Ideological influence on BUILDING metaphors in Taiwanese presidential speeches

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ABSTRACT   This article studies the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING in Taiwanese presidential speeches. Two culture-specific metaphor patterns are identified as being unusually productive in the corpora: retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors. These clusters of BUILDING metaphors deviate from the BUILDING metaphors reported in previous literature at two levels. At the conceptual level, retrospective BUILDING metaphors include FORERUNNERS ARE BUILDERS and PAST HISTORY IS FOUNDATION, and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors involve COMMUNISTS ARE DESTROYERS and THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IS DESTRUCTION. At the ideological level, history puts such metaphor uses into perspective as rhetorical strategies employed by Kuomintang presidents to instill a Chinese ideology. The Democratic Progressive Party president, by contrast, tries to replace such metaphors with alternatives, which results in his overall low number of BUILDING metaphors. These different framing strategies reflect the manipulation of metaphors to appropriate ideological issues to each presidents' respective political advantage.

KEY WORDS: *CDA, conceptual metaphor, frame, ideology, political discourse, presidential speeches, social context, Taiwan*

1. Introduction

Ideology and its manifestations in discourse have been a productive area of study in the research paradigm of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1991, 1993). Its interaction with conceptual metaphors is also of paramount importance in political language analysis. Lakoff (1996, 2004), for example, studies how the Democrats and the Republicans frame their debates, and how language use in both political parties reflects underlying cognitive models and political attitudes. Fairclough's (2000) study on New Labour language, which regards metaphor as one among a number of linguistic strategies used to conceal power relations, identifies metaphors for technology

and change as having to do with natural migration and tidal waves respectively. Zinken (2003) focuses on the intertwining nature of cultural experience and conceptual metaphors by discussing how, in Poland, newspapers of different ideologies use correspondingly different metaphors. Musolff (2006) studies British and German public debates about the European Union and investigates the relation between metaphor scenarios and political attitudes, arguing that political dispositions are marked by specific scenarios that provide focal points for understanding the target concept. Cheng (2006: 599) explores Chen Shui-bian's use of the imagery of 'victimhood' as a rhetorical strategy 'to evoke the unity of the same ethnic group' by portraying the Taiwanese people as victims in his inaugural speeches. Flowerdew and Leong (2007) also discuss how metaphors vary according to the opposing political stances, using Hong Kong's two Chinese newspapers as data. In spite of their valuable contributions, each of these studies nevertheless has its share of limitations. For example, Lakoff emphasizes the idealized cognitive models in American politics, but gives little linguistic evidence. Zinken, Fairclough, Cheng, and Flowerdew and Leong, however, provide ample linguistic evidence in support of the sociocultural function of metaphor, but do not explain in a systematic way of how metaphor works at the conceptual level of source–target domain pairings. Musolff gives extensive examples and conceptual pairings between domains, but as his study focuses on a synchronic comparison between two countries, no frequency of metaphor tokens are given. This article proposes that examining how metaphors work at the conceptual level will allow for a better understanding of how metaphor patterns are ideologically motivated in authentic political discourse data. We adopt a corpora-based approach to diachronically compare and investigate the ideological factor by focusing on the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING in Taiwanese presidential speeches.

2. Country overview and theoretical background

In this section, we briefly cover several key elements that play a prominent role in this research: we first give an overview of some historical and political background of the country under study. Following that, the notion of framing and previous studies on BUILDING metaphors are reviewed.

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE POLITICAL STATUS QUO OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA[1]

The Republic of China (hereafter the ROC) is a political entity on the Pacific Rim that was established in 1911. The country underwent a civil war from the 1930s until the 1970s. As a result of the war, the Communist party took over major parts of the country's original territory, now known as Mainland China, and the Chinese Nationalist Party, or the Kuomintang (KMT), relocated the ROC government to Taiwan. To date, some people still view the two political entities, i.e. Mainland China and Taiwan, as two parties in civil war under one unified country, whereas some others view them as separate countries because of their autonomous sovereignties. Such polar perspectives exist not only in the world, but also within Taiwan. According to the above distinction, within Taiwan there are now two

major conflicting political camps: the KMT and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The KMT promotes re-unification with Mainland China, while the DPP supports Taiwan's independence.[2] Since the government relocation, the KMT had had three presidents up to 2000: Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek, and Lee Teng-hui. By contrast, the DPP's only president, Chen-Shui-bian, has a term that extends from 2000 to 2008. The ideology behind Chen and his party is different from that of the previous three presidents.

2.2 FRAMING

A frame is a cognitive model based on recurring experiences. It organizes our world knowledge and allows us to make appropriate inferences based on the systematic knowledge.[3] A frame also comprises many sub-frames that can capture the information of more detailed situations of a frame (Minsky, 1975). In the BUILDING frame, for example, there are BASE, GROUNDWORK, PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, and many notional elements that are, more or less directly, related to the concept of BUILDING according to our epistemic knowledge.

For the relation of frame and text production, Goatly (1997) mentions the notion of framing in passing and attributes its effect on metaphor 'at the contextual level'. It is, however, not clear whether this idea of context refers to the linguistic co-text, or the extra-linguistic context of the speech event. The present study thus aims to characterize in a detailed manner how ideology, as a type of social context, motivates the way in which power elites frame political discourse via tacit metaphor use.[4] Lakoff (2004) also regards framing as a fundamental strategy in political language and describes reframing as a strategy of repositioning oneself to one's own advantage in political debates. Charteris-Black (2004), without mentioning the word 'frame', discusses how 'conflict metaphors' are used in British party manifestos and points out that conflict metaphors are used differently by the British Labour and Conservative parties due to their different political stances. Although Charteris-Black's study on British political language provides convincing amounts of data, the conceptual-level mappings remain implicit in his discussion. Musolff's (2006) study, mainly qualitative in nature, demonstrates how certain domain elements enjoy special attention, using the term 'scenario' in reference to specific subdomain elements. This study, basing its argument on frequency count, incorporates the idea of framing and specifies not only how framing works at the conceptual level, i.e. in what way framing influences metaphorical mappings, but also how such framing strategies are actuated by extra-linguistic factors. It will be laid out in later discussions how presidents of different ideologies manipulate or frame metaphors to their own political advantage and how such framing is motivated by ideological considerations.

