

FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY: ONE SCENARIO, MULTIPLE IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS*

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how a single scenario/aspect of WAR in conceptualizing DEMOCRACY gives rise to various and different ideological implications in Taiwan presidential addresses. An analytical framework integrating source domain verification, scenario identification procedure and discourse-historical approach is adopted to identify source domains and scenarios and to interpret ideological implications. The findings demonstrate that even though presidents use the same aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* to conceptualize DEMOCRACY, they do not cast the same evaluation and do not hold the same ideological implications toward democracy. This paper not only extends the empirical aspects of Conceptual Metaphor Theory but also amplifies the findings existing in the extant literature.

Keywords: metaphor, scenario, democracy, discourse-historical approach, ideology, political discourse

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1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy, which derives its moral strength based primarily on two intuitive principles of individual autonomy and equality, is essential to the history of human civilization. (Council of Europe n.d.; Dahl 2020). The pursuit of democracy helps rebuild part of the world from power orders such as authoritarianism into the power of citizens (Lincoln 1863; Dahl 2020), making the world a better place through promoting freedom, human rights, development, and sustainable peace and security. Democracy has shaped Taiwan. The 2022 Democracy Index ranks Taiwan as a full democracy and reports that Taiwan ranks eighth in the world and first in Asia in the Democracy Index List (Economist Intelligence Unit 2022:40). This has been of central and profound importance to Taiwan's pursuit of democracy over the past seven decades. From the earlier authoritarianism to the present democracy, the concept of democracy has been mentioned repeatedly in presidential addresses, indicating its importance in Taiwan's history. From a linguistics perspective, DEMOCRACY captures the characterization of an abstract concept proposed by Löhr (2022:559): (a) it applies to events, actions, properties, relations, or objects that do not share diagnostic features that are perceptually, motorically or introspectively directly accessible or (b) it is reasonable that representing the diagnostic features is not sufficient for the possession of the concept. Thus, as an abstract concept, DEMOCRACY is often figuratively portrayed in various languages. The importance and abstractness of democracy have made it a meaningful topic in the realm of political discourse and metaphor (e.g., Kövecses (1994), Dunne (2003), Ansah (2017), Baş (2020), and Inya (2022)). Previous studies on political discourse mostly approach metaphor through the level of domain; this study aims to extend extant literature through exploring the nuances the metaphor scenario reflects. Specifically, this study focuses on the *offensive and defensive processes in war* aspect of DEMOCRACY in Taiwanese presidential addresses between 1948 and 2021 and the ideological implications embedded in the manipulations of this aspect.

The role of metaphor in political discourse has been stressed and the findings argue that political attitudes are entrenched through manipulations of metaphor (Charteris-Black 2017; Chiang and Chiu 2007;

Cibulskienė 2012; Inya 2022; Lakoff 2016; Lu and Ahrens 2008; Musolff 2006, 2016, 2017; Wei 2001). In America, Lakoff (2016) observes two family-based moral conceptual metaphors, the Nurturant Parent Morality model and the Strict Father Morality model, are manifested by different political parties respectively, and he argues that the manifestations are not random but are endowed with different political attitudes. In Britain, Charteris-Black (2017) reveals that different usages of the competition metaphor underline different capitalist ideologies. The two studies argue different metaphors carry different ideologies. In Nigeria, Inya (2022) demonstrates that the manifestation of metaphor in conceptualizing DEMOCRACY carries ideological functions. In Taiwan, Wei (2001) and Lu and Ahrens (2008) investigate specific types of metaphor and argue that the different manifestations/patterns in the same metaphors represent different ideologies. These works mainly focus on the analyses at the level of domain.

Musolff (2006, 2016) proposes and argues that it is “scenario” that plays the most essential role in framing the attitudinal and evaluative preferences in political discourse. He suggests that “scenarios”, as a less schematic cognitive mechanism than domains and frames, should be incorporated into the study of metaphor in use, because it is at the level of scenario that strong inferences can be speculated, as he argues:

[s]cenarios enable the speakers to not only apply source to target concepts but to draw on them to build narrative frames for the conceptualization and assessment of sociopolitical issues and to spin out these narratives into emergent discourse traditions that are characteristic of their respective community. (Musolff 2006:36)

Examining the key scenario in the British-EU debates from 1991 to 2016 in public discourse, *Britain at the Heart of Europe*, Musolff (2017) reports that the usage pattern of this scenario demonstrates an attitudinal and evaluative tendency, and he argues that these changes may have an impact on the voting preferences related to Brexit events. In the same scenario *Britain at the Heart of Europe*, people holding an optimistic view on the relation between the British and the EU employ the aspect of a *healthy and sound heart* of the EU, while pro-Brexit campaigners focus on the

aspect of the *sick/dying/rotten heart* of the EU (Musolff 2017:651). Furthermore, Musolff argues a semantic-pragmatic reversal is developed in the metaphor career of the scenario *Britain at the Heart of Europe*, which was originally created as a positive and optimistic slogan and then deteriorated into a negative version, and was further manifested as sarcasm (Musolff 2017:651).

This current study, focusing on the most predominant scenario *offensive and defensive processes in war* of the most prevalent metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR, aims to delve into the nuances a single scenario reflects. In particular, we argue that even though DEMOCRACY is conceptualized via the same scenario, it serves different functions in different presidents' addresses, and the differences carry presidents' political attitudes/ideologies. To minimize any subjective bias in interpreting political attitudes and ideologies, this study incorporates the discourse-historical approach to speculate on the inferences and evaluations the addresses reveal.

2. ON TAIWAN'S DEMOCRATIZATION AND IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS¹

During the past seven decades, Taiwan has completed seven direct presidential elections and three party alternations. Seven presidents have shown up in Taiwan's history between 1948 and 2020: Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Yen Chia-kan, Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, Ma Ying-jeou, and Tsai Ying-wen. Among them, four were directly elected by citizens in Taiwan after 1996: Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, Ma Ying-jeou, and Tsai Ying-wen. The Kuomintang (KMT)/Chinese Nationalist

¹ To outline the key moments in Taiwan's transition towards democracy, this study drew primarily from various sources. The key moments in the progress of democracy in Taiwan were primarily extracted from Murray A. Rubinstein's book (2015), "Taiwan: A New History." Specifically, events during the terms of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo were summarized in pages 322-367 and 437-447, events during Lee Teng-hui's terms in pages 447-483, and events during Chen Shui-bian's term in pages 497-515. For Ma Ying-jeou's terms, the pivotal events were summarized from Muiyad's work (2008), with a focus on pages 83-84 and 91-93. Lastly, the pivotal events during Tsai Ying-wen's terms were summarized from Ranjan's publication (2016).

Party and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) are the two main political parties in Taiwan.

Founded in 1911, the Republic of China (ROC) is a political organization originally established in mainland China. In 1949, mainland China was ruled by the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China, and the ROC government withdrew from mainland China to Taiwan. For two decades (1949-1970), the nationalist government (KMT) was preoccupied with “restoring the lost homeland in mainland China” and building their legitimacy. In May 1949, to suppress communist and some independent activities in Taiwan, the government of the Republic of China imposed martial law (preventing illegal assemblies, associations, marches, petitions, and strikes, and regulating the publication of books and the publicizing of riots), which gave President Chiang Kai-shek unlimited powers to respond to emergencies. A central figure in the 1970s and 1980s was Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-shek. The Kaohsiung Incident in 1979 was recognized as an important event in Taiwan's political development and eventually led to the democratization of Taiwan. In September 1986, Chiang Ching-kuo was forced to announce the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party to address the challenges of the Kaohsiung Incident² and to respond to the global trend toward democratization. In 1987, forty years after it was established, the government lifted martial law.

