Cognitive metaphor in the West and the East:
A comparison of metaphors in the speeches of
Barack Obama and Wen Jiabao

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# Table of Contents

**Part I Theory and Method**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 Introduction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Background</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Aims and hypotheses</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Framework</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 The structure of the thesis</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 Metaphor: theoretical discussions</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Tradition metaphor theory</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Cognitive Metaphor Theory</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Metaphor and politics</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Metaphors and culture</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Conclusion</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Data and Methodology</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Corpus /Data</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Classifying metaphors</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Identifying metaphors</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Methodology</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part II Data Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 Data analysis</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Introduction</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 JOURNEY metaphor</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 PERSON metaphor</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 WAR metaphor</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Some specific American and Chinese metaphors: The American Dream and the Chinese flag</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 5 Concluding Remarks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>111</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix III</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix IV</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1
Introduction

The present thesis will analyze the language of two politicians - US President Barack Obama and Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao - with particular reference to their use of metaphor. I will start, therefore, with providing a short description of these two politicians’ background, before going on to discuss the specific aim of the thesis and the research questions I have formulated.

1.1 Background

Barack Obama was elected on 4 November 2008 as the 44th president of the United States and reelected on 6 November 2012. His election was accompanied by the hopes and expectations of a great many people in America, who believed Obama would bring fresh air and new hope to the nation. Since America had been overwhelmed by Bush’s politics for eight years, with internal and global economic downturns, social problems and the external infamous wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, many American people wanted to have a more stable economy and society, and were tired of Bush’s attitude of hatred and hegemony in foreign politics, Barack Obama, in contrast, stood firmly since he had always opposed the war in Iraq, and he believed that the American government should place more focus on dealing with domestic problems. Obama then seemed to be the one who could bring what American people wanted.

Born in Hawaii, Obama was raised in a single-parent family, his father was a doctoral student from Kenya, Africa, his mom, Kansas, America. Obama identifies himself as African American. It is quite amazing and surprising that he became the first ‘black’ president in America. Language seems to be an inseparable part of his success. His extensive use of rhetoric carries high persuasive power. For example, his use of the American Dream in his speeches had evoked many Americans’ hopes during hard-times. In fact, he himself has symbolic significance in relation to the American Dream. Considering his background, he is a role-model who realized the American Dream (Charteris-Black 2011: 280). His use of metaphors that creates contrastive effects also
allows him to legitimize himself and delegitimize his opponents (ibid.: 288). Therefore, it may certainly be the case that Obama was elected as the president of America partly because of his use of language and specifically metaphor, which will be the main focus of my thesis.

Wen Jiabao has a similar background as Obama’s. Wen was born in an average family in Tianjin City, China. He was a geologist and engineer. He worked in the geological field in Gansu Province where he had great contributions to preventing floods and resisting natural disasters. His talent was later discovered by a visiting official, the Geological Minister, Sun Daguang who promoted him to work in the capital, Beijing (Bi 2010: 90). His political career was surprisingly not damaged by the step-down of his head, the Party General Secretary, Zhao Ziyang. Wen became the sixth Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China in 2003. The Premier is the head of the government and leads the cabinet. Wen is regarded as the second most important politician in China after the President Hu Jintao. Regardless of his power or policies in the nation, Wen is definitely the most popular politician for the media (Fang 2010: 10). He is very popular for his sympathy towards victims of disasters because he visited disaster areas, got rescue work started and comforted victims in person. He was known to have visited the disaster area in Sichuan immediately instead of participating in the Shanghai World Expo. Because of his sympathy towards the general public, Wen is regarded as ‘People’s Premier’; while for some other people or his opponents, he is named ‘the winner of the Oscars in China’ (ibid.: 11). No matter his sympathy towards the people is real or not, the attention he received from the media, the popularity he gained among the people are contributed to by his language as well. While Chinese politicians are known as using clichés or promoting the Communist Party as the only thing in their speeches, Wen presents a totally different image. He is well-known for being an academic due to his broad knowledge and the rhetoric he uses when he gives speeches. Therefore, I consider him a good subject for me to compare with Obama, since Wen seems to be a more comparable politician to Obama in relation to their language or the use of metaphor.
1.2 Aims and Hypotheses

The aim of this thesis is to analyze and compare the American President, Barack Obama and the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao’s language in their speeches, with a focus on their use of metaphor. Since America and China represent two very different cultures, it is not only interesting to look at Obama’s and Wen’s language but also very useful to try to understand the mindset of the politicians in America and in China, and it is of special importance since America and China are regarded as the most powerful nations in the world. The topics of the speeches I chose vary, from economy and culture to national or international affairs because I want to find out the most dominant metaphors used by the two politicians in general. I will analyze the metaphors and compare the similarities and differences of the conceptual metaphors used. If they have different dominating conceptual metaphors, I will try to look at the reasons for the difference, i.e. why the metaphor is dominant in Obama’s speeches but not in the Chinese ones and vice versa. Then, I will investigate what images the politicians try to create by using the metaphors and what emotional feelings they try to evoke. Also, I will look at the politicians’ intention of using the metaphors and the effect on the audience.

One hypothesis I will test is that the two politicians will have different dominant conceptual metaphors. The second hypothesis is that the same dominant conceptual metaphors used by the two politicians will differ in detail, i.e. they will have different linguistic expressions. The third hypothesis is that there will be some culture-specific metaphors as American and Chinese cultures are very different.

The following questions will be the core interest in my research:

1. What is / are the most common metaphor/s used by Obama and Wen?
2. Why do they have the same or different conceptual metaphors?
3. Why do the politicians use certain metaphors? What images do the politicians try to create and what messages do they try to express?
1.3 Framework

In my research, I will adopt the Cognitive Metaphor Theory as a framework. The theory emphasizes the importance of the relation between metaphor and our cognition. Metaphor structures our thoughts, so by studying politicians’ language in the framework of Cognitive Metaphor Theory, we can see how different aspects are conceptualized by politicians and people, such as economy, culture, politics, social affairs and international affairs and so on (Lesz 2011: 7). Also, we can explore the power of metaphor and see how a politician can use metaphors to legitimize and gain support for a rather unpopular policy or action.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of two parts. The first part is a theoretical discussion in the field of metaphor. The second part is an analysis of my data and a conclusion. The overview of the rest of the thesis is as follows:

In chapter 2 I will provide a brief discussion of Cognitive Metaphor Theory and also draw a contrast between Cognitive Metaphor Theory and traditional metaphor theory. I will also discuss how metaphor constructs our thoughts, affects our conception, metaphorical mappings, metaphor’s functions, metaphor’s role in culture and in politics etc. Chapter 3 will present different classifications and identifications of metaphor, and the methodology used in my research. In chapter 4, an overview of metaphors used by the two politicians will be demonstrated, an analysis and comparison of metaphors employed by them will be made. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn in the last chapter. Please take note that each example will be numbered starting with (1) in each of the chapters.
Chapter 2
Metaphor: theoretical discussions

What is metaphor?

Ever since Aristotle (and earlier), people have used metaphors (Gibbs 1994: 122). And as a historical analysis shows, long before 300 years ago, American authors started to use a significant number of metaphors to express different ideas, such as rationality, emotions, life, death and so on (ibid.: 123). Regarding the question ‘What is metaphor?’, I will present the traditional or classical concepts and definitions of metaphor in section 2.1, a theory which people had long adopted and believed in. I will explain in section 2.2 why Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT) is more well-defined, robust and promising than traditional metaphor theory, and a contrast will be drawn between traditional metaphor theory and Cognitive Metaphor Theory. In section 2.3, a discussion of the importance of metaphor in politics will be made, followed by a review of metaphor in culture in section 2.4 and a conclusion in 2.5.

2.1 Traditional metaphor theory

Lakoff has a brief discussion of the traditional view towards metaphor, in which metaphors had been regarded as decorations in language, and people had conceived of such a viewpoint as the truth over the centuries (Lakoff 1993: 202).

In traditional metaphor theory, metaphors are just ‘adorning’ of language because only poetic languages are seen as metaphors, examples taken from Lakoff (1993: 202) are shown in (1):

(1)

‘Do not go gentle into that good night. -Dylan Thomas

Death is the mother of beauty. -Wallace Stevens, “Sunday Morning”’

In the above examples, words like ‘go’, ‘night’ and ‘mother’ are not used in their ordinary sense, and only such poetic expressions can refer to as metaphor according to
classical theorists (ibid.: 202), so a distinction between literal and figurative language is drawn. Lakoff (1993: 204) presents a set of assumptions from the traditional metaphor theory, which is quoted as follows:

‘All everyday conventional language is literal, and none is metaphorical.

All subject matter can be comprehended literally, without metaphor.

Only literal language can be contingently true or false.

All definitions given in the lexicon of a language are literal, not metaphorical.

The concepts used in the grammar of a language are all literal; none are metaphorical.’

According to the assumptions, metaphors are not used in practical, ordinary everyday life, since they only occur in poetics or figurative language, where they are employed just to polish language, and it also entails that all everyday conventional language is literal, and none of it is metaphorical (ibid.: 202, 204). Since metaphor is only used to polish the literary field, it is a matter of language, not a matter of thought (ibid.: 202). According to traditional metaphor theorists, metaphors are words that are employed as linguistic expressions for poetics which are not in the realm of their normal meaning, as a result, ‘what is literal is not metaphorical’ (ibid.: 202-204). In other words, traditional metaphor theorists believe that we can understand matters literally without metaphors (ibid.: 204). Traditional metaphor theorists isolate the relation of metaphors from our ordinary life and even our thoughts, and limit the domain of metaphors to only in the literary realm. People regarded the traditional metaphor theory as the only definition for metaphor for over centuries (ibid.: 202). However, such a theory is at odds with Cognitive Metaphor Theory (and cf. Gibbs 1994: 24ff.).

2.2 Cognitive Metaphor Theory

This section will present Cognitive Metaphor Theory (also known as Contemporary Metaphor Theory or Conceptual Metaphor Theory). First, I will introduce the idea that cognitive metaphor is our thoughts by adopting the views of some cognitive metaphor theorists in 2.21. Next, I will explain the metaphorical mapping in section 2.22. Then,
I will explore the relations between conceptual metaphors and our experience in 2.23. In section 2.24, the differences between conceptual metaphors and poetic metaphors will be highlighted, followed by the communicative functions of metaphor in 2.25 as well as other functions in 2.26.

2.21 Conceptual Metaphor is our thought

The beginnings of Cognitive Metaphor Theory first appeared in Michael Reddy’s essay, in which metaphor is suggested as primarily conceptual, conventional and part of the ordinary system of thought and language (Lakoff 1993: 203). But conceptual metaphor was first discussed systematically by Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their monograph *Metaphors We Live By*—Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4) claim that the category of metaphors includes the conventional metaphors of ordinary language and is much broader than traditionally assumed, and this contrasts with traditional views in which only novel or poetic metaphors are considered to be vital or alive.

A cornerstone of the Cognitive Metaphor Theory is the belief that we use metaphor to structure our understanding of the world, so the locus of metaphor is not language, but thought, or the way we conceptualize one thing in terms of another (Lakoff 1993: 203). For example, in the expression ‘Our relationship has hit a dead-end street’, love is being conceptualized as a journey, with the implication that the love relationship is stuck because the lovers cannot go further, so they must turn back, or abandon the relationship (ibid.: 206). Lakoff (1993: 206) further explains that this is not the only example, many everyday expressions in English are based on the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, such as the examples in (2), they are all common English expressions, not poetic expressions, so Cognitive Metaphor Theory challenges the traditional theory which defines metaphor as a kind of figurative language (ibid.: 204).

(2)

‘Look how far we’ve come. It’s been a long, bumpy road. We can’t turn back now. We’re at a crossroads. We may have to go our separate ways. The relationship isn’t going anywhere. We’re spinning our wheels. Our relationship is off the track. The marriage is on the rocks. We may have to bail out of this relationship.’
Moreover, traditional metaphor studies put a focus on literary metaphor, but the fact that metaphor appears in literature does not necessarily entail that they are only language expressions (ibid.: 204). Lakoff further suggests that the study of literary or novel metaphor is an extension of the study of everyday metaphor, because novel metaphors are in fact built upon conceptual metaphors (ibid.: 203), further discussions can be found in section 2.24.

According to cognitive metaphor theorists, metaphors are in fact latent in our mind, since they form part of our conception of the world, they are often used without us being aware (Goatly 2007: 22). Metaphors are especially pervasive in abstract concepts, since we rely heavily on metaphors to express abstract concepts. For example, relying on the metaphor TIME PASSING IS MOTION, we say the expressions in (3) naturally, as taken from Lakoff (1993: 217):

(3)

‘The time will come when... The time has long since gone when … The time for action has arrived. That time is here. In the weeks following next Tuesday... On the preceding day … I’m looking ahead to Christmas. Thanksgiving is coming up on us. Let’s put all that behind us. I can’t face the future. Time is flying by. The time has passed when...’

Apart from MOTION, time is also conceptualized as ENTITIES and LOCATIONS, it is because we can see motion, entities and locations in our visual systems, but we do not see time; therefore, it is not surprising that time is understood metaphorically as things and motion since we could hardly describe time without using these metaphors (ibid.: 218). In fact, many of the basic concepts in our mind are understood metaphorically, such as time, state, change, causation, action, purpose and means and so on, and since these concepts are very central to our conceptual systems, it suggests that metaphor is important to our abstract thoughts (ibid.: 222).
Since metaphors construct our abstract thoughts, they inevitably appear in everyday language. Metaphors are indeed ubiquitous, so they are very important to our ordinary language use (Lakoff 1993: 202-203). Goatly (2007: 13) as well suggests that ‘The first aspect of metaphor that the conceptual theorists stress is that it is everywhere’, so it is widespread in our language. Since metaphors are inseparable with daily expressions, we use them very often (Gibbs 1994: 21). And, as Gibbs (1994: 169-206) shows, all types of language make use of metaphor, for instance, science, law, culture and so forth. Lakoff (1993: 244) even suggests that ‘from the most mundane to the most abstruse scientific theories, can only be comprehended via metaphor.’

Also, it is important for us to distinguish conceptual metaphors and linguistic expressions (also known as metaphorical expressions and linguistic metaphors). It is often described that linguistic metaphors (speaking) realize conceptual metaphors (thinking) (Deignan 2005: 14). For instance, the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP is realized by linguistic expressions such as ‘I’m feeling up’, ‘That boosted my spirits’ and so on. The meaning of a linguistic expression is known as ‘topic’ and ‘vehicle’. The vehicle is the word that has a meaning or meanings in its source domain, or its literal meaning; in the case of ‘up’, the literal meaning is ‘direction away from the ground’. The topic is the word that has the meaning in the target domain, or its metaphorical meaning; it is ‘happy’ in the case of ‘up’ (ibid.: 14). Therefore, linguistic metaphors can be seen as the main evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors (ibid.: 15). (Please note that in contrast to Deignan’s explanation, as Lakoff and other conceptual metaphor theorists suggest, the target domain should carry the literal meaning instead of the metaphorical meaning, while the source domain carries the metaphorical sense.)

2.22 Mapping
The most important notion of Cognitive Metaphor Theory is the mapping, in which a metaphor can be understood as a mapping from a source domain to a target domain. For instance, in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, the source domain JOURNEY is mapped onto the target domain LOVE. According to Lakoff (1993: 206-207), there are ontological correspondences in mapping, which the aspects in LOVE (e.g. lovers,
lovers’ common goals, their difficulties, the love relationship, etc.) correspond to the aspects in JOURNEY (e.g. travelers, vehicles, destinations, etc.)

Conventionally, conceptual metaphors are presented as capitalized formula A IS B, where A is the target domain and B is the source domain, with (A) being described as (B) (Goatly 2007: 15). Very often, the target (A) is abstract while the source (B) is more concrete, so through mapping with concrete source (B), abstract target (A) is reified by source (B) (ibid.: 11). For example, the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor reifies the abstract target LOVE to the concrete source JOURNEY. To comprehend the sentences: ‘We’re at a crossroads’ and ‘We’re stuck’, our understanding of the domain of love is processed through understanding the domain of journey. Lakoff (1993: 206) depicts a metaphorical scenario in our mind which is brought by the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, i.e. lovers are travelers, who have been travelling on a journey together, but they are at a crossroads now, they do not know whether they should go on together on the same road (to continue their love relationship), or they should separate to different roads and go for their own goal in the journey (since they may have different goals of love or life). In the examples, the domain of love experience is mapped onto the domain of journey experience (Lakoff 1993: 206). The experience of love evokes our knowledge about travel, in other words, the knowledge we use to comprehend journeys is used to comprehend love through the use of metaphors, and the knowledge we use to reason about journeys is used to reason about love (ibid.: 206-207). Through such mappings, it enables us to comprehend one domain in terms of another (ibid.: 208). Deignan (2005: 14) also suggests that conceptual metaphors could be regarded as a presentation of the relation between two groups of ideas in the human mind.

One very important characteristic of conceptual metaphors is that the concrete sources for abstract targets do not occur randomly (as novel metaphors do) or in isolation, but they form patterns and belong to sets, which conceptual metaphor theorists name as Conceptual Metaphor Themes or Conceptual Metaphors (Goatly 2007: 15, 35). Lakoff makes a crucial point which draws a distinction between traditional metaphor theory and Cognitive Metaphor Theory, i.e. what constitutes the LOVE IS A JOURNEY
metaphor is not any particular word or expression, but the mapping of the source domain of JOURNEY onto the target domain of LOVE (Lakoff 1993: 208). If metaphors were only language expressions, different expressions would appear to different metaphors. However, expressions like ‘dead-end street’ (the love relation will end eventually), ‘crossroads’ (lovers may continue the journey together or pursue different journeys), ‘stuck in a journey’ (lovers have a dilemma of their relationship) and so forth are generated from the same conceptual metaphor, LOVE IS A JOURNEY (ibid.: 209); therefore, as described by Lakoff (1993: 210),

‘Mappings should not be thought of as processes, or as algorithms that mechanically take source domain inputs and produce target domain outputs. Each mapping should be seen instead as a fixed pattern of ontological correspondences across domains that may, or may not, be applied to a source domain knowledge structure or a source domain lexical item.’

According to Goatly (2007), metaphorical mappings also show the ‘Diversification’ and ‘Multivalency’ of metaphor. Diversification of metaphor means different source domains can be mapped onto a single target (also known as ‘simultaneous mappings’ by Lakoff 1993: 218) (Goatly 2007: 12). For example, ‘Your love burns my heart. Would you like to walk with me on this road of love?’ The first sentence uses HEAT metaphor, the latter JOURNEY metaphor, but these two different source domains HEAT and JOURNEY are used to describe the same target LOVE. Multivalency of metaphor contrasts to diversification, that is one source domain is used to describe different targets (ibid.: 13). Take the source JOURNEY as an example, it can apply to love, ‘This is my journey of love’, and to peace, ‘The journey to peace is tough’, politics and so on. Multivalency and diversification of metaphors prove that traditional metaphor theory is wrong, since it views metaphorical mapping as an algorithmic process that takes an input, a literal meaning and gives an output, a metaphorical meaning, so it cannot account for multiple metaphors for a single target or the same metaphorical source domain for different targets (Lakoff 1993: 249).
Metaphors can also be put into categories, i.e. super-ordinate categories and basic level categories. The super-ordinate category is generative. For example, in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, ‘vehicle’ is in the super-ordinate category, which means it can generate more basic level categories like transportations, car, train, ship, plane and so on, and these more specific items all belong to or are generated from one single conceptual metaphor, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, so a conceptual metaphor can have rich images for mappings (ibid.: 211-212). A mapping at the super-ordinate level maximizes the scope for mapping conceptual structures in the source domain onto the target domain, since it can generate a lot of basic level examples (ibid.: 212). In practice, mappings usually appear at the super-ordinate level rather than at the basic level, for example, we tend to map LOVE onto JOURNEY than onto CARS or BOATS, since the scope of JOURNEY is much more extensive than the scope of CARS or BOATS, and so it allows more expressions at the lower levels to appear and it forms the extensive metaphor set or metaphor network accordingly (ibid.: 212).

The source domain and the target domain, however, cannot be freely mapped. Lakoff and Turner (1989) introduce ‘The Invariance Principle’ for this phenomenon. According to Lakoff (1993: 215), ‘Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.’ Therefore, the image-schematic structure of the target domain cannot be violated, for instance, we cannot map a source domain interior onto a target domain exterior or a source domain exterior onto a target domain path (ibid.: 215); in other words, each metaphorical mapping should preserve image-schema structure (ibid.: 231).

Also, metaphor is traditionally viewed as a reflection of ‘similarity’ between the source and target ideas; however, it is strongly emphasized by Lakoff and Johnson and other cognitive linguists that there is asymmetrical directionality of mapping (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 112). For example, there is the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in English but no A JOURNEY IS LOVE metaphor (ibid.: 107-108). It is also discussed in Grady (2007: 191), for instance, WEATHER may be used metaphorically to describe economic or political situations but not vice versa. Therefore, the source
domain and the target domain cannot be mapped freely in either direction, because it is not or not just ‘similarity’ that causes the mapping, but more importantly how people conceptualize things or ideas in terms of other things.

Also, Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 109) points out that the source domain and the target domain are not identical because the target domain is just partially understood in terms of the source domain: if they were identical, there would be no metaphorical sense and its literal sense, but just a word with a single meaning. As a matter of fact, a metaphor will never give a completely accurate picture of its topic, and every vehicle will inevitably highlight some aspects of the topic and hide others (ibid.: 10-14; also used in Deignan 2005: 24). Deignan (2005: 24) as well points out that many metaphors distort because they are over-simplifications.

2.23 Conceptual metaphors and our experience

That metaphor is grounded in human embodied experience is one of the central principles of Cognitive Metaphor Theory. Many scholars have discussed the relations between metaphor and our experience, such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1993), Deignan (2005), Kövecses (2008) and so on.

Since conceptual metaphors are our thoughts, they are highly related to our experience which shapes our thoughts. Cognitive metaphor theorists have shown that cognitive metaphors came from our everyday experience. Lakoff (1993: 240) suggests that expressions such as prices rose; his income went down; unemployment is up; exports are down; the number of homeless people is very high and so on all come from the same metaphor themes MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN. The metaphors are not created by chance, but based on our everyday experience, for example when we pour liquid into a container, the liquid level goes up, so we conceive of quantity in terms of verticality (ibid.: 240). Lakoff further explains that even though we cannot find correspondence in real experience between quantity and verticality in some cases, for example ‘prices rose’, regular correspondences in many other cases make it natural for us to conceptualize quantity in terms of verticality (ibid.: 240). Also, when we are
angry, we feel hot physically (Kövecses 2008: 393), so we have the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE and linguistic expressions such as ‘He’s doing a slow burn’, ‘His anger is smoldering’ and so on (ibid.: 381). We also know by seeing, so we have the conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING; and ACHIEVING A PURPOSE is understood as REACHING A DESTINATION because we need to move in order to get our target object (Lakoff 1993: 240). Sweetser (1990) shows that the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEIZING is systematic and widespread across different languages because we perceive understanding as an extension of our daily experience, i.e. grasping and holding an object (Deignan 2005: 19). Gibbs and Wilson (2002 in Deignan 2005: 19) also argue that many metaphor themes that are about emotions have arisen from body experience. The advantage of mappings of concrete daily experience onto an abstract idea is that it enables the human mind to quantify, visualize and generalize about the abstract through metaphor, because it makes use of the source domains that we know well from our concrete experience (ibid.: 19). Lakoff (1993: 241) also makes several important points regarding metaphor and our experience, here I quote:

‘Experiential bases motivate metaphors, they do not predict them. Thus, not every language has a MORE IS UP metaphor, though all human beings experience a correspondence between MORE IS UP. What this experiential basis does predict is that no language will have the opposite metaphor LESS IS UP. It also predicts that a speaker of a language without that metaphor will be able to learn it much more easily than its reverse.’

Metaphor affects our behavior as well. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5), metaphors are the way people conceive of things, and people act according to how they conceive of things. For example, discounted goods are put in the ‘bargain basement’ in shops because we are affected by the metaphor theme LESS IS LOW (Goatly 2007: 35). Another example is the metaphor REFUGEES ARE FLOODS. Newspapers or politicians used flood metaphors to describe refugees, people’s views and behavior towards refugees were then affected (Semino 2008: 87-88; also El Refaire 2001). Floods are natural disasters which large amounts of water invade
people’s living areas, damage and death are then resulted (Semino 2008: 88). Flooding has been used conventionally to describe immigration and this depicts serious and threatening image of the situation (ibid.: 88). As a result, it transfers the negative image of floods to refugees, hence, it affects how people think of refugees, and thus, people do not welcome or are even hostile to refugees (Semino 2008: 87-88; see also El Refaie 2001: 358-359).

2.24 Differences between conceptual metaphors and poetic metaphors

If we say cognitive or conceptual metaphors are everyday expressions, then what are poetic metaphors? Cognitive Metaphor Theory demonstrates that poetic metaphors came from or are derived from cognitive metaphors (Lakoff 1993: 203). As a matter of fact, conceptual metaphor is a foundation for poetic metaphors, and understanding everyday metaphor or conceptual metaphor is crucial to understanding poetic metaphor (Lakoff 1993: 203). But poetic metaphor is much less common than conventional metaphor, as the latter is ubiquitous in our life (Lakoff 1993: 237). How poetic metaphor makes use of the conceptual metaphor systems can be demonstrated by (4) from Dante’s Divine Comedy, taken from Lakoff (1993: 237):

(4)
‘In the middle of life’s road
I found myself in a dark wood.’

This is an example of poetic metaphor making extensions of conventional metaphors. The novel metaphor ‘life’s road’ evokes the domain of life and the domain of journey, so it came from the conceptual metaphor LIEF IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff 1993: 237); while ‘I found myself in a dark wood’ came from the conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING because when it is dark we cannot see which way to go, and it therefore entails that the speaker does not know which way to go, and he has no direction in his life (Lakoff 1993: 237). But there are differences between the two, i.e. poetic metaphors are ‘one shot metaphors’ (Lakoff 1993: 229), they are new, so they require longer time for understanding; while cognitive metaphors are well-accepted, so less time is needed (Goatly 2007: 22).
Therefore, poetic metaphors may show differences or violations to the current linguistic and cultural fields but they are only one-off attempts; while conventional metaphors do not violate or unsettle our perception or action, since they are how we think, hence, they are already accepted to construct, conceptualize and interact with reality (Goatly 2007: 28). We do not take much notice of the argument ‘I don’t buy that’ because ‘to buy’ is a linguistic expression of a conceptual metaphor, and its metaphorical sense is ‘to accept, agree with’ (Goatly 2007: 28), so conceptual metaphors underline how people comprehend and conceptualize the world (Goatly 2007: 28). It is also worth pointing out poetic metaphors and conceptual metaphors are distinctive in terms of long-term and short-term influences, as shown in the following table, taken from Goatly (2007: 29).

**Table 1:**

Ideological and interpretive effects of original (novel) and conventional metaphors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>INTERPRETATION</th>
<th>EFFECT AS METAPHOR</th>
<th>EFFECT AS IDEOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORIGINAL METAPHOR</td>
<td>Complex: grounds and target need working out</td>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>Minimal because fleeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONVENTIONAL METAPHOR</td>
<td>More simple: target reached through disambiguation, grounds ignored</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Considerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITERAL LANGUAGE</td>
<td>Relatively straightforward</td>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>Maximum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For cognitive metaphor theorists, systematic metaphors or conceptual metaphors are the focus because they are closely related to our thoughts, while one-shot metaphors
or linguistic expressions appear in isolation and are not part of a broader mapping, have been paid less attention on (Deignan 2005: 37; also Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 116).

### 2.25 Communicative functions of metaphor

In Gibbs’s The poetic of mind (1994), he discusses three hypotheses regarding the communicative functions of metaphor, viz. The inexpressibility of language, the compactness of metaphor, and the vividness of metaphor. Undoubtedly, these three can overlap and work together.

Firstly, the inexpressibility of language (Gibbs 1994: 124). As mentioned before, some abstract concepts are hard or even impossible to illustrate literally, for example, the sentence ‘I love you so much!!!!!’ has added five exclamation marks, but it still cannot express ‘how much’ I love you, so metaphor’s rich ‘expressiveness’ plays a role, because it is easier to convey abstract meanings with metaphors, ‘My heart is filled with love for you’ with a concrete organ ‘heart’ and the container metaphorical expression ‘filled’, the expression becomes more concrete. Thus metaphors can express the inexpressible.

Secondly, the compactness of metaphor. As conceptual metaphors are related to people’s experience, the rich meanings in metaphors are deeply rooted in people’s mind. In other words, by using metaphors, we can use relatively few words to express a lot of messages (Gibbs 1994: 125). In the expression ‘You are my sun!’ , the SUN metaphor carries the messages of ‘I cannot live without you. I like you. You make my life well.’ and so on.

Thirdly comes the vividness of metaphor. Images are easily captured by metaphor, expressions with metaphor are more vivid (Gibbs 1994: 125). For instance, ‘My mood is dark.’ The unhappiness of a person is colored by darkness, since we are usually energetic and cheerful in the morning when the sky is bright, and we feel tired and upset when it turns dark.
2.26 Other functions

Metaphor also has other important functions in a more concrete sense. For example, there are social functions, i.e. it increases and strengthens intimacy between the speaker and the hearers, people understand the speaker, and therefore speaker’s confidence is enhanced. It is also used to speak out the common experiences, interests, so a common group between the speaker and the listeners can be established and the distance between the speaker and the listeners is then shortened (Gibbs 1994: 134).

According to Deignan (2005: 16), metaphors also structure knowledge, she quotes Allbritton (1995: 43 in Deignan 2005: 15),

‘Metaphor has been shown to serve a number of important cognitive functions, including that of making new domains accessible through metaphorical “scaffolds” imported from better-known domains such as in the case of metaphors in science, and providing a coherent framework or schema for understanding such everyday topics as time, arguments and emotions.’ An example is the CONNECTED COMPUTERS ARE NODES IN A WEB metaphor. The metaphor can simplify the complicated information technology for non-specialist users because they can apply their knowledge about nodes in a web to the new domain of connected computers (Deignan 2005: 16).

2.3 Metaphor and politics

This section introduces metaphor in relation to politics. I will explain the importance of metaphor in politics, the functions of persuasion, legitimization of the politician’s own self and delegitimization of opponents’ leadership, and examples such as Tony Blair’s ‘reverse gear’ will be illustrated.