2.3 PREVIOUSLY ON BUILDING METAPHORS

BUILDING is a productive source domain. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING, Chilton and Ilyin (1993) studied the transnational political discourse on the 'common European house' in several European

languages, and Goatly (1997) identified A SOCIETY IS A BUILDING. Compared with the earlier studies with a limited scope of target domains, Charteris-Black's (2004) critical metaphor analysis addresses BUILDING metaphors in general. His observations on BUILDING metaphors include: first, they are rather prevalent and constitute 'nearly a quarter of all metaphors' in manifestos of both parties in Britain.[5] Second, BUILDING metaphors highlight 'progress towards long-term social goals', carry a strong positive connotation, and call for patience and cooperation from the electorate (Charteris-Black, 2004: 71).[6] However, we argue that such interpretation is socioculturally dependent on his use of British party manifestos as data, where country construction is understood as something to be carried out in the future. We further observe that a similar rationale holds for his observation of BUILDING metaphors in American presidential inaugural speeches, since BUILDING metaphors in this corpus are also used to establish a president's credentials as someone likeable who shares the same hopes and dreams as the voter. The proposed conceptual metaphors in the US Inaugural Corpus are: WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS BUILDING and SOCIETY IS BUILDING (Charteris-Black, 2004).

We can generalize the conceptual pairings that are involved in BUILDING metaphors in Charteris-Black's British and American data as follows: A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING and CITIZENS AND POLITICAL LEADERS ARE BUILDERS, in that builders contribute great effort to setting up the building and citizens and political leaders contribute great effort to country development. It follows that DEVELOPMENT OF A COUNTRY IS BUILDING CONSTRUCTION in that country development takes a long time and building construction also takes a long time. Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual pairings of BUILDING metaphors framed in such a future-oriented way. Given the conceptual mappings involved in forward-looking BUILDING metaphors, the prospect of future country construction and effort contribution from political figures naturally emerge as an inferential consequence as is shown in Charteris-Black's study. However, we further point out that this mapping holds only for a subset of forward-looking BUILDING metaphors in our corpus. We also identify a cluster of retrospective BUILDING metaphors that do not follow this mapping because they are arranged in a past-oriented manner. Furthermore, we demonstrate that the two subsets of BUILDING metaphors are framed and are conceptually grounded in different ways so that they communicate different meanings in the Taiwanese political context.

Specifically, a close look at the Taiwanese presidential speeches reveals that the pattern of BUILDING metaphors in Taiwanese presidential speeches does not completely correspond to Charteris-Black's observations in the following ways: the percentage of BUILDING metaphors are relatively lower, especially for Chen Shui-bian, and a chunk of BUILDING metaphors is not employed to call for people's patience but instead to serve another purpose. In view of the incongruity, this article aims to address the following issues: (a) At the linguistic level, how do BUILDING metaphors behave differently in Taiwanese presidential
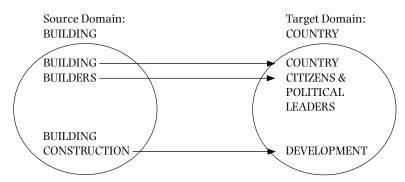
Source Domain: Target Domain:
BUILDING   COUNTRY

BUILDING ——————————→ COUNTRY
BUILDERS ——————————→ CITIZENS &
                                           POLITICAL
                                           LEADERS

BUILDING
CONSTRUCTION ——————————→ DEVELOPMENT

FIGURE 1. *Possible conceptual pairings of forward-looking BUILDING metaphors.*

speeches from Charteris-Black's findings? (b) At the conceptual level, what cross-domain mappings and conceptual/cognitive operations are involved behind the presidents' metaphor use? In other words, are there any differences in underlying cognitive models/frames that structure the patterns of mappings? (c) Beyond the conceptual level, is such metaphor use motivated by ideological factors? By answering these questions, we hope to paint a more comprehensive picture of how metaphor use and its underlying patterns of conceptual mapping interact with ideological factors.

3. Methodology

With these research questions in mind, we limit the focus to a very specific metaphor: A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING.[7] The corpora are based on the speeches given by the four ROC presidents on New Year's days and Double Tenth days since 1954 to 2006.[8] Table 1 summarizes the composition of our data.[9]

For metaphor identification and extraction, novel and conventional metaphors are both included in this study, with domain incongruity as the major criterion for selection. The steps through which metaphors are identified and extracted

TABLE 1. *Details of the Taiwan presidential corpus*

	Speeches	Characters	Characters per speech
Chiang K. (1954–75)	41	129,661	3,162
Chiang C. (1978–88)[a]	20	20,164	1,008
Lee (1989–2000)	22	41,851	1,902
Chen (2000–06)	12	44,081	3,673

[a]After the passing of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975, the vice president, Mr Yen Chia-kan, was sworn in as the acting president until 1978, after which he recommended Chiang Ching-kuo, the eldest son of Chiang Kai-shek, to be the presidential candidate. Due to the pure transitional nature between the authoritative leaders, we do not include Yen's speeches into the scope of our study.

are: first, possible tokens of metaphors were manually sorted based on native speaker intuition.[10] Second, these possible candidates were searched in the Sinica Corpus[11] to see whether the lexemes occurred in the source domain of BUILDING to ensure the metaphoricity of the tokens addressed. Consider Example 1 as an illustration:

Example 1

完成	建設	復興	基地	和	重光
wancheng	<u>jianshe</u>	fuxing	jidi	han	chongguang
complete	<u>construct</u>	comeback	base	and	re-glorify

大陸	的	雙重		神聖	使命
dalu	de	shuangchong		shensheng	shiming
China	DE	double		holy	mission

(We will) complete the sacred mission both of constructing the base for our comeback and of glorifying China. (Chiang C. 72)

The underlined lexeme *jianshe* 'to construct' was first intuitively identified as a candidate of the BUILDING metaphor, so we went into the Sinica Corpus and found that the lexeme appeared frequently with lexemes closely related to the concept of BUILDING, such as *gongdi* 'construction site', *gongcheng* 'architectural work', etc.

Hence based on a methodology aided by a general corpus, we can clearly justify the metaphoricity of tokens identified and exclude suspect ones.[12]

4. Findings

First, we present an overall percentage difference between the British and the Taiwanese corpora and postulate a possible cause for the difference. In addition, two specific metaphor patterns have been identified to be productive in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus: retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors. In addition, we also enumerate alternatives to BUILDING metaphors in Chen's speeches.

4.1 OVERALL PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES

The first and foremost general feature of the Taiwanese data is that BUILDING metaphors occur less frequently than in the British data. The Taiwanese average is 15.66 percent, which is roughly two-thirds of the British average. Table 2 gives the details of each president and a comparison with the British data.

