

Synonymy and Metaphor in Political Rhetoric: A More Contextualized Take on Language in Use

Abstract

The present study investigates the interplay of synonymy and metaphor in political rhetoric by investigating how different names of a country are associated with different construals via metaphor, with Taiwan's different names in President Lee Teng-hui's rhetoric as a case study. With a corpus-based methodology, we find the generic name *guojia* '(this/the) country' has strong association with BUILDING as the source concept and *zhonghuaminguo* 'the Republic of China' exclusively associated with PLANT, whereas *taiwan* 'Taiwan' lacks any such behavior. We argue that the above pattern will make sense only when put into the political context of the language use. We conclude by proposing investigation of synonymy in a specialized corpus, as such approach can give a more contextualized take on the usage-based nature of language. Second, we advocate an inclusion of synonymy into the research agenda in the study of metaphor and political rhetoric.

Keywords:

synonymy, metaphor, political rhetoric, specialized language, ideology

1. Political Rhetoric and the Various Construals of a Country

In recent years, political rhetoric has become a well-researched area in Cognitive Linguistics, with metaphor and metonymy in that genre being the central concerns. Research on metaphor in political rhetoric has produced abundant results regarding how a country can be metaphorically understood, including as a PERSON (Chiang and Chiu 2007; Kövecses 2010; Musolff 2006), as a FAMILY (Kou and Farkas 2014; Lakoff 1996), as a BUILDING (Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton and Ilyin 1993; Lu and Ahrens 2008), as a TREE or a SHIP (Lu 2008), or as a CONTAINER at a more schematic level (Charteris-Black 2006; Chilton 2004).

The above studies on the possible construals of a country, whether from the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor or the Critical Metaphor Analysis approach, attempt to generalize cross-domain mappings involved in human conceptualization, but simply compare types of texts *within* the same genre. It is thus unknown whether the characteristics discussed in previous research are specific to that particular genre under study. On top of that, it is not uncommon at all for a country to be referred to in different terms (e.g. *Holland* also known as *The Netherlands*, *Britain* as *The United Kingdom*, etc.), which are interchangeable in most context so can be regarded as synonymous, but research in the field so far has focused only on the conceptual level generalization and treat the synonymous terms for a country *on a par*. Hence the nuances of metaphor patterns associated with the individual forms have been ignored. In view of the above gaps in literature, we propose to look into different names of a country in political rhetoric, trying to uncover metaphorical patterns associated with each word in a synonymous set of a country's name and their respective semantic associations. We will also compare the results found in the political genre with the metaphor patterns in a reference corpus in order to pinpoint and to further make sense of genre-specific features regarding the possible distinct metaphorical patterns associated with the identical political entity.

2. Synonymy in Cognitive Linguistics

In Cognitive Linguistics, synonymy has been an area that has attracted much attention (Divjak and Gries 2008; Glynn 2012; Janda and Solovyev 2009; Speelman, Grondelaers and Geeraerts 2003; Su and Lu 2009). In general, Cognitive Linguistics adopts a strictly corpus-based approach to the structure of the lexicon that highlights relative frequency and distribution of the synonymous pairs/sets in question. The approach has been extensively applied to general corpora across languages and has resulted in great success. However, so far no corpus-based attempt that we are aware of has approached synonymy and its interplay with metaphor in specialized language like political discourse.¹

¹ Although a corpus-based approach to synonymy has been applied to specialized language such as the legal language (Gozdz-Roszkowski 2013) and the language of genetic engineering (Rogers 1997, 2000), such studies focus on the collocations and colligations of specialized terms without paying attention to the interconnection between synonymy and metaphor. On the other hand, although Janda and Solovyev (2009)

Therefore, we will take up this issue and will try to attest the usefulness of such approach in the political genre, with presidential rhetoric as an illustration.

3. Background of the Study and Research Issues

In this paper, we will present a case study on the different names of Taiwan, which is of special theoretical interest due not only to its many names but also to its identity issue that underlies the political discourse investigated, as a usage-based (Barlow and Kemmer 2000) study on synonymy not only in its co-text but also in its social context.