The domain of ‘politics’ can be very broad, as defined by Semino (2008: 85), ‘it includes a wide variety of individuals (e.g. private citizens, political journalists, party members, Head of State), groups (e.g. political parties, pressure groups), institutions
(e.g. local councils, parliaments, governments, international bodies), activities (e.g. demonstrations, elections and electoral campaigns, decision-making and legislating at different levels) genres (e.g. political speeches, media reports), and discourses (e.g. to do with nationhood, taxation, education).’ However, at the core politics, it means processes of the acquisition, maintenance, negotiation, exercise and loss of power in local, national and international contexts (Semino 2008: 85). One of the main ways to gain, maintain or undermine power is by affecting people’s views and behavior, and language is crucial for achieving this, as political action is, to a large extent, linguistic action (see Chilton 1996: 47; van Dijk 2002; Wodak 2002; Chilton 2004: 3-15, in Semino 2008: 85). In fact, in the Western rhetorical tradition, metaphor’s persuasive functions in political discourse can be traced back to Greek and Roman antiquity, in the writings of classical rhetoricians such as Aristotle and Quintilian (Semino 2008: 85-86). Also, metaphor is particularly necessary in politics because politics is abstract and complex, and metaphors can simplify complexities. As Thompson (1996: 185-186, quoted in Semino 2008: 90) states, ‘A major function of political metaphor: link the individual and the political by providing a way of seeing relations, reifying abstractions, and framing complexity in manageable terms.’ Charteris-Black as well suggests that within all kinds of political system, no matter autocratic, oligarchic or democratic, political leaders have used language to convince others of their leadership. The more democratic a society is, the greater the need for leaders to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted, so language can legitimize politicians’ leadership in democratic societies (Charteris-Black 2005: 1).

As the languages we speak may carry a latent ontology or ideology of which we may not be conscious, it may spread or transmit ideology which affects our behavior or perception (Goatly 2007: 25-26). Hall (2001) suggests that if the same thing is repeated frequently, people will believe that it is true, or society will make it come true by introducing related policies; therefore, Foucault (1980) comments that language does not depict a pre-existing reality as much as it brings a reality into being, and this reflects the power of language (Goatly 2007: 26). The influence of language (most possibly when it is describing commonsense) upon our perception is the deepest when we are unaware of it, since hidden or latent ideology which is carried by
language is penetrating into our mind without any hindrance, i.e. we do not judge the truth or the objectiveness of commonsense (ibid.: 27). It has special importance in the political field, as the public is often exposed to politicians’ language, so people are affected by ideas transmitted by politicians, so metaphors are used by politicians as a means of cognitive or representational subversion (ibid.: 27-28). Chilton (1996 in Goatly 2007: 30) also indicates that it is highly possible for metaphors to affect policy decisions and policy actions. This explains why metaphors are particularly common in the political field, since it is a tool for legitimization of political actions (Charteris-Black 2005: 13), such as Bush used metaphors to depersonalize, demonize Iraq in order to legitimize the war on Iraq (ibid.: 181-184).

Many contemporary political theorists and psychologists also claim that metaphor is often used in politics as a tool of persuasion, and it is believed that by metaphorically describing something in terms of something else, speakers highlight some aspects in question and downplay others, and so the processed information provided can potentially affect audience’s views (Semino 2008: 86). In Politician and Rhetoric (2005), Charteris-Black shows how successful political leaders, such as Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and so on, used metaphors to highlight the positive images of themselves and their parties while downplay the negative effects of certain policies or actions.

Chilton (2004: 45-47), as discussed in Semino (2008:86), points out 3 main strategic functions of metaphor in politics:

‘1. coercion (to do with affecting others’ behaviour)

2. legitimization and delegitimization (to do with establishing or undermining one’s own or others’ credibility as holders of power, people worthy of being obeyed, etc.)

3. representation and misrepresentation (to do with controlling the amount and nature of information that others receive, and with evoking particular views of ‘reality’).’
The three main strategic functions quoted above are closely inter-related: by evoking a particular image of the party and of the political leader himself, the political leader aims to legitimize his leadership, and at the same time he delegitimizes those who oppose his policies and actions, since their views are negatively presented by metaphor (Semino 2008: 87).

As mentioned above, abstract concepts are perceived metaphorically. Politics in a sense, is quite abstract, especially for ordinary people. Politicians especially make use of highly conventional metaphors which tend to reify abstract and simplify complex political issues in order to make them accessible to the public, for instance the JOURNEY metaphor is specifically active in the political field (Semino 2008: 84). For example, American Presidents John F. Kennedy, George W. Bush and Barack Obama and so on have all used the JOURNEY metaphor in their inauguration address. Kennedy’s ‘let us go forth to lead the land we love’, Bush’s ‘with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world’ and Obama’s ‘Our journey has never been one of shortcuts’ are the examples (taken from Woolley & Peters 1999). Interestingly, the JOURNEY metaphor is also used on the other side of the world, as the first Hong Kong Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa mentioned in his inaugural speech in 1997 (translated into English), ‘we will be that much more equipped to sail forward with confidence and with conviction’ (ISD 2012).

More functions of metaphor in politics are stated by Semino (2008: 84-85), here I quote:

‘the creative extension of conventional metaphors to make particular points and produce striking “quote-worthy” expressions, which are often describe as “soundbites”; the use of metaphorical expressions to achieve humorous effects; the exploitation of the vagueness and ambiguity of metaphorical expressions; the ideological implications of metaphorical choices; the possibility of “against the grain” interpretations of particular metaphorical expressions and that strategic
extension or evocation of others’ metaphors; and the establishment of inter-textual chains of metaphorical statements by different speakers on different occasions.’

A good example to illustrate the quotation above is Tony Blair’s ‘reverse gear’. Blair confidently used ‘I don’t have a reverse gear’ and ‘can only go one way’ to express his determination and confidence in joining the American war on terrorism and to show that it was the right choice, but ‘reverse gear’ was later exploited by journalists and his political opponents to question and attack his policy (Semino 2008: 81). A BBC’s journalist used Blair’s ‘reversed gear’ metaphor to criticize his policies, ‘but when you’re on the edge of a cliff it is good to have a reverse gear.’ which entails that it is necessary for Blair to change his policy in order to avoid catastrophic results (ibid.: 83). The journalist’s ridicule also created humorous effects because a contrast was drawn between Blair’s confidence and the picture of a vehicle without a reverse gear on the edge of a cliff. Therefore, different receivers of the speech will interpret and respond to metaphorical expressions differently, as Tony Blair’s purpose of using such a metaphor was to legitimate his leadership and policies, but the metaphor was re-used by his opponents and journalists to delegitimize his policies. It shows the use of ‘reverse gear’ has been going from legitimization to delegitimization. In political debates, extending an opponent’s metaphor has the merit of achieving a particularly high persuasive power (Mio 1996, 1997 in Semino 2008: 82-84).

The target domains and source domains of metaphor in relation to politics should be paid attention to as well. Semino (2008: 91) lists the numerous and varied elements or aspects of the political domain that tend to be constructed metaphorically (i.e. function as target domains), they are quoted as follows:

- The current state of affairs, and particularly the problems that need to be solved;
- Causes and solutions to problems;
- Plans and policies;
- Future states of affairs, including positive scenarios (resulting from one’s policies), and negative scenarios (resulting from opponents’ policies);
- Various types of participants and entities in the political domains (including private citizens, parties, organizations, institutions, states);
- The ‘in-group’ (oneself, one’s party, government, social group, nation or race), as opposed to the ‘out-group’ (other individuals, other parties, social groups, nations or races);
- Politics and political action themselves.’

Regarding the source domain, SPORTS and WAR are very pervasive metaphors in American political language because they help ordinary people get access to politics more easily as they have background knowledge of sports and war, however, it leads people to believe that there cannot be negotiations or compromise since they are not allowed in both SPORTS or WAR (Gibbs 1994: 141). SPORTS metaphors, specifically American football and baseball are very dominating in American politics. For example, BOXING metaphors are used to describe prominent politicians and their confrontations: the most powerful and important politicians are presented as ‘heavyweights’, and face-to-face debates between presidential candidates are depicted as boxing matches (Semino 2008: 97). Another example is the SPORTS metaphor used by the Italian politician, Silvio Berlusconi. Semino and Maschi (1996) found that Berlusconi often talks of politics in terms of football (in fact he also owns a football team!), so that he can exploit the national love of the game since the metaphor has a particular resonance for the Italian people. (Deignan 2005: 127). Lipsky (1981), Ching (1993) and Segrave (1994) show that the SPORTS metaphor is often used by politicians since it gives familiar and clear-cut scenarios, with clearly identifiable participants aiming for a clear goal (i.e. winning), so on one hand, it simplifies the complexities of politics, and make them accessible to common people; on the other hand, it creates a sense of common ground for the people which can reinforce feelings of national identity and enthusiasm (Semino 2008: 99). However, the use of such metaphors may have the risk of oversimplification. For instance, SPORTS metaphors highlight interparty or international competitions, and downplay other goals of politics, such as governing for the common good (Balbus 1975, Lipsky 1981 in Semino 2008: 99).
The WAR metaphor is also pervasive among politicians, as in (5), the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor is used in the inaugural speech of the former American president George W. Bush:

(5)
‘the idealistic work of helping raise up free governments ... the dangerous and necessary work of fighting our enemies.’ (Woolley & Peters 1999)

In Bush’s example, in order to maintain freedom in America and in other countries, and help others set up free governments, it is necessary for America to ‘fight’. By using metaphors to describe political issues, Bush embellishes and justifies America’s real invasion in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Another conceptual metaphor that is extensively used in political language is the STATE AS A PERSON metaphor (or personification). Politics is complex, but personifying politics can simplify politics (Semino 2008: 103). Gibbs shows that it is common for politicians to personify the nation, and the nation engage in social interaction within a world community as a person. The nation’s land is its home, and it has neighbors, friends, and also enemies and bullies (Gibbs 1994: 142). However, the metaphor is also used by politicians to justify wars. For example, different countries were assigned a role for the United States to justify the Persian Gulf war, i.e. there is a villain (Iraq), a victim (the State of Kuwait), a hero (the United States) (ibid.: 143). As it is very common for heroes to save victims in stories, the hero (the United States)’s action of fighting against and punishing the villain (Iraq) is justified (ibid.: 143).

One of the problems of using these metaphors is that they may be interpreted literally (Charteris-Black 2005: 28). Therefore, the use of metaphor can be dangerous when describing moral and political beliefs because it may blur the boundaries between target and source domains of metaphors (ibid.: 149). As in the case of the Persian Gulf war, the villain deserved punishments, so Iraq should be punished by the hero (the United States) is not questionable. And whether Kuwait was a victim and the United States solely wanted to maintain justice is doubtful, but using metaphors to justify ‘unjustifiable’ wars is highly possible.
2.4 Metaphors and culture

Culture’s influence on metaphor will be discussed in this section. I will introduce several cross-linguistic studies of metaphor and metaphor in culture, such as Kövecses (2005), Yu (1995), Deignan (2005), Semino (2998), etc.

According to Lakoff (1993: 245), ‘Metaphorical mappings vary in universality; some seem to be universal, others are widespread, and some seem to be culture specific.’ Kövecses’s Metaphor In Culture (2005) presents a detailed discussion of what kinds of metaphor are potentially universal or near-universal, which aspects of metaphor are involved in variation, how and why conceptual metaphors are both universal and culture-specific, and it also gives and compares examples of different languages to show the potential universality of metaphor and the differences presented in different languages and cultures and so on.

Kövecses (2005: 4) suggests that simple or primary metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY are likely to be universal, whereas the complex ones that are derived from the primary ones are much less likely to be so, and cultures greatly influence the emergence of complex conceptual metaphors from the primary ones. Kövecses (2005: 11) points out the important role of complex metaphor in cultural contexts, as complex metaphors are more prominent than the primary ones to cultural considerations because complex metaphors reflect how people think in cultural contexts.

Kövecses (2005: 4) also suggests that:

- Universal experiences do not necessarily lead to universal metaphors;
- Bodily experience may be selectively used in the creation of metaphors;
- Bodily experience may be overridden by both culture and cognitive processes;
- Primary metaphors are not necessarily universal;
- Complex metaphors may be potentially or partially universal;
- Metaphors are not necessarily based on bodily experience – many are based on cultural considerations and cognitive processes of various kinds.’

One thing he emphasizes is that the metaphors embodied in universal experience can potentially be universal, but they are not expected to exist in all languages (ibid.: 35). He also gives examples to show that certain conceptual metaphors such as emotions, time, event structure and so on seem to be potentially universal at the super-ordinate level (ibid.: 63).

Kövecses (2005: 36) finds that several unrelated languages share some conceptual metaphors for particular emotion concepts, and this suggests that these metaphors are likely to be universal, for instance, in English, there are three conceptual metaphors for happiness that stand out in importance and also occur in Chinese and Hungarian. They are HAPPINESS IS UP (‘I’m feeling up’), HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (‘She brightened up’), and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (‘He’s bursting with joy’) (ibid.: 37). Examples of Chinese and Hungarian are shown from (6-8):

(6)
HAPPINESS IS UP

Chinese
Tā hěn gāoxìng.
He very high-spirit
He is very high-spirited / happy.

Hungarian
Ez a film feldobott.
This the film up-threw-me
This film gave me a high. / This film made me happy.

(7)
HAPPINESS IS LIGHT

Chinese
Tā xiàozhūyánkāi.
He smile drive colour beam
He smiled, which caused his face to beam. / He beamed with a smile.

Hungarian
Felderült az arca.
Up-brightened the face-his/ her
His/ her face brightened up.

(8)
HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Chinese
Tā xīnzhōng chōngmǎn xiūyù.
He heart-inside fill happiness
His heart is filled with happiness.

Hungarian
Nem bírtam magamban tartani örömömén.
Not could-I myself-in hold joy-my-ACC
I couldn’t contain my joy.

These metaphors exist in three very different languages which belong to very different language families and represent different cultures of the world. It suggests that these metaphors for happiness are potentially universal, and that there is universal motivation for the metaphors to appear in these very different cultures. The motivation could be we tend to be up, active and jump up and down rather than inactive when we
are joyful; and brightness and light tend to make us feel joyful rather than darkness (ibid.: 38).

Expressions of less bodily based concepts such as event structures are also found similar in different languages. The event structure metaphor presents different aspects of events, such as state, change, cause, action, and purpose, which are understood through physical concepts, such as location, force, and movement (ibid.: 43). Some examples of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor are shown in (9-12), as taken from Kövecses (2005: 43):

(9) STATES ARE LOCATIONS: They are in love.
(10) CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS: He went crazy.
(11) ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION: We’ve taken the first step.
(12) PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS: He finally reached his goals.

Similar EVENT STRUCTURE metaphors are found in Chinese by Ning Yu (1998) and Hungarian; therefore, Kövecses (2005: 46) infers from the findings that the Event Structure metaphor probably exists around the world. The reason for the possible universality is that there are correlations in independent embodied experiences that jointly motivate the emergence of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, for example, states of objects obtain at a particular location; movements results in change of location; we often have to move to certain destinations to achieve a purpose and so on (ibid.: 47).

Another concept is time, which is commonly conceptualized as something static and as something dynamic in many cultures (ibid.: 47). The static conceptualization of
time is categorized into past, present, and future (ibid.: 47). Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 140 in Kövecses 2005: 47) find that in English the future is comprehended as being in front of us, the present as being by us, and the past as being behind us. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) call this set of mappings the TIME ORIENTATION metaphor. Examples in English given by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 140 in Kövecses 2005: 48) are shown in (13):

(13)
‘That’s all behind us now. Let’s put that in back of us. We’re looking ahead to the future. He has a great future in front of him.’

And again, a similar conceptualization of time is found in Chinese as well (Yu, 1998: 92-95 in Kövecses 2005: 48). A set of examples are shown in (14), as taken from Kövecses (2005: 48-49):

(14)
Guòqù (passed / gone by) ‘past’ (tones marked by myself)
Qiánchén (previous / behind-dust/ trace) ‘past’
Mǜqián (eye-front) ‘at present, at the moment’
Jiānglái (will-come) ‘future’
Qiántú (front/ ahead-road) ‘future; prospect’

The TIME ORIENTATION metaphor occurs in many languages, for example, Kövecses (2005: 48-49) shows that most of the metaphorical expressions of the TIME ORIENTATION metaphor in English can easily translate into Hungarian.

The MOVING TIME metaphor is emerged from the dynamic view of time, in such a metaphor, objects are mapped onto times, and the motion of objects past the observer is mapped onto the passage of time (Kövecses 2005: 49). The mappings can combine with the TIME ORIENTATION metaphor, examples by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 143 in Kövecses 2005: 49) are shown in (15):
‘The time will come when there are no more typewriters. The time has long since gone when you could mail a letter for three cents. The time for action has arrived. The deadline is approaching. The time to start thinking about irreversible environmental decay is here. Thanksgiving is coming up on us. The summer just zoomed by. Time is flying by. The time for end-of summer sales has passed.’

Again, Kövecses (2005: 50) illustrates that the examples in English can be translated into Hungarian. There are also many examples of the MOVING OBJECT metaphor in Chinese shown by Ning Yu (1998) (Kövecses 2005: 50). The reason for the occurrence of conceptualizing the passage of time as motion in very different languages is: Time and motion are correlated, as motion takes place in time. For example, ‘I am moving toward an object that I am going to bump into a minute later.’ (ibid.: 53) Yu (1995) studied the metaphors used to talk about anger in Chinese, and found that Chinese and English share the same conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT but they differ in the sub-category, i.e. regarding the source domain HEAT, English selects FIRE’ and FLUID, whereas Chinese uses FIRE and GAS. He explains that the differences in the sub-category or the more specific are due to the Chinese theories of yin-yang (Yu 1995: 59).

In Deignan, Gabrys and Solska’s research (1997), advanced learners of English who were native speakers of Polish were asked to translate English metaphors into Polish (Deignan 2005: 99). The research shows that for some metaphors, the primary mapping appears to be the same in both English and Polish, with translatable linguistic realizations. In some other metaphors, the mapping is also the same but with different realizations. Only a few metaphors are not translatable without considerable paraphrase (ibid.: 99). Boers and Demecheler’s study (1997) of metaphors from economics discourse in English, French and Flemish indicates that the levels of frequency of metaphor should also be paid attention to. They find that the most dominant source domains in each language are related to national stereotypes, for example, gardening metaphors are popular in English, while cookery metaphors appear more often in French (Deignan 2005: 99). The findings suggest that culture
influences people’s choice of metaphor; in other words, people tend to use metaphors that are salient to them from source domain (ibid.: 99-100). For example, source domains such as the domains of PATH/JOURNEY, CONTAINERS, SPORTS, WAR and PERSON have been found to be very pervasive in American or Western politics generally (Semino 2008: 92). According to Lakoff (1993), the fact that the same metaphors are found across different cultures are probably because of universal bodily experience, since it is likely to be deeply rooted in people’s mind, and hence, affects people’s language (Deignan 2005: 22). But clearly, the conceptual metaphor ELECTIONS ARE HORSE RACES is grounded culturally because the source domain, horse-racing is a culture-specific activity rather than universal human experience (ibid.: 22).

There are also cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences in the interpretation of metaphorical expressions. An example is given by Chilton (1996), Gorbachev expressed his wish in the 1980s that the Soviet Union be welcomed in the ‘common European house’: the Russian word ‘dom’ used by Gorbachev refers to a ‘collective apartment block’ in the Russian culture, but the translation of other European languages refers to private family homes, so a feeling of intrusion rather than cooperation of neighborhood was generated (Chilton 1996: 266 in Semino 2008: 116-117). The example above shows that it is very important to study a community’s or a country’s conceptual metaphors in order to understand its culture and avoid misunderstanding.

To conclude, Lakoff (1993) claims that the most basic metaphors are universal, reflecting our physical experience, while Kövecses suggests that our body experience does not happen in isolation, but in different contexts, such as different environment, the social-cultural context, different periods of time and so on (Kövecses 2005: 285-286).
2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have compared and contrasted traditional metaphor theory and Cognitive Metaphor Theory. The traditional view isolates metaphor from our ordinary life, and such a view is proven wrong by cognitive metaphor theorists, such as Lakoff (1993). Cognitive metaphor theorists show that metaphor is inseparable from our ordinary life because it is our thoughts and it constructs our thinking (Lakoff 1993: 203). I have chosen the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY to show that many everyday expressions are metaphorical, and the conceptual metaphor TIME PASSING IS MOTION to illustrate the ubiquity of metaphor in expressing abstract concepts. I have also discussed the metaphorical mapping, in which a source domain is mapped onto a target domain. As explained by Goatly (2007), several source domains can be mapped onto one target domain, this is the ‘Diversification’ of metaphor; and a single source domain can be mapped onto different target domains, and it shows the ‘Multivalency’ of metaphor. I have used examples such as MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN to illustrate the relations between metaphor and our experience, i.e. on one hand we have certain metaphors because of the experience we embodied; on the other hand, metaphor also influences what we experience, since it affects our thinking. And the metaphor that affects our thinking the most is conceptual metaphor. Novel or original metaphors may affect our thinking or ideology, but it is only minimal because it occurs in isolation, so the effect is limited compared with conceptual metaphors, while the latter has considerable effect on people’s mind (Goatly 2007: 29). Metaphor’s functions are also worth to be discussed, such as the communicative functions of metaphor, i.e. its expressiveness, compactness and vividness enrich our language and communication. Accordingly, it is not surprising that metaphor is extensively used in politics, as the use of metaphor is the key to success for politicians. It can simplify politics, legitimize unpopular or even illegal political actions, delegitimize opponents’ actions or policies, etc. Finally, I have discussed the relations between metaphor and culture. As exemplified by Kövecses (2005), some metaphors seem to be universal, as they occur in very different languages and cultures, such as the metaphors for emotions. The metaphors HAPPINESS IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and ANGER IS HEAT, etc are found in English, Hungarian and Chinese, as shown in Kövecses’s research (2005). There are
also metaphors which are culturally-based, such as ELECTIONS ARE HORSE RACES, as suggested by Lakoff (1993). As metaphor is such a powerful tool in politics and the relations between metaphor and culture are intertwined but interesting, I will analyze and compare the metaphors used by two politicians with very different cultural backgrounds, i.e. American President Barack Obama and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao in chapter 4.
Chapter 3
Data and Methodology

Chapter 3 will present the data and methodology in my research. In section 3.1 I will present the corpus or data I have included in the research; section 3.2 discusses the classifications of metaphor; section 3.3 demonstrates the identifications of metaphor; finally the methodology which is employed in my research will be presented in section 3.4.

3.1 Corpus/Data
My data consists of 8 speeches for the Obama corpus and the Wen corpus respectively. The speeches are chosen from the webpage of the media of the White House ([http://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-and-remarks](http://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-and-remarks)) for the Obama corpus and the China’s key news website ([http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/wenjiabao/](http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/wenjiabao/)) for the Wen corpus.

I have decided to do a comparison between the metaphors used by Obama and Wen even though the two politicians’ role in their nation is not equivalent (in fact it cannot be equivalent because the political system in American and in China is different), i.e. Obama is the President of America and Wen is the Premier of China. However, the two politicians represent the head of the government or at least one of the heads of the government in the nation, and they are in power of the same time, and one of the biggest advantages of comparing these two is that they are both well-known for their rhetoric, so supposedly, more comparable examples can be found. For these reasons, Obama and Wen’s metaphors are more worthy of making comparison.

However, difficulties did exist when choosing and organizing my corpora. First of all, it is never an easy task to choose speeches that can be compared because speeches of Chinese politicians are not as easily accessible as American ones since not all speeches are available on the official China’s key news website. But I tried to include speeches with various topics in the corpora in order to test my hypothesis. I assume
that the metaphors that occur in both politicians’ speeches show similarities or are the same but with differences in detail or their linguistic expressions; therefore, it was my intention to include various topics. The main topic of both politicians’ speeches in the corpus is economy but there are also topics about foreign relations (such as Speech 4 and Speech 6 in the Obama corpus and the Wen corpus respectively), celebration (such as Speech 5 in Obama and Speech 7 in Wen) and different aspects of the nation (such as Speech 6 in Obama and Speech 5 in Wen) and so on. Second, problems also occurred in the translations for Wen’s examples. I use the translations from the webpage of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China (http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/) and the official web portal of the Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China (http://english.gov.cn/). I also translated the examples by myself when no translation was found. Very often the translation does not show the metaphors which appear in the original text. When a metaphor does not appear in the translation, I adjusted the translation by myself so that the metaphor is shown to readers. However, there are also metaphors that do not exist in the original texts but appear naturally in the translations. Such metaphors will not be included in my discussion since it is only the metaphors that occur in the original texts are of interest. Readers do not necessarily need to pay much attention to the metaphors that I have not discussed in the translation.

3.2 Classifying metaphors

Metaphors have raised researchers’ interests in recent years, but there have been difficulties of distinguishing different metaphors since different researchers have different opinions about metaphors, different terms and definitions for metaphors. As Kittay (1987: 21 in Deignan 2005: 33) states, ‘Language, similarly, has an archaeological, layered quality. We must decide at a given point whether we take a diachronic stand or a synchronic stand. Whether we characterize a term as metaphorical or literal may well depend on which stance we take.’ Kittay points out that the term ‘metaphor’ has been used by different researchers to discuss different kinds of linguistic expressions, different focuses have resulted because of the priorities of different academic traditions (ibid.: 33). For example, scholars who study literature tend to concern more with the use of innovative metaphors and pay little attention to conventional metaphors: Brooke-Rose’s study of literary metaphor (1958)
is an example; while cognitive linguists, such as Lakoff (1993:214), have done huge research in conventionalized expressions, for example, he suggests that ‘far’ in ‘John is far more intelligent than Bill,’ is metaphorical (Deignan 2005: 33). There are also different categorizations for different levels of metaphor, for instance, there are dead, buried, sleeping, tired and active metaphors in Goatly (1997)’s model; while Lakoff (1987) disagrees with the term ‘dead metaphor’, and he distinguishes four types of metaphors according to how much ‘alive’ the metaphors are (Deignan 2005: 36). As Deignan (2005: 33) points out, ‘it is relatively rare for writers to set out by defining their understanding of “metaphor” in any detail.’ It is beneficial for further research of metaphor, such as building up on others’ work or using examples from other researchers’ work to do cultural comparison in metaphors and so on, provided that we have a more concordant or clear definition for metaphors. As mentioned above, several scholars tried to build up a model to classify metaphors, such as Lakoff, Goatly and Deignan, but the previous two’s model has disadvantages, so it is difficult to establish empirically (the discussion can be referred to Alice Deignan (2005: 36-39)). Alice Deignan (2005) discusses the deficiency of the models and develops her own model, which would be a more well-explained and clearly-defined model. Therefore, in this section, Deignan’s model, which would be more suitable and beneficial for my research, will be presented.

Deignan (2005: 34) gives the general definition of metaphor as follows:

‘A metaphor is a word or expression that is used to talk about an entity or quality other than that referred to by its core, or most basic meaning. This non-core use expresses a perceived relationship with the core meaning of the word, and in many cases between two semantic fields.’

Metaphors have different degrees of metaphoricity. According to the degrees of metaphoricity, Deignan divides metaphors into 4 categories, with reference to her corpus. The 4 categories are shown on the following table, as taken from Deignan (2005: 39):
A categorization of metaphorically-motivated linguistic expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of metaphorically-motivated linguistic expression</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living metaphors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Innovative metaphors</td>
<td>… the <em>lollipop</em> trees (Cameron 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He held five <em>icicles</em> in each hand. (Larkin, cited in Goatly 1997: 34) (icicles = fingers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Conventionalized metaphors</td>
<td>The wind was <em>whispering</em> through the trees. (Allbritton 1995: 35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>grasp</em> (Lakoff 1987b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(spending) <em>cut</em> (Goatly 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is no <em>barrier</em> to our understanding. (Halliday 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dead metaphors</td>
<td><em>deep</em> (of colour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>crane</em> (machine for moving heavy objects) (Goatly 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Historical metaphors</td>
<td><em>comprehend, pedigree</em> (Lakoff 1987b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ardent</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Innovative metaphors and historical metaphors can be easily distinguished because innovative metaphors are not conventional language, and are new and less frequent which exist in contrast to conventional language (ibid.: 40). However, the distinction between innovative and conventionalized metaphors is actually not completely rigid, but rather blurred, as Deignan (2005: 40) explains:

‘Firstly, it is a boundary which many individual linguistic expressions cross over time: it seems likely that all conventional linguistic metaphors must have been innovative at some point in history. Secondly, individual speakers are likely to disagree about the newness of particular linguistic expressions.’

Regarding historical metaphors, Deignan explains that they were originally metaphors that had both a literal sense and metaphorical sense, but their literal sense was later on
not in use anymore. So if a metaphor carries no related literal sense, it is then considered as historical (ibid.: 40).

As for conventionalized and dead metaphors, Deignan suggests that it is necessary to establish more objective procedures for distinguishing them. According to Deignan (2005: 41), ‘the fundamental distinction between conventionalized and dead metaphors is that a conventionalized metaphor is dependent on a literal sense in a way that a dead metaphor is not.’ If a conventionalized metaphor tends to evoke the related literal sense, the literal sense must be more ‘core’ than the metaphorical sense, and the metaphorical sense must be ‘dependent’ on the literal sense to some extent (ibid.: 41-42). When a word’s literal sense is perceived as more core than the metaphorical sense, the latter can be seen as a conventionalized metaphor (ibid.: 42). If such a relationship of coreness and dependency does not exist between a metaphor and its literal counterpart, the metaphor is considered as dead (ibid.: 42). Deignan resorts to corpus evidence for finding coreness/dependency between literal sense and metaphorical sense when necessary. Since it is not my purpose to use corpus linguistic methods to classify different metaphors in my research, I will not go into detail here, details on distinguishing conventionalized metaphor and dead metaphor can be found in Deignan (2005).

3.3 Identifying metaphors

I will introduce the method developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) which I have adopted in my research, i.e. the Metaphor Identification Procedure, or MIP. MIP is the first explicit and systematic procedure for identifying metaphor, and its reliability has been tested (Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr & Pasma 2010: 4). The Metaphor Identification Procedure, as taken from the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 3) in Steen et al. 2010: 5-6), is demonstrated as follows:

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse.
3. a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the
b. For each lexical unit. Determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
- more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;
- related to bodily action;
- more precise (as opposed to vague);
- historically older.
Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
c. If the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.’

This method is time-consuming as each lexical unit in the text is examined; however, it provides me a more coherent method to follow in my research which gives more consistency to my study.