The second point that stands out is Chen's low use of BUILDING metaphors of 2.9 percent, in contrast with the other presidents' more frequent use of BUILDING metaphors. Chen's nearly complete avoidance of BUILDING metaphors in general parallels two culture-specific types of BUILDING metaphor use, including the retrospective BUILDING metaphors and the RECONSTRUCTION metaphors discussed later.[13]

TABLE 2. *Details of BUILDING metaphors*

	Tokens of BUILDING metaphors	*Total metaphor tokens*	*Percentage*
Chiang Kai-shek	49	288	17.02
Chiang Ching-kuo	38	163	23.32
Lee Teng-hui	45	167	26.95
Chen Shui-bian	8	276	2.90
Total	140	894	15.66
British data [a]	287	1164	24

[a] The British statistics are taken from Charteris-Black (2004). It should be furthermore noted that although Chiang Kai-shek's, Chiang Ching-kuo's, and Lee Teng-hui's percentages roughly match the British 24 percent, the use and content of their BUILDING metaphors are quite different from what Charteris-Black sees in the British manifestos. This point will become self-evident when we discuss retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors.

4.2 RETROSPECTIVE BUILDING METAPHORS: LINGUISTIC AND CONCEPTUAL MANIFESTATIONS
Retrospective BUILDING metaphors are the first cluster of BUILDING metaphors that deserve our attention. They account for roughly 36.43 percent of BUILDING metaphors in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus (51 of 140 tokens). The main characteristic of retrospective BUILDING metaphors relates to framing BUILDING metaphors in a backward-looking way. Some linguistic features of such metaphors include: first, past references to the establishment of the country are made, and second, they tend to co-occur with frequent mention of historical figures, such as the national father or forerunners. Consider Example (2), where Chiang Ching-kuo makes reference to people's efforts to contribute to the country's founding, and in Example (3) Lee mentions forerunners and also their contribution to the country as the cornerstones of a building.

Example 2

立國	以來，	一直	朝著	一個	目標—
liguo	yilai	yizhi	chaozhe	yige	mubiao
found-country	since	always	toward	one-CL	goal

建設	一個	民有、	民治、	民享
jianshe	yige	minyou	minzhi	minxiang
construct	one-CL	people-own	people-control	people-enjoy

的	現代	國家—	在	努力
de	xiandai	guojia	zai	nuli
DE	modern	country	ZAI	strive

Ever since the beginning of the country, (our countrymen in the past) have been trying to construct a country of the people, by the people, for the people. (Chiang C. 72)

Example 3

歷史	的	價值	則在於	繼往開來。
lishi	de	jiazhi	zezaiyu	jiwangkailai
history	DE	value	lie in	continue the past and start the new

我們	獲致	的	一切	成就，		都	來自於
women	huozhi	de	yiqie	chengjiu		dou	laiziyu
we	obtain	DE	every	achievement		all	come from

無數	先賢	志士	犧牲	奮鬥，
wushu	xianxian	zhishi	xisheng	fendou
numberless	forebear	volunteer	sacrifice	strive

所奠定	的	基礎。
suodianding	de	jichu
lay down	DE	cornerstone

The value of history lies in continuing the past and starting the new. Every achievement we have comes from the cornerstones which were laid down by the sacrifice and perseverance of innumerable forebears.[14] (Lee 86)

At the linguistic level, the two examples mention the construction of the country in the past and the forerunners, with their act of nation-creation and construction metaphorically described as putting up a building and laying the cornerstones. At the conceptual level, the conceptualization involved in retrospective BUILDING metaphors can be listed as follows: If THE COUNTRY IS A BUILDING, then it metaphorically entails the following mapping principles (Ahrens, forthcoming): THE PAST ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY ARE ITS CORNERSTONES in that a building is founded on cornerstones and a country bases its establishment on past achievements. Accordingly, THE FOUNDERS OF THE COUNTRY ARE ITS BUILDERS because if A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING, then a founder contributes to a country's early achievement and a builder contributes to the early construction of a building. Examples (2) and (3) both exemplify this set of conceptual metaphors: A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING, THE FOUNDERS OF THE COUNTRY ARE ITS BUILDERS, and THE PAST HISTORY/ACHIEVEMENT OF THE COUNTRY IS ITS CORNERSTONES, where Example (2) involves the first metaphor and Example (3) involves all three. Another typical instance is Example (4), in which Chiang Kai-shek mentions the founding father, Dr Sun Yat-sen, and the cornerstones that were laid down for the future development of the country:

Example 4

國父	領導	國民革命...
guofu	lingdao	guomingeming ...
national father	lead	national revolution

民國	新	基，	於是	始	奠」，
minguo	xin	ji	yushi	shi	dian
the ROC	new	groundwork	this	start	lay down

到	今天	已經	整整	六十	年	了…
dao	jintian	yijing	zhengzheng	liushi	nian	le
to	today	already	totally	sixty	year	CRS

民族	文化	與	傳統	精神，	乃	中華民國
minzu	wenhua	yu	chuantong	jingshen	nai	zhonghuaminguo
people	culture	and	tradition	spirit	be	the ROC

所賴以	始終	不為	邪惡	勢力	搖撼
suolaiyi	shizhong	buwei	xiee	shili	yaohan
depend on	always	NEG	evil	power	shake

毀傷	的	基石。
huishang	de	jishi
undermine	DE	cornerstone

> The national father directed the revolution . . . The new groundwork of the ROC was laid down at that moment. It has been sixty years since then . . . This cultural and traditional spirit of striving of our forebears has been the cornerstones on which the ROC can depend and for which the ROC has neither been moved nor undermined even when facing evil. (Chiang K. 60)

In Example (3), Lee first mentions 'the meaning of history', and then proceeds with a remark that the achievement the people of Taiwan now enjoy actually comes from the base laid down by the numberless progenitors of the country, with their past efforts as laying the cornerstones for the country viewed as a building. In Example (4), Chiang Kai-shek remarks on the national father leading the revolution and the foundation understood as cornerstones of the country laid down ever since. Such language use portrays the country as a building and the past history as the most indispensable part of a country, as the groundwork is indispensable to a building. Figure 2 illustrates the metaphorical mappings between the source and the target domain behind the metaphor pattern:

So far, we have covered the linguistic characteristics of retrospective BUILDING metaphors and their corresponding conceptual pairings. It is perhaps of more interest to look into what cognitive operation lies beneath the regulated linguistic realizations and the conceptual level manifestations. Behind the constrained mappings we can see how the presidents subtly arrange their metaphor use to create different worldviews. The reason why such metaphors contain only the above mappings but not others is because the metaphors are directed in a backward-looking way and thus involve a different inference pattern from forward-looking BUILDING metaphors. We argue that in the Taiwan
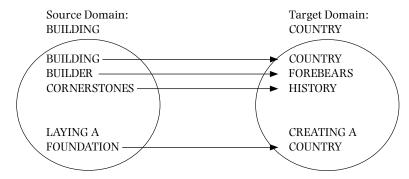

FIGURE 2. *Cross-domain pairings of retrospective BUILDING metaphors.*

Presidential Corpus, the underlying frame of retrospective BUILDING metaphors emphasizes past establishment and glory of laborious national founders instead of contribution from the electorate as argued by Charteris-Black. Our world knowledge also includes the information that cornerstones are the most fundamental part of a building. Therefore, an inference of the earlier frame arises: the most crucial part of the country is the direct result of the efforts of those forerunners, who are directly historically related to the country's Chinese past. Hearers of the speeches, as citizens enjoying the fruit of these people's hard work, should pay due respect to these Chinese people, and to the country because it is a building with a Chinese origin associated with these Chinese forebears.