After the death of Chiang Ching-kuo in 1988, Lee Teng-hui became president. President Lee overcame countless difficulties and challenges to lead the island to democracy. He initiated a series of constitutional amendments and elections for a new National Assembly in the 1990s. This was regarded as an important part of the foundation of Taiwan's democracy. President Lee was one of the KMT-nominated candidates in Taiwan's first

² The Kaohsiung Incident of 1979 was recognized as an important event in Taiwan's political development and led to the democratization of Taiwan. It occurred because the *tang-wai* leaders held a demonstration focusing on the demand for democracy in Taiwan, and the governmental authorities considered this a protest and arrested the main leaders of this incident. To deal with the challenges from the *tang-wai*, and to react to the worldwide trend demanding democracy, Chiang Ching-kuo announced the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party in September 1986. This is mainly sourced from Taiwan: A New History written by Murray A. Rubinstein (2015:322-36, 437-447).

direct presidential election. The first presidential election is regarded as a milestone in Taiwan's democratic development, marking Taiwan's democratic transition from the endless confrontations of the late 1980s to the peaceful and quiet consensus of the early 1990s. In 2000, Taiwan experienced its first party alternation. Chen Shui-bian, nominated by the DPP, was elected as president in the second direct presidential election in 2000, replacing the Kuomintang's long-standing (almost 52 years) rule. Chen Shui-bian's election was recognized as a sign of success of Taiwan's democracy. In particular, Chen and DPP activists took a different view from the KMT on the issue of national identity. The DPP government encouraged "Taiwanese subjectivity" in several areas. In March 2008, Ma Ying-jeou from the KMT won the fourth presidential election. Ma's appeal was to develop stronger economic ties with China and maintain the political status quo on both sides. In the 2016 direct presidential election, DPP leader Tsai Ing-wen won a landslide victory. Tsai's victory confirmed the success of the third handover (the first in 2000 and the second in 2008), which ensured Taiwan's democracy took hold.

3. METHODOLOGY³

3.1 Analytic Framework: Discourse-Historical Approach

Within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) is an approach developed to deal with the diachronic variations in discourse related to social-political and historical changes (Wodak 2001; Reisigl 2017). To objectively discuss and interpret the implicit ideology effect embedded in the variations, DHA incorporates

³ Elsewhere, the same procedure has been adopted in the authors' other work (2022), which identifies source domain concepts manifested to conceptualize DEMOCRACY, scenarios profiled in each source domain, and the ideological implications "various" source domains and scenarios reflected only in Taiwanese presidential inaugural addresses. In this present study, the data is expanded (it covers three types of presidential addresses) and the issues being argued are different and are focused on only the most dominantly manifested source domain (WAR) and scenario (*offensive and defensive processes in war*). Furthermore, this study incorporates an in-depth DHA analysis to scrutinize the presidents' attitudinal evaluations on DEMOCRACY.

both linguistic and socio-political and historical aspects of language into an in-depth analysis. From a linguistic aspect, the discursive strategies implemented in the discourse are analyzed; from the socio-political and historical aspect, the relevant and pivotal socio-political and historical events in which the discourse is situated are incorporated into the interpretation (Wodak 1999:188).

The DHA employs the principle of triangulation which works with a variety of empirical data, different approaches/theories, and background information to analyze a particular discourse phenomenon (Wodak 1999:188, 2001:65). The triangular approach in DHA is based on a concept of 'context', which considers the following four levels of a context (Wodak 2001:67):

- Level 1: the immediate, language or text internal co-text;
- Level 2: the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- Level 3: the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (middle range theories);
- Level 4: the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to ('grand' theories).

To be more specific, from the linguistic aspect (level 1 and level 2), the DHA employs a three-dimensional analysis: it (1) identifies the specific *contents* or *topics* of a specific discourse, (2) investigates *discursive strategies*, and (3) examines *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) (Wodak 2001:38; Reisigl and Wodak 2009:93). From the social and historical aspect (level 3 and level 4), the DHA takes into account sociological and historical contexts in which the linguistic data are embedded.

Particularly, from the linguistic aspect, to explore the ideology the discourse carries, the DHA focuses on five main questions adopted to explore discursive features, five main types of discursive strategies and possible linguistic devices that may be manifested are also suggested. The five main strategies are nomination, predication, argumentation,

perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation, and their purpose and related linguistic devices are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Discursive strategies in the DHA (extracted from Reisigl and Wodak (2009:104) and Reisigl (2017:52))

Questions & <i>Strategies</i>	Purposes	Devices
How are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse in question? <i>Nomination</i>	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms ◆ tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoche ◆ verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions
What characteristics or qualities are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions mentioned in the discourse? <i>Predication</i>	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits ◆ explicit predicates or predicative collocations ◆ explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/ implicatures
What arguments are employed in discourse? <i>Argumentation</i>	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ topoi (formal or more content-related)
From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, arguments expressed? <i>Perspectivization</i>	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ fallacies ◆ deictics ◆ direct, indirect or free indirect speech ◆ quotation marks, discourse markers/ particles ◆ metaphors ◆ animating prosody
Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated? <i>Intensification/ Mitigation</i>	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ diminutives or augmentatives (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions ◆ hyperboles, litotes ◆ indirect speech acts ◆ verbs of saying, feeling, thinking

3.2 Analytic Procedures

The data under investigation are 155 public addresses delivered by six presidents on three pivotal occasions: presidential inaugural ceremony (PIA), National Day (NDA), and New Year's Day (NYA), in Taiwan during the past 74 years ranging from 1948 to 2021, retrieved from Speeches by Leaders of Taiwan 1978–2021 (ST) and other online resources⁴. Corpus statistics are provided in Table 2; in total, 362,571 characters were collected. Table 3 shows the number of addresses, characters, and the metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR given by each president. Tsai Ying-wen uses DEMOCRACY IS A WAR the most frequently than others, whereas Ma Ying-jeou uses it the least frequently. Since the data spans all phases of Taiwan's democratization diachronically, it offers a linguistic lens through which to speculate on how presidents and governments interpret, conceptualize, and evaluate DEMOCRACY in step with the growth of democracy. This study adopts an integrated framework to extract metaphor on DEMOCRACY and to interpret the ideological implications the metaphorical expressions reflect. Two parts are involved: metaphorical analysis and ideology interpretation.

⁴ Speeches by Leaders of Taiwan 1978-2021 (ST), constructed and maintained by Hong Kong Polytechnic University, contains Taiwanese presidential addresses spanning from 1978 to 2021. For this study, three types of presidential addresses from 1978 to 2021 were obtained on March 10, 2021, from <http://rcpce.engl.polyu.edu.hk/politicalspeeches/twpa.html>. The authors gathered presidential addresses between 1948 and 1978 from two sources: *Zhōngwén wénjiào jījīnhuì* (Chung Cheng Education Foundation, CCEF), retrieved on March 10, 2021, from <http://www.ccfed.org.tw/>, and the *Guóshǐguǎn* (Academia Historica, AH), retrieved on March 10, 2021, from <https://presidentialcck.drn.gov.tw/index.php?act=Archive/index>.

Table 2. Corpus statistics

Occasion	Year	ID	Number of Addresses	Number of Characters
Presidential Inaugural Address	1948-2021 (quadrennial)	PIA	15	35,452
National Day Address	1948-2021 (annual)	NDA	71 ⁵	150,954
New Year's Day Address	1949-2021 (annual)	NYA	69 ⁶	176,165
Total			155	362,571

Table 3. The number of addresses, characters, and the metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR given by each president

President	Number of Addresses	Number of Characters	Number of Characters (per address)	Number of DEMOCRACY IS A WAR	FREQ (per 10,000 characters)	Rank
CKS	60	132,886	2214.77	33	2.5	4
CCK	22	19,062	866.45	8	4.2	2
LTH	26	41,216	1585.23	15	3.6	3
CSB	18	59,516	3306.44	14	2.4	5
MYJ	18	69,074	3837.44	4	0.6	6
TYW	11	40,817	3710.64	30	7.3	1
Total	155	362,571	2339.17	104	2.9	

Notes: CKS=Chiang Kai-shek, CCK=Chiang Ching-kuo, LTH=Lee Teng-hui, CSB=Chen Shui-bian, MYJ=Ma Ying-jeou, TYW=Tsai Ying-wen, FREQ (per 10,000 characters) = (number of the metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR is divided by the total number of characters) x10000

⁵ The National Day addresses between 1975 and 1977 cannot be obtained and which were delivered by president Yen Chia-kan, serving out the remainder of Chiang's term from 6 April 1975 to 20 May 1978.

⁶ The New Year's Day addresses between 1976 and 1978 cannot be obtained and which were delivered by president Yen Chia-kan, serving out the remainder of Chiang's term from 6 April 1975 to 20 May 1978.