3.4 Methodology
I will be using a modified version of the method introduced by Pagglejaz for my research. To identify metaphors in my corpora, I first read the entire text to get a general understanding of the topic and I sort out speeches with the same topic, i.e. economy, foreign relations or different aspects in the nation in general. Next, I read the gathered speeches again and determine if the lexical units in the text are metaphorical or not. For each lexical unit, I determine if it contains a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. If the lexical unit has a more basic meaning in other contexts, I identify the lexical unit as metaphorical. Dictionaries such as the Oxford English Dictionary Online (www.oed.com) and the online dictionary devised by The Ministry of Education of the Republic of China (http://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/) are consulted when there are uncertainties. Speeches that are rich in linguistic expressions and that represent
different topics are chosen. I then identify all metaphorical expressions in my corpora and group the expressions into different source domains. Next, I analyze the expressions in the same source domain and find out the conceptual metaphor that underlies the examples. I will find out the most dominant three metaphors used by the politicians and see if they have the same dominating metaphors or not. The most dominant conceptual metaphors that I have concluded will be discussed in the following chapter.

I did encounter difficulties during the process of identifying metaphors. Problems occur especially when identifying Wen’s metaphors since conventional metaphors in the Chinese language are not as well-studied and researched as in English. Also, even though some studies can be taken as reference, there is no clear definition for conventional metaphors in Chinese. To let my readers understand the Chinese word-formation system, here is a largely simplified version of explanation: there are morphosyllabic words (which consist of only one Chinese character) and polysyllabic words (which consist of more than one Chinese character) in Chinese, and morphosyllabic words can form polysyllabic words, but one morphosyllabic word or one polysyllabic word (even though it consists of more than one Chinese character) is considered as one Chinese word. In fact, Ning Yu has conducted some studies (1995, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, etc) of Chinese metaphors, but his studies are mainly dictionary-based (Li 2010: 70), and he mostly looks into fixed expressions, such as sayings, idioms and so on, and examines the metaphorical sense of one or several Chinese characters in the expressions or the polysyllabic words. The biggest difficulty I encountered was that there are many polysyllabic words in Chinese, if I looked into each character of the polysyllabic words, I would end up having thousands of metaphors in my corpus. Ning Yu’s method or his way of discussing Chinese metaphors is not very suitable for my research as it is of interest to look at the two politicians’ metaphors in my research, but of little interest to look at metaphorical sense in fixed Chinese expressions, or polysyllabic words in the Chinese language in general. Therefore, I only include expressions which carry a metaphorical sense as a whole (not because of a specific character in the word). For example, the polysyllabic word 追进 tuījìn consists of two characters, i.e. 推 tuī means to push, while 进 jìn means to advance, to move forward or to move ahead. The meaning of each character
in the word is of little interest because it is the meaning of the whole word that matters, and in this word, it carries the meanings to push forward, to advance, etc, such kinds of physical motions. These physical motions are often metaphorically mapped onto the motion of implementing or carrying out a policy or a plan, so it is identified as metaphorical. The word 促进 cùjìn looks very similar to 推进 tuījìn, as they both consist of the character 进 jìn, and they are both used to describe implementation or promotion of a policy or a plan, but 促进 cùjìn is not considered as metaphorical in my research. Even though 促 cù means to urge, to promote, so both characters carry a high sense of movement forward, but the whole expression or word means to promote and carries no sense of physical movement, and the word is solely used to describe improvements rather than physical actions, so it is not considered as metaphorical in my research. There are more similar examples in my corpus, so I have to be very careful and skeptical when identifying an expression as metaphorical or not.

The speeches are numbered and the examples of metaphorical expressions are marked by codes with two sets of number and letter. For instance, if an example is quoted as (1t12p), it can be referred to the first text paragraph 12 in the Obama corpus; if it is quoted as (1w3p), it can be referred to the first text paragraph three in the Wen corpus. For differentiation, the letter ‘w’ is used for the quotations for the Wen corpus instead of ‘t’, which is used for quoting examples from the Obama corpus.
Chapter 4

Data analysis

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze the data, compare and contrast the metaphors used by Obama and Wen. Since there are so many examples used in the discussion of each metaphor, they will be numbered from (1) for each new conceptual metaphor.

As will be shown below, 13 and 12 conceptual metaphors, including ‘Other reifications / Miscellaneous’, have been identified in the Obama corpus and the Wen corpus respectively. The conceptual metaphors’ source domain, the number of linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor and an example for each metaphor found in the Obama corpus and the Wen corpus are illustrated in Table 1 and Table 2 respectively. The metaphors are the tables are arranged in order of the highest number to the lowest, i.e. the most frequent metaphor is number 1, the second most is number 2, etc, except for ‘Other reifications / Miscellaneous’, which I put as the last number, since it is a collection of scattered linguistic expressions, and thus, with less importance.

Surprisingly, the most dominant metaphors used by the two politicians are the same, which is inconsistent with my first hypothesis. For example, the mostly used metaphors are JOURNEY, PERSON and WAR in both corpora. JOURNEY metaphor has a number of 119 and 123 in Obama’s and Wen’s chosen speeches respectively; PERSON metaphor, 101 and 76, and WAR metaphor contains 35 examples in the English corpus and 55 examples in the Chinese corpus. The choice of metaphors of the two politicians indicates that in politics, regardless the western or the eastern world, the JOURNEY, PERSON and WAR metaphors are very important for politicians to express ideas, convince the potential followers of their policies or to gain popularity.

In the following sections, the three most dominant metaphors, as well as some culture-specific metaphors or images such as the American Dream used by Obama and the
FLAG metaphor used by Wen will be discussed.
Table 1: Conceptual metaphors found in the Obama corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domains</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Journey</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>5t18p: Yet on this day we know that America’s <em>journey</em> is not sustained by those in uniform alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1t18p: America is a <em>friend</em> of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. War</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2t2p: First of all I want to thank Eleanor Holmes Norton for <em>fighting the good fight</em> here in the District of Colombia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Creation and destruction</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7t33p: And today, Ireland’s youth, and those who’ve come back to <em>build</em> a new Ireland, are now among the best-educated, most entrepreneurial in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Up and down</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2t25p: We know that premiums and out-of-pocket expenses will <em>skyrocket</em> this decade, and the decade after that, and the decade after that, just as they did in the past decade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vision and colour</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2t28p: We’ve reined in the power of the special interests with the toughest ethics and <em>transparency</em> rules of any administration in the modern era.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Size</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3t5p: One year ago the economy was <em>shrinking</em> rapidly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gamble</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3t23p: For without action, we’ll continue to see what amounts to highly-leveraged, loosely-monitored <em>gambling</em> in our financial system, putting taxpayers and the economy in jeopardy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Stand up</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8t20p: You’re <em>standing up</em> for this company.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Temperature</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3t34p: So, yes, this debate can be contentious. It can be <em>heated</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Plant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4t20p: A year ago, we <em>planted a seed</em> of cooperation and commerce. And today, that cooperation is <em>bearing fruit</em> -- with new partnerships and prosperity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
for both our peoples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12. Weather and climate</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>7t40p: Remember that whatever hardships the winter may bring, springtime is always just around the corner.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Other reifications / Miscellaneous</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>6t29p: Some families are hanging on by a thread.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source domains</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Journey</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>5w7p: 沿着这条社会主义现代化道路前进，中国必将有一个更加光明的未来。 <em>Advancing on this path of socialist modernization, China will have an even brighter future.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2w5p: 在世界经济深度衰退的环境下，取得这样的成绩实属不易。 <em>With the world economy still <em>decline in health</em>, it is by no means easy for us to have come this far.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. War</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1w1p: 各方面热切期盼从这里听到富有智慧的声音，凝聚战胜危机的力量。 <em>People from across the world are eager to hear words of wisdom from here that will gather strength to <em>overcome</em> the crisis.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Machine</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2w21p: 保护知识产权是激励创新、推动发展的必然要求。 <em>IPR protection is vital to <em>actuating</em> innovation and development.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Size</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2w17p: 我们要把眼光放得更长远一点，把胸怀放得更宽广一些， *We should put our vision further and be more <em>broad-minded.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Construction and destruction</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4w14p: 努力把澳门建设成为世界旅游休闲中心。 <em>work hard to <em>build up</em> Macao as the world’s travel and leisure centre.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Up and down</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2w3p: 我们坚定信心，迎难而上，从容应对，已经取得初步成效。 <em>Yet, we have <em>risen up</em> to challenges and dealt with the difficulties with full confidence.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 8. Vision and                   | 16     | 3w4p: 世博会超越了信仰、地域和种族的界限，冲
破了动荡、冲突和战争的阴影，把各国人民汇聚在和平、进步、友爱、合作的世博大家庭里。
The World Expo transcends the boundary of faith, geography and race, breaks the shadow of turbulence, conflict and war, and gathers people of all countries in the big World Expo family of peace, progress, friendship and cooperation.

9. Flag

5

3w6p: 第一，高举进步的旗帜。
First, hold high the flag of progress.

10. Book

4

4w9p: 一批澳门热血青年奔赴抗日战场，抛头颅，洒热血，用自己的青春和生命谱写了可歌可泣的爱国主义篇章。
A number of Macao passionate young people participated in the Anti-Japanese War, head lost and blood shed, they used their youth and life to write a praises and tears evoking chapter of patriotism.

11. Plant

4

6w3p: 在两国经济界共同努力下，中德经济技术合作取得了累累硕果，给两国人民带来了实实在在的利益。
Thanks to joint efforts of the business communities of the two countries, our business relations have brought fruitage, bringing great benefits to our two peoples.

12. Other reifications / Miscellaneous

90

6w2p: 我担任总理以来多次访问德国，每次都给我留下深刻印象。
I have paid several visits to Germany since taking office as the Chinese premier, and each visit left a deep impression on me.
4.2 JOURNEY metaphor

The JOURNEY metaphor is first introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) into the cognitive linguistic field (Charteris-Black 2005: 45). The JOURNEY metaphor is very powerful because of its nature of a clear schema, for example, it includes a start point and an end point, path or road and vehicles or other entities that move along the path (ibid.: 46). Charteris-Black further explains that within this metaphor, linguistic expressions or aspects such as guide, maps, fellow travelling companions and so on used in politics can bring the hearers near to the politician (ibid.: 46). Also, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 95), the JOURNEY metaphor highlights the aspects of direction and progress towards a goal, which provides a useful domain for politicians to talk about policies, the nation’s situation and the policies’ aims and so on. Therefore, it is not surprising that the JOURNEY metaphor has the most numerous linguistic expressions in both the English and the Chinese corpus, i.e. with a number of 119 linguistic expressions of the JOURNEY metaphor in the Obama corpus and 123 in the Wen corpus. I have identified 16 groups of linguistic expressions for the JOURNEY metaphor in the Obama corpus and 13 in Wen. Groups that are worth making comparisons or discussing will be analyzed.

4.2.1 Data analysis: Journey metaphor

Both Obama’s and Wen’s use of Journey metaphor are the most dominant in the corpora, and both politicians’ main conceptual metaphor for journey is TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY. Here the more widely discussed LIFE IS A JOURNEY is not identified as the primary metaphor as both Obama and Wen used linguistic expressions not only in the realm of LIFE, but also to discuss politics, as in (1-2), and social and economic developments of a country or the world, as in (3-4).

(1)
6t68p: And the journey we began together two years ago was not about putting me in the White House; it was about building a movement for change that endures.

(2)
5w11p: 解决这些问题的根本途径，是坚定不移地推进政治体制改革，建设社会主义民主法治国家。

The best way to resolve these problems is to firmly advance the political structural
reform and build socialist democracy under the rule of law.

(3)

1t16p: The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

(4)

2w15p: 统筹考虑人口集聚、土地集约、产业发展和公共服务等因素，积极稳妥地推进工业化、城镇化，提高城镇综合承载能力，为经济的持久发展开拓新的空间。

We will take active and steady measures to push forward industrialization and urbanization on the basis of balanced consideration of such factors as population density, land use efficiency, industrial development and public services, raise the overall carrying capacity of cities, and open up new space for sustained economic growth.

In example (1), Obama’s participation of a political event, i.e. his pursuit of presidency is described as a journey; while in example (2), China’s political reform is depicted as a moving object in a journey. In example (3), the best way to extend prosperity to everyone is described as the surest route; while in (4), industrialization and urbanization are depicted as an object moving forward in a journey. Therefore, LIFE IS A JOURNEY can only partially cover the linguistic expressions found in the corpus while TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY can cover examples which describe political, social, economic situations and so on.

4.2.1.1 The aspects of the JOURNEY METAPHOR

There are different aspects or groups of the JOURNEY metaphor. The similarities and differences of the aspects of the metaphor TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY used by the two politicians will be compared and contrasted, and the possible reasons to account for the similarities and differences will also be examined.

Similarities
- Roads, paths, ways

Roads, paths and ways are very important element in the JOURNEY metaphor. A road has characteristics and it can lead to a goal or a dead-end. By using such aspect of the JOURNEY metaphor, hearers can easily understand or imagine a particular situation that the politician describes, for example, an economic situation, and what the goal of a certain policy is and how the goal can be achieved. Very often, roads, paths and ways can be translated into ‘processes or ‘in the process of’. Roads, paths and ways are also closely connected with other aspects of the metaphor, such as direction, goal and so on, which makes the expression more vivid and visually rich, as in (5):

(5)
It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those that prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

The path that Obama depicts in (5) is only a path for hardworking doers and makers because it is not an easy path, it is a ‘long rugged path’, so it is difficult and complicated, and it takes more time to reach the goal but as long as these people keep moving forward, the goal ‘prosperity and freedom’ can be reached.

Another characteristic of this aspect is ‘long’. The expression ‘long way’ occurs several times in Obama’s speeches, as in (6). He implies that the process to prosperity will be long, but they are not hopeless, as long as they keep on moving, fighting, the goal can still be reached, as in example (7):

(6)
But we’ve still got a long way to go.

(7)
That’s what keeps us fighting because we know that we’ve still got a long way to go.

Apart from ‘long’ and ‘a road to prosperity and freedom’ in (5), Obama also depicts a peaceful road, as in (8) below, where he implies that instead of using the old way of
war towards the Muslim world, ‘a new way forward’, i.e. a peaceful way as well as a road to mutual benefits to the Muslim world will be adopted, as exemplified in (9):

(8)

1t23p: To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.

(9)

1t16p: The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

Example (10) shows that similar linguistic expression can also be found in the Wen corpus, such as a ‘way’ which is connected to a certain goal:

(10)

1w1p: 本届年会意义特殊，在历史罕见的国际金融危机之中，各国政要、企业家和专家学者聚集在这里，围绕‘重塑危机后的世界’这一主题，共同探讨维护国际金融稳定、促进世界经济增长的举措，探索全球综合治理之道，既有重要的现实意义，也体现了会议举办者的远见卓识。

This annual meeting has a special significance. Amidst a global financial crisis rarely seen in history, it brings together government leaders, business people, experts and scholars of different countries to jointly explore ways to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth and better address global issues.

‘Ways’ are concrete and the goal ‘to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth and better address global issues’ is abstract, but they merge well with each other, and the concrete ‘ways’ reify the abstract goal.

‘Long road’ also means a ‘time-consuming’ and ‘slow’ process in Chinese but such an expression does not exist in my corpus. Other expressions which contain similar meanings occur instead. For example, a ‘tortuous path’ which is in contrast with a ‘straight path’, and it takes more time and is more difficult to reach the goal by taking it, as shown in (11) below:
Since then, thanks to the concerted efforts and active measures of the entire international community, some positive changes of the (current) economy before us have taken place. The world economy is beginning to recover, although the process is slow, arduous and tortuous.

Wen uses similar expressions to describe the long and slow process of economic recovery. But his examples also show differences in his preference of road or path to Obama’s. Instead of just bearing all the difficulties and blindly moving forward on a tortuous path, one can choose a straight path and avoid the tortuous one, and this can be exemplified by (12):

(12)

We do not take the tortuous path which others walked through. We will work with the rest of the international community to address common challenges facing the world.

Like Obama, Wen also creates certain images of paths or roads. Some characteristics of the Chinese paths are similar to the American. For example, it is ‘peaceful’, as in (13) below:

(13)

To walk on the path of peaceful development is a strategic decision made by the Chinese government and people in keeping with the trend of the times and based on our own interests. This is the only way which will enable China to embrace economic globalization and achieve modernization.

There is also a road of mutual benefits, as shown in (14):

(14)
to word hard on improving unfairness and the enlarging differences in income distribution, *to walk on the same road of wealth.*

But there are some characteristics which do not occur in the Obama corpus. For instance, in (15), there is a path of ‘opening-up’, and this characteristic is culture-specific since it is in line with China’s policies specifically. There are also paths of ‘socialist modernization’ and ‘Chinese socialism’, which are Chinese-specific, as shown in (16-17).

(15)
3w8p: 坚持开放的道路。
insist on the *path* of opening-up.

(16)
5w7p: 沿着这条社会主义现代化道路前进，中国必将会有一个更加光明的未来。
Advancing on this *path* of socialist modernization, China will have an even brighter future.

(17)
7w3p: 我们要坚定不移地走中国特色社会主义道路，毫不动摇地把社会主义现代化事业推向前进。
We firmly *walk on the path* of Chinese socialism and push forward socialist modernization.

These characteristics are only culture-specific. It is hard to imagine Obama would depict a path of ‘socialist modernization’ or ‘socialism’ for America. As Wen himself mentions, it is very important for China to find out a path that is suitable for herself, as in (18):

(18)
1w6p: 更为重要的是，我们树立了以人为本、全面协调可持续发展的科学发展理念，始终坚持改革开放，始终奉行互利共赢的开放战略，找到了一条符合中国国情、顺应时代潮流的正确发展道路；我们的人民拥有坚韧不拔、自强不息、百折不挠的精神与意志，正是这些优秀品质，使历史悠久的中国在逆境中
We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win strategy. We have found the right development path in line with China’s national conditions and the trend of our times. Our people are hard-working, persevering and resilient. It is precisely these fine qualities that endow China, a country with a time-honored history, with greater vitality in the face of adversities.

Apart from the above differences, I also found examples of ‘broader roads’ in the Wen corpus, as shown in (19-20). ‘Broader roads’ can refer to better opportunities or easier journeys. In real life, if a road is too narrow, it is very hard to walk on or to drive on, one has to be very careful, while a broad road is easier to walk on.

(19)
3w8p: 世博会所展示的开放精神，符合人类发展进步的潮流，从而使世博事业 发展道路越走越宽广。

The open spirit demonstrated by the World Expo, which is consistent with the trend of human development and progress, has opened ever broader roads for the World Expo to walk on.

(20)
8w17p: 今天的中国，扩大开放的基础更加牢固，条件更加成熟，人民群众的意愿更加强烈，对外开放的道路越走越宽广。

Thanks to much matured conditions for widening the opening and even greater support from the people, China’s opening to the outside world with broader roads.

By examining the image of roads, paths or ways in the JOURNEY metaphor, we can get a glimpse of what is central to a nation or to a politician, for instance, common good, freedom and prosperity to America, and common wealth, socialist modernization and opening-up to China.

- **Goal**

Goal is one of the most common aspects in the JOURNEY metaphor. Through using goal in his/ her JOURNEY metaphor, the politician can express his/ her goal in certain policies, and can bring along the hearers to work together or to co-operate with him/
her. An Example from the Obama corpus is in (21):

(21)
8t29p: But we’re going to *get there*.

By using the pronoun ‘we’, Obama naturally brings his hearers closer to him and so his hearers stand together with him, and reach his goal together with him.

Wen also used goal in his speeches, as shown in (22):

(22)
2w16p: 我们要把保障和改善民生作为 出发点和落脚点，更加注重完善社会保障体系和发展社会事业。
We should make better livelihood for the people *the starting point and ending point* of our work and make greater efforts to improve the social safety net and develop social programs.

The metaphorical expression 出发点和落脚点 chūfādiǎn, luòjiǎodiǎn (the starting point and ending point) is used to imply the ‘supreme goal’ or the main purpose of the government’s work, which is to make better livelihood for the people. The purpose is clearly stated through the use of such a metaphorical expression.

Even though ‘goal’ is very useful, only one example of ‘goal’ appears in each corpus. This may be because the functions of ‘goal’ can be achieved via other aspects or items.

- **Step**
‘Step’ is a rather concrete linguistic expression in the JOURNEY metaphor, as it is a countable noun, and we can number the amount of steps. This linguistic expression is in common use in English; therefore it may not be noticed by native English speakers. However, according to Goatly (2007: 27), it is this unconscious use of metaphor which makes it very potent and powerful. In (23), actions taken are often described as steps taken:

(23)
2t8p: Some of the *steps* we took were done without the help of the other party, which made a political decision all too often to jump in the backseat, let us do the driving and then critique whether we were taking the right turns.

Politics or policies' progress is abstract, through the use of ‘step’, the uncountable and abstract progress becomes countable and concrete. It can also affirm the policies adopted as positive. As ‘step’ is measurable, each step taken means a closer goal (Semino 2008: 3); therefore, the more the steps taken, the closer the goal, so some steps are necessary, as in (24). And even though sometimes these steps are not easy, not taken or tried by other people before, they cannot be avoided, as in (25):

(24)
2t9p: And all the *steps* we took were necessary.
(25)
3t4p: And as a nation we were forced to take unprecedented *steps* to rescue the financial system and the broader economy.

In (25) ‘unprecedented steps’ denotes no one had ever made such a try before, and the main verb ‘forced’ implies that these steps were not popular. Obama uses such linguistic expressions to depict the difficult situation the government faced, but he and the American government was still very determined to take ‘unprecedented steps’, and because of these unpopular and unprecedented steps, America has hope again, as illustrated in (26):

(26)
3t5p: And as a result of the decisions we made -- some of which, let’s face it, were very unpopular -- we are *seeing hopeful signs*.

It was a right decision to take these unpopular and unprecedented steps, so the people should trust and support the government’s decisions. Also, as ‘step’ is measurable’, each step is then important. Individual effort is treasured because each step made by everyone can lead to the goal, as in (27):

(27)
8t14p: We said that if everyone involved was willing to take the tough *steps* and make the painful sacrifices that were needed to become competitive, then we’d invest in
your future and the future of communities like Toledo; that we’d have your back.

By encouraging people to take steps, Obama not only invites people to support him, to support the policies of his government, but also attempts to raise the spirit of his hearers and unite the people, because by putting importance on everyone’s effort, the people are encouraged and feel themselves as useful.

‘Step’ also appears in Wen’s speeches. In my corpus, ‘step’ has 3 different forms, i.e. 步 bù and 步伐 bùfá which are in noun form, and 踏 tà in verb form. Same to English, ‘step’ also has a very positive sense in Chinese. It denotes development, progress and improvements, as exemplified in (28). ‘Step’ is also connected with speed; therefore, the faster the steps are taken, the quicker the development and economic growth become. Also, the measurable characteristic is shown in the Wen corpus, as in (29-30).

(28)
4w14p: 加快重大基础设施建设步伐，培育新的优势产业和经济增长点，提高澳门抵御经济风险的能力。
to speed up the steps of important development, to develop growth in industries and economy, and to raise Macao’s ability to defend economic risks.
(29)
5w7p: 上世纪 80 年代初，中国改革开放的总设计师邓小平，曾提出我国现代化进程分“三步走”的战略构想。
In the early 1980s, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China’s reform and opening-up program, proposed a ‘three-step’ strategy for China’s modernization drive.
(30)
5w7p: 第一步，基本解决温饱问题；第二步，全面建设小康社会；第三步，到本世纪中叶，基本实现现代化，达到世界中等发达国家水平。
The first step is to ensure adequate food and clothing for the people. The second step is to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The third step is to achieve modernization and reach the level of medium developed countries by the middle of this century.

As examples (29-30) show, the process of China’s modernization is quantified by
three steps. The progress is then easily measured and calculated, and the goal can be reached after three steps. This metaphorical expression makes the policy seem to be in good order, and it is also very clear, concrete and comprehensible for common people.

‘Step’ also has size, a big step is good because the bigger the steps, the closer the goal, so Macao can reach the goal of being a modern tourist resort more quickly by ‘taking big steps’, as in (31)

(31)
4w5p: 澳门这座历史文化名城正向现代旅游胜地大步迈进。
Macao, this popular historical and cultural city is taking big steps towards being a modern tourist resort.

An expression similar to ‘to take unprecedented steps’ is also found in the Wen corpus, as shown in (32):

(32)
5w16p: 正因为有了充分的学术自由，像牛顿这样在人类历史上具有伟大影响的科学家，才能够思潮奔腾、才华迸发，敢于思考前人从未思考过的问题，敢于踏进前人从未涉足的领域。
It was in an environment of academic freedom that great scientists like Isaac Newton, who had a profound impact on human history, were able to bring out surging tides of thoughts, to burst out talents, and to probe issues not questioned by predecessors and step on new territory.

‘踏进前人从未涉足的领域’ tà jìn qián rén cóng wèi shèzú de lìngyù can be translated as ‘to step on new territory which was not stepped on by predecessors’ or ‘to take unprecedented steps’. It also carries a meaning of brave and innovative actions in the Chinese text as it does in English.

- **Direction**
  - **Movement forward**

There is always one or several directions to go in a journey, moving forward is one of the most frequently used metaphorical expressions in the Obama corpus. This metaphorical expression is of central importance in the JOURNEY metaphor because
without moving forward one cannot reach the goal; therefore, moving forward denotes positive actions or development and improvements, or policies that will lead to positive outcomes, and it also creates a positive feelings among the hearers which can encourage hearers to support the speaker (the politician).

When moving forward, it should be towards well-being because the politician connects his policies and the good future of the American people, as shown in (33-34):

(33)
2t13p: We have moved forward on behalf of a more prosperous and more secure future for the American people.

(34)
1t15p: Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward.

Movement forward largely implies positive actions but it could also mean destructive actions for Obama, since example (34) also implies that if the answer is no, they will stop moving forward in order to avoid negative results. Therefore, one should make sure that the way to move forward is the right way or the right direction. There are people who are moving on the wrong side which causes damage and disasters, and such forward movement actions are seen as destructive, and those people are seen as enemies, so they have to be stopped and defeated, as in (35):

(35)
1t21p: We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

After denouncing terrorism, Obama also shows his willingness to change America’s path regarding the Muslim world. The path is more peaceful, and it is beneficial to both America and the Muslim world. Through the change of path, there is an implication of abandoning the former President Bush’s war policies towards the Muslim world; instead, respect from one another is more important. Therefore, sometimes there are several ways or paths that lead to the same goal, as long as one
chooses the most suitable one, the same goal, i.e. peace and prosperity, can still be reached by different routes, as shown in (36):

(36)
1t23p: To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.

Example (37) shows that if the way for moving forward is a right way and the right direction, even though the travelers have to face extreme environment such as prevailing winds (in the literal sense, oppositions and difficulties), they will insist to move forward. Obama emphasizes his determination to implement his policies by using repetition because he believes that even though he encounters oppositions, his policies are the right policies and can make America better.

(37)
2t26p: We’re moving forward. (Applause.) We are moving forward. (Applause.) Sometimes – sometimes we may be moving forward against the prevailing winds.

There are travelers with different opinions and different point of views sometimes. Oppositions of other travelers can create extra difficulties for the journey, in contrast, co-operation and compromise can smoothen the journey. Therefore, Obama is happy that some travelers with contrastive opinions (i.e. the Republicans) can co-operate with him, because with co-operation and help of other travelers, the goal can be reached with fewer difficulties, as illustrated in (38):

(38)
3t23p: And I was encouraged to see a Republican senator join with Democrats this week in moving forward on this issue.

The concept of going forward also appears in the Chinese corpus, for example, 进 qiánjìn (to advance; to go forward, to proceed, to press on, to go forth, to make headway) appears 5 times in the Wen corpus. As mentioned before, the goal is sometimes merged into the context and is expressed through other linguistic expressions. One example of the goal being expressed through 进 qiánjìn and other linguistic expressions is shown in (39):
Advancing on this path of socialist modernization, China will have an even brighter future.

The path of socialist modernization itself is a goal, so advancing on it is achieving the goal. To advance, to move forward has a very positive sense in Wen’s speeches. Like Obama, he insists on moving forward and progressing even though there may be challenges and difficulties ahead, as exemplified in (40):

(40)

5w20p: 尽管前进的道路上还会有这样那样的艰难险阻，但这一历史进程不可逆转！

Whatever difficulties and obstacles may lie on the road we are advancing along, they cannot block this historical process!

前进 qiánjìn has long been having a very positive sense, in my corpus it is grouped into the conceptual metaphor TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY, but it is also highly related to the WAR metaphor, as 前进 qiánjìn implies to act bravely to resist and defeat invaders; therefore, in the Chinese National song, it ends with repetitions of 前进 qiánjìn¹. In fact, ‘goal’, ‘step’ and ‘moving forward’ all have a

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¹ Lyrics in both Chinese pinyin and English translation of the Chinese National Anthem:

Jinxingqí
Qiánjìn! Bùyuàn zuò núlì de rénmen!
Bà wǒmen de xuěròu,
zhōnghuá mínzuú dàoliáo zuì wéixián de shǐbào.
Měi ge rén běipòzhē fēichá zuìhòu de hù shǐhèng.
Qiánjìn! Qiánjìn! Qiánjìn!
Wǒmen wǎnzìngyìxún,
Mǎozhé dìrén de piáohuò, qiánjìn!
Mǎozhé dìrén de piáohuò, qiánjìn!
Qiánjìn! Qiánjìn! Jìn!

March of the Volunteers
Arise! All who refuse to be slaves!
Let our flesh and blood forge into our new Great Wall!

As the Chinese people faces its greatest peril,
All forcefully expend their last cries.
Arise! Arise! Arise!
Our million hearts beat as one,
Brave the enemy’s fire, March on!
Brave the enemy’s fire, March on!
March on! March on! On!

positive sense in both corpora. ‘Goal’ can be mapped onto the target or expected achievement of a certain policy; while ‘step’ and ‘moving forward’ both denote ‘approaching the goal’, so well-being can be pursued and achieved.

- Movement backward
Moving forward denotes positive actions, accordingly moving backward denotes negative actions or something negative since movement backward implies no development or even regression. Therefore, moving backward appears with negation in the Obama corpus, i.e. he rejects negative actions from happening. Examples (41-43) are shown as follows:

(41)
2t23p: We can’t return to the dereliction of duty that helped deliver this recession.

(42)
2t23p: America can’t afford to wait, and we can’t look backwards.

(43)
6t22p: We’re not going back.