Hence, from an illustration at the conceptual level, we have up to now established that BUILDING metaphors are expressions of aspiration towards desired social goals only when BUILDING metaphors are framed in a future-oriented way, so this group of metaphors portrays future country development as building construction and citizens and political leaders as collaborative builders, as shown in Figure 1 previously. By contrast, retrospective BUILDING metaphors represent a set of different inference patterns with the discourse framed in a reminiscent way, because such metaphors focus on past establishment of the country as cornerstones of a building and historical figures as builders, as Figure 2 indicates. That is, if BUILDING metaphors are positioned in discourse retrospectively, the interpretations discussed in the previous research are not available because the alternative inference pattern expresses new meaning. Aligning metaphors in a past-oriented manner thus results in conceptual correspondences forced by the inference structure associated with the underlying frame.

4.3 IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVATION BEHIND RETROSPECTIVE BUILDING METAPHORS

Aside from the linguistic features and the conceptual level mappings, it is of more significance to probe into the motivation behind such a way of producing BUILDING metaphors in political speeches. In the following we argue that such framing is attributed to an ideological preference.

As has been laid out earlier, retrospective BUILDING metaphors portray the country's past history and achievements as cornerstones. It is noteworthy that a historical fact of critical relevance to the metaphor use is the government's relocation from Mainland China to Taiwan. The national identity issue has been the major division between the two major parties of the ROC. The KMT, also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party, identifies itself with Mainland China and thus represents a Chinese ideology, whereas the DPP would like to cut off the country from its Chinese past and would like the country to take root in Taiwan, so is ideologically anti-Chinese and locally based. It follows that the KMT presidents, especially Chiang Kai-shek, tend to use BUILDING metaphors in a backward-looking way since such metaphors are reminiscent of the country's Chinese history and past glory; whereas, by contrast, the DPP president, Chen Shui-bian, tries hard to avoid such metaphors since they clash with his fundamental ideology. The other KMT presidents, Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui, represent a transition stage between the ideological shift. They employ

relatively less retrospective BUILDING metaphors than Chiang Kai-shek but more than Chen.

It is thus natural to surmise that the distribution of retrospective BUILDING metaphors will be rather uneven among the presidents. Indeed, it turns out so according to Table 3.

It is clear that Chiang Kai-shek, as the first president after the government relocation, employs the most retrospective BUILDING metaphors, 60 percent of all his BUILDING metaphors, supporting the idea that he is the most tilted toward the Chinese ideology. By sharp contrast, Chen, a representative of the local Taiwanese ideology of the DPP, barely uses any retrospective BUILDING metaphors as only 12.5 percent of metaphors are retrospective BUILDING metaphors.[15] The other two presidents, using roughly 20 and 30 percent of retrospective BUILDING metaphors, fall in between as a transition stage.[16] An ideological shift is manifested in the decrease of retrospective BUILDING metaphors use in Table 3. Another piece of evidence for ideological differences among the presidents can be reflected in the collocations of retrospective BUILDING metaphors, i.e. the presidents' reference to 'builders' of the country, i.e. 國父 *guofu* 'national father' and 先烈 *xianlie* 'forebears' as is indicated in Table 4.

The drop in reference to these 'builders' is closely related to the percentage decrease of retrospective BUILDING metaphors discussed earlier. The patterns are consistent in the way they both mirror a certain way of inclusion of the country's Chinese past into the speeches, which is favored by Chiang Kai-shek

TABLE 3. *Distribution of retrospective BUILDING metaphors*

		Chiang K.	Chiang C.	Lee	Chen
A.	Retrospective	29	7	14	1
B.	Total BUILDING metaphors	49	38	45	8
C.	Percentage of retrospective BUILDING metaphors (A/B)	59.18%	18.42%	31.11%	12.5%
D.	Corpus size (characters)	129,661	20,164	41,851	44,081
E.	Tokens of retrospective BUILDING metaphors per thousand characters (A/D*1000)	0.223	0.347	0.334	0.022

TABLE 4. *Distribution of retrospective BUILDING metaphor's collocations* 國父 *guofu* 'national father' *and* 先烈 *xianlie* 'forerunners'

		Chiang K.	Chiang C.	Lee	Chen
A.	Tokens of *guofu* 'national father'	157	26	20	0
B.	Tokens of *xianlie* 'forerunners'	69	9	4	0
C.	Total number of tokens (A+B)	226	35	24	0
D.	Corpus size	129,661	20,164	41,851	44,081
E.	Tokens per thousand characters (C/D*1000)	1.74	1.73	0.57	0

but not by Chen, with the other two also in between. In other words, Chiang Kai-shek's frequent retrospective BUILDING metaphor use correlates with his frequent reference to nation constructors. These linguistic strategies correspond to the way he frames his discourse in a backward-looking way given his extreme China-focused ideology.[17]

4.4 RECONSTRUCTION METAPHORS: LINGUISTIC AND CONCEPTUAL MANIFESTATIONS

RECONSTRUCTION metaphors are the other cluster of BUILDING metaphors that are of cultural significance in Taiwanese presidential speeches. This cluster of metaphors are reminiscent of Charteris-Black's (2005: 117) discussion of Clinton's 'repair' metaphors: 'Democratic policies are evaluated as constituting a form of "repair" with the implication that those of the previous administration had in some way caused a "breach" with the American tradition'. Charteris-Black's claim applies as well to the RECONSTRUCTION metaphors we find in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus, where acts of a group of people are regarded as a 'breach' by some others.[18] However, an in-depth analysis on the motivation of this group of metaphors is not discussed in detail in Charteris-Black's study. We explore RECONTRUCTION metaphors in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus later.

RECONSTRUCTION metaphors are common in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus, accounting for over 18 percent (26 of 140 tokens) of all BUILDING metaphors. We argue that the RECONSTRUCTION cluster involves a unique discourse framing strategy which underlies constrained conceptual-level mappings. We also claim that the strategy is motivated by culture-specific components given the special historical background of our data.