3.2.1 Metaphorical analysis

Step 1: Metaphoricity identification

This study follows Metaphor Identification Procedures (MIP, Pragglejaz Group 2007) and the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU, Steen et al, 2010) to determine whether or not the words in the concordance lines containing *mínzhǔ* ‘democracy’ are used in metaphorical senses and to examine the potential possibility of a cross-domain mapping at the conceptual level. The criteria are as follows: the potential metaphorical keyword is checked to see if it has a more basic and concrete sense in the dictionary than its current contextual meaning; if it has a more basic sense as compared to the sense, it is denoted in the current context, the word is coded as a metaphorical keyword and a cross-domain mapping is ascertained. For example, Excerpt (1) is identified as a metaphorical expression and *jiānshǒu* ‘to defend firmly’ is identified as a metaphorical keyword in this case because the word has a more basic and concrete usage in the dictionary, as in *jiānshǒu zhèndì* ‘to firmly defend the fort’, as compared to the abstract meaning it takes in (1) (i.e., ‘to firmly defend democracy’).

- (1) 捍衛國土、堅守自由民主，國軍責無旁貸。
Hànwèi guó tǔ, jiānshǒu zì yóu mǐnzhǔ, guó jūn
Defend country.land **firm.defend** freedom democracy
nation.army
zéwú pángdài.
duty-bound
‘Our armed forces are duty-bound to defend our country and
stand firm in defending freedom and **democracy**.’
(NDA, 2019, Tsai Ying-wen)

Step 2: Source Domain Verification

Potential source domains are proposed based on the metaphorical keywords occurring in the metaphorical expressions, and Source Domain Verification procedures (Ahrens and Jiang 2020) are employed to verify the types of source domains in the metaphorical expressions. In this step, four corpus tools are involved: Wiki ontologies (developed by Chinese

Language and Knowledge Processing Group, Academia Sinica, Taiwan), Chinese WordNet (Huang and Hsieh 2010) or WordNet (Princeton University 2010), an online dictionary for Taiwan Mandarin, and Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004, 2014). The first three are used to check whether the nodes/senses/definitions are associated with the proposed source domains. The last one is used to check whether the frequent collocates of the metaphorical keywords contain words related to the proposed source domain. Once the metaphorical keyword satisfies the condition in one of the corpus tools, the proposed source domain that the metaphorical keyword belongs to is ascertained. Based on the metaphorical keyword *jiānshǒu* in (1), WAR is proposed as a source domain. After checking in the corpus tools, it satisfies the conditions and thus the source domain WAR is verified.

Step 3: Scenario Identification

To further tease out the nuances in metaphor on DEMOCRACY, this research further elicits scenarios highlighted in each source domain based on the frames and the co-occurring contextual information. Three sub-steps are involved: (a) we elicit the frame elements that may be involved in the verified source domain; (b) we analyze and identify the frame element(s) that the metaphorical expression focuses on based on the metaphorical keywords; (c) we analyze the scenarios based on the frame elements identified in (b) and the linguistic, historical and socio-political contextual information. Take (1) for example. In (a), the frame elements of WAR are teased out, such as military process, results, and strategy. In (b), based on the metaphorical keyword in (1), *jiānshǒu* ‘to defend firmly’, the frame element military action is identified. In (1), the linguistic contextual information *hànwèi* ‘to defend’ also indicates the process of defending. In (c), the social, historical, and political contextual information reveal that it was 2019, the time Taiwan had been facing external threats and the expansion of authoritarianism (such as The Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement in 2019). Based on the frame element military process, the linguistic contextual information and the social, historical, and political contextual information, the scenario for (1) is derived: *offensive and defensive processes in war*.

3.2.2 Ideology interpretation

This study adopts the DHA (Wodak 2001; Reisigl 2017) to explore and interpret the ideological implications based on the presidents' use of the most dominantly highlighted scenarios. With the DHA, a two-level analysis was conducted. At the linguistic level, the data are scrutinized based on linguistic realizations of metaphor on DEMOCRACY, discursive strategies, and other linguistic constructions signaling attitudinal evaluations, as displayed in Table 1. The five discursive strategies are analyzed based on the five questions and the linguistic clues that can answer the question observed in the context. The five questions are as follows (Wodak 2001; Reisigl 2017):

- a. How are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions related to democracy named and referred to linguistically in the discourse? [Nomination]
- b. What characteristics or qualities are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions related to democracy in the discourse? [Predication]
- c. What arguments related to democracy are employed in discourse? [Argumentation]
- d. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, arguments expressed? [Perspectivization]
- e. Are the respective utterances related to democracy articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated? [Intensification/Mitigation]

Some lexical items may carry semantic prosody and connotation. Semantic prosody and connotation are employed as supplementary analysis tools⁷ to examine the presidents' positive or negative attitudes

⁷ The NTU Sentiment Dictionary (NTUSD; Ku et al. 2006) is employed as a reference tool for the analysis and judgment of semantic prosody and connotation of some lexical items. The NTUSD is a sentiment dictionary in Taiwan Mandarin, which contains a list of 2,812 positive words and 8,276 negative words. The semantic prosody of the lexical items discussed in our study is determined based on the lists in NTUSD. For instance, the word positive prosody of *robust* (*jiānshí*) is determined because it is listed in the category of

towards democracy. The presidents' overall evaluation/ideological implications towards democracy are interpreted based on the discursive strategies listed above. At socio-political and historical levels, the relevant historical and socio-political background knowledge in which the discursive events are situated are incorporated into the analysis, interpretation, and discussion.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Among the 327 metaphorical expressions identified in the 155 presidential addresses, WAR is dominantly manifested in the conceptualization of DEMOCRACY: WAR (N=104;31.8%), BUILDING (N=89;27.22%), JOURNEY (N=88;26.91%), ORGANISM (N=42;12.84%), METAL (N=3; 0.92%), and EXPERIMENT (N=1; 0.31%). Figure 1 presents the conceptual mappings of DEMOCRACY IS A WAR observed in our data. Military process in war is mapped to the process of preserving democracy (as in 捍衛民主 *hànwèi mínhǔ* 'to defend democracy'). Warriors/enemies in war is mapped to supporters/opponents for democracy (as in 分清敵友 *fēnqīng dí yǒu* 'to differentiate friends and enemies' in (2)). Winning /losing the war is mapped to establishing/losing democracy (民主的勝利 *mínhǔ de shènglì* 'the victory of democracy'). Strategies employed in war are mapped to democratic alliance or negotiation (as in 民主可以對話 *mínhǔ kěyǐ duìhuà* 'democracy can be a way of negotiation'). Four scenarios/aspects of WAR are profiled. Table 4 presents the distribution of the four aspects in the addresses. Highlighted the most frequently in presidents' addresses, the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* focuses the audiences' attention on the implication that democracy is in relation to threatening/attacking and safeguarding/shielding actions. The other three less prevalent aspects are *avoiding military/armed attacks and seeking peaceful resolution*, *alliances forged in war*, and *a desirable/undesirable outcome in war*. The aspect *avoiding military/armed attacks and seeking peaceful resolution* links democracy to peace. The aspect *alliances forged in war* indicates that

positive words in the NTUSD.

democracy can help form strong collective forces because it is a universal value. The aspect *a desirable/undesirable outcome in war* mostly depicts a promising outcome in fighting for democracy. In this current study, the focus will be put on the most prevalent aspect, *offensive and defensive processes in war*, manifested in the metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR so as to explore its diachronic variations and the ideological implications it entails. The following analysis and discussion are presented chronologically in order to incorporate the relevant socio-political historical events relating to Taiwan's development of democracy.