To return, to look backwards and to go back all mean going back to economic depression which would negatively affect the development of America and the life of the American people. Therefore, movement backward is in contrast to movement forward, in both the literal sense and the metaphorical sense. This metaphorical denotation applies to Chinese as well, as in example (44)

(44)
5w20p: 倒退没有出路，停滞也没有出路。只有坚定信心、继续前进，中国才能建设成为富强、民主、文明、和谐的社会主义现代化国家，中国人民才能更加普遍和以更高水准过上有尊严的幸福生活。

To stall or reverse course is not a way out for China. We must move on with confidence. Only by doing so can China build up as a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced, modern and harmonious socialist country, and can the Chinese people enjoy a happy life with dignity in a more extensive way and at a higher level.

Movement backward is thus something negative. There is no way out if one moves
- **Turnaround**

   Turnaround is an important element in the JOURNEY metaphor. Unlike other aspects, turnaround denotes specifically changes, changing in a journey’s direction means changing in situations. In the Obama corpus, turnaround marks a change from economic downturn to development. One can find examples of such phenomenon in (45-46):

   (45)

   3t5p: In fact, we’ve seen the fastest *turnaround* in growth in nearly three decades.

   (46)

   8t29p: And if anybody tells you otherwise, I want you to remember the improbable *turnaround* that’s taken place here at Chrysler.

   ‘Fastest turnaround’ means ‘fast improvements, development’ in (45). In (46) improbable turnaround means miraculous change and developments. This idea of change can also appear in a verb form, ‘to turn’, and the particle ‘around’ follows it, as shown in (47):

   (47)

   2t40p: And if we do that -- if we speak to the hopes of the American people instead of their fears; if we inspire them instead of divide them; if we respond to their challenges with the same sense of urgency they feel in their own lives – we’re not just going to win elections -- elections will take care of themselves -- we will once again be the party that *turns around* the economy and moves this country forward, and secures the American Dream for another generation.

   The economy was in a wrong direction before, so the economy was bad. But once Obama and his party turns around the direction of the economy, makes sure that it is the right path to move forward, there will be developments in the country, and dreams can be saved and reached.

   A change of direction may also have a positive denotation in Chinese. One example from the Wen corpus is found, as shown in (48):
(48)
2w15p: 既是我们应对国际金融危机的回旋余地所在，更是中国经济和社会自我
改造的伟大工程。

It offers us much *round and round* (leeway) in tackling the global financial crisis and
represents a great undertaking in the self-transformation of China’s economy and
society.

回旋 huíxuán (roundabout) implies a change of the situation, from crisis to
development. Therefore, in both Chinese and English, ‘turning’ or a change in
direction means changing situations, from negative to positive, from economic
downturn to growth.

- **Location / position in journey + things ahead + impediments / obstacles in
  journey**

Location or position in a journey, things ahead and impediments or obstacles in a
journey will be examined in one section. The reason is that they are all related to the
environment in a journey, and they are inter-connected very closely with each other
that sometimes it is hard to draw a dividing line. By examining these aspects, we can
get a glimpse of the situation and future of a nation.

The locations or positions in journey that Obama depicts, except one example, are all
difficult or negative. Negative nouns, adjectives are used, and negative scenes are
depicted. Examples of negative nouns are underlined, as shown in (49-50), ‘crisis’ and
‘depression’ are economic setbacks. And examples of negative adjectives can also be
found in (51-52), such as ‘terrible’ and ‘tough’ which denote difficult situations the
Americans encountered. Negative scenes are also depicted in (53-55).

(49)
1t5p: That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood.

(50)
2t36p: We’re the party of Franklin Roosevelt, who, in the midst of depression, said all
we had to fear was fear itself; who saved freedom and democracy from being
extinguished here on Earth.
3t4p: Now, since I last spoke here two years ago, our country has been *through* a terrible trial.

2t35p: I know we’ve *gone through* a tough year. But we’ve *gone through* tougher years.

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the *wheel* and they *drove it into a ditch*. And it’s *a steep ditch*, it’s *a deep ditch*. And somehow they walked away.

6t24p: And it was *muddy* down there and *hot*.

6t24p: Feet are *slipping*. *Bugs are swarming*.

Examples (49-55) illustrate the imaginative scene Obama depicted. It is very vivid because the environment is clearly described, i.e. a car in a deep ditch; we can hear bugs and feel the muddy and slippery ditch; it is hot and unbearable. It brings the hearers into the negative scene by stimulating his hearers’ senses, i.e. vision, hearing, sensation, feeling and so on.

Obama’s JOURNEY metaphor has a clearer landscape and clearer images than Wen’s. Wen has a less concrete image of landscape or position. In the Wen corpus, ‘standing’ and ‘starting point’ are the most concrete expressions, as in (56), none of them depicts a very concrete picture of landscape, however.

4w12p: 目前，澳门的发展正站在新的历史起点上，既有难得的机遇，也面临严峻的挑战。

Currently, *Macao's development is standing at a new historical starting point*, there is not just precious opportunities, but difficult challenges to be faced.

When we are in a journey, we look at what is ahead to see if we can still move
forward. Sometimes we see the goal in front of us or beautiful scenery, sometimes we see some obstacles. There are 18 examples of ‘things ahead’ in the JOURNEY metaphor in the Obama corpus, among the 18 examples, 12 of them denote challenges ahead, especially when the verb ‘to face’ is used, a challenge, question or difficulty comes after, as in (57):

(57)
1t7p: Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real.

The things the travelers are facing are mostly abstract (such as challenges, questions, great trails and so on) rather than concrete (such as giant, a big wall, etc). Though most things ahead are negative, Obama depicts also positive things ahead in the journey, example (58) is illustrated below:

(58)
7t40p: This little country, that inspires the biggest things -- your best days are still ahead.

In the Chinese corpus, things ahead are expressed by 面临 miànlín (be faced with; be confronted with; be up against; frontage), 当前 dāngqián (before one; facing one; present), 面前 miànqián (in face of; in front of; before; in someone’s presence) and 面对 miàn duì (face; confront). Similar to the examples in the Obama corpus, things ahead are mostly negative in the Wen corpus as well. There are 9 examples of 面临 miànlín, 8 of them are negative; 13 examples of 当前 dāngqián, 8 of them negative; 3 examples of 面前 miànqián, with 2 negative examples; and 2 examples of 面对 miàn duì, all of them are negative. Below I will show an example of each expression, as in

(59)
1w3p: 坦率地说，这场危机对中国经济也造成较大冲击，我们正面临严峻挑战。

The current crisis has inflicted a rather big impact on China’s economy. We are facing severe challenges,

(60)
2w22p: 在当前应对危机的关键时刻，我呼吁务必坚持，坚持到底就是胜利。
At this critical juncture of countering the financial crisis before us, I call for perseverance, as perseverance will lead us to final victory.

(61)

3w15p: 实现城市的和谐、可持续发展，是摆在世界各国面前的一个重大而紧迫的课题。

In this sense, to realize harmonious and sustainable development of cities is a major and urgent task put before all countries around the world.

(62)

7w2p: 面对严峻复杂的国际经济形势，我们实施积极的财政政策和稳健的货币政策，着力稳物价、调结构、促改革、惠民生，国民经济继续保持平稳较快发展，物价较快上涨势头得到控制，城镇就业进一步扩大，人民生活水平有了新的提高。

Facing the difficult and complicated international economic situation, we implemented the positive financial policy and stable currency policy to stabilize the prices, adjust the structure, urge reforms, benefit the people, so our economy keeps having steady, fast development, the raising prices are controlled, employment in the city is further enlarged, and the living standard of the people has been raised.

Things ahead can be both positive and negative. When ‘face’ is used in the English text, it is mainly ‘face challenges’ or something negative; in the Chinese text it is connected closely with challenges, tasks and difficulties, there are also positive things ahead but it is very rare (for example 1w5p: 当前中国经济形势总体上是好的。

(current) China’s economy we face is in good shape on the whole. And 4w5p: 在历任行政长官和特区政府带领下，广大澳门居民励精图治，团结奋进，一个欣欣向荣、蒸蒸日上的新澳门展现在世人面前。

Led by the Chief Executives and the SAR government, Macao residents are united and make every effort to a prosperous city, so a thriving, luxuriant new Macau is shown in front of the world.)

Apart from abstract challenges people face in reality, metaphorical expressions of more concrete impediments or obstacles occur in both corpora. In the Obama corpus, the ditch he depicted is a good example of obstacles, as in (63):
2t17p: Look, when unemployment is 9.7 percent, when we are still *digging ourselves out* of an extraordinary recession — people are going to be frustrated.

The ditch is hindering them from moving forward, so they are trying hard to ‘dig’ themselves out of the ditch (an extraordinary recession). In (64) there are also things that prevent them from going forward.

2t20p: We’re going to have to care less about scoring points and more about solving problems that are *holding us back*.

Here Obama implies that instead of just implementing popular policies that please the people, more practical actions should be taken so that the country’s development can keep going again because there are people (the Republicans) who do not only sit aside without helping, but even block the progress, as in (65):

2t33p: Now is not the time for *sitting on the sidelines*, or *blocking progress*, or pointing figures, or assigning blame.

In the Wen corpus, one example of obstacles is found, as in (66), and again, the image of obstacles is not as concrete as Obama’s:

6w6p: 中方愿意增加对德国优势产品的进口，也希望德国早日承认中国完全市场经济地位，为双方贸易健康发展扫除障碍。

China is ready to import more competitive German products, and we hope that Germany will recognize China’s full market economy status at an early date to *remove this obstacle* to the healthy growth of bilateral trade.

To sum up, ‘moving backward’, ‘location or position in a journey’, ‘things ahead’ and ‘impediments or obstacles in a journey’ mostly depict something negative in both politicians’ examples.
- **Driver / leader in a journey**

Having a driver or a leader in a journey is very important because a leader or driver can lead the travelers to the destiny they want. However, if it is a bad driver or a bad leader, opposite results may occur. In example (67), the Republicans are portrayed as a bad and irresponsible driver or leader in the Obama corpus. They drove the car into a ditch, so it cannot move anymore, but they irresponsibly walked away. Here Obama creates a very vivid scene and the driver or leader image in the journey. It is very clear and prominent.

(67)

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they *drove it into a ditch*. And it's *a steep ditch*, it's *a deep ditch*. And somehow they walked away.

In the Chinese corpus, it is less prominent. One example is found in (68):

(68)

2w8p: 政府资金主要投向公共领域，并发挥对社会资金的*引导*作用；结构性减税约５５００亿元，旨在增强企业的投资能力和居民的消费能力。运用财政贴息、税收等手段，*引导*企业调整结构，兼并重组。

The bulk of government funds will go into public services and serve as a function to *guide* for the flow of non-public funds. The structural tax cuts involving 550 billion yuan are aimed at raising corporate capacity to invest and people’s ability to spend. The government-funded interest discount and tax tools are designed to *guide* the restructuring, merger and reorganization of enterprises.

The metaphorical sense is much weaker than the English one, since *guide* is the only metaphorical expression that appears in the sentences, and also it is not the human (or party) functioning as guide, it is thus more abstract and less metaphorical than Obama’s examples.

Due to cultural differences and individual preferences, there are expressions that only occur in the Obama corpus but not Wen, they are vehicles, things to carry in a journey and leaving the journey.
- **Vehicles**

Vehicles are also one of the aspects in the JOURNEY metaphor, as in (69). By examining vehicles in the JOURNEY metaphor, we can get a glimpse of what is salient in a culture. There are various vehicles that appear in the Obama corpus. For example, a car, as in (69):

(69)

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as *a car*. And the Republicans were at the *wheel* and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

Sometimes there are expressions that the source is merged with the target’s motion, example (70) is shown below:

(70)

1t16p: But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, *the market can spin out of control*.

‘The market’ acts like a car because it ‘can spin out of control’. Apart from cars, example (71) even shows that ‘the sun and the winds’ become vehicles in Obama’s speeches. It is also discussed in Charteris-Black (2011). As analyzed by Charteris-Black (2011: 295-296), this is a very creative metaphorical expression because he uses conventional metaphors for novel metaphor targets, as things that are ‘harnessed’ are conventionally negatively evaluated, but Obama’s ‘harness’ here refers to solutions of a problem, which is evaluated positively.

(71)

1t13p: We will *harness* the sun and the winds and the soil to *fuel our cars* and *run* our factories.

In the Chinese corpus, however, only one example occurs, as example (72) shows:

(72)

6w18p: 为了推动中欧关系沿着成熟、稳定、健康的轨道发展，必须始终把握好以下几点：
To actuate (run) the development of China-Europe relationship on a mature, stable and healthy rail, we should adhere to the following principles:

There are more examples of concrete vehicle in the Obama corpus; there is only one example in the Wen corpus, and it is not a completely concrete vehicle but a rail that trains can be driven on. The image of vehicle created by Obama is more vivid and varied. The reason could probably be a cultural phenomenon. According to Liu (2002: 101) America is known as ‘the home of automobiles’, and the nation also claims that she has one of the world’s highest rate of car ownership per capita. Most American people over the legal driving age have easy access to a car and know how to drive, so automobiles and driving are very familiar to the American people (Liu 2002: 101). Liu (2002: 102) suggests that as automobiles and driving are very salient in the American culture, driving related metaphors are used extensively in America. Therefore, it is not surprising that American politicians like Obama make use of this popular item in their language, weather consciously or unconsciously, and the frequency is far higher than Wen’s.

In both the Chinese and English corpus, the image of ‘engine’ appears. However, I have grouped them into different conceptual metaphors. For Obama’s, I have put it in the JOURNEY metaphor, and it is in the sub-category vehicle, as shown in (73):

(73)
6t33p: We believe that free enterprise is the greatest engine for prosperity ever known to man.

It is because throughout the text 6, the JOURNEY metaphor with American economy as a car is very prominent, so ‘the greatest engine’ here is in the context of the imaginative situation of the journey Obama depicts. However, in the Chinese example, the journey image is less obvious, so the only example is grouped into the MACHINE metaphor, i.e. ECONOMY IS MACHINE, as in (74):

(74)
5w18p: 中国已经成为世界经济增长的重要引擎，
China has become an engine driving global economic growth,
- **Things to carry in journey**

There are also ‘things to carry in journey’, and these are very prominent in Obama’s speeches. These things are very important to the American culture and the American spirit. They appear as ‘goal’ as well in the JOURNEY metaphor. These things are the American dream, freedom and equality. An example of the American dream being carried is in (75). There is also God’s gift for America to carry, i.e. freedom and equality, as in (76):

(75)
7t19p: It’s a dream that we’ve carried forward -- sometimes through stormy waters, sometimes at great cost -- for more than two centuries.

(76)
1t8p: The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

Dream, freedom and equality are very abstract, but with the verb ‘to carry forward’, these things become more concrete. Concretization of dream, freedom and equality makes the hearers realize the difficulties and also importance of maintaining or reaching these abstract ideas.

- **Leave the journey**

Another idea that is unique in the Obama corpus is ‘to leave’ the journey. The linguistic expression is ‘to walk away’, and such an expression is negatively evaluated, as shown in examples (77-78):

(77)
2t24p: And there are some, maybe even the majority in this town, who say perhaps it’s time to walk away.

(78)
2t26p: I am not going to walk away from health insurance reform. (Applause.) I’m not going to walk away from the American people. I’m not going to walk away on this challenge. I’m not going to walk away on any challenge.
In (77-78), ‘to walk away’ signifies irresponsible behavior, so Obama assures the American people that he will be a responsible leader of the country because he will not walk away, even though he faces oppositions or even though the policies he is implementing are not popular. The Republicans, however, walked away from challenges and difficulties, not to say the difficulties and hard situations are resulted from their bad leadership, as in example (79):

(79)
6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

Obama creates a contrastive image between himself and the Republicans, namely a responsible good leader and an irresponsible bad leader. Such kind of image or expression of ‘leaving the journey’ does not appear in the Chinese texts as only expressions of positive and firmed behavior are stated. Therefore, instead of ‘not leaving the journey’ or ‘leaving the journey’, China will insist on walking on the path she has been walking, as exemplified in (80-81).

(80)
3w8p: 坚持开放的道路。
insist on the path of opening-up.

(81)
7w3p: 我们要坚定不移地走中国特色社会主义道路，毫不动摇地把社会主义现代化事业推向前进。
We firmly walk on the path of Chinese socialism and push forward socialist modernization.

So rather than denying negative actions, Wen confirms positive actions. The reasons for this difference may due to the oppositions Obama has been facing in his nation, so there are callings of halting his policies, and accordingly, ‘to walk away’ expressions occur in his speeches; also, there are different parties that oppose him, so in order to gain the support of the American people, he depicts good and bad contrastive images for people to choose. Oppositions from other parties do not happen in China, since
there is only one party, the Chinese Communist Party, in the nation, as a result, it is not necessary for Wen to create any negative image of the other party, nor does China have another party to be depicted.

4.2.1.2 Conclusion

In this chapter the JOURNEY metaphor used by Obama and Wen, i.e. TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY is discussed. The JOURNEY metaphor is the most pervasive metaphor in both the English and Chinese corpus, as it has a broad mapping, i.e. many different aspects can be generated from the JOURNEY metaphor, such as ‘roads’, ‘steps’, ‘directions’, ‘movement forward and backward’, ‘travelers’, ‘vehicles’, etc. For example, by analyzing different aspects of a metaphor, we can understand the situations, the policies, the aims of a nation, etc better. ‘Roads, paths and ways’ illustrate a nation’s progress, as in (7), and her aims of reaching well-being, as in (5) and (13). We can also identify what is salient in a culture and more likely to be mentioned by a politician, for example, automobiles and the American Dream occur several times in the Obama corpus but not in Wen. Similarities, however, are also found. For instance, ‘goal’, ‘step’ and ‘moving forward’ are positively evaluated in both corpora, while ‘moving backward’, ‘location or position in a journey’, ‘things ahead’ and ‘impediments or obstacles in a journey’ denote negative evaluation to a very large extent.
4.3 PERSON metaphor

Personification or the PERSON metaphor is highly important in political discourse because it can simplify complicated politics to easily understood human activities or features (Semino 2008: 102). PERSON metaphor is prominent in both the English and Chinese corpus, as it is the second mostly used metaphor after the JOURNEY metaphor. In the Obama corpus, there is a total number of 101 PERSON metaphors found, while there are 76 in the Wen corpus, and a number of 14 and 8 groups are found in the English and Chinese corpus respectively. Since personification is widely used particularly for entities and institutions such as countries (ibid.: 101), it is of central interest about how the two politicians use the PERSON metaphor to describe their own country, what image is assigned to their country, what other items are personified and the reasons behind it.

4.3.1 Data analysis: Person metaphor

A NATION IS A PERSON

The conceptual metaphor A NATION IS A PERSON occurs in both the English and Chinese corpus. In the Obama corpus, not only America, but also other nations are personified. Examples (1-2) below show a personified America and Ireland:

(1)
7t33p: And I know that Ireland will ***succeed***.

(2)
5t2p: And Michelle and I couldn’t imagine a better way to ***celebrate America’s birthday*** than with America’s extraordinary men and women in uniform —- and your families.

In the first example, the verb ‘succeed’ is attributed to human beings, so Ireland is personified by adopting this human quality. In (2) ‘birthday’ is used to describe the date of birth of humans, and sometimes comes with celebrations, so America is depicted as a person with birthday celebrations. It is the same as in the Chinese corpus that not only China, but also other countries are depicted as persons. Examples are shown in (3-4):

(3)
China, a major developing country, has adopted an active and responsible attitude in addressing the crisis.

Developing countries, on their part, should exert themselves and make positive contributions to the fight against climate change.

Human characteristics such as ‘active’ and ‘responsible’ are attributed to China in example (3); in example (4), human action ‘to exert’ is attributed to developing countries.

**Images of America and China**

The person images of America and China will be examined in this section. There are similar images and also unique images that only appear in the English corpus or the Chinese corpus respectively.

**Similar images**

- **Friend / Partner**

It is quite common for politicians to describe their own country as a friend, so that a friendly gesture of the country can be created, and it helps build up good relations with other countries which is very important to the country’s development. An example of America as a friend in the Obama corpus is in (5):

(5)

1t18p: America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.

Just like Obama, Wen also gives China a friend’s image, as in (6-7):

(6)

5w1p: 这不仅是我个人的荣誉，也是对中国科技进步的肯定，同时也是中英两国科技界友谊与合作的象征。

Indeed, it is a symbol of friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and British
science communities, and I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to you for
awarding me the medal.

(7)

Both America and China befriend certain nations, but Obama also states that America
is willing to make friends under specific circumstances, as shown in example (5),
those who want peace and dignity; in other words, America does not want any friend
who creates troubles. China wants to have friends who respect one another; in other
words, China wants to have other countries’ respect, as shown in (7). China is
politically different to most of the western world, so there have been criticisms
towards China’s politics. Regarding history, China had long been invaded; therefore,
Wen would prefer China to have a friend who respects her rather than who has power.
By setting a border of friends or defining what the nation wants to be friend with,
politicians can gather countries who have the same goals into their nation’s group, and
state the expectations of their country to their ‘old friends’ so that their ‘old friends’
would respond according to the nation’s expectations in order to maintain the good
relations with her.

- A responsible person

Both America and China are depicted as responsible persons by the two politicians, as
demonstrated in (8-10)

(8)

2t26p: But we’re going to live up to our responsibility to lead.

(9)

3w20p: 中国作为一个发展中大国，在应对危机中采取了积极负责任的态度。
China, a major developing country, has adopted an active and responsible attitude in
addressing the crisis.
Second, China is a responsible country that has actively shouldered international responsibilities commensurate with the level of its development.

Both Obama and Wen have mentioned that America and China are responsible but with differences in detail. Obama does not put the focus on responsibility or America as a responsible person but a LEADER; while Wen emphasizes that China is responsible and keeps her promise but at the same time does not want to take excessive responsibilities, as shown in (10).

- Want peace

Both politicians states that peace is what their country wants. In example (11), America plays her role as a peace maker:

(11)

We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

China is committed to peaceful development or keeping peace, as exemplified in (12-13):

(12)

Tomorrow’s China will be a country committed to peaceful development and ready to shoulder its responsibilities.

(13)

China is committed to upholding world peace.
It seems that both America and China want peace but some small differences can still be found. Obama’s America ‘makes’ peace or ‘leads’ peace, while Wen’s China supports world peace and keeps her own peaceful development. America’s person image is more active than China’s in relation to peace.

**Different images**

Due to different cultures and different historical background, different images of America and China can also be found, viz. America has images of a leader of guide, a young person and a competitor or winner, while China has images of a vital and lively person, a good and active co-operator, an actor and a mother.

**America:**

- **A leader/ guide**

  The image of leader or guide is one of the person images found in Obama’s examples. In fact, the leader image could also be seen as part of the JOURNEY metaphor, as there are leaders or guides in journeys, but the JOURNEY metaphorical sense in the examples is rather weak compared with the leader image discussed in the JOURNEY metaphor, so I have grouped it into a more general PERSON metaphor. However, it is a fact that America has long been described as a leader at least in her own country. For example, in the former US President George W. Bush’s inauguration speech, America is depicted as a leader or even a role model of liberty of the world, as in (14):

  (14) ‘In a world moving toward liberty, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty.’ (taken from Woolley & Peters 1999)

  It is no exception for Obama that America is a leader, as exemplified in (15-16) below:

  (15) 1t18p: And we are ready to lead once more.

  (16) 1t22p: We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and
emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in *ushering* in a new era of peace.

Therefore, it is very central to American politics that America leads the world or as a leader in the world’s affairs.

- **Young person**
  
  America was founded more than 200 years ago, and it is a rather short period of time comparing with other countries, so it is depicted as a young person in Obama’s PERSON metaphor. Examples (17-18) illustrate such an image:

  (17)
  
  1t8p: We remain a *young* nation.
  
  (18)

  4t6p: And while there, he pledged Russia’s support to preserve the historic Fort Ross in Sonoma County -- an enduring reminder of the early Russian settlements and trade that brought Russian goods to our *young nation*.

  
  In Wen’s speeches, there is no adjective about China’s age. But Wen might have used the metaphor of a young person since the new China has been founded since 1949, and in fact, China is depicted as a person full of vitality and liveliness (readers can refer to the image of vital and lively in the later discussion). But at the same time, it is well-accepted in the country that China has a long history, i.e. 5000 years and is culturally rich, so China could be portrayed as an old wise person as well.

- **A competitor/ winner**

  America is portrayed as a competitor or a person in a competition by Obama. Examples are illustrated in (19-21):

  (19)

  2t22p: But we know that the countries that out-educate us today will *out-compete* us tomorrow.

  (20)
We know that China isn’t waiting and India isn’t waiting and Germany isn’t waiting to seize that future. And America can’t afford to wait, either.

Those countries aren’t playing for second place. And we don’t play for second place. This is the United States of America. We play for first place.

The concept of competition is central to America’s culture. Obama not only sees America as a competitor, but also other countries like China, Germany and so on, and America wants to be the winner, to be the first in the competition.

**China**

Obama has culture-specific linguistic expressions in his speeches, Wen has made a special image for China as well.

- **Vital and lively**

  China is not a young country due to her long history and rich culture. During the war period with the western world, China had been portrayed as an old and sick person, it was big but immobile. But in recent years, China’s economy has been developing very swiftly, so Wen re-depicts China as a vital and lively person, despite the old image she had before. Clearly it is very important for him to highlight or create vital and lively characteristics for China as it can boost the spirit of the people for further development in the country, as in examples (22-23):

  We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win (war) strategy. We have found the right development path in line with China’s national conditions and the trend of our times. Our people are hard-working, persevering and resilient. It is precisely these fine qualities that endow China, a country with a time-honored history, with greater
vitality in the face of adversities.

(23)

5w5p: 如果你们身临其境，一定会为这里发生的奇迹感到震撼，也会从中真实地感受到中国的生机和活力。

I hope you will visit Wenchuan, where you will be overwhelmed by the miraculous transformation, and you will personally experience China’s vitality and liveliness.

- Good and active co-operator

China is also a good and co-operative person, as in (24):

(24)

2w19p: 中国积极参与经济全球化进程，决不搞贸易和投资保护主义。

As an active participant in economic globalization, China will never engage in trade or investment protectionism.

One very big difference between the Wen corpus and the Obama corpus is that Wen never claims that China wants to lead the world (but note that China wants to take the lead as a motherland within her own country, i.e. to take control over Macao and Hong Kong), but would rather co-operate with other countries. Therefore, not sole efforts, but collective efforts with participation of other countries are very important, as shown in

(25):

(25)

2w2p: 经过国际社会共同努力，加强合作，同舟共济，积极应对，当前世界经济形势出现一些积极变化，开始缓慢、曲折的复苏。

Since then, thanks to the concerted efforts and active measures of the entire international community, some positive changes of the (current) economy before us have taken place. The world economy is beginning to recover, although the process is slow and tortuous.

It is not just China herself, but also with other nations, by collective efforts to rebuild the order of the world’s economy. Rather than competing with other nations, China puts more importance on partnership and co-operation. China has an image of being a
partner in a community rather than being a competitor in a competition.

- An actor

China is also an actor on stage, as in (26):

(26)

3w12p: 随着对外开放的扩大，中国重新登上了世博会的舞台，并日益成为世博会中的重要角色，受到国际社会的普遍欢迎和好评。

With wider opening to the outside world, China is back on the stage of the World Expo, and its increasingly important role in the Expo is widely welcomed and appreciated by the international community.

The expression of China as an actor on stage appears three times in the Wen corpus. Such an image can be referred to the old saying in Chinese ‘人生如戲’ rénshēngrúxì – LIFE IS A PLAY to translate it literally. But the LIFE IS A PLAY metaphor is not only Chinese specific. In Lakoff and Turner’s More than Cool Reason (1989), the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PLAY in English is discussed. Such a metaphor is ‘extremely productive’ and very extensive in Western culture (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 21), so it could have appeared in Obama’s speeches as well.

- Family

Family is very important in the Chinese culture, so Wen also creates an image of China as a mother. It is a common expression for China being the mother of her cities, such as Macao and Hong Kong. Instances (27-28) illustrate the image of China being Macao’s mother:

(27)

4w5p: 1999年12月20日，澳门重回祖国母亲怀抱，开启了“一国两制”、“澳人治澳”、高度自治的新纪元。

On 20 December, 1999 Macao came back to her mother country’s embrace, “One Country, Two Systems”, “Macau people governing Macau” and a new era of high degree of autonomy began.

(28)

4w7p: 澳门虽与祖国有过分离，遭受几百年的殖民统治，但澳门同胞始终与祖
国内地血脉相通，骨肉相连，澳门的命运始终与伟大祖国的兴衰紧密联系在一起。

While Macao and the motherland had separated, subjected to centuries of colonial rule, Macao people’s blood and flesh have always been connected with the mainland, the fate of Macao has always been closely linked with the rise and fall of the great motherland.

In (27), ‘Macao came back to her mother country’s embrace’ means Macao’s return from Portugal to China. In the Chinese culture, it is believe that a baby is sharing the blood and flesh with the mother before birth, and even after birth, a baby has blood and bones given by the mother, as illustrated in (28). Similar expressions have been used by the former Chinese President Jiang Zemin in 1995 to express the close relations between Taiwan and mainland China. In his speech, he addresses the Taiwanese people as 骨肉同胞 gǔròu tóngbāo, which literally means ‘people of the same parents sharing bones and flesh’ (Liu 2002: 75). Therefore, Wen’s expression ‘blood and flesh’ denotes a close relationship between Macao and mainland China. Cities that had been colonized in China, like Macao and Hong Kong, have a very strong sense of localism because they were not under China’s control for centuries. However, traditional Chinese culture is more or less preserved in these cities because there are still Chinese language, Chinese culture, history and literature classes at schools, some very central ideas or spirits such as Confucianism remain all over China, including these former colonies. For example, filial piety is very much emphasized in the Chinese culture. Wen, by creating a mother-and-son image for mainland China and Macao can increase the positive emotions of Macao towards mainland China, at the same time imply that Macao is always a part of China, and they share the same future, as shown in (28). As Liu (2002: 75) states, the politicians’ ‘effort to appeal to the people of a family-centered culture is very obvious’.

The FAMILY source domain does not occur solely in the Chinese cultures, it is also found in English, as Lakoff (1996) and Kövecses (2002 & 2005) etc have discussions of the FAMILY metaphor in American language. But there are differences in details. There are different concepts of family type in American culture, for example, the
'strict father’ model and the ‘nurturant’ family model, so very different interpretations of a linguistic expression of the metaphor can be resulted, or very contrastive connotations of the same metaphor can be generated (Lakoff 1996 in Kövecses 2005: 118-119). While in the Chinese culture, it is very often that the greatness of the mother and the close relation between the mother and the child are emphasized. In both the Chinese and Western culture we can find the metaphor A NATION OR SOCIETY IS A FAMILY, in which a society is seen as a family with the country as a parent and citizens as children (Lakoff 1996 in Kövecses 2005: 176), but in addition to the Chinese culture, the country is also viewed as the mother not only of her citizens, but of her cities, as discussed in the previous paragraph.