The linguistic manifestations of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors are: the country is viewed either as an *old* building that needs to be *re*constructed, or as a *new* building that needs to be built. The metaphor is used mostly in a hortative mood. The following instances (Examples 5 and 6) exemplify the linguistic features of the RECONSTRUCTION cluster:

Example 5

我們	每一個	中華民國		的		國民，
women	meiyige	zhoghuaminguo		de		guomin
we	every	the ROC		DE		citizen

都	負有	光復	大陸、	重建	民國	的
dou	fuyou	guangfu	dalu	chongjian	minguo	de
all	bear	restore	China	reconstruct	the ROC	DE

責任。
zeren
responsibility

We, every citizen of the ROC, shoulder the responsibility of restoring China and reconstructing the ROC. (Chiang K. 48)

Example 6

大家	一齊	來	開拓...	來	建設	這
<u>dajia</u>	yiqi	lai	kaituo...	lai	<u>jianshe</u>	zhe
<u>everyone</u>	together	come	carve out	come	<u>build</u>	this

屬於	三民主義		的	新	中國。
shuyu	sanminzhuyi		de	<u>xin</u>	<u>zhongguo</u>
belong	the Three Principles of the People		DE	<u>new</u>	<u>China</u>

Let's carve out and build together the new China of the Three Principles of the People. (Chiang K. 61)

In Example 5, *minguo* 'the ROC' is described as a building and needs to be re-constructed, and in Example 6, a new China *xinzhongguo*, referred to as a new building, is yet to be built. In both instances, a hortative mood, signaled by the use of *women* 'we' and *dajia* 'every one' and *yiqi* 'together', urges the populace to strive for future country development.

The linguistic manifestations reflect cross-domain correspondences at the conceptual level. First, the use of *re*construction or a *new* building presupposes that the country, as a building, has been at least partly damaged or fully demolished.[19] The historical fact of the communist takeover of Mainland China which caused the ROC government's relocation can be metaphorically considered to be a damage done to the country understood as a building in the past. Therefore, the Taiwanese people should, under the encouraging tone of the president, metaphorically identify themselves with rebuilders of the country for its future restoration of national glory. A set of conceptual metaphors can be extrapolated here: THE COUNTRY IS A BUILDING, and the need for its reconstruction presupposes COMMUNISTS ARE DESTROYERS. As a result, THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF CHINA IS DAMAGE TO THE BUILDING because destroyers do damage to a building and the presidents think communists do damage to the country as well. And finally there is CITIZENS ARE REBUILDERS because 're-builders' work together to reconstruct the building and the populace work together to reconstruct the war-striken country. Figure 3 illustrates these conceptual mappings.
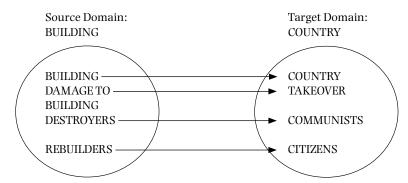

FIGURE 3. *Cross-domain pairings of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors.*

The conceptual mappings of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors differ from retrospective BUILDING metaphors in that the function of the former is quite similar to Charteris-Black's observation of calling for patience and effort from the citizens, and this cluster is framed in a forward-looking style. However, crucial differences exist between RECONSTRUCTION metaphors and other prospectively aligned BUILDING metaphors. The difference of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors lies in the presupposition embedded in the conceptualization of the original country (viewed as a building) being ruined and of communists as destroyers of that building. The above assumption is bound to the historical fact concerning the communist occupation of Mainland China and its political impact on the ROC government. The underlying conceptual framework reveals the metaphorical scenario of a demolished building in need of reconstruction. Such a conceptualization of the country reinforces the hearers' identification with the 're-builders' at the conceptual level, as the president's hortative mood coerces the inference that citizens, as 're-builders', should work their best to repair the country, which is compared with a demolished building. It is, therefore, the tacit inclusion of the historical event and the hortative mood that distinguishes RECONSTRUCTION metaphors from the other forward-looking BUILDING metaphors, and it is the direction in which the metaphors are positioned that distinguishes them from retrospective BUILDING metaphors.

4.5 IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVATION BEHIND RECONSTRUCTION METAPHORS

We have up to this point laid out the characteristics of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors in Taiwanese presidential speeches. In the following, we further argue that the motivation behind the framing operation that underlies RECONSTRUCTION metaphors also boils down to ideological differences, which are parallel to the motivation of retrospective BUILDING metaphors. As has been pointed out earlier, the crucial difference between RECONSTRUCTION metaphors and the other forward-looking BUILDING metaphors is the presupposition of the country as a damaged building, which conceptually triggers the metaphorical mappings of THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF CHINA IS DAMAGE TO THE BUILDING and COMMUNISTS ARE DESTROYERS. However, does this presupposition still hold for Chen, who identifies himself with Taiwan and not with China?

For the KMT presidents, especially Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, their definition of the country, the ROC, includes *both* Mainland China *and* Taiwan, of which the major part has been taken away and can be understood to be metaphorically destroyed. Thus RECONSTRUCTION metaphors make perfect sense given the ideological consideration. By contrast, for the DPP, their country refers to Taiwan *only*, which has nothing at all to do with the communist possession of Mainland China. Therefore, their country has not been invaded by communism and is sound, so metaphorically the country needs no rebuilding at all.[20] The statistics of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors in Table 5 support this explanation, in which Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo use these metaphors more frequently, whereas the DPP president, Chen Shui-bian, completely excludes such metaphors from his talks.[21]

TABLE 5. *Details of the distribution of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors*

	Chiang K.	Chiang C.	Lee	Chen
Tokens	15	9	2	0
Corpus size	129,661	20,164	41,851	44,081
Tokens per thousand characters	0.115	0.446	0.047	0

4.6 CHEN'S DISCOURSE REFRAMING WITH OTHER METAPHORS

As Table 2 indicates, Chen tries to avoid BUILDING metaphors in general owing to his ideological constraints. But as a president, reference to country development in speeches is necessary, so it should be reasonable for him to come up with other ways to get around BUILDING metaphors but to still talk about country development.

A close manual search into the corpus identifies JOURNEY metaphors as an alternative to BUILDING metaphors in talking about country development. Charteris-Black (2004: 95) also observes that JOURNEY and BUILDING metaphors 'are both activities in which progress takes place in stages towards a predetermined goal'. This explains why in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus JOURNEY metaphors also serve a similar discourse function to BUILDING metaphors as they can both convey the progress of a country to its future goal. Example (7) instantiates the JOURNEY metaphor in Chen's speeches.