Taiwan is a political entity on the Pacific Rim that was established in 1911 with the official name of the Republic of China, the territory of which at that time included both the Continental China and Taiwan. However, in 1949 the government fled to Taiwan from the Continental China as a result of a civil war between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Kuomintang (hereafter KMT). The Nationalist government and its presidents right after the government relocation would like to return to China to regain power, so the rhetorical strategies they used reflected a Chinese-oriented ideology (Lu and Ahrens 2008). However, the political climate on this island has undergone great shift as time went by. Therefore throughout the history, many names for the political entity have been used, mirroring a political climate change. The most representative names include, among many others, *guojia* '(the/this) country', *woguo* '(my/our) country', *taiwan* 'Taiwan', *zhonghuaminguo* 'The Republic of China', *fuermosha* 'Formosa', which are largely interchangeable in most context so we regard them as near-synonyms.² The naming of the country has sparked heated debates within Taiwan since the naming strategies reflect the ideological consideration behind the linguistic choice. Therefore we believe that the various names for the political entity constitute an opulent domain where lexical meanings and ideologies interact, and therefore constitutes a rich testing ground of how Cognitive Linguistics can approach synonymy in specialized language with political rhetoric as illustration.

have associated different nouns with different metaphorical extensions, synonymy in specialized language is not their concern.

² The readers are referred to Cheng (2006) on how a Taiwanese president, Chen Shui-bian, uses different names for the country for political considerations in his inaugural speeches.

Mr. Lee Teng-hui, also known as “Mr. Democracy” of Taiwan, was a former Taiwanese president, with his term between 1988 and 2000. During that time, he represented the KMT and the Chinese-oriented ideology behind the party. His identity was much less Chinese-oriented than his former presidents Chiang Ching-kuo and Chiang Kai-shek. At the end of Lee’s term, the KMT lost its power to a locally-based party, which makes Lee’s rhetoric at the ideological turn critical and worth investigating.

In this paper, we will study whether and how Lee’s different ways of referring to his own country are associated with their individual metaphorical patterns as a case study of the usage of synonymy in political rhetoric, which is an underexplored issue in literature. We hypothesize that different names of a country are near-synonyms, each with a tendency of prompting certain conceptualizations associated with the country and of communicating a specific political message in context. We in other words hold that members of a synonymous set are not completely interchangeable, each having its own behavioral pattern and serving a specific discourse function in the political genre in its actual socio-cultural context.

4. Methodology

With the preceding research issues in mind, we aim to study the different construals associated with each member of the synonymous set, i.e. the different names of Taiwan. We specifically probe into the patterns of metaphor with COUNTRY as the target concept in Lee’s speeches, and compare Lee’s usage pattern with a reference corpus. Our data came from two sources. We chose Lee’s New Year and Double Tenth speeches during his terms, since the speeches were broadcast to the entire country and reported in newspapers for their political significance. We first manually searched through Lee’s speeches to find out possible target words, with four synonyms in reference to the country as a result identified: *guojia* '(the/this) country', *zhonghuaminguo* 'The Republic of China', *taiwan* 'Taiwan', and *woguo* '(my/our) country'. However, we tentatively decided to leave out *woguo* for its low occurrence (only 20 times), as it would be difficult to make representative generalizations for the word’s behavior.

In order to identify genre-specific features, we compiled a reference corpus by randomly extracting tokens of *guojia*, *zhonghuaminguo* and *taiwan* from the Chinese

Gigaword Corpus, which contained new texts published roughly parallel to Lee's presidency (1991-2002), which was accessed via the Sketch Engine. We controlled for an equated size of the data. Table 1 summarizes the data composition.

Table 1: Data composition of Lee's corpus and the reference corpus

| | Tokens found in Lee's speeches | Tokens extracted from the Chinese Gigaword Corpus |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Guojia</i> | 222 | 222 |
| <i>Zhonghuaminguo</i> | 156 | 156 |
| <i>Taiwan</i> | 73 | 73 |
| Total | 451 | 451 |

Next we manually looked through the corpora for occurrences of metaphor. Our criterion of judgment is domain incongruity (Charteris-Black 2004; Lu and Ahrens 2008). In addition, we verified the result by two corpus-based methods. The first step of verification was to look for the possible source domain by looking up the etymology of the target word.³ An alternative was to look into a synchronic general corpus (the Sinica Corpus) to check whether the target word occurred frequently with the source concept. Consider instance (1) for illustration, where *guojia* 'country' is understood as a PERSON given its co-occurrence with *shengri* 'birthday'.

- (1) 今天 是 中華民國 八十五 年
jintian shi zhonghuaminguo bashiwu nian
today is the R.O.C. eighty-five year
- 國慶。 我們 齊聚 在 這裡，以 歡欣
guoqing women qiju zai zheli yi huanxin
Double Tenth 1.PL get together LOC here with happy

³ The diachronic online lexical database used at this step is *Souwenjiezi*. For details of how etymology is evident in metaphorical extension of word meanings, see Sweetser (1990).