- ECONOMY IS HEALTH

When a nation is depicted as a person, its subparts are often depicted as different aspects of a person, for example, ECONOMY OF A NATION IS HEALTH (Lakoff 1993: 243).

The economy of America is illustrated as a sick person. Her health is bad, and she is weak and vulnerable, as in (29-30):
(29)
1t5p: Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age.
(30)
3t25p: And while a few companies made out like bandits by exploiting their customers, our entire economy was made more vulnerable.

In sentence (31), economic losses are depicted as an injured person:
(31)
2t7p: We took office facing a financial crisis that was something we hadn’t seen since the Great Depression, an economy that we now know was bleeding 750,000 jobs a month, a $1.3 trillion deficit, and two wars that were costly in every sense of the word.

In (31), the descriptive word ‘bleeding’ not only stimulates the vision of our mind, but
also our sense, so this is a highly marked metaphorical expression that is generated from the PERSON metaphor.

It is stifled and crippled, as in (32-33):

(32)
4t18p: Our two governments are making a joint commitment to open government that fosters transparency and combats the corruption that stifles economic growth.

(33)
7t34p: We know what crippling poverty can be like, and we want to make sure we’re helping others.

Since the economy is very weak, it has to be healed, to mend and to recover. It is illustrated in (34-35):

(34)
8t21p: You know, it’s just like if you had a bad illness, if you got hit by a truck, it’s going to take a while for you to mend. And that’s what’s happened to our economy. It’s taking a while to mend.

(35)
3t6p: Until the millions of our neighbors who are looking for work can find a job, and wages are growing at a meaningful pace, we may be able to claim a technical recovery -- but we will not have truly recovered.

The image of America’s economy is very vivid, as an image of a person with bad health who urgently need recovery is depicted.

In the Wen corpus, economy is also described as health of a person, but the economy refers to the world economy rather than China’s. The image of world economy is depicted as a sick person, and it in fact matches the image of the American economy depicted by Obama since America has been seen as a leading figure in the world economy. An example of economy as health is shown in (36):

(36)
1w2p: 各国和国际社会纷纷采取积极应对措施，对提振信心、缓解危机、防止金融体系崩溃和世界经济深度衰退起到了重要作用。
In the face of the crisis, countries and the international community have taken various measures to address it. These measures have played an important role in boosting confidence, reducing the consequences of the crisis, and forestalling a meltdown of the financial system and a deep (decline in health) global recession.

Similar to Obama, the world economy is depicted as bad health by Wen, and so it needs recovery. In the Wen corpus, the expression ‘recovery’ occurs 11 times in the metaphor ECONOMY OF A STATE IS HEALTH, therefore it appears that Wen believes that it is an urgent task. Example (37) is shown below:

(37)
2w19p: 二要共同反对贸易和投资保护主义。保护主义只会拖累世界经济复苏，最终受害的是各国企业和人民。
Protectionism will only delay world economic recovery and ultimately hurt the interests of the businesses and people of all countries.

**COMPOSITION OF A NATION IS A PERSON**
Economy is not only described as a person’s health, but also as a person itself. Therefore, not just nations are found to be described as a person, but also subparts that compose a nation can be a PERSON, for example, economy, policies, political parties and so on.

- **Economy / Economic items**
The American economy is depicted as health of a person, it sometimes stands for a sick person itself, and this sick person is recovering, as in (38):

(38)
8t20p: So this industry is back on its feet, repaying its debts, gaining ground.

In (38), the expression ‘to get back on one’s feet’ is discussed in Deignan (2005: 64). According to Deignan, the expression means ‘physical recovery from an illness’, and it denotes improvements in a nation’s situation.

Example (39) shows that the American economy has an image of a person who needs
help:
(39)
3t4p: And as a nation we were forced to take unprecedented steps to *rescue* the financial system and the broader economy.

The economy needs the nation’s help, but at the same time, it can help the American people, as in instance (40):
(40)
3t8p: I believe in a strong financial sector that *helps* people to raise capital and get loans and invest their savings.

Economy in the Obama corpus has feeling as well, as example (41) shows:
(41)
8t9p: So in the middle of a deep recession, that would have been a *brutal* and irreversible shock to the entire economy and to the future of millions of Americans.

Examples of personified economy and economic items also appear in the Wen corpus. Sentence (42) illustrates that bad economy is viewed as an examiner:
(42)
1w7p: 金融危机检验着国际社会加强合作的诚意和水平，考验着我们的智慧。
The financial crisis is *a test of* (checking) the readiness of the international community to enhance cooperation, and *a test of* (testing) our wisdom.

But it can also be an experiencer of a test or challenge, as in (43):
(43)
2w1p: 过去的一年，世界经济经受了上世纪大萧条以来最为严峻的挑战。
Over the past year, the *world economy has experienced* the most severe challenge since the Great Depression.

Wen also highly emphasizes the opportunities for economic growth in the future by depicting the economy as a person with vitality and dynamism, as exemplified in (44-46):
All the key reform measures that we have taken this year are intended to eliminate the institutional and structural barriers in the economy and strengthen the vitality and dynamism of economic growth.

Reform and opening-up are essential to strengthening the dynamism and vigour of China’s economic growth.

continue to stimulate economic and social vitality to develop.

- Political party
There is also a prominent PERSON in the Obama corpus, i.e. A POLITICAL PARTY IS A PERSON. He creates a contrastive image between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. The parties’ images are also in connection with some expressions in the JOURNEY metaphor which I have discussed earlier.

The Republicans are depicted as an irresponsible person, for example in (47):

(47)
2t17p: And when you’ve got another party that says, we don’t want to do anything about it — of course people are going to be frustrated.

In (47), ‘another party’ refers to the Republican Party, and this party is irresponsible because it does not want to do anything for the mess it caused. It did not offer any help to economic recovery, as in (48) and it is a bad leader and driver, as illustrated in (49):

(48)
2t8p: Some of the steps we took were done without the help of the other party, which made a political decision all too often to jump in the backseat, let us do the driving
and then critique whether we were taking the right turns.

(49)

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

In contrast, the Democratic Party has a very positive image. It is a responsible leader, as in (50), as well as a savior of freedom and democracy in the world, as exemplified in (51).

(50)

2t26p: But we’re going to live up to our responsibility to lead.

(51)

2t36p: We’re the party of Franklin Roosevelt, who, in the midst of depression, said all we had to fear was fear itself; who saved freedom and democracy from being extinguished here on Earth.

Example (52) shows that it is also a savior that keeps the very essence of America, the American Dream alive:

(52)

2t40p: And if we do that -- if we speak to the hopes of the American people instead of their fears; if we inspire them instead of divide them; if we respond to their challenges with the same sense of urgency they feel in their own lives – we’re not just going to win elections -- elections will take care of themselves -- we will once again be the party that turns around the economy and moves this country forward, and secures the American Dream for another generation.

Examples (47-52) illustrate that by drawing a contrastive person image between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, the ‘good person’ and the ‘bad person’ image are clearly assigned to the two parties respectively, and the American people would logically go for the ‘good person’, support the Democratic Party.

There is one PARTY IS A PERSON example in the Wen corpus, as shown in (53):

(53)
This year is the 90th anniversary of the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, and also the commencement of the 12th Five Year Plan.

The word ‘birth’ personified the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. So both Obama and Wen have created the image of political party as a person. However, the personified parties under Obama’s description are more reified. The Republicans are depicted as a bad or inadequate leader or driver. It makes a big contrast to the Democratic Party. Also, the scene Obama has created is very vivid and concrete, and this can easily bring his audience to the scene and create resonance among his audience. Such kind of contrastive PERSON images is not found in the Wen corpus. As discussed before, the reason could be that the Chinese Communist Party is the sole party in China, so it is not necessary for Wen to make contrast or depict any bad image of other parties or people.

- THE AMERICAN DREAM and THE WORLD EXPO

There are culture-specific target domains in both America and China, such as the American Dream and the Word Expo, which are seen as very important in America and China respectively. For example, the American Dream is central to the spirit of America, so it is depicted as a person, a person with life, as in (54):

(54)

2t33p: Now is the time to do everything in our power to keep the American Dream alive for the next generation.

It is not surprising that there is no metaphor for the American Dream or there is no American Dream mentioned in the Wen corpus as it is a very specific cultural idea for solely America, a target domain that is only salient in the American culture. China also has her own culture-specific things, such as the World Expo. It is seen as a very important event to China; therefore, the PERSON metaphor for the World Expo is prominent and unique in the Chinese corpus. It carries a very positive image, for example, it is young and full of vitality, as in (55):

(55)

3w5p: 一个半世纪的积淀，世博会历久而弥新，始终保持旺盛生命力，不仅极
大地激发了人们创造物质财富的积极性和热情，而且给人类留下了宝贵的精神财富：

It has sediment (of experience) for the past one and a half centuries, and is still young and full of vitality. It has not only greatly stimulated people’s initiative and enthusiasm for the creation of material wealth, but also left behind a valuable legacy for cultural development.

It also carries a mission in relation to culture, as in example (56):

(56)
3w8p: 促进不同文化的碰撞和融合，加强交流与合作，是世博会一如既往的使命。

It is the inherent mission of the World Expo to promote collision and fusion (interaction and integration) of different cultures and strengthen exchanges and cooperation.

Example (57) shows that the World Expo is also depicted as a family:

(57)
3w14p: ——上海世博会将是一次世界人民大团圆的盛会。

-- The Shanghai Expo will be a grand (family) gathering for unity of people around the world.

There are four examples that depict the World Expo as a family. The concept of family is central to the Chinese culture, and the unity of family members in the Chinese festivals is particularly important. As Liu (2002: 57) points out, the family image denotes ‘harmony rather than competition, which often leads to contention and dispute’. The World Expo is depicted as a family, and other countries are family members in the World Expo family. The World Expo brings the family members together in the same family, so this is a very memorable and important event for Wen.

4.3.2 Conclusion
Person metaphors are widely used in the political field since they can reify abstract to concrete so that politics becomes accessible to the general public (Semino 2008: 101);
therefore both Obama and Wen use a lot of PERSON metaphors in their speeches, and
the PERSON metaphor is the second most dominant metaphor in both the English and
Chinese corpus. In the PERSON metaphor, nations are often portrayed as people, so
America and China are depicted as a person by Obama and Wen, as in (2) and (3).
Several characters or images are shared by both America and China, such as ‘friend or
partner’, ‘a responsible person’ and ‘a person that wants peace’. As America and
China have different history and cultures, different images of America and China are
also highlighted. For instance, America is portrayed as a young person, as in (17-18),
and a competitor or winner, as in (19-21); while in (22-23) China is pictured as a
person full of vitality and liveliness, in (24-25) as a good and active co-operator, an
actor in (26) and a mother in examples (27-28). Some culture-specific target domains
are also personified, such as the American Dream in the Obama corpus and the World
Expo in Wen. Personification can make the inanimate American Dream and the World
Expo to an animate person, so that people’s strong feelings are aroused (Charteris-
Black 2005: 15). Also, the contrast of person metaphors is sharp, i.e. the image of the
good person ‘the Democratic Party’, and the bad person ‘the Republican Party’. By
contrasting the images of Obama’s own party and his opponents’ party, he legitimizes
his party’s leadership while delegitimizes the Republican Party, and accordingly
pushes people to support the good person (the Democratic Party).
4.4 WAR metaphor

The third most dominant conceptual metaphor used is the WAR metaphor, with a number of 35 examples found in the Obama corpus and 55 in Wen. There are 9 and 5 groups of expressions found in the WAR metaphor in the Obama and the Wen corpus respectively. Just as the case with the previous two conceptual metaphors we have discussed, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is identified in both the English and the Chinese corpus. It is quite surprising that the WAR metaphor is quite dominant in the corpora because both politicians seem to have a very peaceful approach in their politics. Regarding Obama, he has got the Nobel Peace Prize and his policies towards the Muslim world are more peaceful than the former US President George W. Bush (Charteris-Black 2011: 287). As for Wen, it has been a long history and culture that China wants peace, and it is stated clearly and with emphasis that China will have peaceful development, as illustrated by example (13) in the section 4.2 the JOURNEY metaphor. Despite all these facts, the WAR metaphor is used frequently in both Obama’s and Wen’s speeches, the reason may be that the WAR metaphor indicates struggle and effort (ibid.: 304), which is very suitable to describe politics, so as (Gibbs 1994: 141) comments, the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is a central metaphor in political discourse.

4.4.1 Analysis: WAR metaphor

In both the Obama corpus and the Wen corpus, the same conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is identified. In the following paragraphs, the similarities and differences of the WAR metaphor of the two politicians will be examined.

Similarities

In this conceptual metaphor, some aspects or linguistic expressions they use are similar, which is discussed as follows:

- **To fight, combat and confront**
  The linguistic expressions, ‘to fight’, ‘to combat’ and ‘to confront’ play an important role in the WAR metaphor because these expressions denote conflicts, they also exaggerate and intensify the activity that the politician describes (Goatly 2007: 72), so it brings intense emotions to the hearers, and accordingly, resonance among the
hearers is created. There is a total number of 14 examples with the expression ‘to fight’, ‘to combat’ or ‘to confront’ found in the Obama corpus, for instance, combating corruption and recession, as shown in (1-3).

(1)
2t18p: Of course they wonder if their leaders can muster the will to overcome all of that and confront the real problems that touch their lives.

(2)
4t18p: Our two governments are making a joint commitment to open government that fosters transparency and combats the corruption that stifles economic growth.

(3)
7t29p: I think we all realize that both of our nations have faced great trials in recent years, including recessions so severe that many of our people are still trying to fight their way out.

Similar ideas are expressed by slightly different expressions in the Wen corpus. For example, 战胜 zhànshèng (to fight and win) takes an object which is closer to the object which ‘to fight’, ‘to combat’ and ‘to confront’ take, such as problems, crisis and so on. For example, there is crisis in general (exemplified in (4)), natural disasters (in (5)) or financial crisis (in (6)), and the last one, the financial crisis is very prominent in the Wen corpus since it appears 5 times with the expression 战胜 zhànshèng (to win) in the examples, which also shows that Wen wants to express the urgency of tackling financial problems.

(4)
1w1p: 各方面热切期盼从这里听到富有智慧的声音，凝聚战胜危机的力量。
People from across the world are eager to hear words of wisdom from here that will gather strength to overcome the crisis.

(5)
1w5p: 经过努力，在战胜两场突如其来的特大自然灾害的同时，2008年中国经济保持了平稳较快发展。

Through our hard work, we defeated two unexpected massive natural disasters and managed to maintain steady and relatively fast economic growth in 2008 at the same time.
To overcome the (current) severe international financial crisis before us, we must rely more on science and technology in making breakthroughs and boosting development. We will make China a country of innovation.

Also, Wen emphasizes that co-operation, confidence and perseverance are vital to overcome problems and crises, as in (7):

The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world. Confidence, cooperation and responsibility are key to overcoming the crisis. Confidence is the fountainhead of strength to overcome the crisis.

Apart from problems that the politicians fight against, there is also something that the two politicians fight for. For example, in the Obama corpus, there is fighting for passing a law, as in example (8), and example (9) illustrates fighting for the middle class:

(8) 2t2p: First of all I want to thank Eleanor Holmes Norton for fighting the good fight here in the District of Colombia.

(9) 6t27p: But we’re driving, and we’re going to have the middle class sitting right beside us because they’re the folks that we’re fighting for.

Passing a law can lead to better development of the District of Colombia; supporting the middle class can lessen the gap between the rich and the poor, and it is the middle class that America is made up of; therefore, Obama uses ‘fighting’ to denote the matters’ urgency and importance. There are also expressions that can be seen similar to ‘fighting for’ in the Chinese corpus, such as 主攻方向 zhǔgōng fāngxiàng (main
attack; main target) in (10) and 占领 zhàn lǐng (to occupy) in (11):

(10)
2w12p: 我们要把调整经济结构作为主攻方向，更加注重以内需、特别是最终消费拉动经济增长。

Our main direction of attack (target) restructuring the economy, and make greater effort to enhance the role of domestic demand, especially final consumption in actuating growth.

(11)
2w14p: 一方面要突破制约产业转型升级的关键技术，促进战略性新兴产业加快发展，重点支持新能源、新材料、生物医药、第三代移动通信、三网融合等产业的技术研发和产业化，加快发展低碳经济、绿色经济，努力占领国际产业竞争的制高点。

We will seek breakthroughs in key technologies that are vital to industrial transformation and upgrading, speed up the development of new industries of strategic importance, and give priority to research, development, and industrial application of technologies in new energy, new materials, bio-medicine, third generation mobile communications, and the integration of telecommunications networks, cable TV networks and the Internet. We will accelerate the development of a low carbon economy and green economy so as to occupy a high (advantageous) position in the international industrial competition.

- To defend/ safeguard
Apart from ‘to fight’, ‘to defend’ and ‘to safeguard’ are also expressions in the WAR metaphor. Different to ‘to fight’, ‘to defend’ and ‘to safeguard’ are less offensive than ‘to fight’. When the politician mentions ‘to defend’ or ‘to safeguard’, there is usually something that he or she wants to protect, and some other things that he or she wants to prevent or avoid. In the Obama corpus, it is the American system that he wants to defend, and crises that he wants to avoid. Examples (12-13) are shown below:

(12)
3t18p: This will not only safeguard our system against crises, this will also make our system stronger and more competitive by instilling confidence here at home and across the globe.
3t36p: In the end, our system only works -- our markets are only free -- when there are basic *safeguards* that prevent abuse, that check excesses, that ensure that it is more profitable to play by the rules than to game the system.

The same technique applies in Chinese as well, an example is shown in (14):

2w12p: 扩大内需是中国经济发展的长期战略方针，是应对国际金融危机、抵御外部风险的必由之路。

To boost domestic demand is a long-term strategic policy for China’s economic growth and the only way for us to tackle the financial crisis and *resist* external risks.

In (14), ‘To boost domestic demand’ is something that Wen wants to ensure, and ‘external risks’ is something he wants to avoid.

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**- Enemy**

Problems, including internal problems, such as corruption, economic downturn, and external problems, such as terrorism, lack of human rights, can be seen as abstract enemies, and can be understood through the use of ‘fight’, ‘confront’, ‘combat’ and so on. However, both Obama and Wen have not created an image of a concrete enemy nor have they emphasized ‘enemy’ or ‘adversary’, the only example can be found in the Obama corpus is (15):

1t5p: Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many -- and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our *adversaries* and *threaten* our planet.

Obama has a very different approach to Bush’s. He does not depict the image of enemies much. Less hatred is shown towards other countries, as compared with Bush’s extensive use of depersonification towards terrorists or even the Islamic world (Charteris-Black 2005: 181). The biggest enemy shown in the corpus is perhaps the Republicans, in which they are described as an irresponsible leader and bad driver.
Similar to Obama, ‘enemies and ‘adversaries’ cannot be found in the Wen corpus. This is in accordance with Wen’s style and his claim that China wants peaceful development.

Differences
Both politicians use the WAR metaphor to show economic problems. It indicates that they both see it as a serious and urgent matter like war. However, there are also differences regarding the linguistic expressions they use and also other details in the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR.

- Dominant expressions in the WAR metaphor
The linguistic expression ‘fight’ is the most numerous in Obama’s WAR metaphor. It has 12 examples of ‘fight’ regardless of the form of the word. Wen also tends to use certain linguistic expressions more often, for instance, there are 18 examples of 挑战 tiàozhàn (challenge; challenge to battle) and 23 examples of 战略 zhànlùè (war strategy / military strategy). These two linguistic expressions do carry a sense of ‘war’ because they both contain the word or character ‘战’ zhàn which means war. However, if they are translated into ‘challenge to battle’ and ‘war strategy’, the war sense in the translations would be too strong, as the degree of war sense is not very strong in Chinese, and some native speakers may not realize its war sense. Therefore, they are translated into ‘challenge’ and ‘strategy’ respectively in the translations. Examples of 挑战 tiàozhàn and 战略 zhànlùè are shown in (16) and (17) respectively:

(16)

8w23p: 我们愿意以更加积极的,参与多边经贸事务和全球性问题治理,与世界各国一道,共同分享发展机遇,共同应对各种挑战。

We are ready to engage more actively in multilateral economic and trade affairs and management of global issues, sharing out development opportunities with other countries and taking on the challenges together.

(17)

2w12p: 扩大内需是中国经济发展的长期战略方针,是应对国际金融危机、抵御外部风险的必由之路。

To boost domestic demand is a long-term strategic policy for China's economic
growth and the only way for us to tackle the financial crisis and resist external risks.

- **ELECTION IS WAR**

In Obama’s WAR metaphor, a sub-metaphor under the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is found, i.e. ELECTION IS WAR. This concept is very similar to SPORT and COMPETITION because there are winners and losers in the frames. Election viewed as war only appears in the Obama corpus. It is also discussed in Charteris-Black (2011: 304) that Obama used the WAR metaphor in his speech when he announced his candidacy for the presidency. The examples found in my corpus denote the conflicts between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, as well as the high importance Obama puts on election, as in (18):

(18)

6t53p: The only way to **fight** this cynicism, the only way to match the millions of dollars of special interests’ money, all that money that’s being poured in as **attack ads** **against** Alexi, against Pat, the only way to do it is with your voices -- (applause) -- the millions of voices who are ready to finish what we started in 2008.

The war sense in example (18) is quite strong because there are ‘cynicism’ and ‘attack ads’ from the Republican Party, and Obama’s party has to fight against them. He also calls for people to fight with him to win the election, as shown in (19):

(19)

6t54p: We need you to work to help get everybody out to vote, because if everybody who **fought** for change in 2008 shows up in 2010, we will win this election.

Due to the very different political system in China, election is not seen as war by Wen because general election is not held in China; therefore there is not a clear target domain for generating such a metaphor for Wen.

4.4.2 Conclusion

In section 4.4 I have examined the WAR metaphor used by Obama and Wen. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is one of the most frequently occurred metaphor in both the English and the Chinese corpus, i.e. the third most dominant one. The high frequency of the use of the WAR metaphor does not necessarily entail
that a politician wants war, as both Obama and Wen emphasize that peace is very important, but the metaphor can bring a sense of urgency and intense emotions to the hearers. As discussed in the aspect of ‘to fight, combat and confront’, the need of quick actions against corruption and recession, and the strong and firm attitude of taking the actions are conveyed through the metaphorical expressions, and it applies in both American and Chinese culture, as examples can be found in both corpora. Even though the primary conceptual metaphor and some of the metaphorical expressions are found to be the same or similar in corpora, differences in other metaphorical expressions of the WAR metaphor do occur. For example, the expressions挑战tiāozhàn (challenge; to challenge, to provoke) and 战略zhànlüè (war strategy) are pervasive in the Chinese corpus, and the expressions are translated into ‘problems’ or ‘strategy’ or ‘plan’ in general, but such a phenomenon is not found in the English corpus. Moreover, elections are viewed as WAR by Obama, as exemplified in (18), as there are a lot of debates against other candidates during the process, and there are also commercials which aim to attack other candidates or parties, so the WAR sense is very strong in elections, and no negotiation and compromise are allowed (Gibbs 1994: 142). The overuse of the WAR metaphor makes the relations between politicians with different ideas or different parties very stiff and uncompromising, so it adds difficulties to Obama's leadership as ‘the other party’, the Republican Party does not co-operate with the Democratic Party and disagrees with almost every policy Obama suggests.
4.5 Some specific American and Chinese metaphors:

The American Dream and the Chinese flag

We have discussed in the earlier section 4.2 that a policy’s aim or a country’s prospect can be expressed through GOALS in a JOURNEY. Another important symbol of GOALS or HOPE in Obama’s speeches is the American Dream. No specific dream is stated in the Wen corpus but images of flag appear in the corpus which can be seen as a similar symbol to the American Dream.

- The American Dream

The American Dream is culture-specific. It is central to the American culture and very important to the American people, because in the American Dream, everyone can achieve their goals as long as they work hard for it and put effort on it. Charteris-Black (2011: 281) has a discussion about Obama and the American Dream, and he defines the American Dream as follows:

‘The American Dream is the belief that life can be better than it has been previously and is now; it is the belief that much human suffering is inflicted by other humans and can be eliminated through struggling to achieve ambitions. Above all, the American Dream relates personal and social identity because the dream implies that any motivated individual can reach any social position, irrespective of their personal, ethnic or social background, including that of the highest office in the land. It is the unifying potential of the American Dream’

The American Dream can differ from person to person as everyone can have different goals, but it is a belief that everyone has a chance to reach it. ‘Dream’ appear 9 times in my corpus, as Charteris-Black analyzes, it often works ‘as a synonym of ‘hope’ (ibid.: 282). In accordance with Charteris-Black’s (2011: 282) finding, the American Dream often combines with other conceptual metaphors in my corpus, and it itself appears as an ENTITY mostly. When the American Dream is in combination with the JOURNEY metaphor, example (47) used in section 4.2 also shows that the American Dream appears as an object that needs to be carried forward, and example (20) illustrates that the American Dream has to be passed on to the next generation, so that the next generation can carry it forward, as shown below:
7t18p: And as they worked and struggled and sacrificed and sometimes experienced great discrimination, to build that better life for the next generation, they passed on that faith to their children and to their children’s children -- an inheritance that their great-great-great grandchildren like me still carry with them. We call it the America Dream.

The American Dream is seen as a ‘relay baton’ that needs to be passed on in example (20), so it is the goal or the aim that has to be passed to the next generation, and thus the American Dream can be kept ‘alive’, as in (21):

2t33p: Now is the time to do everything in our power to keep the American Dream alive for the next generation.

In examples (20-21), the American Dream is portrayed as an entity or a person that has life. Keeping it alive entails that Americans have hope. Exemplified in (22), when the American people feel hopeless, Obama describes as the dream is slipping away:

8t10p: I ran for President because too many Americans felt their dreams slipping away from them.

The dream disappears from Americans’ hands denotes that the Americans feel hopeless. In contrast, if you could seize something, it has positive entailments, as in example (23):

2t21p: And I don’t intend to spend all my time taking polls to figure out whether we’re going to seize that future or not.

Therefore, if the dream can be passed on without slipping away, it means it is hopeful; on the contrary, if it is slipping away, then the Americans feel hopeless.

Example (24) shows that the American Dream can act as the goal in a journey itself:

(24)
That core idea of America — that if you work hard, if you do right, if you’re responsible, that you can lead a better life and most importantly pass on a better life to your kids -- that American Dream felt like it was getting further and further out of reach.

The American Dream is ‘getting further and further out of reach’ carries the meaning that it becomes more and more hard for the American people to achieve what they want to be even though they have put a lot of hard work.

- The Chinese Flag
A similar symbol to the American Dream is found in the Wen corpus is the Chinese flag. The conceptual metaphor AIM IS FLAG is identified. FLAG does not express exactly the same idea as the American Dream, as it represents the goal for the whole nation, while the American Dream symbolizes hopes and goals for individual. FLAG can be seen as the metaphorical expression of ‘aim’ or ‘goal’ generally. 旗 qí (flag, banner) is closely related to ‘war’ as there are many expressions that is related to war and contain the word 旗 qí, as shown by examples (25-26):

(25) 重整旗鼓 chóngzhěngqígū means regrouped for battle (it literally means to re-arrange the flags and the drums)
(26) 旗鼓相當 qígǔxuāngdāng means in match or contest strength (it literally means equal flags and drums)

However, I did not group the image of flag into the WAR metaphor because these expressions I have cited above are fixed expressions, the war sense is ‘dead’, and they do not appear as an item in war from my corpus, so it is not the interest of my study here. The flag in my corpus instead of adopting the sense of war, it rather means ‘goal’ or ‘aim’, such kind of meanings can also be found in some fixed Chinese expressions, as instance (27) shows:

(27) 旗帜鲜明 qízhíxiānmíng means to take a clear-cut stand or aim (it literally means
A clear-cut flag means a clear aim in the above fixed expression, while in the Wen corpus a flag that is held high means a clear goal, as in (28):

(28)
3w6p: 第一，高举进步的旗帜。
First, hold high the flag of progress.

When holding the flag high, everyone can see it clearly, so it entails that the goal of making progress is clear. Very often, Wen uses the form ‘(goal) 的旗帜’ (goal) de qízhì, which literally means (goal)’s flag or a flag of (goal)’ to express goals. An example of a clear goal of peace, development and co-operation is shown in (29):

(29)
7w11p: 我们要继续高举和平、发展、合作的旗帜，与世界各国人民一道，共同分享发展机遇，共同应对各种挑战，建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界。
We continue to hold high the flag of peace, development and co-operation, and to be together with other people in the world, to share the chance to develop and to deal with different challenges together, so as to build up a steady peaceful, prosperous and harmonious world.

It also appears that to love China or to be patriotic to China is the ultimate goal, as in example (30):

(30)
4w15p: 要珍惜并发扬优良传统，包容共济、求同存异、顾全大局、协力同心，在爱国爱澳的旗帜下实现最广泛的团结，为澳门各项事业发展营造良好的社会环境和氛围。
To cherish and carry forward the fine traditional, to be inclusive and seek common ground while reserving differences, pull together to achieve the broadest unity under the flag of patriotism to the motherland and Macao, to create a good social environment and atmosphere for the development of various undertakings in Macau.
The people are ‘under’ the flag because the flag is held high, so they gather together under the flag and work for the goal together. To love China also denotes that one has to support Chinese socialism, as illustrated in (31):

(31)
7w12p: 高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，
hold high the flag of Chinese socialism.

The American Dream and a flag with Chinese characteristics are both very culture-specific, and it is through these very culture-specific aspects that American President Obama and Chinese Premier Wen can deliver very culture-specific goals and unite the people who belong to the same culture and nation.
Chapter 5

Concluding Remarks

After Barack Obama became the president of the U.S, the reforms he implemented, such as economic reforms, health reforms, educational reforms, etc show his political vision and ability. He also kept his promise and ended the war against Iraq by withdrawing the U.S. armies, so the American government can put the focus on domestic affairs, and this develops more social stability in the country. Wen Jiabao has also shown some contributions in the nation. The visits he paid to areas where disasters took place, the victims especially children he comforted, the attention he showed to rebuilding of the destroyed areas, etc, all this is evidence that he is ‘the People’s Premier’. He is also one of the pioneers to introduce political reforms against corruptions in China, and to suggest the re-appraisal of the 4 June Incident. Even though the reforms and suggestions may not be fully implemented, and some people doubted the sincerity of Wen, he still is one of the most enlightened, liberal and open-minded politicians in China.