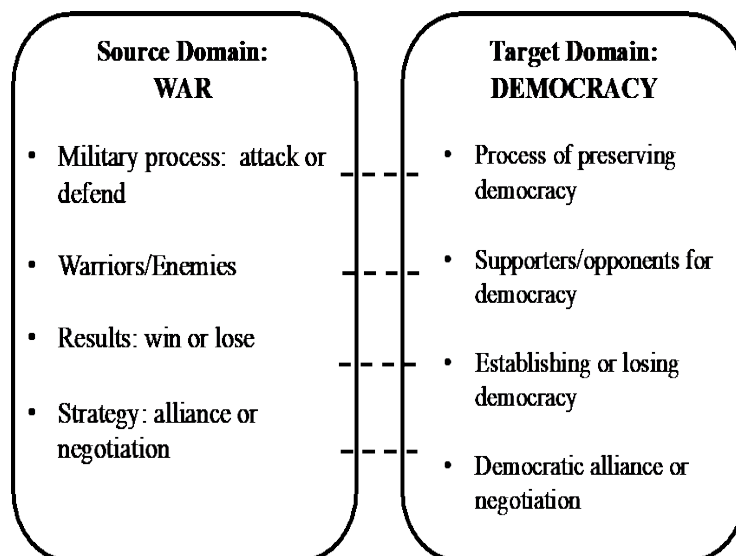


Figure 1. The conceptual mappings of DEMOCRACY IS A WAR in our data

Table 4. The scenarios/aspects of 30 highlighted across six presidents' addresses

scenarios/ aspects of WAR	Martial Law		Several direct presidential elections and party alternations accomplished			
	CKS	CCK	LTH	CSB	MYJ	TYW
<i>offensive and defensive processes in war</i>	28 84.8%	8 100%	8 53.3%	7 50%	3 75%	28 93.3%
<i>avoiding military/ armed attacks and seeking peaceful resolution</i>			2 13.3%		1 25%	1 3.3%
<i>alliances forged in war</i>	2 6.1%		4 26.7%	3 21.4%		
<i>a desirable/ undesirable outcome in war</i>	3 9.1%		1 6.7%	4 28.6%		1 3.3%
Subtotal	33	8	15	14	4	30

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

4.1 Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo: Defending democracy as a strategy for the restoration of the lost homeland in the mainland

Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo cast similar concerns in their manifestation of the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war*. Their main focus is framed in “defeating the communists and restoring the lost land in mainland China” and democracy is regarded as a compelling alternative strategy to reach this ultimate goal. In WAR, they mainly profile this aspect to convey that defending democracy is crucial because it is the

cure to the deadly poison of communism and it can be the means of ensuring world stability.

After the KMT government's retreat from the mainland in 1949, Taiwan started to be shadowed by their primary concern of fighting against the CCP and restoring the lost mainland. To distinguish themselves from CCP totalitarianism and to deal with the growing pressure from the worldwide trend demanding democracy, the KMT government had no alternative but to compromise on democracy. This is evident in their manifestation of the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war*. As shown in (2), through profiling *offensive and defensive processes in war*, Chiang Kai-shek propagates the idea that defending democracy is important because it is the cure to eliminate the lethal toxin of communism, and it can serve as a means to restore the lost homeland. The word *fortress* (*bilěi*) is identified and verified as the metaphorical keyword belonging to the source domain WAR.⁸ The co-occurring word *antagonistic* (*shìbùliǎnglì* 'irreconcilable') indicating "opposition of a conflicting force, tendency, or principle" (Merriam-Webster online dictionary) profiles this metaphorical expression by focusing on the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war*. The discursive strategy analysis further reveals Chiang Kai-shek's positive

⁸ The authors express their gratitude to an anonymous reviewer for bringing up the concern that the word *bilěi* in (2) could also have a literal interpretation regarding the socio-political circumstances at that time. However, the concrete sense of *bilěi* is a concrete and solid wall/ fortress of a military camp. In (2), no concrete and solid image of wall/ fortress can be derived from the co-texts. *Bilěi* in (2) is more likely to be interpreted as an abstract boundary/barrier between communist totalitarianism and democratic freedom. Thus, (2) is identified as a manifestation of DEMOCRACY IS A WAR. Metaphor Identification Procedures (MIP; Pragglejaz Group 2007) and Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU; Steen et al. 2010) are followed strictly to determine the figurativeness of (2). The criteria are as follows: the potential word is checked to see if it has a more basic and concrete sense in the dictionary than its current contextual meaning. If it has a more basic sense as compared to the sense it is denoted in the current context, the word is coded as a metaphorical keyword and a cross-domain mapping is ascertained. The word in (2) is checked in an online dictionary maintained by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan, and it has a more concrete sense (the fortress of the barracks) than its current contextual meaning (the fortress/ramparts/boundary of two opposites, communist totalitarianism and democratic freedom). The word meets the criteria, it is then coded as metaphorical keyword in this case.

attitude toward democracy. The social actors related to democracy are *we* and *friends*, as contrasted with the persons related to totalitarianism are *communists* and *enemies*, implying a strong link between *we* (the KMT government/the R.O.C) and democracy, and creating his solidarity and commitment toward the addressees (Wei and Duann 2019). The events/processes related to democracy are *promoting justice*, *uprooting the toxicity of communism*, *restoring the nation*, and *moving toward victory*, implying the beneficial outcomes of standing with democracy. The verbs *promote* (*shēnzhāng*) and *expand* (*kāituò*) indicating what democracy can bring about carry positive semantic prosody. Through the words *right* and *friends*, democracy is appraised and valued as positive, in contrast to the words *wrong* and *enemies* used to pair with communism.⁹ Contrary to the totalitarianism that CCP adopts, the KMT government led by Chiang Kai-shek chooses democracy as an alternative. The topos of threat is used to support the argumentation which claims that we need to do something against the toxicity of communism, and democracy is the way. The above nominations, attributions and arguments are expressed in anti-communism. The intensification strategy is adopted to emphasize the claim that democracy is the only way to fight against communist totalitarianism and restore the nation, as the word *wéi* ‘only’ indicates.

- (2) And between the present **antagonistic fortress** of communist totalitarian and **democratic** freedom, only distinguishing right and wrong, and differentiating friends and enemies, can promote ethnic justice and uproot the toxicity of communism, restore the self-esteem and confidence of our nation. We can thus expand the road to restore our nation and move towards the ultimate goal of victory.¹⁰ (PIA, 1960, Chiang Kai-shek)

⁹ The authors would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for raising the issue that Excerpt (2) may also contain the other two source domains: TOXICITY and JOURNEY, and the evaluative functions may also come from these two domains. The purpose of this current study is to explore the *offensive and defensive processes in war* aspect in the metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR and its ideological implications. That is, this study primarily focuses on the conceptualization of democracy through the source domain WAR. The mixture of metaphor is beyond the scope of this current study, but it is worthy to be further explored in future study.

¹⁰ For each excerpt, the word in boldface is the keyword *mínzhǔ* (‘democracy’), the words

而且在今日共產極權與民主自由勢不兩立的壁壘之中，亦惟有明辨是非，分清敵友，伸張民族大義，以根除共產主義的毒素，恢復民族自尊自強的信心，開拓反攻復國的道路，向最後勝利的目標前進。

*Érqiě zài jīnrì gòngchǎn jíquán yǔ **mínzhǔ** zìyóu **shìbùliǎnglì** de **bìlěi** zhī zhōng, yì wéiyǒu míngbiàn shì fēi, fēnqīng dí yǒu, shēnzhāng mínzú dàyì, yǐ gēnchú gòngchǎnzhǔyì de dúsu, huīfù mínzú zìzūn zìqiáng de xīnxīn, kāituò fǎngōng fù guó de dàolù, xiàng zuìhòu shènglì de mùbiāo qiánjìn.*

The same aspect is also profiled in Chiang Ching-kuo's addresses, as (3) demonstrates. He skillfully manifests the conditional construction to draw the audience's attention to the possible promising outcomes that will be obtained if the conditions are fulfilled. The conditions are focused on defending democracy and the possible outcomes are indicated explicitly: the victory of anti-communism and restoring the nation. The word *defend* (*jiānshǒu*) is identified and verified as the metaphorical keyword of WAR. The word *defend* and the co-occurring expression *never stop fighting* (*fèndòu bù xiè*) profiles the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war*. Our analysis shows Chiang Ching-kuo's positive evaluation toward the issue of defending democracy. Through a nomination strategy, Chiang Ching-kuo links his government to the free world through his claim of defending democracy. As shown in the excerpt, the social actors related to democracy are *we* and *free world*, implying the appropriateness of the government's decision of defending democracy: unlike communism, democracy is a global trend, and freedom is the basic value human beings are endowed with. Chiang Ching-kuo uses conditional construction and nomination strategies to legitimize and justify his/his government's decision of defending democracy by shaping it with a promising future in the free world. The process of defending democracy is predominantly intensified. For instance, the word *firmly* (*jiānshǒu* 'firmly defend') is used to intensify the degree of the verbal process of defending, and the

that are boldfaced and underlined indicate metaphorical keywords for DEMOCRACY IS A WAR and the *offensive and defensive processes in war* aspect, and the words that are underlined are linguistic clues for analyzing discursive strategies.

word *never* indicates the denial is contractive and is used to explicitly declare that stopping fighting for democracy is never an option. The topos of usefulness is employed to support the argument which claims that democracy can lead to promising outcomes, such as *the establishment of the foundation of making the ROC great again and for the victory of anti-communism and restoring the nation*. The epistemic modality *must* (*bìrán*) implicitly but intensively signals Chiang Ching-kuo's subjective evaluation of the possibility of the proposition: high possibility. Although this statement does not directly mention democracy, it sophisticatedly implies Chiang Ching-kuo's positive attitude toward defending democracy by focusing on the outcomes of defending democracy. However, the socio-political historical background reveals that a promising future is not Chiang Ching-kuo and his government's main concern; their ultimate goal is restoring the nation and gaining victory with anti-communism, with defending democracy being a strategy to achieve that goal. Like Chiang Kai-shek's address, the nominations, attributions and arguments here are expressed in anti-communism.