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|----|-------------|
| 的 | 心情， | 慶祝 | <u>國家</u> | 的 | 八十五 |
| de | xinqing | qingzhu | <u>guojia</u> | de | bashiwu |
| LK | mood | celebrate | <u>country</u> | LK | eighty-five |
| | | | | | |
| 歲 | <u>生日</u> | | | | |
| sui | <u>shengri</u> | | | | |
| year | <u>birthday</u> | | | | |

"Today is the 85th Double Tenth Day of the R.O.C. We gather here to merrily celebrate the 85th birthday of the country." (Lee 10/10/1996)

In instance (1), what helps us identify the source concept of the metaphor is *shengri* 'birthday'. The diachronic lexical database shows that the etymology of the character *sheng* is 'to give birth to', and we can also see in the Sinica Corpus that *shengri* occurs very frequently with the concept of PERSON. Therefore we can confirm that in this passage, *guojia* is construed as a PERSON given its co-occurrence with *shengri*. But there are also ambiguous cases, where more than one source concept could be postulated for a metaphorical usage. Consider (2), where *zhonghuaminguo* enjoys a possible dual conceptualization as a PERSON or a PLANT, given its co-occurrence with *tingba* 'straight'.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------|-------|----------|--------------|
| (2) | <u>中華民國</u> | ... 堅強 | 的 | 克服 | 各種 |
| | <u>zhonghuaminguo</u> | jianqiang | de | kefu | gezhong |
| | <u>the R.O.C</u> | strong | LK | overcome | all types of |
| | | | | | |
| | 橫逆險阻 | 的 | 埋沒 | 和 | 摧殘， |
| | hengnixianzu | de | maimo | han | cuican |
| | danger and crisis | LK | bury | and | ruin |
| | | | | | yizhi |
| | | | | | to |

| | |
|----------|-----------------|
| 巍然 | <u>挺拔</u> |
| weiran | <u>tingba</u> |
| towering | <u>straight</u> |

"The R.O.C. has overcome all sorts of dangers and crises with strength, almost buried and ruined, finally developing to the point of standing towering and straight." (Lee 01/01/1996)

What poses difficulty in (2) is *tingba*'s ambiguous reading between the appearance of a person and of a plant. In ambiguous instances like (2), the relative frequency of the target word in a general corpus becomes an important factor to source domain decision (Gong et al. 2008). For instance, as we looked into the Sinica Corpus, we found 11 hits of *tingba*, with 7 out of them associating with a PLANT and the rest with a PERSON. Given the relative frequency, we were able to assign the source domain of PLANT to *tingba*.

Based on the above methodology, we first manually identified the possible metaphorical tokens and determined the source concepts involved.

5. Individual Metaphor Patterns of the Near-synonymous Set in Lee's Rhetoric

In this section, we discuss three main features of synonymy use in Lee's rhetoric, including the strong association of *guojia* with BUILDING metaphors and of *zhonghuaminguo* and PLANT metaphor, and the rare co-occurrence of *taiwan* with metaphor.

5.1 Strong Association of *Guojia* with BUILDING Metaphor

Among the synonymous set, *guojia* 'country' as a generic noun seems to be least involved with ideology at its face value, whereas *zhonghuaminguo* and *taiwan* carry clear ideological association with either a pro-China or an anti-China mindset. However, this intuitive assumption is only partially correct upon a close look into the corpus. We discuss what supports the assumption in 5.1.1 and what makes it wrong in 5.1.2.

In Lee’s corpus, *guojia* is the most frequent label for the country, with 222 tokens found. We observe that Lee’s use of *guojia* abounds in BUILDING metaphor as its highly distinctive pattern. This is also a feature of the political genre in comparison to the reference corpus. In particular, BUILDING metaphor accounts for 44.57% of the metaphorical occurrences of *guojia* in Lee’s corpus, which is much higher than *zhonghuaminguo*’s 5.97% and 0% of *taiwan*. The reference corpus has only 1 token of BUILDING metaphor (3.33%). Table 2 summarizes the distribution of BUILDING metaphor in our corpora.

Table 2: Distribution of BUILDING metaphor

| | | Tokens of BUILDING metaphor of the word | Total metaphorical use of the word | Percentage |
|------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|------------|
| Lee's corpus | <i>guojia</i> | 41 | 92 | 44.57% |
| | <i>zhonghuaminguo</i> | 4 | 67 | 5.97% |
| | <i>taiwan</i> | 0 | 7 | 0% |
| Reference corpus | <i>guojia</i> | 0 | 16 | 0% |
| | <i>zhonghuaminguo</i> | 1 | 30 | 3.33% |
| | <i>taiwan</i> | 0 | 10 | 0% |

Below, we discuss two types of *guojia*’s metaphor pattern in Lee’s rhetoric: Forward-looking BUILDING metaphor and retrospective BUILDING metaphor.