Apart from the politicians’ contributions in different aspects of the nation, without language skills, policies cannot be implemented, and they could not have attained the position as political leaders in their respective countries. Obama’s success in the re-election once again shows the power of his eloquence, especially the metaphors he uses have urged the American people to once again trust his leadership. Wen’s language is also popular, as he uses fewer clichés and communist propaganda. The richness of his rhetoric, such as his extensive quotations of poems and prose has impressed many people, and it even inspired some people to study his language and published the book ‘Wenwen’erya’ [Wen’s language, cultured and elegant] (translated by myself). Wen’s use of metaphor is also extensive and pervasive in his speeches, as I have demonstrated the number and kinds of conceptual metaphor he used in my corpus.
I have also analyzed and compared the metaphors used by Obama and Wen in the thesis. The speeches chosen for my research are from the period of Obama’s presidency and Wen as Premier in China. Variation in the speeches is ensured, and topics include internal affairs (e.g. economy and domestic politics) as well as international affairs, in order to find out the most dominant metaphors in the politicians’ speeches in general.

My findings show that the most dominant conceptual metaphors employed by Obama and Wen are the same, i.e. TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the PERSON metaphor and the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor, and this falsifies my first hypothesis, i.e. the two politicians will have different dominant conceptual metaphors. In fact they not only have the same most dominant conceptual metaphors, but the order of the three is also the same. However, the findings are in accordance with my second hypothesis, i.e. the same dominant conceptual metaphor used by the two politicians will differ in detail. As discussed in 4.2 the JOURNEY metaphor, some aspects are more salient in one culture, and the related linguistic expressions or items occur more often accordingly, such as automobiles in the American culture. But it also worthy of note that similarities in detail of the same conceptual metaphor used by two politicians are also found, such as the positive sense brought by the linguistic expressions ‘goal’, ‘moving forward’ and ‘steps’, and the negative sense creates by ‘moving backward’, ‘facing obstacles’ and so on. In the PERSON metaphor, some images of the person portrayed by Obama and Wen are looked into. Different images of the nation are depicted, such as America’s images of a leader or guide, a competitor or winner and a young person depicted by Obama; while Wen’s China is an active and lively person, not a leader but a good co-operator, an actor or performer on a stage and a mother of her cities.

The differences in detail of the conceptual metaphors bring out the third hypothesis, i.e. that there will be some culture-specific metaphors. There are some culture-specific metaphors and target domains, such as the American Dream and the Chinese flag, as discussed in section 4.5, and its occurrence shows consistency with my third hypothesis. The American Dream and the Chinese flag are very salient in American
culture and Chinese culture respectively. The American Dream gives the people a feeling of hope, so the people believe in the government, and are more willing to support the government’s policies and reforms consequently. And the Chinese flag denotes a clear aim which can raise the people’s spirit, the rule of the Communist Party can be maintained accordingly, as such a metaphor is often used by the Chinese politicians, it creates harmony due to its multiple appearances in the politicians’ language. As Charteris-Black (2005: 163) suggests, ‘familiar metaphors… are used to develop a particular relationship of informality with the audience’. Also, Deignan (2005: 127) states that ‘cleverly used clichés can be a very effective means of expressing a proposition, because they are unmarked, and often perceived by hearers as self-evident, established versions of the way things are.’

I also attempted to show the ubiquity of metaphor by analyzing the metaphors used in the West and the East. Metaphors are ubiquitous in Wen’s speeches even though it is less needed for Chinese politicians to use metaphors to gain common people’s support. In fact, Wen’s use of metaphor is no fewer than Obama’s, one example is the JOURNEY metaphor, a number of 123 expressions of the JOURNEY metaphor is found in the Wen corpus, which is more than 119 in the Obama corpus. The extensive use of metaphor in American and Chinese cultures further proves that metaphor is probably indispensable in most cultures.

The power of metaphor has also been examined in my thesis. Examples are shown in section 4.3 in which a contrastive image of the good Democratic Party and the bad Republican Party is depicted through the PERSON metaphor, the American people are more convinced to support the good leader. Wen also uses the PERSON metaphor to evoke nationalism of the Macao people. It is rather successful because rather than strongly stating that Macao is under China’s control which will provoke resistance and negative feelings among the Macao people, depicting the picture of China as a mother can evoke the common cultural value shared by the Macao people and mainland Chinese, i.e. the close relations between the mother and the son and filial piety, strong emotional feelings can be aroused, and the Macao people feel more close to mainland China accordingly.
A successful politician can use language to convince his potential followers of his policies or his leadership, and thus, legitimize his or his party’s leadership and delegitimize his opponents’ or competitors’ leadership. In this respect, Barack Obama and Wen Jiabao are undoubtedly good examples of those, especially in relation to the use of metaphors in their speeches.


Internet resources:


Appendix I

List of speeches: Obama


Text 2: Remarks by the President at Democratic National Committee Meeting, 06 February, 2010.

Text 3: Remarks by the President on Wall Street Reform, 22 April, 2010.

Text 4: Remarks by President Obama and President Medvedev of Russia at the U.S.-Russia Business Summit, 24 June, 2010.

Text 5: Remarks by the President at Independence Day Celebration, 06 July, 2010.


Text 7: Remarks by the President at Irish Celebration in Dublin, Ireland, 23 May, 2011.

Text 8: Remarks by the President to Chrysler Workers in Toledo, Ohio Chrysler Group Toledo Supplier Park Toledo, Ohio, 03 June, 2011.
Appendix II

List of speeches: Wen

Text 1: ‘坚定信心 加强合作，推动世界经济新一轮增长’ ——在世界经济论坛2009年年会上的特别致辞（2009年1月28日）
At the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2009

Text 2: ‘全面提升中国经济发展内在动力’——在2009年夏季达沃斯论坛上的讲话（2009年9月10日）
At the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting of New Champions 2009

Text 3: ‘弘扬世博理念，推动共同发展’——在第七届上海世博国际论坛开幕式上的致辞（2009年11月12日）
At the Opening Ceremony of the 7th World Expo International Forum

Text 4: ‘同呼吸、共命运、心连心’——在会见澳门各界人士代表时的演讲（2010年11月14日，澳门）
‘Shared breath, same destination, and connected heart’, Macao, 14 November 2010.

Text 5: ‘未来中国的走向’——在英国皇家学会的演讲（2011年6月27日，伦敦）
At the Royal Society

Text 6: ‘做共同发展的好伙伴’——在第六届中德经济技术合作论坛上的演讲（2011年6月28日，柏林）
At the Sixth Chinese-German Forum for Economic and Technological Cooperation

Text 7: ‘在庆祝中华人民共和国成立六十二周年招待会上的讲话’（2011年9月30日）
‘62nd Anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China’, 30 September 2011.

Text 8: ‘中国面向世界的大门将永远敞开’
——在第110届中国进出口商品交易会开幕式暨中国加入世界贸易组织10周年论坛上的讲话（2011年10月14日，广州）
At the Opening Ceremony of the 110th Session of the China Import and Export Fair and the Forum on the Tenth Anniversary of China’s Accession to the WTO
‘China will Keep its Door Open Forever’, 14 October, 2011.
Appendix III
List of the metaphors discussed and the related examples: Obama

I. JOURNEY <119>
TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY

1) Journey <6>

1t12p: This is the journey we continue today.

1t31p: So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled.

1t33p: Let it be said by our children’s children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God’s grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

5t18p: Yet on this day we know that America’s journey is not sustained by those in uniform alone.

6t67p: That idea is the quintessentially American idea -- that this journey is never easy.

6t68p: And the journey we began together two years ago was not about putting me in the White House; it was about building a movement for change that endures.

2) Roads, paths, ways in journey <14>

1t9p: It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those that prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

1t16p: The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

1t21p: We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

1t23p: To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.

2t11p: We passed a service bill named for Ted Kennedy -- (applause) -- that gives young folks and old folks new ways to give back to their communities.
4t20p: And I think that if we stay on the course that we’re on, with a spirit of mutual respect and mutual interest, we are going to make even more progress, sell more goods, create more jobs, get more cross-border financing than ever before.

5t16p: And we salute the United States Coast Guard — (applause) — including a Coast Guardsman who commanded the first U.S. vessel to arrive in Haiti after the earthquake, helping to pave the way for the one of the most complex humanitarian efforts ever attempted — Commander Diane Durham.

6t29p: But we’ve still got a long way to go.

6t30p: That’s what keeps us fighting because we know that we’ve still got a long way to go.

8t7p: But that would have just kicked the problem down the road.

8t21p: We’ve still got a long way to go not just in this industry, but in our economy; for all our friends, all our neighbors who are still feeling the sting of recession.

8t22p: There are always going to be bumps on the road to recovery.

8t27p: We’ve got to invest in innovation that will pave the way for future prosperity.

3) Goal <1>
8t29p: But we’re going to get there.

4) Step <7>
2t8p: Some of the steps we took were done without the help of the other party, which made a political decision all too often to jump in the backseat, let us do the driving and then critique whether we were taking the right turns.

2t9p: And all the steps we took were necessary.

2t31p: Now, as a step in that direction, I went and visited with the House Republican Caucus last Friday.

3t4p: And as a nation we were forced to take unprecedented steps to rescue the financial system and the broader economy.

4t18p: Today, we took another step forward.

6t28p: Look, because of the steps we’ve taken, we no longer face the possibility of a second depression.

8t14p: We said that if everyone involved was willing to take the tough steps and make the painful sacrifices that were needed to become competitive, then we’d invest in your future and the future of communities like Toledo; that we’d have your back.

Direction
5) **Movement forward**<21>
1t15p: Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward.

1t21p: We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

1t23p: To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.

2t5p: I want to thank the governors, the legislators, the mayors from across this country for working to move their states and local communities forward in extraordinarily challenging times.

2t12p: We’ve charted a new way forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and made good progress in taking the fight to al Qaeda across the globe.

2t13p: We have moved forward on behalf of a more prosperous and more secure future for the American people.

2t26p: We’re moving forward. (Applause.) We are moving forward. (Applause.) Sometimes -- sometimes we may be moving forward against the prevailing winds.

2t40p: And if we do that -- if we speak to the hopes of the American people instead of their fears; if we inspire them instead of divide them; if we respond to their challenges with the same sense of urgency they feel in their own lives -- we’re not just going to win elections -- elections will take care of themselves -- we will once again be the party that turns around the economy and moves this country forward, and secures the American Dream for another generation.

3t23p: And I was encouraged to see a Republican senator join with Democrats this week in moving forward on this issue.

4t10p: Companies represented here today are moving forward with a series of major trade and investment deals that will create jobs for both Americans and Russians across many sectors, from aerospace, to automotive engineering, to the financial sector and high-technology.

4t11p: I am especially pleased that Boeing and Russian Technologies are moving forward with a $4 billion deal on 50 Boeing 737s.

4t18p: Today, we took another step forward.

4t20p: And I think that if we stay on the course that we’re on, with a spirit of mutual respect and mutual interest, we are going to make even more progress, sell more goods, create more jobs, get more cross-border financing than ever before.

4t21p: Thank you for your vision and your determination to continue to move us
towards a brighter vision of our future.

6t50p: So, look, we’ve got a lot of work to do, not only to move the country forward, but to make sure that the progress we’ve made continues.

7t28p: That’s the tale of our brawn and our blood, side by side, in making and remaking a nation, pulling it westward, pulling it skyward, moving it forward again and again and again.

7t28p: That’s the tale of our brawn and our blood, side by side, in making and remaking a nation, pulling it westward, pulling it skyward, moving it forward again and again and again.

8t13p: So that’s what drives me every day as I step into the Oval Office.

6) Movement backward <3>
2t23p: We can’t return to the dereliction of duty that helped deliver this recession.

2t23p: America can’t afford to wait, and we can’t look backwards.

6t22p: We’re not going back.

7) Turnaround <3>
2t40p: And if we do that -- if we speak to the hopes of the American people instead of their fears; if we inspire them instead of divide them; if we respond to their challenges with the same sense of urgency they feel in their own lives -- we’re not just going to win elections -- elections will take care of themselves -- we will once again be the party that turns around the economy and moves this country forward, and secures the American Dream for another generation.

3t5p: In fact, we’ve seen the fastest turnaround in growth in nearly three decades.

8t29p: And if anybody tells you otherwise, I want you to remember the improbable turnaround that’s taken place here at Chrysler.

8) Moving up <1>
7t28p: That’s the tale of our brawn and our blood, side by side, in making and remaking a nation, pulling it westward, pulling it skyward, moving it forward again and again and again.

9) Location / position in journey <20>
1t3p: Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.

1t5p: That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood.

1t13p: We’ll restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology’s wonders to
raise health care’s quality and lower its cost.

1t24p: To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

2t13p: So if you look at a tally of the things we said we would do — even in the midst of this extraordinarily challenging economy — we’ve kept our promises.

2t35p: I know we’ve gone through a tough year. But we’ve gone through tougher years.

2t36p: We’re the party of Franklin Roosevelt, who, in the midst of depression, said all we had to fear was fear itself; who saved freedom and democracy from being extinguished here on Earth.

3t4p: Now, since I last spoke here two years ago, our country has been through a terrible trial.

3t6p: And that crisis was born of a failure of responsibility -- from Wall Street all the way to Washington -- that brought down many of the world’s largest financial firms and nearly dragged our economy into a second Great Depression.

3t14p: Now, much of that money has now been paid back and my administration has proposed a fee to be paid by large financial firms to recover all the money, every dime, because the American people should never have been put in that position in the first place.

3t13p: In an ordinary local bank when it approaches insolvency, we’ve got a process, an orderly process through the FDIC, that ensures that depositors are protected, maintains confidence in the banking system, and it works.

3t33p: And we need no more proof than the crisis that we’ve just been through.

3t34p: You see, there has always been a tension between the desire to allow markets to function without interference and the absolute necessity of rules to prevent markets from falling out of kilter.

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

6t24p: And it was muddy down there and hot.

6t24p: Feet are slipping. Bugs are swarming.

6t24p: But we had to go down there. So me and all the Democrats, we put on our boots and we repelled down into the ditch.
7t19p: It’s a dream that we’ve carried forward -- sometimes through stormy waters, sometimes at great cost -- for more than two centuries.

8t6p: And two great American companies, Chrysler and GM, stood on the brink of liquidation.

8t22p: We’re going to pass through some rough terrain that even a Wrangler would have a hard time with.

10) Things ahead <18>
1t1p: My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you’ve bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.

1t7p: Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real.

1t16p: Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill.

1t17p: Our Founding Fathers -- (applause) -- our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man -- a charter expanded by the blood of generations.

1t28p: They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history.

2t6p: But that’s especially true in these times, when we face an array of challenges as tough as any we have seen in generations.

2t7p: We took office facing a financial crisis that was something we hadn’t seen since the Great Depression, an economy that we now know was bleeding 750,000 jobs a month, a $1.3 trillion deficit, and two wars that were costly in every sense of the word.

2t7p: From the specter of terrorism to the impacts of globalization, we face tremendous new challenges in this young century.

2t7p: And all of this comes on top of one of the toughest decades our middle class had ever faced -- a decade where jobs grew more slowly than during any prior expansion; where the income of the average American household actually declined; where the costs of everything seemed to keep going up.

3t5p: And as a result of the decisions we made -- some of which, let’s face it, were very unpopular -- we are seeing hopeful signs.

3t23p: That’s a good sign.

6t28p: Look, because of the steps we’ve taken, we no longer face the possibility of a second depression.

7t29p: I think we all realize that both of our nations have faced great trials in recent years, including recessions so severe that many of our people are still trying to fight
their way out.

7t30p: This nation has faced those questions before: When your land couldn’t feed those who tilled it; when the boats leaving these shores held some of your brightest minds; when brother fought against brother.

7t40p: This little country, that inspires the biggest things -- your best days are still ahead.

8t21p: Even though the economy is growing, even though it’s created more than 2 million jobs over the past 15 months, we still face some tough times.

8t21p: We still face some challenges.

8t22p: And there are still some headwinds that are coming at us.

11) Impediments or obstacles in journey <4>
2t17p: Look, when unemployment is 9.7 percent, when we are still digging ourselves out of an extraordinary recession — people are going to be frustrated.

2t20p: We’re going to have to care less about scoring points and more about solving problems that are holding us back.

2t21p: We know that a failure to act will put our planet in deeper peril.

2t33p: Now is not the time for sitting on the sidelines, or blocking progress, or pointing figures, or assigning blame.

12) Traveler <1>
1t12p: Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.

13) Driver/ leader in journey <4>
6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

6t25p: They’re just sipping on a Slurpee -- (laughter) -- fanning themselves.

6t27p: And they’re saying, excuse me, we’d like the keys back.

6t27p: And we’ve got to say to them, I’m sorry, you can’t have the keys back. You don’t know how to drive! (Applause.) You don’t know how to drive. You can ride with us.

14) Vehicle <10>
1t13p: We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories.
1t16p: But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, *the market can spin out of control.*

2t8p: Some of the steps we took were done without the help of the other party, which made a political decision all too often to jump in the *backseat,* let us *do the driving* and then critique whether we were *taking the right turns.*

2t22p: We can continue to *spin our wheels* with the old education debates; pitting teachers’ unions against reformers, and meanwhile our kids keep trailing their counterparts from South Korea to Singapore.

2t28p: We’ve *reined* in the power of the special interests with the toughest ethics and transparency rules of any administration in the modern era.

3t20p: That’s what he called them. And that’s why reform will *rein in excess and help ensure* that these kinds of transactions take place in the light of day.

4t19p: It’s the imagination and the creativity of our people, our workers, and their dreams for themselves and their children that ultimately *drives* the modern economy.

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as *a car.* And the Republicans were at the *wheel* and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

6t33p: We believe that free enterprise is the greatest *engine* for prosperity ever known to man.

6t44p: And that’s what this election is about. And this election is making sure that we don’t *turn the keys back* to the special interests in Washington.

**15) Things to carry in journey <3>**

1t16p: The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to *carry forward* that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

1t33p: Let it be said by our children’s children that when we were tested we refused to let this *journey end,* that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God’s grace upon us, we *carried forth* that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

7t19p: It’s a dream that we’ve *carried forward* -- sometimes through stormy waters, sometimes at great cost -- for more than two centuries.

**16) Leave the journey <4>**

2t24p: And there are some, maybe even the majority in this town, who say perhaps it’s time to *walk away.*

2t25p: If we *walk away,* we know what will happen.
I am not going to walk away from health insurance reform. (Applause.) I’m not going to walk away from the American people. I’m not going to walk away on this challenge. I’m not going to walk away on any challenge.

Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

II. PERSON <101>
A NATION IS A PERSON <43>
1) A NATION IS A PERSON in general <9>
Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations.

So by enacting these reforms, we’ll help ensure that our financial system -- and our economy -- continues to be the envy of the world.

And while there, he pledged Russia’s support to preserve the historic Fort Ross in Sonoma County -- an enduring reminder of the early Russian settlements and trade that brought Russian goods to our young nation.

As we all know, despite the surge in trade in recent years, the economic relationship between the United States and Russia is still largely one of untapped potential.

This is the day when we celebrate the very essence of America and the spirit that has defined us as a people and as a nation for more than two centuries.

And I know that Ireland will succeed.

And Michelle and I couldn’t imagine a better way to celebrate America’s birthday than with America’s extraordinary men and women in uniform —- and your families.

This is the spirit of which Adams spoke so long ago

What I see here is an America that is resilient, an America that understands that when we come together, nobody can stop us.

2) Friend <3>
America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.

Ireland is working hand in hand with the United States to make sure that hungry mouths are fed around the world -- because we remember those times.
7t41p: And may God bless the eternal friendship between our two great nations.

3) A leader/guide <3>
1t18p: And we are ready to lead once more.

1t22p: We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

2t26p: But we’re going to live up to our responsibility to lead.

4) Young person <2>
1t8p: We remain a young nation.

4t6p: And while there, he pledged Russia’s support to preserve the historic Fort Ross in Sonoma County -- an enduring reminder of the early Russian settlements and trade that brought Russian goods to our young nation.

5) A competitor <6>
2t22p: America can’t afford to wait.

2t23p: America can’t afford to wait, and we can’t look backwards.

2t22p: But we know that the countries that out-educate us today will out-compete us tomorrow.

2t21p: We know that China isn’t waiting and India isn’t waiting and Germany isn’t waiting to seize that future. And America can’t afford to wait, either.

6t39p: We can’t allow other countries to outpace us when it comes to math and science and our college graduation rates.

6t41p: Those countries aren’t playing for second place. And we don’t play for second place. This is the United States of America. We play for first place.

6) Winner <2>
4t11p: This is a win for Russia, creating a long-term market for its raw materials and resulting in modern airplanes for Russia’s travelers.

4t12p: It’s obviously a win for the United States, because this partnership could add up to 44,000 new jobs in the American aerospace industry.

7) A Hero <1>
3t4p: And as a nation we were forced to take unprecedented steps to rescue the
financial system and the broader economy.

8) ECONOMY OF A STATE IS HEALTH <16>

1t5p: Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age.

1t16p: Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill.

2t7p: We took office facing a financial crisis that was something we hadn’t seen since the Great Depression, an economy that we now know was bleeding 750,000 jobs a month, a $1.3 trillion deficit, and two wars that were costly in every sense of the word.

2t24p: The easiest thing to do right now would be to just say this is too hard; let’s just regroup and lick our wounds and try to hang on.

3t6p: Until the millions of our neighbors who are looking for work can find a job, and wages are growing at a meaningful pace, we may be able to claim a technical recovery -- but we will not have truly recovered.

3t6p: And even as we seek to revive this economy, it’s also incumbent on us to rebuild it stronger than before.

3t6p: And that crisis was born of a failure of responsibility -- from Wall Street all the way to Washington -- that brought down many of the world’s largest financial firms and nearly dragged our economy into a second Great Depression.

3t9p: Without it, our house will continue to sit on shifting sands, and our families, businesses, and the global economy will be vulnerable to future crises.

3t25p: And while a few companies made out like bandits by exploiting their customers, our entire economy was made more vulnerable.

3t25p: Just about every sector of our economy has felt the pain, whether you’re paving driveways in Arizona, or selling houses in Ohio, or you’re doing home repairs in California, or you’re using your home equity to start a small business in Florida.

4t18p: Our two governments are making a joint commitment to open government that fosters transparency and combats the corruption that stifles economic growth.

7t34p: We know what crippling poverty can be like, and we want to make sure we’re helping others.

8t12p: So I want everybody to understand, our task hasn’t just been to recover from the recession.

8t21p: Even though the economy is growing, even though it’s created more than 2 million jobs over the past 15 months, we still face some tough times.
8t21p: You know, it’s just like if you had a bad illness, if you got hit by a truck, it’s going to take a while for you to mend. And that’s what’s happened to our economy. It’s taking a while to mend.

**COMPOSITION OF A NATION IS A PERSON <43>**

9) Economy/ economic items <19>

1t13p: The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift.

1t16p: The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

2t7p: And all of this comes on top of one of the toughest decades our middle class had ever faced -- a decade where jobs grew more slowly than during any prior expansion; where the income of the average American household actually declined; where the costs of everything seemed to keep going up.

2t9p: None of us wanted to throw a lifeline to the banks.

3t4p: And as a nation we were forced to take unprecedented steps to rescue the financial system and the broader economy.

3t8p: I believe in a strong financial sector that helps people to raise capital and get loans and invest their savings.

3t9p: That’s why I feel so strongly that we need to enact a set of updated, commonsense rules to ensure accountability on Wall Street and to protect consumers in our financial system.

3t15p: And from the start, I’ve insisted that the financial industry, not taxpayers, shoulder the costs in the event that a large financial company should falter.

3t18p: This will not only safeguard our system against crises, this will also make our system stronger and more competitive by instilling confidence here at home and across the globe.

3t19p: So by enacting these reforms, we’ll help ensure that our financial system -- and our economy -- continues to be the envy of the world.

3t21p: There is a legitimate role for these financial instruments in our economy.

3t23p: For without action, we’ll continue to see what amounts to highly-leveraged, loosely-monitored gambling in our financial system, putting taxpayers and the economy in jeopardy.

7t30p: But yours is also a history of proud and defiant endurance.

8t8p: And by the time the dominos stopped falling, more than a million jobs, and
countless communities, and a proud industry that helped build America’s middle class for generations wouldn’t have been around anymore.

8t9p: So in the middle of a deep recession, that would have been a brutal and irreversible shock to the entire economy and to the future of millions of Americans.

8t14p: So we decided to do more than just rescue the industry from crisis.

8t20p: So this industry is back on its feet, repaying its debts, gaining ground.

8t20p: You’re scoring one for the home team and showing the world that American manufacturing and American industry is back.

8t28p: I want America to win the future, and I want our future to be big and optimistic, not small and fearful.

10) Political party
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS A BAD LEADER <6>
2t6p: Some of the steps we took were done without the help of the other party, which made a political decision all too often to jump in the backseat, let us do the driving and then critique whether we were taking the right turns.

2t17p: And when you’ve got another party that says, we don’t want to do anything about it — of course people are going to be frustrated.

2t30p: So we need to extend our hands to the other side -- we’ve been working on it -- (laughter) -- because if we’re going to change the ways of Washington, we’re going to have to change its tone.

6t25p: They’re just sipping on a Slurpee -- (laughter) -- fanning themselves.

6t23p: Imagine the American economy as a car. And the Republicans were at the wheel and they drove it into a ditch. And it’s a steep ditch, it’s a deep ditch. And somehow they walked away.

6t24p: But we had to go down there. So me and all the Democrats, we put on our boots and we repelled down into the ditch.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS A GOOD PERSON / LEADER <7>
1t18p: And we are ready to lead once more.

1t22p: We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

2t26p: But we’re going to live up to our responsibility to lead.
And I’m pleased to see the recommendations submitted by the Change Commission aimed at improving our nominating process -- because I believe that the more Americans that get involved in this party, the stronger this party will be.

We’re the party of Franklin Roosevelt, who, in the midst of depression, said all we had to fear was fear itself; who saved freedom and democracy from being extinguished here on Earth.

But we as a party helped to lead the country out of that fear.

And if we do that -- if we speak to the hopes of the American people instead of their fears; if we inspire them instead of divide them; if we respond to their challenges with the same sense of urgency they feel in their own lives -- we’re not just going to win elections -- elections will take care of themselves -- we will once again be the party that turns around the economy and moves this country forward, and secures the American Dream for another generation.

11) Policy <9>

On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.

We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together.

Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage.

The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works -- whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified.

And that’s why, to save the entire economy from an even worse catastrophe, we had to deploy taxpayer dollars.

Third, this plan would enact the strongest consumer financial protections ever.

These are reforms that would put an end to taxpayer bailouts; that would bring complex financial dealings out of the shadows; that would protect consumers; and that would give shareholders more power in the financial system.

It’s up to you to remember that this election is a choice between the policies that got us into this mess and the policies that are starting to lead us out of this mess.

So we decided to do more than just rescue the industry from crisis.
12) A city <1>
6t69p: So, Chicago, I need you to keep on fighting.

13) American Dream <1>
2t33p: Now is the time to do everything in our power to keep the American Dream alive for the next generation.

14) Miscellaneous <16>
1t33p: With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come.

2t5p: They've done heroic work.

2t14p: But for all our efforts, we have to acknowledge change can't come fast enough for many Americans.

2t19p: And it may not be easy, but change is coming.

2t25p: We know that millions more Americans will lose their coverage; we know that our deficits will inexorably continue to grow because health care costs are the single biggest driver.

5t5p: And I would add that because of the honor and heroism of our troops, we are poised to end our combat mission in Iraq this summer —- on schedule.

5t9p: Two hundred and thirty-four years later, the words are just as bold, just as revolutionary, as they were when they were first pronounced: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

5t20p: Let us resolve, as citizens, to carry on the improbable experiment that began more than 200 years ago; not simply declaring our principles, but living them here at home; not simply celebrating our union, but always working to perfect it.

5t21p: And here in a still young century, let us renew our commitment to stand with those around the world who, like us, still believe in that simple yet revolutionary notion —- that we are all endowed by our Creator “with certain unalienable rights.”

7t12p: Now, of course, an American doesn’t really require Irish blood to understand that ours is a proud, enduring, centuries-old relationship; that we are bound by history and friendship and shared values.

7t25p: When Abraham Lincoln struggled to preserve our young union, more than 100,000 Irish and Irish Americans joined the cause, with units like the Irish Brigade charging into battle -- green flags with gold harp waving alongside our star-spangled
banner.

7t26p: When depression *gripped* America, Ireland sent tens of thousands of packages of shamrocks to cheer up its countrymen, saying, “May the message of Erin shamrocks bring joy to those away.”

7t29p: Will your dreams remain *alive* in our time?

7t30p: Of a nation that kept *alive* the flame of knowledge in dark ages; that overcame occupation and outlived fallow fields; that triumphed over its Troubles — of a resilient people who beat all the odds.

7t35p: And this is a nation that met its responsibilities — and inspired the entire world — by choosing to see past the *scars* of violence and mistrust to forge a lasting peace on this island.

8t30p: What we see here is a *proud* reminder that in difficult times, Americans, they dig deep, they recapture the toughness that makes us who we are — builders and doers who never stop imagining a better future.

### III. WAR <35>

**POLITICS IS WAR**

1) *War, battle* <3>

1t5p: Our nation is *at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred.*

3t31p: I mean, we have seen *battalions* of financial industry lobbyists descending on Capitol Hill, firms spending millions to influence the outcome of this debate.

7t25p: When Abraham Lincoln struggled to preserve our young union, more than 100,000 Irish and Irish Americans joined the cause, with units like the Irish Brigade charging into *battle* -- green flags with gold harp waving alongside our star-spangled banner.

2) *Fight, combat, confront* <14>

2t2p: First of all I want to thank Eleanor Holmes Norton for *fighting the good fight* here in the District of Colombia.

2t18p: Of course they wonder if their leaders can muster the will to overcome all of that and *confront* the real problems that touch their lives.

4t18p: Our two governments are making a joint commitment to open government that fosters transparency and *combats* the corruption that stifles economic growth.

6t27p: But we’re driving, and we’re going to have the middle class sitting right beside us because they’re the folks that we’re *fighting* for.
That’s what keeps us fighting because we know that we’ve still got a long way to go.

But that’s the kind of cynicism we’re fighting.

