No matter how capable Lee Teng-hui and the pro-independence groups are, they just cannot get out of the palm of the Tathagata Buddha”.

The Tathagata Buddha is believed to be one of the most powerful Buddhas in Buddhism; he can change into anything and has the ability to defeat evil, since he holds the absolute truth to save all common mortals. In the above example, the Mainland government is conceptualized as the Tathagata Buddha. The fixed phrase 如来佛的掌心 rulai fo de zhang xin ‘the palm of the Tathagata Buddha’ refers to a supreme power or ability that nothing and no one can escape from. Thus, the conceptual metaphor in this example: A POWERFUL GOVERNMENT IS A POWERFUL BUDDHA shows the ability of the Mainland government to defeat the pro-independence groups and their separatist activities, implying that the unification of China will eventually come about.

An another example is,

(151)因此，为推出分裂祖国的两国论，
yinci, wei tui chu fenlie zuguo de liang guo lun,
therefore, for push out separate motherland MOD two country theory

他祭出了“中华民国”的招牌来
he ji chu le “zhonghua minguo” de zhaopai lai
he hold a ceremony for out PERF “Republic of China” MOD shop sign come

充当谋求实现分裂图谋的救命菩萨
chongdang mouqiu shixian fenlie tumou de jiu ming pusa
serve as seek realize separate plot MOD save life Buddha

“Therefore, in order to push forward the two-China statement to separate the motherland, he [Lee Teng-hui] held a ceremony inaugurating a new a shop sign with the name ‘the Republic of China’ in order to use it as a life-saving Buddha so that he can realize his separatist plot”.

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According to the Mainland media’s description, Lee Teng-hui was using his definition of the Republic of China as part of his two-China statement. In the history of China, the Republic of China was established in 1912 on the Mainland, claiming to be a democratic and independent country. This name lasted until 1949, when the People’s Republic of China was established by the Communist party. However, according to Lee Teng-hui, the Republic of China, represented today by Taiwan, has been a sovereign independent country since 1912; the People’s Republic of China has never governed Taiwan; thus, Taiwan belongs to the Republic of China, not the People’s Republic of China (Fei, 1999, p. 46). The Mainland media criticizes Lee Teng-hui’s explanation of the Republic of China to justify the separatist nature of the two-China statement. Thus, the name of the Republic of China is first conceptualized as a shop sign. A shop sign is a label used by Lee Teng-hui and the purpose of using such a label is to cover up his real intention to separate Taiwan from the Mainland. A shop sign looks good on the outside, but it does not necessarily represent what something actually is inside; therefore, a good-looking shop sign is at play and not so important that it can be changed any time. Thus, the conceptual metaphor is A NAME IS A LABEL. Also, Lee Teng-hui’s explanation of the name is conceptualized as a life-saving Buddha. The conceptual metaphor is A POLITICAL SOLUTION IS A LIFE-SAVING BUDDHA. These metaphors show how Lee Teng-hui has been trying so hard to deceive the public in order to realize Taiwan’s independence.

Here is one more example,

(152) “台 独” 和 “反 和” 是 民进党
tai du he “fan he” shi minjindang
“Taiwan independence” and “against unification” is DPP

的 两 块 “神 主 牌位”.
de liang kuai “shen zhu paiwei”
MOD two CLF “god master memorial tablet”
“The independence of Taiwan’ and ‘the opposition against unification’ are two inscribed tablets [dedicated] to the family ancestors for the DPP”.

An inscribed tablet with the name of a family ancestor is placed in the ancestral temple for the purpose of worship. For the DPP, ‘the independence of Taiwan’ and ‘the opposition against unification’ are the most important political principles the party holds. They are conceptualized in my data as tablets to gods in the Mainland media. The conceptual metaphor in this example is AN UNJUST POLITICAL IDEA IS AN INSCRIBED TABLET. Such a tablet could be a good thing if what is worshipped is something virtuous, but, according to the Mainland media, the independence of Taiwan is not paid homage by many except the members of the DPP. The conceptual metaphor here sets an ironic tone, indicating that the DPP’s separatist political philosophy does not help to improve the relations between the two sides or keep up with the mainstream request for a peaceful and steady development.

Generally speaking, in my data, the self-interests of the politicians in Taiwan are represented as Buddhist worship, which is placed higher than the will of common people. Thus, the concept of religion is used by the Mainland media in a negative way to portray negative images of the pro-independence political leaders and their behavior.
Chapter 7
Conclusion

This dissertation discussed a number of conceptual metaphors used in Chinese political discourse. In answering the research questions proposed in Chapter One, the dissertation offered a detailed analysis of nineteen different conceptual metaphors that depict various features of politics in relation to how the issue of the independence of Taiwan is portrayed in the Mainland media.