Example 7

台灣	正在	跨越	一道	又	一道
taiwan	zhengzai	kuayue	yidao	you	yidao
Taiwan	being	stride	one-CL	again	one-CL

看不見		的	門檻 . . .		
kanbujian		de	menkan . . .		
invisible		DE	threshold		

最後	將	通往	民主	自由、	進步
zuihou	jiang	tongwang	minzhu	ziyou	jinbu
finally	will	go to	democracy	freedom	progressive

繁榮	的	希望	之	門。	
fanrong	de	xiwang	zhi	men	
prosperous	DE	hope	ZHI	door	

Taiwan is striding across invisible thresholds . . . And it will finally go through the gate of hope to democracy and prosperity. (Chen 92)[22]

This example contains a journey scenario with the country *taiwan* 'Taiwan' as a traveling agent striding across impediments *menkan* 'threshold' toward a bright goal *xiwangzhimen* 'the gate of hope'. Country development is thus understood based on the following conceptual mappings: THE COUNTRY IS A MOVING AGENT, COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS PHYSICAL ADVANCEMENT, DIFFICULTIES ARE PHYSICAL IMPEDIMENTS, and COUNTRY PROSPECT IS A GOAL. The metaphorical mappings of JOURNEY metaphors are shown in Figure 4.
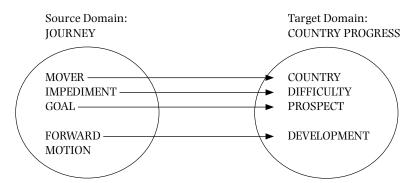
Source Domain: Target Domain:
JOURNEY   COUNTRY PROGRESS

MOVER ——————————→ COUNTRY
IMPEDIMENT —————————→ DIFFICULTY
GOAL ———————————→ PROSPECT

FORWARD ————————→ DEVELOPMENT
MOTION

FIGURE 4. *Cross-domain correspondences of JOURNEY metaphors.*

In addition to JOURNEY metaphors, Chen uses two additional metaphors to talk about Taiwan's progress: FARMLAND and BUSINESS metaphors, as in Examples (8) and (9), respectively.

Example 8

已經	達成	以	深耕	台灣、	佈局	全球」
yijing	dacheng	yi	shengeng	taiwan	buju	quanqiu
already	achieve	with	cultivate	Taiwan	arrange	globally

做為	新	世紀	國家	經濟	發展	願景
zuowei	xin	shiji	guojia	jingji	fazhan	yuanjing
as	new	century	country	economy	development	outlook

和	策略	目標。
han	celue	mubiao
and	strategy	goal

(The meeting) has reached a strategic goal of cultivating Taiwan to act globally. (Chen 90)

Example 9

落實	投資	台灣	優先」	的	政策	目標。
luoshi	touzi	taiwan	youxian	de	zhengce	mubiao
realize	invest	Taiwan	first	DE	policy	goal

(We have to) realize the policy of 'investing in Taiwan first'. (Chen 91)

In the example of FARMLAND metaphor, the country *taiwan* 'Taiwan' is conceptualized as a farmland, and efforts from the government are metaphorically described as intensive land cultivation *shengeng*.[23]

The example of BUSINESS metaphor refers to the country as something to be invested upon, with the verb *touzi* 'invest'. Table 6 summarizes the distribution of all these metaphors among the presidents:[24]

It is obvious from the table that, to describe future developments, Chen's preference is tilted toward JOURNEY metaphors, which raises its percentage to 17.03, almost two times as high as Lee or Chiang Ching-kuo, and four times as high as Chiang Kai-shek. Some other ways to profile a country's advancement are

TABLE 6. *Distribution of BUILDING metaphors and alternatives*[a]

		Token/Total	Percentage
BUILDING metaphors	Chiang Kai-shek	49/288	17.01
	Chiang Ching-kuo	38/163	23.31
	Lee Teng-hui	45/167	26.95
	Chen Shui-bian	8/276	2.90
JOURNEY metaphors	Chiang Kai-shek	14/288	4.86
	Chiang Ching-kuo	16/163	9.82
	Lee Teng-hui	16/167	9.58
	Chen Shui-bian	47/276	17.03
FARMLAND metaphors	Chiang Kai-shek	0/288	0
	Chiang Ching-kuo	0/163	0
	Lee Teng-hui	0/167	0
	Chen Shui-bian	6/276	2.17
BUSINESS metaphors	Chiang Kai-shek	0/288	0
	Chiang Ching-kuo	0/163	0
	Lee Teng-hui	3/167	1.8
	Chen Shui-bian	7/276	2.54

[a] The table reveals Chen's more diversified source domain choice in his metaphors than the other three presidents, which echoes Cheng's (2006: 587) observation of Chen's rhetorical strategies: 'Chen Shui-bian, with the flow of eloquence of an attorney, made tactical use of the presidential rhetoric'. For a complete list of source domain choices in the corpora, see Appendix V.

FARMLAND metaphors and BUSINESS metaphors, which are quite rare in Lee's speeches and are entirely absent in the Chiangs' talks. Aside from the percentage difference, it must be noted that, a list of conceptual mappings alone does not explain the reason why these presidents vary their metaphor pattern in discourse. Ideological consideration, as has been covered previously, decides the way they choose to present the discourse, such as whether to use BUILDING metaphors, how to frame the metaphors used, what alternatives to use in place of BUILDING metaphors and, most importantly, the conceptual patterns underlying BUILDING metaphors and the inferential consequences that follow.

It is therefore not until we go deep down into ideology that we get to uncover the dynamicity of metaphor choice at the discourse level. This corresponds to Charteris-Black's (2004) claim that social resources, such as ideology, culture, and history, play a role in metaphor choice in discourse. In view of this, the difference of metaphor distribution among the presidents should be put into perspective under the framework of critical discourse analysis.

4.7 A COMBINATION OF IDEOLOGY, METAPHOR, FRAMING AND PRESUPPOSITION AS THE OVERALL EXPLANATION

First and foremost, retrospective BUILDING metaphors conceptually involve THE FOUNDERS OF THE COUNTRY ARE ITS BUILDERS, and THE PAST HISTORY/ACHIEVEMENT OF THE COUNTRY IS ITS CORNERSTONES. The way these BUILDING metaphors are interpreted naturally relates the country to its Chinese

past. Furthermore, RECONSTRUCTION metaphors bring up the assumption that the country is a demolished building that should be rebuilt by the populace. This chunk of metaphors is framed in a forward-looking way as other prospectively aligned BUILDING metaphors are, but at the same time involve a presupposition that implicitly refers to the Chinese origin of the country. In sum, retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors both deviate from common BUILDING metaphors because they are framed in certain ways in discourse to communicate particular implicit political messages. At first glance, retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors entail different linguistic behaviors and different conceptual mappings following distinct inference patterns resulting from corresponding ways of framing discourse, but they both serve as strategies of the KMT presidents, especially Chiang Kai-shek, to establish a canonical Chinese sociocultural norm via tacit language use.