The only way to fight this cynicism, the only way to match the millions of dollars of special interests’ money, all that money that’s being poured in as attack ads against Alexi, against Pat, the only way to do it is with your voices -- (applause) -- the millions of voices who are ready to finish what we started in 2008.

We need you to work to help get everybody out to vote, because if everybody who fought for change in 2008 shows up in 2010, we will win this election.

But I want everybody here to understand, don’t let anybody tell you that this fight hasn’t been worth it.

It was about realizing that in the United States of America anything is possible if we’re willing to work for it, if we’re willing to fight for it, if we’re willing to believe in it

So, Chicago, I need you to keep on fighting.

I think we all realize that both of our nations have faced great trials in recent years, including recessions so severe that many of our people are still trying to fight their way out.

And we can live out the American Dream again. That’s what we’re fighting for. (Applause.) That’s what we’re fighting for.

And as long as I continue to have the privilege of being the President of the United States, I’m going to keep fighting alongside you for a future that is brighter for this community, for Toledo, for Ohio, for America.

This will not only safeguard our system against crises, this will also make our system stronger and more competitive by instilling confidence here at home and across the globe.

In the end, our system only works -- our markets are only free -- when there are basic safeguards that prevent abuse, that check excesses, that ensure that it is more profitable to play by the rules than to game the system.

When we strove to blot out the stain of slavery and advance the rights of man, we found common cause with your struggles against oppression.

When Abraham Lincoln struggled to preserve our young union, more than
100,000 Irish and Irish Americans joined the cause, with units like the Irish Brigade charging into battle -- green flags with gold harp waving alongside our star-spangled banner.

5) Enemy <1>
1t5p: Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many -- and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our *adversaries* and *threaten* our planet.

6) Defeat, beat <2>
1t21p: We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will *defeat* you.

7t30p: Of a nation that kept alive the flame of knowledge in *dark* ages; that overcame occupation and outlived fallow fields; that *triumphed* over its Troubles -- of a resilient people who *beat* all the odds.

7) Ally <1>
3t11p: But I’m here today specifically -- when I speak to the titans of industry here -- because I want to urge you to *join us,* instead of *fighting* us in this effort.

8) Weapon <1>
3t20p: That’s what led Warren Buffett to describe derivatives that were bought and sold with little oversight as “financial weapons of mass destruction.”

9) Other words denoting conflict <9>
1t19p: Recall that earlier generations *faced down* fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions.

3t3p: It is wonderful to be back in Cooper Union, where generations of leaders and citizens have come to *defend* their ideas and *contest* their differences.

3t14p: And that’s why, to save the entire economy from an even worse catastrophe, we had to *deploy* taxpayer dollars.

3t31p: We’ve seen misleading arguments and *attacks* that are designed not to improve the bill but to weaken or to *kill* it.

3t7p: And I said during our press conference today that we may be able to finally *get rid of* those old “red phones.”

6t48p: And now the other side says they want to *roll that back.*

6t49p: And they said their number one priority -- they want to *roll this back.*
Our greatest triumphs -- in America and Ireland alike -- are still to come.

This economy took a big hit.

### IV. American Dream <9>

And if we do that -- if we speak to the hopes of the American people instead of their fears; if we inspire them instead of divide them; if we respond to their challenges with the same sense of urgency they feel in their own lives -- we’re not just going to win elections -- elections will take care of themselves -- we will once again be the party that turns around the economy and moves this country forward, and secures the American Dream for another generation.

It’s the imagination and the creativity of our people, our workers, and their dreams for themselves and their children that ultimately drives the modern economy.

It’s a dream that we’ve carried forward -- sometimes through stormy waters, sometimes at great cost -- for more than two centuries.

Now is the time to do everything in our power to keep the American Dream alive for the next generation.

Will your dreams remain alive in our time?

And as they worked and struggled and sacrificed and sometimes experienced great discrimination, to build that better life for the next generation, they passed on that faith to their children and to their children’s children -- an inheritance that their great-great-great grandchildren like me still carry with them. We call it the America Dream.

And we can live out the American Dream again. That’s what we’re fighting for. (Applause.) That’s what we’re fighting for.

I ran for President because too many Americans felt their dreams slipping away from them.

That core idea of America -- that if you work hard, if you do right, if you’re responsible, that you can lead a better life and most importantly pass on a better life to your kids -- that American Dream felt like it was getting further and further out of reach.
Appendix IV
List of the metaphors discussed and the related examples: Wen

I. JOURNEY <123>
TO PURSUE WELL-BEING IS A JOURNEY
1) road; route; way; path <15>
道路 dàolù (road; route; way; path) <10>

更为重要的是，我们树立了以人为本、全面协调可持续发展的科学发展理念，始终坚持改革开放，始终奉行互利共赢的开放战略，找到了一条符合中国国情、顺应时代潮流的正确发展道路；我们的人民拥有坚韧不拔、自强不息、百折不挠的精神与意志，正是这些优秀品质，使历史悠久的中国在逆境中焕发更加强劲的生命力。
We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win strategy. We have found the right development path in line with China’s national conditions and the trend of our times. Our people are hard-working, persevering and resilient. It is precisely these fine qualities that endow China, a country with a time-honored history, with greater vitality in the face of adversities.

坚持开放的道路。
insist on the path of opening-up.

世界博會所展示的开放精神，符合人类发展进步的潮流，从而使世博事业发道路越走越宽广。
The open spirit demonstrated by the World Expo, which is consistent with the trend of human development and progress, has opened ever broader roads for the World Expo to walk on.

不管前进的道路上有多少艰难险阻，伟大祖国永远是澳门繁荣、稳定和发展的坚强后盾。
No matter how many difficulties and obstacles on the road ahead, the great motherland will always provide strong backing to Macau’s prosperity, stability and development.

沿着这条社会主义现代化道路前进，中国必将会有一个更加光明的未来。
Advancing on this path of socialist modernization, China will have an even brighter future.

我们将坚持科学发展，着力转变经济发展方式，走绿色、低碳、可持续的发展道路。
We will stick to scientific development, work hard to shift the model of economic
development and walk on the road to achieve green, low-carbon and sustainable development.

5w18p:
走和平发展道路，是中国政府和人民根据时代潮流和自身利益作出的战略抉择，是中国积极参与经济全球化、最终实现现代化的必由之路。
To walk on the path of peaceful development is a strategic decision made by the Chinese government and people in keeping with the trend of the times and based on our own interests. This is the only way which will enable China to embrace economic globalization and achieve modernization.

5w20p:
尽管前进的道路上还会有这样那样的艰难险阻，但这一历史进程不可逆转！
Whatever difficulties and obstacles may lie on the road we are advancing along, they cannot block this historical process!

7w3p:
我们要坚定不移地走中国特色社会主义道路，毫不动摇地把社会主义现代化事业推向前进。
We firmly walk on the path of Chinese socialism and push forward socialist modernization.

8w17p:
今天的中国，扩大开放的基础更加牢固，条件更加成熟，人民群众的愿望更加强烈，对外开放的道路越走越宽广。
Thanks to much matured conditions for widening the opening and even greater support from the people, China’s opening to the outside world with broader roads.

道 dào (road; way; path) <1>

1w1p:
本届年会意义特殊，在历史罕见的国际金融危机之中，各国政要、企业家和专家学者聚集在这里，围绕“重塑危机后的世界”这一主题，共同探讨维护国际金融稳定、促进世界经济增长的举措，探索全球综合治理之道，既有重要的现实意义，也体现了会议举办者的远见卓识。
This annual meeting has a special significance. Amidst a global financial crisis rarely seen in history, it brings together government leaders, business people, experts and scholars of different countries to jointly explore ways to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth and better address global issues.

路 lù (way; road; path) <4>

2w12p:
扩大内需是中国经济发展的长期战略方针，是应对国际金融危机、抵御外部风险的必由之路。
To boost domestic demand is a long-term strategic policy for China’s economic growth and the only way for us to tackle the financial crisis and resist external risks.
5w15p:
对别人走过的弯路，我们不应重复；对世界面临的难题，我们要同国际社会一道来破解。
We do not take the tortuous path which others walked through. We will work with the rest of the international community to address common challenges facing the world.

5w18p:
走和平发展道路，是中国政府和人民根据时代潮流和自身利益作出的战略抉择，是中国积极参与经济全球化、最终实现现代化的必由之路。
To walk on the path of peaceful development is a strategic decision made by the Chinese government and people in keeping with the trend of the times and based on our own interests. This is the only way which will enable China to embrace economic globalization and achieve modernization.

7w7p:
努力改变收入分配不公和差距扩大的现象，走共同富裕之路。
to work hard on improving unfairness and the enlarging differences in income distribution, to walk on the same road of wealth.

2) tortuous, winding, circuitous 曲折 qūzhé <3>
2w2p:
经过国际社会共同努力，加强合作，同舟共济，积极应对，当前世界经济形势出现一些积极变化，开始缓慢、曲折的复苏。
Since then, thanks to the concerted efforts and active measures of the entire international community, some positive changes of the (current) economy before us have taken place. The world economy is beginning to recover, although the process is slow, arduous and tortuous.

3w3p:
美国女作家海伦•凯勒曾以抚摸方式参观了1893年芝加哥世博会，后来她在《假如给我三天光明》的传世名篇中深情地写道，如果给她三天光明，她要把最宝贵的第一天留给博物馆，对整个世界做匆匆一瞥，看人类进步的艰难曲折，看历代兴衰和沧桑之变。
The American writer Helen Keller visited the World Expo 1893 in Chicago through mere touch. Later in her world-renowned article Three Days to See, she wrote with great passion that if she "had light (the power of sight) for just three days," she would save her most precious third day for the museum. She wrote, "This day I should devote to a hasty glimpse of the world, past and present. I should want to see the arduous and tortuous of man’s progress, the kaleidoscope of the ages."

3w19p:
经过国际社会务实合作，共同努力，目前最坏的时期已经过去，世界经济开始复苏，但是，全面复苏将是缓慢曲折的过程。
However, thanks to the joint and pragmatic efforts of the international community, the worst period is now behind us, and the world economy now begins to recover. But a full recovery will still be a slow and tortuous process.
3) Step <8>

**步 bù (step)** <3>

5w7p:
上世纪 80 年代初，中国改革开放的总设计师邓小平，曾提出我国现代化进程
“三步走”的战略构想。
In the early 1980s, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China’s reform and
opening-up program, proposed a ‘three-step’ strategy for China’s modernization drive.

5w7p:
第一步，基本解决温饱问题；第二步，全面建设小康社会；第三步，到本世纪
中叶，基本实现现代化，达到世界中等发达国家水平。
The first step is to ensure adequate food and clothing for the people. The second step
is to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The third step is to achieve
modernization and reach the level of medium developed countries by the middle of
this century.

5w7p:
“三步走”战略的核心和本质，都是坚持以人为本，增进全体中国人的福祉。
Putting people’s interests first and promoting the wellbeing of the entire Chinese
people - this is what the ‘three-step’ strategy is all about.

**步伐bùfá (step) ** <4>

4w14p:
加快重大基础设施建设步伐，培育新的优势产业和经济增长点，提高澳门抵御
经济风险的能力。
To speed up the steps of important development, to develop growth in industries and
economy, and to raise Macao’s ability to defend economic risks.

5w4p:
我要告诉朋友们的是，经过这场国际金融危机的洗礼，中国前进的步伐更加稳
健了。
As to my country China, it has emerged from the (baptism of) financial crisis stronger
and is now taking steady steps forward.

6w9p:
我们还期待双方企业在新能源交通、建筑节能和低碳生态城市建设等方面合作
迈出实质性步伐。
We also hope that Chinese and German companies will take substantive steps in
cooperation in new energy based transportation, building efficiency and low-carbon
eco-city development.

8w16p:
相反，贸易保护主义只会拖累世界经济复苏步伐，最终受损的是各国人民。
Trade protectionism, conversely, can only drag the feet of the world economic
recovery and hurt people of all countries in the end.

**踏 tà (to step on; to stamp on; to tread)** <1>
正因为有了充分的学术自由，像牛顿这样在人类历史上具有伟大影响的科学家，才能够思潮奔腾、才华迸发，敢于思考前人从未思考过的问题，敢于踏进前人从未涉足的领域。

It was in an environment of academic freedom that great scientists like Isaac Newton, who had a profound impact on human history, were able to bring out surging tides of thoughts, to burst out talents, and to probe issues not questioned by predecessors and step on new territory.

4) Movement <39>
前进 qiánjìn (to advance; to go forward, to proceed, to press on, to go forth, to make headway) <5>

5w4p:
我要告诉朋友们的是，经过这场国际金融危机的洗礼，中国前进的步伐更加稳健了。
As to my country China, it has emerged from the (baptism of) financial crisis stronger and is now taking steady steps forward.

5w7p:
沿着这条社会主义现代化道路前进，中国必将会有一个更加光明的未来。
Advancing on this path of socialist modernization, China will have an even brighter future.

5w20p:
倒退没有出路，停滞也没有出路。只有坚定信心、继续前进，中国才能建设成为富强、民主、文明、和谐的社会主义现代化国家，中国人民才能更加普遍和以更高水准过上有尊严的幸福生活。
To stall or reverse course is not a way out for China. We must move on with confidence. Only by doing so can China build up as a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced, modern and harmonious socialist country, and can the Chinese people enjoy a happy life with dignity in a more extensive way and at a higher level.

5w20p:
尽管前进的道路上还会有这样那样的艰难险阻，但这一历史进程不可逆转！
Whatever difficulties and obstacles may lie on the road we are advancing along, they cannot block this historical process!

6w22p:
中欧关系中的问题，是发展中问题、前进中的问题。
The problems in China-Europe relations have occurred in the course of growing and moving forward.

推进 tuījìn (to push forward, to push ahead, propel) <32>

1w4p:
我们抓住机遇全面推进产业结构调整和优化升级，制定汽车、钢铁等重点产业的调整和振兴规划，既着眼于解决企业当前存在的困难，又致力于产业的长远发展。
We are seizing the opportunity to *push ahead* comprehensive industrial restructuring and upgrading. To this end, plans are being drawn up for key industries such as automobile and iron and steel, which not only focus on addressing the (immediate) difficulties of enterprises in front of us but also look toward their long-term development.

1w4p:
采取有力措施，推进企业兼并重组，淘汰落后产能，发展先进生产力，提高产业集中度和资源配置效率。

We have taken strong measures to *push forward* the merger and reorganization of enterprises, phase out backward production capacity, promote advanced productive forces, and improve industry concentration and the efficiency of resource allocation.

1w4p:
四是大力推进科技创新和技术改造。

Fourth, actively *push forward* innovation and upgrading in science and technology.

1w4p:
我们积极推进医药卫生体制改革，力争用三年时间基本建成覆盖全国城乡的基本医疗卫生制度，初步实现人人享有基本医疗卫生服务，预计三年内各级政府将为此投入8500亿元。

We are *pushing forward* the reform of the medical and health system and working to put in place a nationwide basic medical and health system covering both urban and rural areas within three years and achieve the goal of everyone having access to basic medical and health service.

1w4p:
总的看，这些重大政策措施，注重标本兼治、远近结合，综合协调、相互促进，把扩大国内需求、调整振兴产业、推进科技创新、加强社会保障结合起来，把增加投资和刺激消费结合起来，把克服当前困难和促进长远发展结合起来，把拉动经济增长和改善民生结合起来，对于动员全社会力量共同应对危机，起到了关键性作用。

These major policy measures as a whole target both symptoms and root causes, and address both immediate and long-term concerns. They represent a holistic approach and are mutually reinforcing. They are designed to address the need to boost domestic demand, readjust and reinvigorate industries, *push forward* scientific innovation and strengthen social security. They are designed to stimulate consumption through increased investment, overcome the (current) difficulties before us with long-term development in mind, and actuate economic growth in the interest of people’s livelihood. These measures can mobilize all resources to meet the current crisis.

1w6p:
我们仍处于重要战略机遇期，在工业化和城镇化快速推进中，基础设施建设、产业结构和消费结构升级、环境保护和生态建设、社会事业发展，蕴藏着巨大的需求和增长潜力，它将有力支撑中国经济在较长时间内继续保持较高速度增长。

We are in an important period of strategic opportunities and in the process of *pushing*...
fast industrialization and urbanization. Infrastructure construction, upgrading of industrial and consumption structures, environmental protection and conservation projects, and various social development programs—all contain huge demand and growth potential and will bolster relatively high-speed growth of our economy for a long time to come.

First, deepen international economic cooperation and push forward a sound multilateral trading regime.

It is therefore necessary to move forward trade and investment liberalization and facilitation.

As an important supplement to such a trading regime, regional economic integration should be vigorously moved forward.

and steadily push forward the international monetary system toward greater diversification.

We should advance the international poverty reduction process and scale up assistance to the least developed countries and regions in particular with a view to building up their capacity for independent development.

All the key reform measures that we have pushed forward this year are intended to eliminate the institutional and structural barriers in the economy and strengthen the vitality and dynamism of economic growth.

We are pushing ahead with comprehensive reform in the pharmaceutical and health care system.

加快建立反映市场供求关系、资源稀缺程度、环境损害成本的生产要素和资源价格形成机制，推进资源性产品价格和环保收费改革；
We will speed up the establishment of pricing mechanisms for resources and factors of production that are responsive to market changes and reflect the scarcity level of the resources and environmental cost, and push forward the reform in resource products price and environmental protection charge.

2w13p:
在全面推进经济体制改革的同时，积极稳妥地推进政治体制改革。
While pushing ahead with the comprehensive economic restructuring, we will advance political restructuring in an active and steady way.

2w15p:
协调推进城镇化和新农村建设。
We will advance urbanization and the building of a new countryside in a coordinated manner.

2w15p:
统筹考虑人口集聚、土地集约、产业发展和公共服务等因素，积极稳妥地推进工业化、城镇化，提高城镇综合承载能力，为经济的持久发展开拓新的空间。
We will take active and steady measures to push forward industrialization and urbanization on the basis of balanced consideration of such factors as population density, land use efficiency, industrial development and public services, raise the overall carrying capacity of cities, and open up new space for sustained economic growth.

3w22p:
中国申博成功7年来，我们举全国之力，集世界智慧，认真扎实推进各项筹办工作。
Over the last seven years since China’s successful bid for the World Expo, we have mobilized resources of the whole nation, gathered wisdom from around the world, and steadily pushed the preparation work forward.

4w15p:
大力推进公共交通工程，
push forward the construction of public transportation.

5w11p:
解决这些问题的根本途径，是坚定不移地推进政治体制改革，建设社会主义民主法治国家。
The best way to resolve these problems is to firmly advance the political structural reform and build socialist democracy under the rule of law.

5w13p:
近些年来，我们在深化经济体制改革的同时，积极稳妥地推进政治体制改革。
In recent years, while deepening the economic structural reform, we have actively and steadily advanced the political structural reform.

5w13p:
在推进政府决策科学化、民主化，加强人民对政府的监督等方面，也有许多进
Much progress has been made in advancing government decision-making sound and democratic and enhancing public oversight of the government.

In the process of pushing forward modernization, China has encountered various problems in the fields of energy, the environment, wealth distribution, judicial justice and government integrity.

The Chinese government pushes large Chinese companies, research-oriented universities and research institutions to increase cooperation with their British counterparts forward. It also encourages more exchanges of top-level talents and joint research between our two countries.

In 2010, we signed the Chinese-German Joint Communique on Comprehensively Actuating (Promoting) Strategic Partnership and agreed to establish a governmental consultation mechanism between China and Germany.

have to push forward reform and opening-up with strength.

continue to push forward reforms in our economic system, political system, cultural system, social system and so on.

to be on the same road with many Taiwan Chinese, to push forward peaceful development between Taiwan and the mainland together, and to write a new chapter of revival of our great Chinese nation together.

Looking ahead the future, with China’s rapid economic development and steady advancing reform and opening-up, the Canton Fair is faced with an even broader
prospect of development.

8w17p:
这就需要不断解放思想，与时俱进，以无比坚定的决心和勇气继续推进改革开放，以海纳百川的胸襟学习借鉴国外一切文明成果。That is why we need to constantly free our mind, keep pace with the times, push ahead with reform and opening-up with rock-solid determination and courage and strive to draw on the achievements of all civilizations with an open mind.

8w21p:
我们将稳步扩大服务业对外开放，继续推进人民币汇率形成机制改革，扩大人民币跨境使用，逐步实现人民币资本项目可兑换。同时，我们也将继续扩大教育、科技、文化、卫生等领域的对外交流与合作，在扩大开放中促进我国社会事业改革与发展。We will take steady steps to widen the openness of our service industry, push forward the reform in the RMB exchange rate forming mechanism, expand the cross-border use of RMB and gradually make RMB convertible under the capital account. At the same time, we will expand exchanges and cooperation with other countries in education, science, technology, culture, health and other areas so as to promote reform and development of China’s social programs through ever enlarged openness.

8w23p:
我愿再次呼吁，各方应坚持世贸组织多哈回合谈判的发展授权，关注最不发达国家利益，在锁定既有成果的基础上，务实推进谈判进程。I wish to take this opportunity to repeat my call for all parties to uphold the development mandate of the WTO Doha Round negotiations, pay attention to the interests of the least developed countries and advance the negotiations in a results-oriented way on the basis of locking in the existing outcomes.

追逐 zhuīgān (to chase after) <1>
3w11p: 经过几次走近世博会，不少中国人大开眼界，接受了近代文明的洗礼，进而萌发了学习西方、追赶西方的强烈使命意识。China’s later walking close to (involvement with) the World Expo was eye-opening to many Chinese. They were baptized by (it exposed them to) modern civilization and aroused a strong sense of mission to learn from and catch up with the West.

倒退 dàotuì (to move backward) <1>
5w20p: 倒退没有出路，停滞也没有出路。只有坚定信念，继续前进，中国才能建设成为富强、民主、文明、和谐的社会主义现代化国家，中国人民才能更加普遍和以更高水准过上有尊严的幸福生活。To stall or reverse course is not a way out for China. We must move on with confidence. Only by doing so can China build up as a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced, modern and harmonious socialist country, and can the Chinese people enjoy a happy life with dignity in a more extensive way and at a higher level.

5) Direction 方向 fāngxiàng <10>
2w7p:  
中央扩大投资的方向非常明确，主要用于加强经济社会发展薄弱环节，消除国民经济瓶颈制约，在积极拉动内需的同时，促进结构调整和发展方式转变。  
This shows that the central government has a clear direction in expanding investment, that is, the money should focus on shoring up the weak links in economic and social development, help remove the bottlenecks in the national economy, and contribute to structural readjustment and transformation in the development model while giving a strong push to domestic demand.

2w10p:  
因此，我们不能也不会在不适当的条件下改变政策方向。  
Given such a state of affairs, we cannot and will not change our policy direction in the absence of proper conditions.

2w20p:  
各国要增进共识，加强宏观政策协调，实施符合本国国情和负责任的财政货币政策，保持宏观经济政策方向的一致性。  
Countries should increase consensus, strengthen coordination of macro-economic policies, pursue responsible fiscal and monetary policies that fit their national conditions and maintain the consistent direction of the macro-economic policies.

4w5p:  
澳门这座历史文化名城正向现代旅游胜地大步迈进。  
Macao, this popular historical and cultural city is taking big steps towards being a modern tourist resort.

4w5p:  
澳门的发展进步，是“一国两制”科学构想的又一次成功实践，是中华民族迈向伟大复兴的一个标志。  
Macao's development and progress, is another successful practice of the scientific concept of "one country, two systems", and is a sign of moving towards the sign of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

4w8p:  
在我国封建王朝风雨飘摇、走向衰落的年代里，澳门先被窃据，后被割占，开始了同祖国分离的苦难历程。  
In the era of the difficulties and walking towards decline of the feudal dynasty in China, Macau was occupied and then seized, and began the suffering course of separation with the motherland.

5w19p:  
中国将同国际社会一道，共担责任、共迎挑战，继续推动国际体系朝着更加公平、公正、包容的方向发展。  
China will work with the rest of the international community to undertake responsibilities, meet challenges and continue to actuate international system towards the direction of more equitable, just and inclusive.

6w19p:  

中方尊重欧盟各国人民选择的政治制度和发展模式，也希望欧方尊重中国的主权和领土完整，尊重中国人民的自主选择，共同推动中欧关系持续健康向前发展。

China respects the choice of political system and development model made by the people of EU members. Similarly, we hope that the EU will respect China’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and Chinese people’s independent choice, and work with us to actuate the healthy growth of China-Europe relations forward.

8w18p:
经过我们的努力，中国进出口正朝着更加平衡的方向发展，
Thanks to our efforts, China’s import and export have been moving towards the direction of greater balance.

8w24p:
我们要倍加珍惜和维护对外开放的成果，将对外开放贯穿于我国现代化建设全过程，奋力把对外开放的伟大事业推向前进，为建设一个富强民主文明和谐的国家、为世界的繁荣发展和文明进步不懈努力！
keep the policy in place throughout our modernization process, vigorously move the great cause forward and work tirelessly to build a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious China and to ensure prosperity, development and progress in the world.

6) 回旋 huíxuán (roundabout) <1>
2w15p:
既是我们应对国际金融危机的回旋余地所在，更是中国经济和社会自我改造的伟大工程。
It offers us much round and round (leeway) in tackling the global financial crisis and represents a great undertaking in the self-transformation of China’s economy and society.

7) Impediments or Obstacles in journey <28>
面临 miànlín (be faced with; be confronted with; be up against; frontage) <9>
1w3p:
坦率地说，这场危机对中国经济也造成较大冲击，我们正面临严峻挑战。
The current crisis has inflicted a rather big impact on China’s economy. We are facing severe challenges,

2w18p:
气候变化是人类面临的共同挑战，需要每个国家、企业和个人承担起相应的责任。
Climate change is a common challenge confronting the entire mankind. Each and every country, enterprise and individual should assume a due share of responsibility in meeting the challenge.

3w20p:
当前，中国经济回升向好的趋势不断得到巩固，但仍然面临不少困难和问题。
Before us (Now), the trend toward rising up again to recovery in the Chinese economy
is steadily growing, yet we still face a lot of difficulties and problems on the way ahead.

4w9p:
上世纪三、四十年代，在中华民族内忧外患、面临生死存亡的关键时刻，澳门同胞奋起抗日，救亡图存。
In the 30s and 40s of the last century, when there was internal and external problems of the Chinese nation, and the Chinese nation was facing a critical moment of life and death, Macao compatriots was defending the country against Japan in order to save the situation.

4w12p:
目前，澳门的发展正站在新的历史起点上，既有难得的机遇，也面临严峻的挑战。
Currently, Macao’s development is standing at a new historical starting point, there is not just precious opportunities, but difficult challenges to be faced.

5w15p:
对别人走过的弯路，我们不应重复；对世界面临的难题，我们要同国际社会一道来破解。
We do not take the tortuous path which others walked through. We will work with the rest of the international community to address common challenges facing the world.

6w17p:
尽管目前部分欧盟国家经济面临一些困难，但这是暂时的。
The economic difficulties facing some EU members are temporary in nature.

6w17p:
欧盟拥有强大的实体经济、雄厚的科技力量、坚实的人才基础，完全有能力应对当前面临的挑战，我们对欧盟的发展充满信心。
The EU, with strong real economy, great strength in science and technology and a large pool of talents, is fully capable of meeting such challenges we are facing ahead. We have every confidence in EU’s future.

8w3p:
展望未来，随着中国经济快速发展和改革开放不断推进，广交会面临更加广阔的发展前景。
Looking ahead the future, with China’s rapid economic development and steady advancing reform and opening-up, the Canton Fair is faced with an even broader prospect of development.

当前 dāngqián (before one; facing one; present) <13>
1w4p:
我们抓住机遇全面推进产业结构调整和优化升级，制定汽车、钢铁等重点产业的调整和振兴规划，既着眼于解决企业当前存在的困难，又致力于产业的长远发展。
We are seizing the opportunity to push ahead comprehensive industrial restructuring
and upgrading. To this end, plans are being drawn up for key industries such as automobile and iron and steel, which not only focus on addressing the (immediate) difficulties of enterprises in front of us but also look toward their long-term development.

1w4p:
总的看，这些重大政策措施，注重标本兼治、远近结合，综合协调、相互促进，把扩大国内需求、调整振兴产业、推进科技创新、加强社会保障结合起来，把增加投资和刺激消费结合起来，把克服当前困难和促进长远发展结合起来，把拉动经济增长和改善民生结合起来，对于动员全社会力量共同应对危机，起到了关键性作用。

These major policy measures as a whole target both symptoms and root causes, and address both immediate and long-term concerns. They represent a holistic approach and are mutually reinforcing. They are designed to address the need to boost domestic demand, readjust and reinvigorate industries, push forward scientific innovation and strengthen social security. They are designed to stimulate consumption through increased investment, overcome the (current) difficulties before us with long-term development in mind, and actuate economic growth in the interest of people’s livelihood. These measures can mobilize all resources to meet the current crisis.

1w5p:
当前中国经济形势总体上是好的。
(current) China’s economy we face is in good shape on the whole.

1w6p:
我们制定并实施的既应对当前困难又着眼长远发展的一揽子计划，开始见到效果，今年将发挥更大作用。

Our package plan takes into consideration both the need to address difficulties ahead and that of long-term development. It is beginning to produce results and will be more effective this year.

1w7p:
当前，应当抓紧落实20国集团领导人金融市场和世界经济峰会以来达成的广泛共识，不仅要采取更加积极有效的措施渡过当前难关，而且要努力推动建立公正、合理、健康、稳定的世界经济新秩序。为此，我提出以下意见。
Before us (now), we should not only take more forceful and effective steps to tide over the (current) difficulties ahead, but also push for the establishment of a new world economic order that is just, equitable, healthy (sound) and stable. To this end, I would like to share with you the following ideas.

2w2p:
经过国际社会共同努力，加强合作，同舟共济，积极应对，当前世界经济形势出现一些积极变化，开始缓慢、曲折的复苏。
Since then, thanks to the concerted efforts and active measures of the entire international community, some positive changes of the (current) economy before us have taken place. The world economy is beginning to recover, although the process is slow and tortuous.
China’s stimulus package aims to address both (immediate) problems before us and long-term needs, and achieve economic growth in the course of restructuring.

We have formulated and carried out plans to adjust and reinvigorate ten key industries, with a view to both addressing their difficulties ahead and ensuring their long-term development. In particular, we want to strengthen technical upgrading and innovation, rein in excess capacity and support the development of new industries of strategic significance so that the Chinese economy will be put on a more sustainable path.