5.1.1 *Guojia* and forward-looking BUILDING metaphor

Forward-looking BUILDING metaphor is BUILDING metaphor framed (Coulson 2008; Fillmore 1982) in a way that facilitates an understanding of country prospect in terms of building construction, as opposed to retrospective BUILDING metaphor, which refers to the establishment of country *in the past* as building construction (Lu and Ahrens 2008).

In Lee’s corpus, forward-looking BUILDING metaphor accounts for 29 tokens, or 70.73 percent, of *guojia*’s BUILDING metaphor. The most frequent textual cues with

which we identify BUILDING metaphor include *jianshe* 'construct/construction' and *jichu* 'cornerstone'. (3) and (4) are typical examples.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------|------|-----------|---------------|----------------|
| (3) | 我們 | 應 | 以 | 此 | 作為 | <u>國家</u> |
| | women | ying | yi | ci | zuowei | <u>guojia</u> |
| | 1.PL | MOD | with | this | as | <u>country</u> |
| | <u>建設</u> | 的 | 新 | 指標、 | 全國 | |
| | <u>jianshe</u> | de | xin | zhibiao | quanguo | |
| | <u>construction</u> | LK | new | indicator | whole country | |
| | 同胞 | 的 | 新 | 希望。 | | |
| | tongbao | de | xin | xiwang | | |
| | countryman | LK | new | hope | | |

"We should use this as the new indicator for the construction of our country and as the new hope of our fellow countrymen." (Lee 01/01/1997)

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------|
| (4) | 只要 | 如此， | 我們 | 必能夠 | 克服 | 任何 |
| | zhiyao | ruci | women | binenggou | kefu | renhe |
| | as long as | so | 1.PL | MOD | overcome | any |
| | 橫逆， | 創造 | 優勢， | 奠定 | <u>國家</u> | |
| | hengni | chuangzao | youshi | dianding | <u>guojia</u> | |
| | adverseness | create | advantage | lay | <u>country</u> | |
| | 永續 | 發展 | 的 | 堅實 | <u>基礎。</u> | |
| | yongxu | fazhan | de | jianshi | <u>jichu</u> | |

continuous development LK solid cornerstones

"As long as thus (is done), we must be able to overcome all difficulties, create our own advantage and lay down the solid cornerstones for the continuous development of our country." (Lee 10/10/1995)

In (3), the country is understood as a BUILDING, with *jianshe* 'construction' in its co-text that prompts the source concept. The same happens in (4), given the co-occurrence of *guojia* with *jichu* 'cornerstones', which introduces the source concept of BUILDING. In this particular example, *women* 'we' fits into the role of BUILDER in the BUILDING frame, who is to lay down the cornerstones of the country given the presence of *dianding* 'lay down (the foundation)' in the co-text. In these two examples, the conceptualization of the country as a BUILDING involves the following elements in the frame of BUILDING: BUILDING, BUILDERS, CORNERSTONES OF A BUILDING and CONSTRUCTION OF A BUILDING.

From the patterns that we have identified in Lee's talks, we extrapolate the following mapping principles (Ahrens 2010): If a country is a BUILDING, then the political leader and his people are the BUILDERS, because builders contribute to the construction of a building and the political leader and his people contribute to the development of the country. The basis on which the country will develop is the CORNERSTONES OF A BUILDING because the cornerstones of a building provide a basis for the construction of the building and current efforts can provide a basis for future country development. Country development is conceptualized as CONSTRUCTION OF A BUILDING, because the construction of a building is an ongoing process through time toward a goal and the development of a country is also a continuous process with a political goal.

The function of forward-looking BUILDING metaphor has been discussed by Charteris-Black (2004) as a general feature of BUILDING metaphor in political rhetoric— To win the support and the cooperation from the electorate and to urge the people to work together toward a predetermined goal of the country. However, in Lee's

corpus we identify another cluster of BUILDING metaphor that serves a rhetorical function very different from that proposed by Charteris-Black, which we will turn to next.