It is therefore not surprising that, as the first president after the relocation who wished to restore country integrity, Chiang Kai-shek is most productive in both the above metaphors, and Chen, who is against Taiwan identifying with China, by contrast seems to evade both metaphors, which causes his low percentage of overall BUILDING metaphor use. The percentage gap between Charteris-Black's observation on his British corpora and the Taiwan Presidential Corpus can thus be attributed to the culture-specific ideological difference among the presidents, which gives rise to different ways of framing BUILDING metaphors and results in selective, and for some, even extremely limited, use of BUILDING metaphors.

5. Conclusion

This article demonstrates that an uneven distribution of BUILDING metaphor use exists among Taiwanese presidents because Chiang Kai-shek extensively employs retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors for political advantage, while Chen evades BUILDING metaphors as much as he can and instead turns to other metaphors, which reduces the overall Taiwanese average compared with the British corpora observed in Charteris-Black's study. In addition to the frequency of BUILDING metaphors, in the Taiwan Presidential Corpus, two different subsets of BUILDING metaphors are identified, specifically retrospective BUILDING metaphors and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors. The two subsets of BUILDING metaphors are different in that they trigger conceptual mappings and communicate different messages that are not reported in Charteris-Black's study on English political discourse, which demonstrates the culture-specificity of metaphor use. At the conceptual level, retrospective BUILDING metaphors involve a different set of metaphorical mappings from forward-looking BUILDING metaphors because they are framed in a past-oriented way. RECONSTRUCTION metaphors, by contrast, although prospectively aligned, presuppose the country metaphorically as a ruined building breached by communism. The two sets of BUILDING metaphors both demonstrate how underlying frames limit linguistic manifestations and conceptual pairings. Given the above differences in framing choices, the inference patterns and the subsequent interpretations of both metaphors naturally deviate from the future-oriented BUILDING metaphors reported in previous literature. Beyond the

conceptual level, the above interactions of metaphors and frames are ideologically motivated. Constrained by the ideological consideration, Chen chooses to avoid BUILDING metaphors and to resort to alternative metaphors such as JOURNEY, FARMLAND, and BUSINESS.

In sum, our study illustrates how linguistic studies of metaphors probe conceptual-level mappings as well as the underlying conceptual framework, and, even more importantly, the social context that subtly motivates the way in which presidents frame their language via metaphor use for their own worldview. A study on metaphor choice, specifically choice between types of BUILDING metaphors in this article, reveals how ideologies can be ingrained, or 'naturalized' in Fairclough's (1995) word, via metaphor manipulation in political discourse by power elites.

NOTES

1. Details of the historical fact can be found at the website of the office of the ROC president at: http://www.president.gov.tw/en/
2. There are other minor parties in Taiwan. But their political stances are either pro-KMT or pro-DPP (or so-called pan-blue and pan-green). Only the two major parties have had presidents elected to office.
3. For details of the concept of frame, see Fillmore (1976) and Fillmore and Atkins (1992).
4. Croft and Cruse (2004) generalize a four-fold definition of context that includes: linguistic context, physical context, social context, and stored knowledge. We claim that the main theme of the article, ideology, corresponds to their social context.
5. This observation is based on the British manifesto corpus of both parties with a size of 132,775 English words extending from 1945 to 1997 (Charteris-Black, 2004). We certainly expect a sociocultural difference between his data and ours. An investigation into the difference constitutes the main research focus of this article.
6. Consider the following example for illustration (taken from Charteris-Black, 2004: 71, italics original): 'It must get the economy out of recession, it must *lay foundations for the future*' (Labour).
7. The lexemes used to refer to the country vary among the presidents for ideological reasons. For details of the distribution, see Appendices 1–4.
8. Double Tenth day is a national holiday that celebrates the Xin-hai Revolution. The reason why only New Year and Double Tenth speeches were chosen is because they are the only speeches that are nationally televised and thus carry the greatest political significance.

9. In our corpus, Chiang Kai-shek gave 21 New Year speeches and 20 Double Ten speeches. Chiang Ching-kuo gave 10 New Year speeches and 10 Double Ten speeches. Lee Teng-hui gave 11 each. Chen Shui-bian gave six each. Character count is based on the Microsoft word count program.

10. The merits of a manual search through the texts are: (a) We can avoid a predetermined target word decision. If target lemmas had been chosen in the first place, we would have arbitrarily and intuitively decided, in an a priori way, what to be included in the scope of the study and what not to. We may in this way lose important metaphors if they are not listed in our target lemma list. (b) We can identify null-source metaphors, especially for a language productive in anaphora such as Mandarin Chinese. Null-source metaphors cannot be identified unless we manually read through the whole text.

11. Sinica Corpus is a Chinese online general corpus service available at http://www.sinica.edu.tw/SinicaCorpus/.

12. An alternative would be to determine mapping principles and source–target domain pairings from a frequency–collocation-based approach (Gong et al., 2007).

13. An explanation based on post-war rebuilding experience does not make sense here (cf. Charteris-Black, 2004) because it cannot account for Chiang Ching-kuo's and Lee's frequent use of BUILDING metaphors.

14. The underlined expression *jichu* is a lexicalized metaphor with the character *chu* meaning 'cornerstones of a building'. The historical origin of the character can be found at http://words.sinica.edu.tw/sou/sou.html, a corpus-based online collection of diachronic developments of Chinese characters. For details of lexicalized conventional metaphors, see Sweetser (1990).

15. Chen's only use of retrospective BUILDING metaphors was in his speech in 2000. The temporal scope of the metaphor extends back only to 'the past four years' instead of to the country's Chinese past, as is typical in the other presidents' talks.

16. It is at first glance surprising that Chiang-Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's son, should have a lower percentage of retrospective BUILDING metaphors than Lee due to the Chiangs' Chinese background. But a closer examination of the data reveals that Chiang also has a wide repertoire of PERSON metaphors that serve to instill a Chinese ideology, such as *zaisheng* 'rebirth', *jiuguo* 'save the country', etc. that are not present in Lee's talks.

17. Rhetorically speaking, such a strategy may correspond to 'nostalgia' mentioned by Charteris-Black (2005). However, in this article we simply focus on the conceptual and ideological significance of the retrospective BUILDING metaphor use. Furthermore, the sharp contrast of BUILDING metaphor use between the Taiwan President Corpus and Charteris-Black's British Party Manifesto Corpus may be attributed to Ahrens and Huang's (2002: 499) observation that an important difference between Chinese and English concepts of time is: For the conceptual metaphor TIME PASSING IS MOTION, 'in Chinese the ego is oriented toward the past' but the ego is faced toward the future in English. Always talking about the past can in other words be a common phenomenon in Mandarin Chinese but not in English. However, this alternative explanation does not undermine the ideological impact on BUILDING metaphor use given the radical difference between Chiang Kai-shek's and Chen's speeches.