- (3) If we always firmly defend the **democratic** camp, stand alongside with the free world, keep striving to improve and **never stop fighting**; and everyone unites as one and makes executing the Three Principles of the People as our own responsibility, making its light shine brightly, then the foundation of making the ROC great again must be established and the victory of anti-communism and restoring our nation must come. (NYA, 1981, Chiang Ching-kuo)

祇要我們永遠堅守民主陣容，站在自由世界一邊，自強不息，**奮鬥不懈**，大家一條心，以力行三民主義為己任，使三民主義的光華大顯，則中華民國中興再盛的基礎必然大立，反共復國的勝利必然大成！

Qíyào wǒmen yǒngyuǎn jiānshǒu mínzhǔ zhènróng, zhàn zài zìyóu shìjiè yībiān, zìqiángbùxī, fèndòu bùxiè, dàjiā yì tiáo xīn, yǐ lìxíng sānmínzhǔyì wéi jǐrèn, shǐ sānmínzhǔyì de guānghuá dà xiǎn, zé zhōnghuámíngguó zhōngxìng zài shèng de jīchǔ bìrán dàlì, fǎngòng fù guó de shènglì bìrán dàchéng!

4.2 Lee Teng-hui: Defending democracy as both a strategy for the restoration of the lost homeland in mainland and a bulletproof vest for Taiwan's better future

Lee Teng-hui is an important figure who brings the transition of Taiwan's democracy to the fore. His main focus of safeguarding democracy deserves loud applause, and democracy should be defended to secure the country for further pursuit of freedom and democracy.

The aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* also plays a central role in Lee Teng-hui's addresses, while it does not carry the same ideological implications as the ones reflected in Chiang Kai-shek's and Chiang Ching-kuo's addresses. Through highlighting *offensive and defensive processes in war*, Lee implies that democracy should be defended so as to ensure the opportunity of the upcoming continuous pursuit of freedom and democracy, and the act of defending democracy is highly favorable. Take excerpt (4) for example. The word *defend* (*hànwèi*) is verified as a metaphorical keyword of WAR. Both the word *defend* and the co-occurring word *safe* (*ān*) portray the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war*. The discursive strategy analysis reveals Lee's positive attitude toward democracy. The words *safe* and *pursue* both appraise democracy with a positive value. The social actors related to democracy are *Chiang Chung-cheng* (*Chiang Kai-shek*) and *Chiang Ching-kuo*, and *Chinese people*, and this implies Lee's positive evaluation of the former president's contribution of choosing democracy and Lee's future plan in leading the country (i.e., pursuing democracy). The events/processes related to democracy are *setting foot in Taiwan, uniting people here and overseas*, and *defending the base/democracy*. It is worth noting that the events/processes such as restoring the nation and gaining the victory of anti-communism are absent here and are seldom mentioned in Lee's addresses. This implies that Lee's/ Lee's government's focus is no longer on restoring the nation and anti-communism but on pursuing democracy for the nation's own sake. Similar attitudes are also revealed in (5). The word *defending* (*hànwèi*) triggers WAR and also profiles the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war*. The word *salute* (*hècǎi*) carrying a positive connotation explicitly prefigures Lee's positive evaluation toward Taiwanese people's determination in defending democracy. In

addition, the word *firm* (*jiāndìng*) and *determination* (*juéxīn*) indicating a positive judgment of Taiwanese's tenacity in their behavior of defending democracy again reveals Lee's positive evaluation toward it. Furthermore, the modifier *so* (*rúcǐ*) preceding *firm* intensifies the degree of the quality of Taiwanese determination, and this also carries Lee's positive evaluation. The social actor related to democracy is indicated in the form of *everyone* (*dàjiā*), this implies that everyone in the country, including the government and the citizens, will carry out any offensive and defensive processes to safeguard democracy. The analysis of the predication strategy further reveals Lee's positive evaluation of safeguarding democracy: the characteristics attributed to the act of defending democracy are described in the way of cheering and applauding (e.g., *salute* (*hècǎi*)), and this implies that the safeguarding of democracy is something deserving loud applause. In these two excerpts, the arguments are made through claiming the rightness of defending democracy. Again, it is important to note that, Lee's primary concern differs from former presidents. Instead of restoring the lost homeland and gaining victory over communism, the island's (i.e., Taiwan's) future and the pursuit of democracy are the primary focus of Lee and his government.

- (4) Thanks to President Chiang Chung-cheng and Chiang Ching-kuo, who firmly set foot in Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu to unite fellow people here and overseas. They learnt from the past and defended this base of revival, so the democratic constitutional system of the Republic of China can get rid of being in danger and become safe, and thus tighten the fate for Chinese people to pursue democracy and freedom. (NDA, 1995, Lee Teng-hui)

幸賴先總統蔣公及故總統經國先生，堅定立足臺、澎、金、馬，團結海內外同胞，生聚教訓，捍衛此一復興基地，使中華民國民主憲政體制危而復安，進而維繫了中國人民追求民主自由的機運。
Xìng lài xiān zǒngtǒng jiǎnggōng jí gù zǒngtǒng jīng guó xiānshēng,
jiāndìng lìzú tái, pēng, jīn, mǎ, tuánjié hǎi nèiwài tóngbāo, shēngjù
jiàoxùn, hàn wèi cǐ yī fùxīng jīdì, shǐ zhōnghuámínguó mínzhǔ
xiànzhèng tǐzhì wēi ér fù ān, jìn'ér wéixì le zhōngguó rénmin zhuīqiú
mínzhǔ zìyóu de jīyùn.

- (5) A salute to everyone in the country for being so firm and never wavering when it comes to their determination in defending democracy. (PIA, 1996, Lee Teng-hui, 1996)

喝采大家捍衛民主的決心，如此堅定，毫不動搖。

Hècǎi dàjiā hàn wèi mǐnzhǔ de juéxīn, rúcǐ jiāndìng, háo bù dòngyáo.

4.3 Chen Shui-bian: Defending democracy may be an ultimate goal to preventing external threats

In his addresses, Chen Shui-bian's main concerns are the importance of defending democracy, the achievements of democracy, and the obstacles Taiwan had overcome in pursuing democracy. He regards democracy as a valuable asset and an ultimate goal to be pursued and protected, which is expressed explicitly. He profiles the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* to point out that democracy should be protected because external threats are not eliminated, as demonstrated in (6). The word *shock* (*zhènjīng*) carrying a negative prosody indicates Chen's negative evaluation towards the September 11 terror attack. The process of *defending democracy* and the word *importance* (*zhòngyàoxìng*) carrying a positive prosody shows Chen values democracy positively. The September 11 terror attack is used as a metonymy to stand for the whole category of totalitarianism and any external threats. This is an argumentation strategy that employs the topos of threat which reinforces the rightness of defending democracy. Through this way, while Chen tactically avoids directly mentioning the controversial issues relating to Cross-Straits relations that may spark off useless tensions between the Cross-Straits, he still successfully expresses his negative evaluation toward totalitarianism and links the importance of defending democracy to the prevention of external threats. This analysis supports Cheng's findings (2006:604), as she argues: the manipulation of rhetoric helps Chen "avoid China's use of military force against Taiwan by diminishing face-threatening wording, but not sacrificing his vision of a pro-independent Taiwan." In this perspective, democracy is no longer a strategy that should be adopted to restore the lost homeland but a precious

value/system which can maintain world peace and ensure the safety and freedom of the people.