5.1.2 *Guojia* and Retrospective BUILDING Metaphor

In Lee's talks, there is another cluster of metaphor that is not congruent with the above-mentioned pattern of forward-looking BUILDING metaphor. Such metaphor has been referred to as retrospective BUILDING metaphor in Lu and Ahrens (2008). It accounts for 12 tokens, or 29.27 percent, out of all BUILDING metaphors associated with *guojia*. Excerpt (5) is an illustration.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|--------|
| (5) | 中華民國 | 從 | 創立 | 之 | 日 | 起... |
| | zhonghuaminguo | cong | chuangli | zhi | ri | qi |
| | the R.O.C. | from | establish | LK | day | begin |
| | 全國 | 人民 | 都 | 能 | 團結 | 奮起... |
| | quanguo | renmin | dou | neng | tuanjie | fenqi |
| | whole country | people | all | MOD | cooperate | strive |
| | 奠定 | <u>國家</u> | 民族 | 永續長存 | 的 | |
| | dianding | <u>guojia</u> | minzu | yongxuchangcun | de | |
| | lay | <u>country</u> | people | continuous | LK | |
| | <u>基業。</u> | | | | | |
| | <u>jiye</u> | | | | | |
| | <u>foundation</u> | | | | | |

"Ever since the beginning of the R.O.C., people of the whole country have worked together and have striven to lay down the continuous foundation of the country and of our people." (Lee 10/10/1995)

In (5), the country is also construed as a BUILDING, given the occurrence of *jiye* 'foundation' after *guojia*. *Souwenjiezi* gives the etymology of the word *ji*, which means 'the basis of a building.' In the Sinica Corpus, *ji* in addition co-occurs with other constructions (in the sense of Goldberg 1995) to generate composite constructions that are closely associated with the concept of BUILDING, such as *diji* 'groundwork', *jichu* 'cornerstones', *jishi* 'cornerstones', etc. Therefore with the assistance both from a diachronic online database and from the synchronic organization of language, we confirm that *jiye* prompts the conceptualization of *guojia* as a BUILDING. This token of BUILDING metaphor is framed in a retrospective way in that in the beginning of the excerpt Lee mentions the establishment of the R.O.C. and also the effort paid by the fellow countrymen in the past, the function of which is to strengthen the Chinese tie of his country (Lu and Ahrens 2008). Therefore, although Lee is recognized to be much less Chinese-oriented than his predecessors, in his rhetoric we can still identify obvious tokens of BUILDING metaphor with a pro-Chinese worldview that occur with *guojia*, which paradoxically seems to be an ideology-neutral word at face value.

To sum up, among the near-synonymous set used by Lee, *guojia* stands out for its two distinctive patterns. The first is Lee's frequent use of *guojia* to encourage his citizens to follow him toward a certain goal in the process of country development. The second, and perhaps more interesting, function of *guojia* is its co-occurrence with the ideologically motivated BUILDING metaphor for Lee to construct a Chinese-oriented worldview, which is absent in the reference corpus.

5.2 Exclusive Association of *Zhonghuaminguo* with PLANT Metaphor

Zhonghuaminguo 'the Republic of China' is the official name of the country, literally meaning 'Chinese-people-country'.⁴ The name carries with it a strong Chinese association, since it has been the official name of this country ever since the creation of the country, when its actual territory still included the Continental China. In Lee's speeches, *zhonghuaminguo* is the second frequent word that is used in reference to his

⁴ The Republic of China should be distinguished from People's Republic of China, which has its seat of government in Beijing and is a single-party state governed by the Communist Party. Its official history started in 1949, right upon the Nationalist government's flight to Taiwan.

country, with 156 occurrences found. The most prominent feature of *zhonghuaminguo* is its exclusive co-occurrence with PLANT metaphor-- PLANT metaphor accounts for almost 20 percent of the metaphor use associated with *zhonghuaminguo* in Lee's speeches, but does not at all occur either with *guojia* or *taiwan* in Lee's rhetoric or in the entire reference corpus. Table 3 shows how PLANT metaphor is associated with all the names for the country in both corpora.

Table 3: Distribution of PLANT metaphor in our corpora

| | | Tokens of PLANT metaphor of the word | Total metaphorical use of the word | Percentage |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| Lee's corpus | <i>guojia</i> | 0 | 92 | 0% |
| | <i>zhonghuaminguo</i> | 13 | 67 | 19.40% |
| | <i>taiwan</i> | 0 | 7 | 0% |
| Reference corpus | <i>guojia</i> | 0 | 16 | 0% |
| | <i>zhonghuaminguo</i> | 0 | 30 | 0% |
| | <i>taiwan</i> | 0 | 10 | 0% |

The textual cues with which we identify PLANT metaphor include many subparts of a plant, including *gen* 'root', *ya* 'shoot', *zhi* 'branch', *ye* 'leaf', etc., or verbs that denote attributes or manners of a plant. (6) and (7) are typical instances of PLANT metaphor in Lee's rhetoric.