The focus of the dispute between the Mainland and Taiwan since 1997 is highlighted in the use of three conceptual metaphors. Since the Mainland side strongly advocates a unification policy, the concepts of family and human body are appealed to, in the sense that China is one big family in which the two sides are siblings and Taiwan is the child of the Mainland. In the use of the human body concept, the two sides and people from the two sides are described as dependent body parts. The implication is that it would be cruel to separate parts of a human body; hence, the independence policy pursued by the Taiwanese government is cruel and inhumane. The Taiwanese government, which has been led by pro-independence leaders in the recent past, is quoted in the Mainland media as using the concept of marriage to describe the relations between the two sides, whereby the Mainland and Taiwan are portrayed as a divorced couple, indicating that each part is now independent.

Confrontation and aggressiveness are also expressed in the use of the concepts of war and poison. The Mainland media describe the issue of the independence of Taiwan as a dangerous weapon and as poison, implying that the Taiwanese government wants to declare an
actual war on the Mainland. The Mainland government is also depicted as taking a firm stand through game metaphors in which strategies to win the war are emphasized.

The Mainland media also utilize the concepts of illness and death in describing the controversy. In the illness metaphors, the independence of Taiwan is shown as a disease and the pro-independence political party as a sick human body; thus, it is implied that the party must be treated and cured in order to avoid further damage in the relations between the two sides. In the death metaphors, the policy and actions supporting the independence issue are seen by the Mainland media as deadly influences, indicating that independence in the future is doomed.

Such failure is also indicated in metaphors with animals and natural forces. With the use of these concepts, a power contrast is created to compare the Mainland and Taiwan. In the animal metaphors, big animals are used to describe the Mainland, while small animals or insects conceptualize Taiwan. In the natural forces metaphors, Taiwan and its political influence are conceptualized as a cold wind or a stream of water, while the Mainland is portrayed as tides and waves. To strengthen the assertion of the unjustness of the independence movement, pro-independence related politicians are portrayed in negative animal metaphors to depict them as sneaky and untrustworthy.

The Mainland media also mock the pro-independence related politicians and their behavior by using conceptual metaphors of gambling, shows, and religion. In these metaphors, Taiwanese politicians are portrayed as selfish gamblers, show performers, and fake religious believers who only use the independence controversy to advance their own political careers, instead of seeking benefits for the majority of the common people. Thus, their intention to realize independence is not justifiable. This implies that their attempts are doomed to failure.
Among the examples discussed in Chapter Six, 84% of the metaphorical expressions were identified by two native Chinese consultants as commonly used in everyday language in Chinese; only 16% of the expressions were considered uncommon in daily use in Chinese. 85% of the uncommonly used expressions and only 2.5% of the commonly used expressions were identified as novel metaphors specifically constructed to address the issue of the independence of Taiwan. The rest were identified as familiar conventional metaphors.

As a native speaker myself, I have noticed how metaphors are used extensively in general spoken and written Chinese. Traditionally, the use of conventional as well as novel metaphors is considered to show the degree of mastery of Chinese of the user.

The main purpose of the discussions and examples of metaphorical expressions as well as their underlying conceptual metaphors in this dissertation has been to demonstrate how conventional and stable as well as variable, context-specific metaphors are used in describing a particular political issue between the Mainland and Taiwan. The variety of metaphors in such a discourse shows the importance of using metaphor in Chinese political writing; it is also consistent with the claim of Conceptual Metaphor Theory that metaphor as a human conceptual product is pervasive in language.

I. Implications

This dissertation contributes to Conceptual Metaphor Theory in the discussion of a timely political issue. The in-depth discussions of the metaphors used in describing such a political issue provides linguistic evidence for the utility of CMT. The dissertation also provides background for some aspects of teaching English to Chinese speakers and Chinese to other
language speakers. It is important to show that learners know typical metaphors and how they are used in different contexts.

II. Limitations of Study

Although this dissertation provided detailed discussion of a specific issue in political discourse, I am unable to offer a more general discussion of the use of metaphor in other types of discourse or the metaphorical style of writing in general in Chinese. To do so would require a tremendous amount of data collected from a variety of discourse types, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In addition, this study provided some discussion of the use of metaphors in some Chinese chengyu found in my data. However, due to limited data on Chinese set phrases and chengyu in my corpus, I was not able to investigate these further. Although CMT seems to be able to provide a good explanation on conceptual metaphors in general, when it comes to unpacking the layers of metaphors in Chinese chengyu, it seems that there is a need for a more developed extension of CMT to be able to clarify the complexity of this phenomenon, since many chengyu in Chinese must be analyzed in terms of historical or literary allusions.

III. Suggestions for Further Research

The above limitations of this study point to the following possible research directions. First, a comparison study of the same political issue should be conducted by generating a corpus containing articles from the media in both the Mainland and Taiwan. To see how this issue is perceived by the Taiwanese media may provide a better understanding of it. Second, a metaphor study needs to be carried out analyzing data collected from a variety of discourse types in Chinese in order to see the use of metaphor play in general Chinese language writing. Third, an in-depth investigation of Chinese chengyu should be conducted to probe the relations of the underlying concepts and origins of chengyu such as allusions, historical events, and
customized usage in order to gain a better understanding of the systematicity of metaphors in Chinese chengyu.
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