- (6) The September 11 terrorist attack in the United States shocked the whole world, and it once again makes us understand the importance of **defending** our freedom, **democracy**, and peace. (NDA, 2001, Chen Shui-bian)

九一一美國遭受恐怖攻擊事件，讓全球為之震驚，也讓世人再一次領悟捍衛自由、民主、和平的重要性。
Jiǔyīyī měiguó zāoshòu kǒngbù gōngjǐ shìjiàn, ràng quánqiú wéi zhī zhènjīng, yě ràng shìrén zàiyīcì lǐngwù hànwei zìyóu, mínzhǔ, héping de zhòngyàoxìng.

4.4 Ma Ying-jeou: Defending democracy as a strategy to prevent or resolve conflicts in a peaceful way

Ma Ying-jeou's main point is seeking a peaceful resolution, and democracy is regarded as a means/strategy to achieve that goal. The relatively fewer usages of WAR can reveal that he tries to evade the war-related expressions in dealing with democracy. In a total of four instances of WAR, the aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* is the focus.

The relatively fewer manifestations of WAR metaphor on DEMOCRACY and the highlighted aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* reveals Ma Ying-jeou's evaluation toward democracy. Like former presidents, as a president, he pledges to defend democracy against any potential threats. However, he tries to tone down the previous conflicting and aggressive atmosphere prevalent in Chen's term. This also is in accord with the public opinion that maintaining the peaceful status is preferable and with the Ma's management of Cross-Strait relations. More specifically, through *offensive and defensive processes in war*, Ma regards democracy as a means to protect the country and makes a commitment to safeguard democracy and the R.O.C., as shown in (7). He values democracy positively. The word *defend* (*hànwei*) carries a positive prosody, which reflects the emotion of security, thus revealing his positive evaluation toward defending democracy. That is to say, he delivers the idea that

safeguarding democracy can increase security, either physiological (emotional) or physical (e.g., military) security (this interpretation (military security) is derived from the sociopolitical and historical contextual background in which the excerpt situates). Additionally, he employs the deontic modal expression *will/can (huì)* which denotes ability and modal adjunct *definitely (juéduì)* which intensifies the verbal process to intensify his determination and volition in safeguarding democracy. The social actors related to democracy are indicated directly: *president of the Republic of China* and *I*, which indicates that defending democracy is what presidents of the R.O.C. should undertake. This also implies he is still following the former president's management in leading the country, and therefore enhances his legitimacy. However, unlike former presidents, he does not explicitly and directly formulate the purpose or possible outcomes of defending democracy in the adjacent context. By contrast, Ma's main purpose and possible outcomes of defending democracy can be unveiled in the pretext of the same address. Ma emphasizes two main achievements that have been made through democracy: the Japan-Taiwan fishery agreement in 2013 and the peaceful relationship with the PRC. In particular, he has explicitly pointed out that "in the past six years, our democratic constitutionalism has also played a role in Cross Strait relations: the two sides of the Taiwan Strait have gone from conflict to a peaceful relationship, from confrontation to negotiation. (NDA, 2014, Ma Ying-jeou)" Both the fishery agreement with Japan and the peaceful negotiation with the PRC are built upon the system of democracy. Through this he highlights the instrumental role democracy can serve: a tool/means/strategy to prevent or resolve conflicts in a peaceful way. Another piece of evidence can be found in his manifestation of another aspect *avoiding military/armed attacks and seeking peaceful resolution*. Through the use of this less dominant aspect, Ma regards democracy as a means to prevent or resolve conflicts in a peaceful way, as demonstrated in (8).¹¹ In the first sentence, Ma employs a *nomination* strategy to

¹¹ Source Domain Verification procedures are followed to verify the WAR image in (8). The metaphorical keyword is checked in the interface of Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2004, 2014). The Chinese GigaWord 2 Corpus: Taiwan, traditional is selected and the word sketch function is used to check what the frequent collocates of *duìhuà* ('negotiation') are in this corpus. The query results show that the frequent collocates of *duìhuà* contain words

indicate that a peaceful link can be established between Taiwan and mainland China on the basis of democracy: the social actors are the government of *Taiwan* and *mainland China*; the events and processes are *economic complementarity*, *cultural exchange*, and *negotiation*. It is worth noting that the social actors related to democracy include not only *Taiwan* but *mainland China*. This implies that Ma believes Taiwan and mainland China can be on the same page through the implementation of democracy. In addition, he appraises the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China as positive: the word *more* and *complementary* have a positive semantic prosody, and this foreshadows Ma's strategies in tackling Cross-Strait relations, which is immediately realized in the following sentences in which democracy is mentioned. He uses the mental process verb *I believe* (*wǒ xiāngxìn*) and modal verb *can* (*kěyǐ*) to pronounce explicitly his subjective positive evaluation and his intention toward the proposal of having a negotiation on democracy with mainland China, instead of triggering confrontation. It is noteworthy that Ma's tone is softened (*I believe* is a median degree of modality) in (8) in tackling Cross-Strait relations as compared with (7) in which defending democracy is the focus and the tone is intensified (the modalities used in (7) are a high degree of modality).

- (7) As president of the Republic of China, I will definitely do everything to defend the Republic of China's **democratic** constitutional system. (NDA, 2014, Ma Ying-jeou)

我身為中華民國總統，絕對會全力捍衛中華民國的民主憲政。
Wǒ shēnwéi zhōnghuámínguó zǒngtǒng, juéduì huì quánlì hànwei zhōnghuámínguó de mínzhǔ xiànzèng.

related to the proposed source domain of WAR: 軍事對話 (*jūnshì* 'military' *duìhuà* 'negotiation'; LogDice score 4.6) , and 戰略對話 (*zhànlüè* 'military tactics' *duìhuà* 'negotiation'; LogDice score 7). Thus, the WAR image of (8) is verified.

- (8) I also believe that there is more to the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China. In addition to economic complementarity and cultural exchange, **democracy** and the rule of law can also provide a platform for **negotiation**. (NDA, 2012, Ma Ying-jeou)

我也相信，臺灣與大陸的互動過程中，不僅經濟可以互補、文化可以交流，而民主法治也同樣可以對話。

Wǒ yě xiāngxìn, táiwān yǔ dàlù de hùdòng guòchéng zhōng, bùjǐn jīngjì kěyǐ hùbǔ, wénhuà kěyǐ jiāoliú, ér mínzhǔ fǎzhì yě tóngyàng kěyǐ duìhuà.

4.5 Tsai Ying-wen: Defending democracy as a necessity for Taiwan to secure its sovereignty and stability

Tsai Ying-wen's main focus is that defending democracy plays the most essential role in the mission of safeguarding Taiwan. Compared to the other five former presidents, Tsai makes a clearer and explicit link between democracy and Taiwan. She regards democracy as the ultimate goal Taiwan is pursuing: only by defending democracy, can Taiwan have democracy and secure its sovereignty and stability. That is, democracy is not a means/strategy but a goal Taiwan needs to make every effort to defend and pursue, and this is indicated explicitly in her addresses.

The aspect *offensive and defensive processes in war* is constantly and prevalently profiled in Tsai's addresses. The message Tsai delivers is clear: defending democracy is defending Taiwan. Democracy is regarded as the essence of the country. It no longer only serves as a means to protect the country. It is regarded as the most valuable and ultimate asset making this island Taiwan, a democratic country. Furthermore, uninterrupted interferences and threats mainly from China facilitate Tsai and her government to emphasize the crucial role democracy plays in Taiwan. The message of defending democracy is defending Taiwan is made clear through the nomination strategy: the abstract objects and events related to democracy are *national security*, *Cross-Strait interaction*, and *sovereignty*, which creates a direct link between democracy and the nation's status.