- (6) 中華民國 不但 紮 了 根、 萌 了
zhonghuaminguo budan zha le gen meng le
the R.O.C. not only take PFV root grow PFV
- 芽， 並且 堅強的 克服 各種
ya bingqie jianqiangde kefu gezhong
shoot and strongly overcome types of

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|--------|----------|
| 橫逆險阻... | 我們 | 永遠 | 不能 | 忘懷 |
| hengnixianzu | women | yongyuan | buneng | wanghuai |
| danger | 1.PL | forever | NEG | forget |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---------------|-------|---------|
| <u>先人</u> | 在 | 風雨飄搖 | 中 | 強渡 |
| <u>xianren</u> | zai | fengyupiaoyao | zhong | qiangdu |
| <u>ancestor</u> | LOC | storm | LOC | cross |

| | | | | |
|----------|----|-----------------|-----|--------------------|
| 艱險 | 的 | 堅毅 精神 | 與 | 偉大 貢獻 |
| jianxian | de | jianyi jingshen | yu | weida gongxian |
| danger | LK | sturdy spirit | and | great contribution |

"The R.O.C not only has taken its root but has grown a shoot, and has overcome all danger. We must never forget the sturdy spirit and the great contribution of our ancestors who strove in the storm." (Lee 01/01/1996)

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------|
| (7) | 中華民國 | <u>建國</u> | <u>八十七</u> | <u>年</u> | 來， |
| | zhonghuaminguo | <u>jianguo</u> | <u>bashiqi</u> | <u>nian</u> | lai |
| | the R.O.C. | <u>nation founding</u> | <u>eighty-seven</u> | <u>year</u> | since |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---------|------------|----|---------|-----|--------|
| 歷經 | 歷史 | 風浪 | 的 | 衝擊 | 與 | 考驗... |
| lijing | lishi | fenglang | de | chongji | yu | kaoyan |
| go through | history | turbulence | LK | impact | and | test |

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|---|----|-----|---|---|
| 對 | 中國大陸 | 的 | 未來 | 發展， | 也 | 將 |
|---|------|---|----|-----|---|---|

dui zhongguodalu de weilai fazhan ye jiang
to Mainland China LK future development also will

發揮 重大 的 影響... 中華民國 在
fahui zhongda de yingxiang zhonghuaminguo zai
exert significant LK influence the R.O.C. LOC

全體 國人 精誠團結、 努力奮鬥 下， 必將
quanti guoren jingchengtuanjie nulifendou xia bijiang
all people cooperation striving under MOD

綻放 更 輝煌燦爛 的 光芒！
zhanfang geng huihuangcanlan de guangmang
bloom more radiant LK light

"Ever since the establishment of the R.O.C., the country has undergone impacts and tests of turbulence throughout history... (The R.O.C.) will also exert significant influence on the future development of Mainland China... The R.O.C. is bound to bloom and send out radiant glory under the cooperation of and the striving of all our countrymen!" (Lee 10/10/1998)

In (6), the textual prompts for PLANT metaphor include the nouns *gen* 'root', *ya* 'shoot', and the verbs that collocate with the above nouns, including *zha* 'to take (root)' and *meng* '(for a plant) to grow (shoots)'. These constructions are found closely associated with the concept of a PLANT in the Sinica Corpus. In this example, *zhonghuaminguo* is construed as a PLANT that has taken root and has grown shoots. The textual prompt for PLANT metaphor in (7) is the verb *zhanfang* '(for a plant) to bloom'. A search for *zhanfang* in the Sinica Corpus generates 16 tokens, 15 out of which are used to describe a blooming plant. This confirms the association of *zhonghuaminguo* in this case with PLANT given its co-occurrence with *zhanfang*. Based on our knowledge of plants,

we can extrapolate the mapping principles for Lee's PLANT metaphor: If a country is a plant, then laying the foundation of a country is for the plant to take root because the foundation of a country is essential for the existence of the country and the root is essential for the existence of a plant. Alternatively, if we take into account the temporal sequence, then laying the foundation is for the plant to take root because laying the foundation of the country is one of the first things to happen for the existence of the country and taking root is also one of the first things to happen for the survival of a plant. The development and achievement of a country is the development of shoots, leaves and flowers because the development and achievement of a country is the result of laying a good foundation of the country and the development of shoots, leaves and flowers is the natural consequence of a plant's having well taken root.