18. Clinton's metaphors describe the relation between two major parties in a single country, but in our case, the political context is more complicated. Some may regard the groups involved as two parties in civil war (Communist vs. Nationalist) but some others may consider them to be different countries (People's Republic of China vs. Taiwan/Republic of China).

19. The definition of presupposition is based on Levinson (1983: 175): 'A sentence A semantically presupposes another sentence B if: (a) in all situations where A is true, B is true (b) in all situations where A is false, B is true.'

20. A frequency count of the direct object of the verb *chongjian* 'reconstruct' reflects that the Chiangs' favorite target domain lexeme is *zhongguo* 'China', followed by *zhonghua(minguo)* 'the ROC', with no tokens of *taiwan* 'Taiwan' at all. The result matches the ideological explanation provided here. For detailed information, see Appendices III–IV.

21. It might appear surprising that Chiang Kai-shek's RECONSTRUCTION metaphor use per thousand characters should be lower than Chiang Ching-kuo's. If we take into account the rhetorical structure of presidential speeches and the length of speeches of the presidents, however, we can account for this fact. RECONSTRUCTION metaphors are often accompanied by the hortative mood in presidential speeches, and such combinations occur mostly in the last, or the second to last, paragraph of presidential speeches, usually right before the final political slogans such as *zhonghuaminguo wansui* 'long life the ROC'. Also note that in Table 1 Chiang Kai-shek's average length of speeches is more than three times as long as Chiang Ching-kuo's. Therefore, the particular position of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors within the speeches and Chiang Kai-shek's much more lengthy speeches result in his lower use of RECONSTRUCTION metaphors per thousand characters.

22. In the following instances, the country is referred to as Taiwan, which is frequent in Chen's speeches and can be explained by his ideologically embedded country identity. This finding echoes that of Cheng (2006: 591), who showed that Chen makes frequent use of *taiwan* 'Taiwan' to highlight Taiwanese identity.

23. The lexeme identified in this cluster of metaphor is always *shengeng* 'to cultivate deeply' instead of a general verb of planting *gengzhong* 'to cultivate', which is more productive in the source domain.

24. FARMLAND metaphors and BUSINESS metaphors are relatively lower in percentage so here we choose to mention them just in passing without going into metaphorical mappings at the conceptual level. Also, their linguistic repertoires are rather restricted too, with *shengeng* and *touzi* as the only example of FARMLAND and BUSINESS metaphors respectively.

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APPENDIX I. *Chen Shui-bian's complete list of BUILDING metaphor use*

台灣*taiwan* 'Taiwan' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
基地*jidi* 'basement'	1
Total	1

中華民國*zhonghuaminguo* 'the ROC' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construct'	1
基礎*jichu* 'foundation'	1
Total	2

國家*guojia* 'the country' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construct'	2
基礎*jichu* 'foundation'	1
根基*genji* 'root-foundation'	1
基石*jishi* 'cornerstone'	1
Total	5

APPENDIX II. *Lee Teng-hui's complete list of BUILDING metaphor use*

中華民國*zhonghuaminguo* 'the ROC' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construct'	2
根基*genji* 'root-foundation'	1
Total	3

國家*guojia* 'the country' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construct'	21
基礎*jichu* 'foundation'	8
根基*genji* 'root-foundation'	3
基業*jiye* 'foundation-work'	2
丕基*piji* 'great foundation'	1
鴻基*hongji* 'big foundation'	1
格局*geju* 'layout'	1
改造*gaizao* 'reconstruction'	1
工程*gongcheng* 'construction'	1
重建*chongjian* 'rebuild'	1
Total	40

中華民國在台灣*zhonghuaminguozaitaiwan* 'the ROC in Taiwan' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construct'	2

APPENDIX III. *Chiang Ching-kuo's complete list of BUILDING metaphor use*

中國 *zhongguo* 'China' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
重建 *chongjian* 'rebuild'	7
基礎 *jichu* 'foundation'	1
Total	8

中華民國 *zhonghuaminguo* 'the ROC' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
基礎 *jichu* 'foundation'	6
重建 *chongjian* 'rebuild'	2
建設 *jianshe* 'construct'	1
堡壘 *baolei* 'castle'	1
Total	10

國家 *guojia* 'the country' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設 *jianshe* 'construction'	10
Total	10

我國 *woguo* 'our country' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
基礎 *jichu* 'foundation'	1

復興基地 *fuxingjidi* 'revival base' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設 *jianshe* 'construction'	8
規模 *guimo* 'dimension'	1
Total	9

APPENDIX IV. *Chiang Kai-shek's complete list of BUILDING metaphor use*

中國*zhongguo* 'China' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
重建*chongjian* 'rebuild'	11
建設*jianshe* 'construct'	3
再造*zaizao* 're-create'	2
砥柱*dizhu* 'standing pillar'	1
柱石*zhushi* 'pillar-stone'	1
Total	18

中華民國*zhonghuaminguo* 'the ROC' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
基礎*jichu* 'foundation'	3
屹立*yili* 'stand firm'	2
屹立不搖*yilibuyao* 'stand firm and fast'	2
支柱*zhizhu* 'pillar'	2
重建*chongjian* 'rebuild'	1
砥柱*dizhu* 'standing pillar'	1
基業*jiye* 'foundation-work'	1
基石*jishi* 'cornerstone'	1
Total	13

民國*minguo* 'the ROC' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
重建*chongjian* 'rebuild'	1
再造*zaizao* 'reconstruct'	1
Total	2

國家*guojia* 'the country' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construction'	7
根基*genji* 'root-foudnation'	1
重建*chongjian* 'rebuild'	1
奠基*dianji* 'lay foundation'	1
磐石之固*qingshizhigu* 'firmness of ground stones'	1
國基*guoji* 'national foundation'	1
Total	13

台灣*taiwan* 'Taiwan' as a BUILDING

Expression	Tokens
建設*jianshe* 'construction'	3

APPENDIX V. *The presidents' source domain choices*

	Chen	Lee	Chiang C.	Chiang K.
BUILDING	V	V	V	V
PERSON	V	V	V	V
COMPANY	V	V		
PLANT	V	V		
BOAT	V	V		
FARMLAND	V			
CAR/TRAIN	V			
WATER FLOW	V			
CRADLE	V			
HEART	V			
PARADISE	V			
BUTTERFLY	V			
COMMODITY	V			
HOME		V		
BOOK			V	
MOUNTAIN			V	