In her addresses, while she consistently values the defending process of democracy as positive, she further explicitly stresses the importance of

safeguarding democracy from a perspective of national and international security, which is particularly distinct from the perspectives held by Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo. Her manifestation of deontic modality (*yào* 'shall') imposing obligation explicitly ground the demand (*safeguarding democracy*) in her subjectivity, which reveals her assessment of the demand: she views it as an obligation, as shown in (9). In particular, the term Taiwanese signals her strategies on the issues of Cross-Strait relations: the issues of defending democracy and Taiwan's sovereignty are non-negotiable. The importance of defending democracy is explicitly specified in the adjacent co-texts. For instance, in (9), the objects (*democracy, freedom, and this country*) being safeguarded are connected with each other, and this indicates that the three objects have equal status. That is, safeguarding democracy is safeguarding freedom and ensuring the security of this country. The relation between defending democracy and national security is directly connected in (10). The word *impact* (*yǐngxiǎng*) carrying a negative prosody reveals that Tsai does not appraise Cross-Strait interactions as positive. In the adjacent co-texts, through the use of the positive word *security* (*fángghù*) and the word *robust* (*jiānshí*) carrying a positive semantic prosody, she emphasizes that defending democracy plays a determining role in minimizing the impacts on sovereignty caused by unstable and unsettled Cross-Strait relations. In addition to the domestic level, Tsai further points out the importance of protecting democracy from a macro international perspective. As shown in (11), she first depicts the democratic communities' negative attitudes toward authoritarianism by using the word *alert* (*jǐngjué*) carrying a negative prosody and then throws a spotlight on the indispensable role of Taiwan in the world and the importance of defending democracy: protecting the world from threats of authoritarianism, by using the word *defense line* (*fángxiàn*) which carries a positive prosody. Through entrenching the modalities, words carrying attitudinal meanings, and topos of threat in the addresses, Tsai delivers a message that defending democracy is important for both national and international security.

- (9) Today, tomorrow, and every day to come, we shall all be a Taiwanese who safeguards democracy, freedom, and this country. (PIA, Tsai Ying-wen, 2016)

今天，明天，未來的每一天，我們都要做一個守護民主、守護自由、守護這個國家的台灣人。

Jīntiān, míngtiān, wèilái de měi yītiān, wǒmen dōu yào zuò yīgè shǒuhù mínzhǔ, shǒuhù zìyóu, shǒuhù zhège guójiā de táiwānrén.

- (10) I have thus directed our national security agencies to investigate and discuss issues which may impact sovereignty in the Cross-Strait interactions, to strengthen democracy monitoring mechanisms, and to establish a robust security network for Taiwan's **democracy** through rule of law. (NYA, 2019, Tsai Ying-wen)

因此，我已經請國安機關研議，對於兩岸互動中，可能影響主權的議題，強化民主監督機制，透過法治面的作為，為台灣建立一道堅實的民主防護網。

Yīncǐ, wǒ yǐjīng qǐng guó'ān jīguān yán yì, duìyú liǎng'àn hùdòng zhōng, kěnéng yǐngxiǎng zhǔquán de yìtí, qiánghuà mínzhǔ jiāndū jīzhì, tòuguò fǎzhì miàn de zuòwéi, wèi táiwān jiànlì yīdào jiānshí de mínzhǔ fánghù wǎng.

- (11) Free and democratic countries around the world have been alerted to the expansion of authoritarianism, and Taiwan is standing on **democracy's** first line of defense. (NDA, 2021, Tsai Ying-wen)

威權主義的擴張，讓全世界支持自由民主價值的國家，都有警覺，而臺灣正處於民主防線的最前緣。

Wēiquán zhǔyì de kuòzhāng, ràng quán shìjiè zhīchí zìyóu mínzhǔ jiàzhí de guójiā, dōu yǒu jǐngjué, ér táiwān zhèng chǔyú mínzhǔ fángxiàn de zuì qiányuán.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As an ideology-loaded abstract concept, democracy is frequently portrayed through metaphor in political discourse. In the context of Taiwan, the issues regarding democracy are often discussed from the perspective of social science (e.g., Wong 2003; Shih 2008). This current study provides insights from linguistics. Through an in-depth analysis, this paper not only extends the empirical aspects of Conceptual Metaphor Theory but also amplifies the findings existing in the extant literature. Incorporating a multi-level framework (metaphor analysis and discourse-historical approach), this study has demonstrated how a single aspect in the metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A WAR gives rise to various and different ideological implications. A summary of the presidents' evaluations toward defending democracy based on the analyses of the discursive strategies employed in presidents' addresses can be found in the Appendix. Our analyses show that even though presidents all highlight this same aspect in WAR to conceptualize DEMOCRACY, they evaluate democracy differently. The multiple ideological implications are developed mainly from the perspective of COMMUNISM IS ENEMY, with relatively different emphases: from defeating communist totalitarianism (the enemy) to protecting democracy and the nation from the threats of communist totalitarianism (the enemy).¹² The relevant socio-political historical context and presidents' political orientation motivate these variations. Before 1990, at the time of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, what is wrapped up is the call for the restoration of the lost homeland in the mainland and for anti-communism, and defending democracy is regarded as a compromised strategy to accomplish these missions. In Lee Teng-hui's terms, defending democracy serves two functions: to accomplish the restoration of the lost homeland and to make Taiwan a better place. At this time, the same aspect of WAR starts to be used to embed different evaluations toward democracy, and this concurs with the remarkable achievement led by Lee, including a series of initial constitutional reforms and the success of the first direct presidential election. Chen Shui-bian links defending democracy to the prevention of external threats and pressures. Ma Ying-jeou makes a

¹² The authors express their gratitude to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting that the data can be further discussed from the cohesive perspective of ENEMY.

commitment to defending democracy for the country. Unlike the aggressive attitudes former presidents adopt, Ma regards defending democracy in Taiwan (and promoting democracy in mainland China) as a strategy to accomplish a peaceful relationship between the Cross-Straits countries. This is consistent with his strategies and policies in dealing with Cross-Straits relations. In comparison with other presidents, Tsai Ying-wen makes her evaluation toward democracy particularly explicit. She emphasizes the necessity of defending democracy: to secure Taiwan's sovereignty and stability. This is in accord with the political orientation of Tsai and the growing external pressures and threats to democracy. As chairperson of the DPP, Tsai shoulders and goes with the core value of the DPP: insisting on Taiwan subjectivity. The internal/external pressures and international situations, such as the Sunflower Movement¹³ in 2014 and the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement¹⁴ in 2019, further provide Tsai an opportunity to make her ideologies explicitly clear.

This analysis reveals that the framing power of a metaphor scenario has been tactically and strategically manifested in presidents' addresses, and this is in accord with Musolff's findings (2017). Even though presidents frequently frame the same *offensive and defensive processes in*

¹³ The Sunflower Movement was initiated by college students as a protest against the KMT's railroading of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) with China (Ho 2015). Experts alerted the public of the danger that Taiwan's civil society, economic, and professional interests would all be fatalistically impacted by the CSSTA. The "black box" procedure and KMT politician's "30-second Chung's incident", which involved railroading the CSSTA to reduce the amount of public inspection and supervision, were viewed as undemocratic and hurt Taiwan's democracy, and were regarded as the movement's turning point (Ho 2015). To protest the CSSTA, hundreds of college students halted Taiwan's Legislative Yuan on March 18, 2014. (Ho 2015). The conference chamber of the Legislative Yuan was occupied for twenty-four days, impeding the regular function of the Legislative Yuan (Ho 2015). On April 6, 2014, the government finally accommodated their demands and on April 10, 2014, the movement ended peacefully. In the same year, the KMT suffered its biggest ever defeat in the local elections since 1997, seen as a sign of people's doubt toward Ma and his government.

¹⁴ The Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement in 2019 was a protest against the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government's introduction of the controversial extradition law amendment bill, which aimed to set up the extradition arrangements between Taiwan and mainland China (Ku 2020). The public was warned that this bill would have fatal impact on Kong Hong's autonomy and civil liberties (Ku 2020).

war to construe DEMOCRACY, they use this aspect for different purposes and hold different attitudes toward DEMOCRACY. Before the lift of martial law in 1987, the aspect is a strategy to legitimize the government of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo and a guise to cover the main ambition, i.e., restoration of the lost land in the mainland. After that, Taiwan has had the opportunity to experience freedom and has taken part in several direct presidential elections. The recurrent aspect indicates and emphasizes democracy is a necessity that the government should guide Taiwan to fight for, even though presidents hold different purposes of fighting for democracy. Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shu-bian, and Tsai Ying-wen put their focus on leading Taiwan to a better place without the interference of totalitarianism, while Ma Ying-jeou puts his focuses on obtaining a peaceful relationship with China. Through the use of this aspect, the main purposes of the presidents can be either deliberately disguised or particularly emphasized. The manifestation of this aspect makes counterfactual statements more acceptable and trustworthy, as argued in Musolff (2017). This can explain why Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo use this aspect predominantly even though democracy had not been established in their terms.