In addition to the mapping principles, we would also like to further point out a critical inferential consequence of PLANT metaphor in Lee's rhetoric— Once the conceptual correspondence between the foundation of a country and the root of a plant is established, the indispensable property of the root to a plant in the source domain is carried over to the target domain and allows Lee to introduce a construal of his country where its foundation and its Chinese past should be taken also as an indispensable part of the country.

In addition to the exclusive co-occurrence of *zhonghuaminguo* with PLANT metaphor, the combination also involves frequent references to the past history of the country and its forerunners.⁵ Lee's mention of *xianren* 'ancestors' in (6) and of the eighty-seven years in the history of the country in (7) are both typical co-texts that co-occur with *zhonghuaminguo* with PLANT metaphor. Following that, we argue that Lee's use of *zhonghuaminguo* with PLANT metaphor serves to highlight the importance of the history and achievement of the R.O.C., which is reminiscent of the country's Chinese origin.

The above observation on Lee's use of *zhonghuaminguo* with PLANT metaphor is coherent with what we have seen for Lee's use of *guojia* with retrospective BUILDING metaphor. The parallel patterns in Lee's rhetoric thus shows how synonymy

⁵ For an overview of how Lee and other Taiwanese presidents make reference to historical figures, see Table 4 in Lu and Ahrens (2008:393).

and its interaction with metaphor can be manipulated by politicians for an ideological purpose. But what is more interesting is the division of labor among each member of the synonymous set— Each word prefers a certain type of metaphor, although the overall ideological functions actually converge.

5.3 Rare co-occurrence of *taiwan* with metaphor

Taiwan ‘Taiwan’ was originally the name of one of the major provinces of the R.O.C., but since it covers most of the present territory of the R.O.C., the name is also used in current reference to the country. As the term itself clearly suggests, use of *taiwan* suggests a locally-based, or anti-China, political message. In comparison with the other members of the synonymous set in Lee's discourse, the defining characteristic of *taiwan* is its sparse co-occurrence with metaphor, which is merely less than a quarter of that of *guojia* or *zhonghuaminguo*, while in the reference corpus, the difference in ratio is much less significant, as is shown in Table 4.

| | | Co-occurrences with metaphor | Total tokens | Percentage |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Lee's corpus | <i>guojia</i> | 92 | 222 | 41.44% |
| | <i>zhonghuaminguo</i> | 67 | 156 | 42.95% |
| | <i>taiwan</i> | 7 ⁶ | 73 | 9.59% |
| | Total | 166 | 451 | 36.81% |
| Reference corpus | <i>guojia</i> | 52 | 222 | 23.42% |
| | <i>zhonghuaminguo</i> | 30 | 156 | 19.23% |
| | <i>taiwan</i> | 10 | 73 | 13.70% |
| | Total | 92 | 451 | 20.40% |

Table 4: The association of the synonymous set with metaphor in the corpora

⁶ In Lee's speeches, the source concepts associated with *taiwan* include: COMPANY (3 tokens), PERSON (2), HOMELAND (1), MILITARY BASEMENT (1). The frequencies are too low to form any representative pattern.

Taiwan's constructional profile is rather skewed in Lee's rhetoric. Therein, *taiwan* occurs mostly in compounds and is often referred to merely as a geographical area, with the combinations of *taiwan-jingyan* 'the experience in Taiwan' (27 tokens), *taiwan-diqu* 'the area of Taiwan' (10 tokens), and *taiwan-haixia* 'the Taiwan Strait' (5 tokens) that account for most of its occurrences. (8) and (9) are prototypical of such literal collocation.

- (8) 百 餘 年 來 中國人 追求
 bai yu nian lai zhongguoren zhuiqiu
 hundred more year come Chinese people pursue
- 現代化 的 理想，終於 在「臺灣
 xiandaihua de lixiang zhongyu zai taiwan
 modernization LK ideal finally LOC Taiwan-
- 經驗」 的 印證 中， 初步 的
jingyan de yinzheng zhong chubu de
experience LK prove LOC initial LK
- 實現
 shixian
 realize

"The ideal of pursuing modernization of the Chinese people over the past century has finally realized, with the experience (of the R.O.C. government) in Taiwan as the proof." (Lee 01/01/1989)

- (9) 因此，登輝 願 在此 誠懇 呼籲 臺灣
 yinci tenghui yuan zaici chengken huyu taiwan
 so Tenghui MOD hereby heartily urge Taiwan-

地區 的 全體 同胞...

diqu de quanti tongbao

area LK all countryman

"Therefore, Tenghui would like to urge all countrymen in the area of Taiwan..."
(Lee 01/01/1993)

In (8), *taiwan* occurs in the compound *taiwan-jingyan* 'the experience in Taiwan' to denote a geographical area, and in (10) in the compound *taiwan-diqu* 'the area of Taiwan'. With instances like these, *taiwan*'s relative sparse co-occurrence with metaphor should be seen as Lee's strategic use of synonymy for the purpose of downplaying the Taiwanese identity of the country— By joining *taiwan* predominantly with linguistic constructions that only allow a literal reading, Lee tries to avoid using the name in a metaphorical construal so that he can as a consequence avoid any sensitive political implications associated with metaphor.

With the above discussion, it is now obvious that the constructional profile of *taiwan* in Lee's rhetoric makes the best sense in the context of the Chinese-centered worldview in the Nationalist presidents' rhetoric— *Taiwan*'s rare co-occurrence with metaphor is also symptomatic of a Chinese-oriented ideology like Lee's association of *guojia* with retrospective BUILDING metaphor and *zhonghuaminguo* with PLANT metaphor.

6. Synonymy and metaphor in specialized language: A more contextualized take

The result of our study is clear if we look at the behavioral patterns of each of the synonymous set. What sets *guojia* apart is its frequent co-occurrence with BUILDING metaphors, which comes in two types. Lee uses *guojia* with forward-looking BUILDING metaphor to call on his citizens for initiative and cooperation. As a Nationalist president, he on the other hand associates *guojia* with retrospective BUILDING metaphor as a tool for communicating his Chinese-oriented worldview. *Zhonghuaminguo* is exclusively associated with PLANT metaphor, which serves a similar ideological function with Lee's

use of *guojia* with retrospective BUILDING metaphor. Last but not least, *taiwan* seldom occurs with metaphor, which becomes sensible only when we take the wider political context into consideration. A comparison between Lee's discourse with a reference corpus supports our foregoing observations.

With the present study, we believe there are a few points worth making for the field of Cognitive Linguistics in general, especially of the subfields of cognitive semantics and metaphor in political rhetoric. First, we hope to have demonstrated how words and their associated knowledge structures jointly compose a piece of text in actual usage. In particular, if we see *guojia*, *zhonghuaminguo* and *taiwan* as three constructions (Goldberg 1995) with similar semantics, then each construction has its own distinct syntagmatic relation with its co-text, which echoes Janda and Solovyev's (2009) suggestion of how different nouns are associated with different patterns of metaphorical extensions. The construction *guojia* frequently co-occurs with other constructions that prompts the domain of BUILDING, *zhonghuaminguo* with those that prompt the domain of PLANT, with *taiwan* lacking any such behavior.

Second, although metaphor has been shown to be a pervasive rhetorical device in political discourse (Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton 2004; Lakoff 1996) and specialized language in general (Faber 2012), no attention has been paid to how its interplay with other lexical semantic issues (synonymy, homonymy, etc.) allows for the creation of persuasive effects in context. By investigating how individual constructions in a synonymous set interacts with metaphor in authentic discourse, the present study has helped us tease apart the common practice of treating metaphor only as a generalized conceptual pattern and has allowed us to look into what metaphor is individually associated with each construction.

Thirdly, in contrast to corpus-driven studies on synonymy in the field, the present specialized-corpus-based approach provides a new perspective on how synonymy interacts with metaphor to shape a piece of specialized text. We hope to have shown how studying synonymy in a specialized corpus can shed light on the usage-based (Barlow and Kemmer ed. 2000) nature of language by allowing a more contextualized take on the interface of lexical semantics and the socio-cultural context of language use. In particular, the individual behaviors of the synonymous set at issue have shown how the speaker's

usage pattern of synonymy is heavily influenced by his political intention as a larger part of the socio-cultural context.

Last but not least, we hope to introduce synonymy as a new research issue in political rhetoric. We hope to have proved that in addition to metaphor, use of synonymy is also ideologically motivated. Such claim is true not only for proper names like *zhonghuaminguo* and *taiwan* but paradoxically even for a generic term that looks neutral like *guojia*. It is high time that cognitive linguists working on political rhetoric include other lexical semantic issues onto their research agenda.

We hope with the present study, we have shown how synonymy research can benefit from a specialized-corpus-based methodology and how political rhetoric research also can from an addition of synonymy, so that a cross-fertilization can be created among the various subfields of the Cognitive Linguistics enterprise.

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