This study not only supports the claim made by Lu and Ahrens (2008) that the manifestation of metaphor is ideologically motivated, but also further extends its methodology. Lu and Ahrens (2008) argue that Chen replaces the BUILDING metaphor with the JOURNEY metaphor to erase the China-focused ideology. Their focus is on the interaction between variations of source domains and ideology. In this current study, the analysis demonstrates that even though the same metaphor (same source domain and scenario) is manifested, it is still ideologically shaped. That is, even though the same *offensive and defensive processes in war* is employed to interpret DEMOCRACY, it seems that presidents differ regarding their stance towards defending democracy. Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo worked towards the purpose of restoring the nation in mainland China, while Chen Shui-bian and Tsai Ying-wen strive for the purpose of defending Taiwan's sovereignty. Lee Teng-hui stands in the transition of these two different purposes. Ma Ying-jeou swings between these two purposes. Such inferences deserve further interdisciplinary investigation into political discourse. In addition, our analysis

demonstrated that even in the level of scenario, which is proposed as the least schematic conceptual elements in the metaphorical conceptualization (Kövecses 2017), nuanced differences can be observed. These differences are unveiled through incorporating the DHA in this current study. In terms of methodology, a more refined framework on extant metaphorical analysis in political discourse is worthy of further exploration.¹⁵ This study is qualitative in nature. Increasing the size of the data can further expand the current study.

¹⁵ The authors would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for raising this issue. A refinement regarding a more comprehensive metaphorical analysis in political discourse deserves future endeavors.

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APPENDIX

Table A1. A summary of ideological implications and discursive strategies employed in the presidents' addresses on the *offensive and defensive processes in war*

President	Ideological implications and analysis of discursive strategies employed in the addresses
CKS	<p>Ideological implications: Defending democracy as a strategy for the restoration of the lost homeland in mainland</p> <p>Nomination Strategy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The social actors: <i>we</i> and <i>friends</i> ● The events/processes: <i>promoting justice, uprooting the toxicity of communism, restoring the nation, and moving toward victory</i> <p>Predication Strategy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Verb: <i>promote</i> (<i>shēnzhāng</i>) and <i>expand</i> (<i>kāituò</i>) carry a positive prosody ● Adjective: <i>right</i> (<i>shì</i>) carries a positive prosody ● Noun: <i>friends</i> (<i>yǒu</i>) carries a positive prosody <p>Argumentation Strategy</p> <p>The topos of threat: we need to do something against the toxicity of communism, and democracy is the way.</p> <p>Perspectivization Strategy: Anti-communism</p> <p>Intensification strategy</p> <p>The claim that democracy is the only way to fight against communist totalitarianism and restore the nation, as the word <i>wéi</i> 'only' indicates.</p>
CCK	<p>Ideological implications: Defending democracy as a strategy for the restoration of the lost homeland in mainland</p> <p>Nomination Strategy</p> <p>The social actors: <i>we</i> and <i>free world</i></p> <p>The events/processes: <i>the establishment of the foundation of making ROC great again and for the victory of anti-communism and restoring the nation</i></p> <p>Predication Strategy</p> <p>Noun: victory (<i>shènglì</i>) carries a positive prosody</p> <p>Argumentation Strategy</p> <p>The topos of usefulness claiming that democracy can lead to promising outcomes is used.</p>

Perspectivization Strategy: Anti-communism

Intensification strategy

- *firmly* (*jiānshǒu* ‘firmly defend’): to intensify the degree of the verbal process of defending
- *never* (*háobù*): to indicate the denial is contractive and to explicitly declare that stopping fighting for democracy is never an option
- The epistemic modality *must* (*bìrán*) function as entertain to implicitly but intensively signal Chiang Ching-kuo’s subjective evaluation of the possibility of the proposition: high possibility.

LTH

Ideological implications: Defending democracy as both a strategy for the restoration of the lost homeland in mainland and a bulletproof vest for Taiwan’s better future

Nomination Strategy

- The social actors: *Chiang Chung-cheng* (*Chiang Kai-shek*) and *Chiang Ching-kuo*, *Chinese people*, and *everyone* (*dàjiā*)
- The events/processes: *setting foot in Taiwan*, *uniting people here and overseas*, and *defending the base/democracy*

Predication strategy

- The words *safe* (adj.) and *pursue* (v.) carry a positive prosody
- The word *salute* (*hècǎi*) (v.) carries a positive prosody
- The words *firm* (*jiāndìng*) (adj.) and *determination* (*juéxīn*) (n.) indicate the positive judgment of the Taiwanese’s tenacity in their behaviors of defending democracy and again reveals Lee’s positive evaluation toward it.

Argumentation Strategy: Claiming the rightness of defending democracy

Perspectivization Strategy: Taiwan’s future and the pursuit of democracy

Intensification strategy

- the modifier *so* (*rúci*) preceding *firm* (*jiāndìng*) intensifies the degree of the quality of Taiwanese’s determination

CSB

Ideological implications: Defending democracy as an ultimate goal to preventing external threats

Nomination Strategy

Metaphor and metonymy: The September 11 terror attack is used as a metonymy to stand for the whole category of totalitarianism and any external threats.

Predication strategy

The noun *importance* (*zhòngyàoxìng*) carries a positive semantic prosody

Argumentation Strategy: The topos of threat that reinforce the rightness of defending democracy

Perspectivization Strategy: Democracy can maintain world peace and ensure the safety and freedom of the people.

Mitigation and Intensification strategy

Chen tactically avoids directly mentioning the controversial issues relating to Cross-Strait relations that may spark off worthless tensions between the Cross-Strait, but he still successfully expresses his negative evaluation toward totalitarianism and links the importance of defending democracy to the prevention of external threats.

MYJ

Ideological implications: Defending democracy as a strategy to prevent or resolve conflicts in a peaceful way

Nomination Strategy

The social actors: *president of the Republic of China* and *I*

Predication strategy

The verb *defend* (*hànwèi*) carries positive prosody, which reflects the emotion of security, reveals Ma's positive evaluation toward defending democracy.

Argumentation Strategy: Claiming the rightness and legitimacy of defending democracy

Perspectivization Strategy: safeguarding democracy can increase security and peace

Intensification strategy

The deontic modal expression *will/can* (*huì*) and modal adjunct *definitely* (*juéduì*) intensifies his determination and volition in safeguarding democracy.

- TYW **Ideological implications:** Defending democracy as a necessity for Taiwan to secure its sovereignty and stability
- Nomination Strategy**
The social actors: *we, Taiwanese, I, Taiwan, national security*
The objects: *democracy, freedom, and this country*
- Predication strategy**
- Her manifestation of deontic modality (*yào* ‘shall’) imposing obligation explicitly ground the demand (*safeguarding democracy*) in her subjectivity, which reveals her assessment of the demand: she evaluates it as an obligation.
 - The noun *security* (*fānghù*) and the word *robust* (*jiānshí*) carry a positive connotation to democracy.
 - The word *defense line* (*fāngxian*) carries a positive prosody to Taiwan’s democracy.
- Argumentation Strategy:** Topos of threat claiming that defending democracy is important for both national and international security.
- Perspectivization Strategy:** Safeguarding democracy is safeguard Taiwan
- Intensification strategy**
The determiner *all*, referring to a whole class of Taiwanese, emphasizes safeguarding democracy is each Taiwanese’s responsibility

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

Hsiao-Ling Hsu, Huei-ling Lai, Jyi-Shane Liu

為「民主」而戰：
一個隱喻情節，多重意識形態

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本研究探討臺灣總統演講中使用「戰爭(WAR)」來概念化「民主(DEMOCRACY)」的隱喻情節(scenario)用法，以及其所隱含之意識形態。本研究整合來源域驗證、隱喻情境識別程序和語篇歷史分析的分析框架，分析來源域及其隱喻情節，並詮釋及討論其所隱含之意識形態。研究結果表明，即使總統在戰爭隱喻中使用相同的隱喻情節來概念化民主，他們對民主的評價並不相同，所隱含之意識形態意涵也不相同。本研究奠基於實用且嚴謹的分析框架，提供實證證據，支持、驗證並擴展現有隱喻理論中的理論假設。

關鍵字：隱喻、隱喻情節、民主、語篇歷史分析、意識形態、政治篇章