The (current) major tasks before us in this connection are as follows: deepen the reform of income distribution system, adjust the structure of national income distribution, increase the share of people’s income, and shrink the difference in income distribution.

To overcome the (current) severe international financial crisis before us, we must rely more on science and technology in making breakthroughs and boosting development. We will make China a country of innovation.

At this critical juncture of countering the financial crisis before us, I call for perseverance, as perseverance will lead us to final victory.

Before us (Now), the trend toward rising up again to recovery in the Chinese economy is steadily growing, yet we still face a lot of difficulties and problems on the way ahead.

In the current international financial market, the world economy is unstable and uncertain factors are increasing; the main economies are developing more slowly. International society should work together, for the benefit of all.
更大的诚意和决心进一步扩大市场开放，以更加鲜明的态度和行动共同抵制形形色色的保护主义，以更加理性的办法妥善处理国际贸易摩擦。

At this critical juncture characterized by volatile international financial markets in front of us, rising economic instability and uncertainty and marked slow-footed recovery of major economies, the international community should join hands and work closely together to open their markets still wider with greater sincerity and determination, reject protectionism of all forms and manifestations with a clear and bright attitude and concrete actions, and find proper and more rational solutions to trade frictions.

面前 miànqíán (in face of; in front of; before; in someone’s presence) <3>

1w7p:
在经济困难面前，各国对世界经济发展的前景有信心，国家领导人和各国人民对自己的国家有信心，企业对投资有信心，个人对消费有信心，比什么都重要。

When facing economic hardships, confidence of all countries in the prospect of global economic development, confidence of leaders and people around the world in their countries, confidence of enterprises in investment and confidence of individuals in consumption are more important than anything else.

3w15p:
实现城市的和谐、可持续发展，是摆在世界各国面前的一个重大而紧迫的课题。

In this sense, to realize harmonious and sustainable development of cities is a major and urgent task put before all countries around the world.

4w5p:
在历任行政长官和特区政府带领下，广大澳门居民励精图治，团结奋进，一个欣欣向荣、蒸蒸日上的新澳门展现在世人面前。

Led by the Chief Executives and the SAR government, Macao residents are united and make every effort to a prosperous city, so a thriving, luxuriant new Macau is shown in front of the world.

面对 miànduì (face; confront) <2>

1w12p:
面对气候变暖、环境恶化、疫病和自然灾害、能源资源和粮食安全、恐怖主义蔓延等关系人类生存和发展的问题，任何国家都无法置身事外，也难以单独应对，国际社会必须加强合作，共同应对这些挑战。

We are facing issues such as climate change, environmental degradation, diseases, natural disasters, energy, resources and food security as well as the spread of terrorism bear on the very survival and development of mankind. No country can be insulated from these challenges or meet them on its own. The international community should intensify cooperation and respond to these challenges together.

7w2p:
面对严峻复杂的国际经济形势，我们实施积极的财政政策和稳健的货币政策，着力稳物价、调结构、促改革、惠民生，国民经济继续保持平稳较快发展，物
Facing the difficult and complicated international economic situation, we implemented the positive financial policy and stable currency policy to stabilize the prices, adjust the structure, urge reforms, benefit the people, so our economy keeps having steady, fast development, the raising prices are controlled, employment in the city is further enlarged, and the living standard of the people has been raised.

障礙 zhàng’ài (obstacles) <1>

障碍障碍障碍障碍

中方愿意增加对德国优势产品的进口，也希望德国早日承认中国完全市场经济地位，为双方贸易健康发展扫除障碍。

China is ready to import more competitive German products, and we hope that Germany will recognize China’s full market economy status at an early date to remove this obstacle to the healthy growth of bilateral trade.

8) To guide, to lead <4>

引导 yǐndǎo (to lead) <1>

政府资金主要投向公共领域，并发挥对社会资金的引导作用；结构性减税约 5500 亿元，旨在增强企业的投资能力和居民的消费能力。运用财政贴息、税收等手段，引导企业调整结构，兼并重组。

The bulk of government funds will go into public services and serve as a function to guide for the flow of non-public funds. The structural tax cuts involving 550 billion yuan are aimed at raising corporate capacity to invest and people’s ability to spend. The government-funded interest discount and tax tools are designed to guide the restructuring, merger and reorganization of enterprises.

带动 dàidòng (to drive; to lead; to bring along; to spur on; to lead to start) <3>

这个计划经过了科学论证，在资金保证上作了周密安排，其中中央政府投资 1.18 万亿元，并带动地方和社会资金参与建设。

This two-year stimulus program has gone through scientific feasibility studies and is supported by a detailed financial arrangement. RMB 1.18 trillion will come from central government’s budget, which is expected to lead to start to generate funds from local governments and other sources.

新增 4 万亿元的两年投资计划中，中央政府投资 1.18 万亿元，主要起四两拨千斤的作用，带动地方和社会资金参与建设。

Of the total four trillion yuan in the two-year investment program, 1.18 trillion yuan will come from the central government, and it will mainly be used to drive greater local and non-public funds to participate in building up (the economy).

人民的责任感和民主精神，将带动社会的进步。

With a keen sense of responsibility and democracy, people will drive social progress.
9) walk 走 (to walk, to go, to come) <4>

3w2p:
一部世博会的历史，是人类从落后走向进步、从封闭走向开放、从冲突走向合作、从崇拜物质走向崇尚科学的历史。
The history of the World Expo is a history of mankind walking from backwardness to progress, walking from closeness to openness, walking from conflict to cooperation and walking from material worship to the pursuit of science.

3w5p:
斗转星移，世博会已经走过了158个春秋。
Time goes by and the World Expo has walked through 158 years.

3w10p:
中国与世博会交往的历史，也是中国从封闭半封闭走向全方位对外开放、从积贫积弱走向繁荣富强的历史。
The history of contacts between China and the World Expo coincides with the history of China going from a closed and semi-closed society to one opening up in all fronts and going from weakness and poverty to strength and prosperity.

3w11p:
经过几次走近世博会，不少中国人大开眼界，接受了近代文明的洗礼，进而萌发了学习西方、追赶西方的强烈使命感。
China’s later walking close to (involvement with) the World Expo was eye-opening to many Chinese. They were baptized by (It exposed them to) modern civilization and aroused a strong sense of mission to learn from and catch up with the West.

10) Speed <2>

3w19p:
经过国际社会务实合作、共同努力，目前最坏的时期已经过去，世界经济开始复苏，但是，全面复苏将是缓慢曲折的过程。
However, thanks to the joint and pragmatic efforts of the international community, the worst period is now behind us, and the world economy now begins to recover. But a full recovery will still be a slow and tortuous process.

8w16p:
在当前国际金融市场急剧动荡、世界经济不稳定和不确定性显著增加、主要经济体复苏步伐明显放缓的关键时刻，国际社会应当携起手来，同舟共济，以更大的诚意和决心进一步扩大市场开放，以更加鲜明的态度和行动共同抵制形形色色的保护主义，以更加理性的办法妥善处理国际贸易摩擦。
At this critical juncture characterized by volatile international financial markets in front of us, rising economic instability and uncertainty and marked slow-footed recovery of major economies, the international community should join hands and work closely together to open their markets still wider with greater sincerity and determination, reject protectionism of all forms and manifestations with a clear and bright attitude and concrete actions, and find proper and more rational solutions to trade frictions.
11) Distance <1>

3w11p:
但由于当时中华民族内忧外患、国力衰微，举办世博会只能是一个遥远的梦想。
But, in those days, to host the World Expo was nothing but a remote dream for the Chinese nation, as it had to grapple with domestic problems and foreign invasion and declining national strength.

12) Starting point and ending point
出发点和落脚点 chūfā diǎn, luòjiǎo diǎn <1>
2w16p:
我们要把保障和改善民生作为出发点和落脚点，更加注重完善社会保障体系和发展社会事业。
We should make better livelihood for the people the starting point and ending point of our work and make greater efforts to improve the social safety net and develop social programs.

起点 qǐdiǎn <1>
4w12p:
目前，澳门的发展正站在新的历史起点上，既有难得的机遇，也面临严峻的挑战。
Currently, Macao’s development is standing at a new historical starting point, there is not just precious opportunities, but difficult challenges to be faced.

13) Miscellaneous <6>
4w4p: 澳门面积不大，人口不多，但精英荟萃，名流辈出，留下了众多历史名人的足迹。
Macau area, a small population, but the elites, elite men, leaving the footsteps of many famous historical figures.

5w16p: 不久前，我同中国科学家交流时提出，要大力营造敢于创造、敢冒风险、敢于批判和宽容失败的环境，鼓励自由探索，提倡学术争鸣。
In my recent conversation with some Chinese scientists, I called for creating an environment which encourages innovation, criticism and risk-taking and tolerates failure, an environment that encourages free exploration of new things and stimulates academic debate.

5w20p:
倒退没有出路，停滞也没有出路。只有坚定信心，继续前进，中国才能建设成为富强、民主、文明、和谐的社会主义现代化国家，中国人民才能更加普遍和以更高水准过上有尊严的幸福生活。
To stall or reverse course is not a way out for China. We must move on with confidence. Only by doing so can China build up as a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced, modern and harmonious socialist country, and can the Chinese people enjoy a happy life with dignity in a more extensive way and at a higher level.
6w18p: 为了推动中欧关系沿着成熟、稳定、健康的轨道发展，必须始终把握好以下几点：

To actuate (run) the development of China-Europe relationship on a mature, stable and healthy rail, we should adhere to the following principles:

8w15p: 要开放、不要封闭，要发展、不要停滞，是大势所趋、人心所向。

It has become the general trend and desire of the people for the world to stay open and keep developing rather than become closed and stagnant.

8w15p: 令人忧感的是，受种种因素干扰，全球多边贸易体系发展坎坷，多哈回合谈判一波三折、举步不前，贸易投资保护主义明显抬头，反倾销、反补贴等贸易救济措施屡遭滥用，贸易摩擦政治化倾向日益突出，给世界经济复苏蒙上浓厚的阴影。

What worries us is that due to various factors, the development of global multilateral trading regime is anything but smooth sailing. The Doha Round negotiations have lingered about and hovered, trade and investment protectionism is raising its head with frequent abuses of anti-dumping, countervailing and other trade remedies, and the tendency of politicizing trade frictions has become more salient. All this has cast a dark shadow over world economic recovery.

II. PERSON <76>

1) A NATION IS A PERSON in general <20>

1w6p: 更为重要的是，我们树立了以人为本、全面协调可持续发展的科学发展理念，始终坚持改革开放，始到奉行互利共赢的开放战略，找到了一条符合中国国情、顺应时代潮流的正确发展道路；我们的人民拥有坚韧不拔、自强不息、百折不挠的精神与意志，正是这些优秀品质，使历史悠久的中国在逆境中焕发更加强劲的生命力。

We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win (war) strategy. We have found the right development path in line with China’s national conditions and the trend of our times. Our people are hard-working, persevering and resilient. It is precisely these fine qualities that endow China, a country with a time-honored history, with greater vitality in the face of adversities.

1w11p: 四是切实保护发展中国家利益，促进世界经济共同发展。国际社会特别是发达国家要承担应尽的责任和义务，尽量减少国际金融危机对发展中国家造成的损害，帮助发展中国家保持金融稳定和经济增长。国际金融组织应该通过放宽贷款条件等措施，及时救助有需要的发展中国家。积极推进国际减贫进程，特别要加大对最不发达国家和地区的援助力度，增强他们的自我发展能力。

Fourth, effectively protect the interests of developing countries and promote economic development of the whole world. The international community, developed countries in particular, should assume due responsibilities and obligations to minimize the
damage caused by the international financial crisis on developing countries and help them maintain financial stability and economic growth. International financial institutions should act promptly to assist those developing countries in need through such measures as relaxing lending conditions. We should advance the international poverty reduction process and scale up assistance to the least developed countries and regions in particular with a view to building up their capacity for independent development.

Since then, thanks to the concerted efforts and active measures of the entire international community, some positive changes of the (current) economy before us have taken place. The world economy is beginning to recover, although the process is slow and tortuous.

The world economy is undergoing profound changes and transition. The future and destiny of all countries are more closely interconnected than at any time in history.

Climate change is a common challenge confronting the entire mankind. Each and every country, enterprise and individual should assume a due share of responsibility in meeting the challenge.

Developing countries, on their part, should exert themselves and make positive contributions to the fight against climate change.

As an active participant in economic globalization, China will never engage in trade or investment protectionism.

China stands firm to protect IPR. We will continue to implement our national IPR strategy, take strong measures to foster a legal, market and cultural environment for IPR protection, see to it that all fruits of innovation be respected and rewarded and translate inventions and discoveries of all kinds into real forces of production.
随着对外开放的扩大，中国重新登上了世博会的舞台，并日益成为世博会中的重要角色，受到国际社会的普遍欢迎和好评。With wider opening to the outside world, China is back on the stage of the World Expo, and its increasingly important role in the Expo is widely welcomed and appreciated by the international community.

中国作为一个发展中大国，在应对危机中采取了积极负责任的态度。China, a major developing country, has adopted an active and responsible attitude in addressing the crisis.

当新中国宣告成立时，五星红旗即在澳门的爱国学校升起，表达了澳门同胞拥护新生共和国的欣喜之情。When new China was declared, the five-starred red flag was raised in patriotic schools which showed our Macao people’s happiness towards the newly born republic.

不管前进的道路上有多少艰难险阻，伟大祖国永远是澳门繁荣、稳定和发展的坚强后盾。No matter how many difficulties and obstacles on the road ahead, the great motherland will always provide strong backing to Macau’s prosperity, stability and development.

如果你们身临其境，一定会为这里发生的奇迹感到震撼，也会从中真实地感受到中国的生机和活力。I hope you will visit Wenchuan, where you will be overwhelmed by the miraculous transformation, and you will personally experience China’s vitality and liveliness.

未来的中国，将是一个坚持和平发展、勇于担当的国家。Tomorrow’s China will be a country committed to peaceful development and ready to shoulder its responsibilities.

中国是世界和平的坚定维护者。China is committed to upholding world peace.

回首过去，我们为新中国取得的辉煌成就感到无比自豪。展望未来，我们对祖国的前途满怀信心。Turning back to the past, we feel very proud of the glorious achievement gained by China. Looking towards the future, we bear confidence towards our country’s future prospect.
Over the past ten years since WTO accession, China's face has undergone stupendous changes, so have its trade relations with the outside world and its standing and role in the world family of nations.

First, China is a country that honors its words and has fulfilled all its solemn commitments upon WTO accession.

Second, China is a responsible country that has actively shouldered international responsibilities commensurate with the level of its development.

The history of contacts between China and the World Expo coincides with the history of China going from a closed and semi-closed society to one opening up in all fronts and going from weakness and poverty to strength and prosperity.

The central government will continue to unwaveringly implement the "One Country, Two Systems", "Macau people governing Macau" and a high degree of autonomy in strict accordance with the Basic Law of Macau, and fully support the Chief Executive and the SAR government administration according to law, fully support the community to be united under the flag of patriotism to the country and to Macau, fully support Macau to actuate moderate multi-dimensional economic development, strengthen exchanges and cooperation with the mainland, and expand contact with foreign countries.

But the strategic importance China attaches to its relations with the EU will not change, its policy to promote mutually-beneficial cooperation with the EU will not change, and its abiding commitment to long-term friendship with the EU will not
change.

Partner <4>

During my visit to Germany in 2004, the two countries announced the launching of the China-Germany partnership with global responsibility within the framework of the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership.

In 2010, we signed the Chinese-German Joint Communique on Comprehensively Actuating (Promoting) Strategic Partnership and agreed to establish a governmental consultation mechanism between China and Germany.

China and Germany are close business partners.

Only with mutual respect can we rise above differences in ideology, political system and development model and build an equal partnership.

3) Mother <3>

On 20 December, 1999 Macao came back to her mother country's embrace, "One Country, Two Systems", "Macau people governing Macau" and a new era of high degree of autonomy began.

While Macao and the motherland had separated, subjected to centuries of colonial rule, Macao people's blood and flesh have always been connected with the mainland, the fate of Macao has always been closely linked with the rise and fall of the great motherland.

Macau people's warm and cold times are always the mother country's concern in the heart.
4) ECONOMY OF A STATE IS HEALTH <15>

In the face of the crisis, countries and the international community have taken various measures to address it. These measures have played an important role in boosting confidence, reducing the consequences of the crisis, and forestalling a meltdown of the financial system and a deep (decline in health) global recession.

It is imperative that we implement the broad agreement reached since the G20 Summit on Financial Markets and the World Economy. Before us (now), we should not only take more forceful and effective steps to tide over the (current) difficulties ahead, but also push for the establishment of a new world economic order that is just, equitable, healthy (sound) and stable. To this end, I would like to share with you the following ideas.

Since then, thanks to the concerted efforts and active measures of the entire international community, some positive changes of the (current) economy before us have taken place. The world economy is beginning to recover, although the process is slow and tortuous.

With the world economy still decline in health, it is by no means easy for us to have come this far.

Protectionism will only delay world economic recovery and ultimately hurt the interests of the businesses and people of all countries.

For example, we sent several trade and investment promotion missions to Europe and the United States in the raging times of the financial crisis to purchase goods and boost investment cooperation. We have kept our commitment and we look forward to joint actions from all other countries.
Third, promote sustainable recovery of the world economy.

A nascent economic recovery needs our care, just as a green shoot needs sunshine and water.

However, thanks to the joint and pragmatic efforts of the international community, the worst period is now behind us, and the world economy now begins to recover. But a full recovery will still be a long and tortuous process.

As a result, we have reversed the economic downturn in a relatively short period of time, contributing positively to world economic recovery.

China and Germany have also maintained close communication and coordinated actions in fighting the international financial crisis, thus contributing to the global economic recovery.

Moreover, as we are in the middle of resisting the hit of international financial crisis, promoting trade and investment among countries holds the key to actuate early world economic recovery.

What worries us is that due to various factors, the development of global multilateral negotiations has been一波三折、徘徊不前, 贸易投资保护主义明显抬头, 反倾销、反补贴等贸易救济措施屡遭滥用, 贸易摩擦政治化倾向日益突出, 给世界经济复苏蒙上浓厚的阴影。
trading regime is anything but smooth sailing. The Doha Round negotiations have lingered about and hovered, trade and investment protectionism is raising its head with frequent abuses of anti-dumping, countervailing and other trade remedies, and the tendency of politicizing trade frictions has become more salient. All this has cast a dark shadow over world economic recovery.

相反，贸易保护主义只会拖累世界经济复苏步伐，最终受损的是各国人民。Trade protectionism, conversely, can only delay the world economic recovery and hurt people of all countries in the end.

A COMPOSITION OF A NATION IS A PERSON
5) Economy/ economic items <8>
1w7p:
金融危机检验着国际社会加强合作的诚意和水平，考验着我们的智慧。
The financial crisis is a test of (checking) the readiness of the international community to enhance cooperation, and a test of (testing) our wisdom.

2w1p:
过去的一年，世界经济经受了上世纪大萧条以来最为严峻的挑战。
Over the past year, the world economy has experienced the most severe challenge since the Great Depression.

2w8p:
今年重点推进的各项改革，都着眼于消除体制性、结构性矛盾，增强经济发展的活力与动力。
All the key reform measures that we have taken this year are intended to eliminate the institutional and structural barriers in the economy and strengthen the vitality and dynamism of economic growth.

2w11p:
我们政策的着力点不仅在于克服短期困难，更要着眼于长远发展，从根本上解决制约中国经济健康发展的体制性、结构性矛盾，全面增强经济发展的内在动力，全面增强经济、社会的整体素质和可持续发展能力，为全面建成惠及十几亿人口的更高水平的小康社会打下更加牢固的基础。
Our policies should not only focus on overcoming the short-term difficulties, but also, and more importantly, ensure long-term development. They should seek to bring a fundamental solution to the institutional and structural problems constraining the sound (healthy) growth of China’s economy, boost the internal dynamism of economic growth in an all-round way, and raise the overall quality of economic and social progress and the capacity for sustainable development.

2w13p:
要全面提升中国经济发展的内在动力与活力，关键是要进一步深化改革开放。
Reform and opening-up are essential to strengthening the dynamism and vigour of China’s economic growth.

2w15p:
It offers us much round and round (leeway) in tackling the global financial crisis and represents a great undertaking in the self-transformation of China’s economy and society.

China is ready to import more competitive German products, and we hope that Germany will recognize China’s full market economy status at an early date to remove this obstacle to the healthy growth of bilateral trade.

continue to stimulate economic and social vitality to develop.

We should deepen reform and opening-up, the fundamental force in driving development, and make greater effort to build vibrant institutions and mechanisms.

The World Expo transcends the boundary of faith, geography and race, breaks the shadow of turbulence, conflict and war, and gathers people of all countries in the big World Expo family of peace, progress, friendship and cooperation.

It has sediment (of experience) for the past one and a half centuries, and is still young and full of vitality. It has not only greatly stimulated people’s initiative and enthusiasm for the creation of material wealth, but also left behind a valuable legacy for cultural development.

It is the inherent mission of the World Expo to promote collision and fusion (interaction and integration) of different cultures and strengthen exchanges and cooperation.

建立以和为贵、以人为本、人与人相敬相爱、人与自然相近相亲的和谐世界，
It is the everlasting aspiration (ideal) of the World Expo family to build a harmonious world that values peace, puts people first and is based on mutual respect and love among the people and harmonious co-existence of man and nature.

World Expo has successfully held its first fair in a developing country, thus demonstrating the strong vitality of the World Expo and the vision and far-sightedness of the BIE.

The Shanghai Expo will be a grand (family) gathering for unity of people around the world.

Over the past ten years since WTO accession, China’s face has undergone stupendous changes, so have its trade relations with the outside world and its standing and role in the world family of nations.

A WTO family with China on board is a success story for both China and the world.

Of the total four trillion yuan in the two-year investment program, 1.18 trillion yuan will come from the central government, and it will mainly be used to drive greater local and non-public funds to participate in building up (the economy).

to give Macao infinite charisma.

Macao’s unique human and natural charm, is not only a history of good luck, but the human soul and spirit of good luck.
Macau has also nurtured the musician of the people, Xian Xinghai, his "Yellow River Cantata" has been the strongest voice for the period when the Chinese nation was struggling to survive.

5w1p:
这不仅是我个人的荣誉，也是对中国科技进步的肯定，同时也是中英两国科技界友谊与合作的象征。
Indeed, it is a symbol of friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and British science communities, and I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to you for awarding me the medal.

5w10p:
让我们共同迎接这一伟大时代的到来！
Let us together welcome the arrival of this great era.

5w11p:
人民民主是社会主义的生命，没有民主就没有社会主义。
People’s democracy is the life of socialism.

5w17p:
我们历来主张尊重世界文明的多样性，倡导不同文明之间的对话、交流与合作。
We have always called for respecting the diversity of civilizations and advocated dialogue, exchanges and cooperation among them.

6w19p:
中方尊重欧盟各国人民选择的政治制度和发展模式，也希望欧盟尊重中国的主权和领土完整，尊重中国人民的自主选择，共同推动中欧关系持续健康发展。
China respects the choice of political system and development model made by the people of EU members. Similarly, we hope that the EU will respect China’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and Chinese people’s independent choice, and work with us to actuate the healthy growth of China-Europe relations forward.

7w1p:
在这秋风送爽的美好时节，我们迎来了中华人民共和国成立六十二周年。
We welcomed the 62th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China in this beautiful season with autumn wind.

7w2p:
今年是中国共产党诞生九十周年，也是实施“十二五”规划的开局之年。
This year is the 90th anniversary of the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, and also the commencement of the 12th Five Year Plan.

8w2p:
五十年来，广交会顺应时势变化，不断创新办展理念和办展方式，不断优化参展企业和参展商品，始终保持着旺盛的生命力和蓬勃的发展势头，成为中国
历史最久、规模最大、声誉最佳的国际著名展会，成为中国对外贸易发展的缩影。
For more than 50 years, the Canton Fair has adapted itself to the changing world by constantly innovating its exhibition concept and modality and improving the quality of participating enterprises and commodities, thus maintaining its vigor and growth momentum.

8w4p:
再过两个月，我们就将迎来中国加入世贸组织10周年，这是中国对外开放进程中值得纪念的大事。
In two months’ time, we will welcome the 10th anniversary of China’s accession to the World Trade Organization, a momentous event in China’s opening (progress) to the outside world.

8w15p:
令人忧虑的是，受种种因素干扰，全球多边贸易体系发展坎坷，多哈回合谈判一波三折，徘徊不前，贸易投资保护主义明显抬头，反倾销、反补贴等贸易救济措施屡遭滥用，贸易摩擦政治化倾向日益突出，给世界经济复苏蒙上浓厚的阴影。
What worries us is that due to various factors, the development of global multilateral trading regime is anything but smooth sailing. The Doha Round negotiations have lingered about and hovered, trade and investment protectionism is raising its head with frequent abuses of anti-dumping, countervailing and other trade remedies, and the tendency of politicizing trade frictions has become more salient. All this has cast a dark shadow over world economic recovery.

III. WAR <55>
POLITICS IS WAR
1) To fight and win 战胜 zhànshèng <7>
1w1p:
各方面热切期盼从这里听到富有智慧的声音，凝聚战胜危机的力量。
People from across the world are eager to hear words of wisdom from here that will gather strength to overcome the crisis.

1w5p:
经过努力，在战胜两场突如其来的特大自然灾害的同时，2008年中国经济保持了平稳较快发展。
Through our hard work, we defeated two unexpected massive natural disasters and managed to maintain steady and relatively fast economic growth in 2008 at the same time.

1w6p:
国际金融危机是一场全球性的挑战，战胜这场危机要靠信心、合作和责任。坚定信心是战胜危机的力量源泉。
The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world. Confidence, cooperation and responsibility are key to overcoming the crisis. Confidence is the fountainhead of
strength to overcome the crisis.

1w7p:  
承担是战胜危机不可或缺的重要基础。  
To prevail over the crisis, accepting responsibilities is the prerequisite.

1w7p:  
务实合作是战胜危机的有效途径。  
To defeat the crisis, practical cooperation is the effective way.

2w14p:  
战胜当前这场严重的国际金融危机，必须更加注重利用科学技术寻求突破，依靠科技进步促进发展，全面建设创新型国家。  
To overcome the (current) severe international financial crisis before us, we must rely more on science and technology in making breakthroughs and boosting development. We will make China a country of innovation.

2w22p:  
在当前应对危机的关键时刻，我呼吁务必坚持，坚持到底就是胜利。  
At this critical juncture of countering the financial crisis before us, I call for perseverance, as perseverance will lead us to final victory.

2) Challenge; challenge to battle 挑战 tiāozhàn <18>  
1w3p:  
坦率地说，这场危机对中国经济也造成较大冲击，我们正面临严峻挑战。  
The current crisis has inflicted a rather big hit on China’s economy. We are facing severe challenges.

1w12p:  
五是协同应对全球性问题挑战，建设人类共有的美好家园。  
Fifth, jointly tackle global challenges and build a better home for mankind.

1w12p:  
面对气候变暖、环境恶化、疾病和自然灾害、能源资源和粮食安全、恐怖主义蔓延等关系人类生存和发展的问题，任何国家都无法置身事外，也难以单独应对，国际社会必须加强合作，共同应对这些挑战。  
We are facing issues such as climate change, environmental degradation, diseases, natural disasters, energy, resources and food security as well as the spread of terrorism bear on the very survival and development of mankind. No country can be insulated from these challenges or meet them on its own. The international community should intensify cooperation and respond to these challenges together.

1w13p:  
中国愿意继续与国际社会一道，积极维护国际金融稳定、促进世界经济发展，积极应对各种全球性风险和挑战，为实现世界的和谐与可持续发展贡献自己的力量！  
China is ready to work with other members of the international community to
maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth, tackle various global risks and challenges, and contribute its share to world harmony and sustainable development.

2w1p:
过去的一年，世界经济经受了上世纪大萧条以来最为严峻的挑战。
Over the past year, the world economy has experienced the most severe challenge since the Great Depression.

2w18p:
气候变化是人类面临的共同挑战，需要每个国家、企业和个人承担起相应的责任。
Climate change is a common challenge confronting the entire mankind. Each and every country, enterprise and individual should assume a due share of responsibility in meeting the challenge.

3w7p:
创新是推动人类进步不竭的源泉，也是世博会的灵魂。历史证明，世博会崇尚创新的精神无数次点燃人类智慧的火焰，帮助人们战胜各种困难和挑战，在推动世界经济社会发展中发挥着不可替代的作用。
Innovation provides an inexhaustible fountain of human progress and it is in the very soul of the World Expo. History shows that the innovation spirit advocated by the World Expo has sparkled human wisdom for countless times and helped people overcome difficulties and challenges. The role it plays is irreplaceable in actuating the economic and social development of the world.

3w15p:
随着工业化、城市化的发展，城市在使人们享受美好生活的同时，也带来了人口膨胀、交通拥挤、环境污染、资源紧缺、城市贫困、文化摩擦等严峻困扰和挑战。
Yet in the process of industrialization and urbanization, cities have also encountered serious challenges and difficulties such as swelling population, traffic congestion, environmental pollution, resources strain, poverty and cultural frictions.

3w17p:
在共同应对国际金融危机、气候变化、能源和粮食安全、核扩散威胁等一系列全球性挑战的背景下，办好上海世博会，对于我们坚定信心，凝聚共识，推动世界和平与共同发展，具有十分重要的现实意义。
While we are working jointly to address the host of global challenges including the global financial crisis, climate change, energy and food security and the threat of nuclear proliferation, the success of the Shanghai Expo will have major and immediate significance. It will enhance our confidence and gather consensus, and facilitate our efforts to actuate world peace and common development.

3w19p:
这场金融危机使世界经济遭受了上世纪大萧条以来最为严峻的挑战。
The current financial crisis has posed the most severe challenges to the world.
经济自20世纪大萧条以来。

3w21p:
这里我重申，中国将始终不渝地谋求和平的发展、开放的发展、合作的发展，中国愿意同国际社会一道，坚决反对贸易投资保护主义，妥善应对各种风险和挑战，为实现世界和谐与可持续发展贡献自己的力量！
We are willing to work together with the rest of the world to firmly oppose trade and investment protectionism, properly handle various types of risks and challenges, and make our own contribution to harmonious and sustainable development of the world.

4w11p:
中央政府的坚定支持，为澳门应对挑战、渡过难关，增添了信心和力量。
The firm support of the Central Government adds confidence and strength for Macau to meet the challenges and to go through the difficulties.

4w12p:
目前，澳门的发展正站在新的历史起点上，既有难得的机遇，也面临严峻的挑战。
Currently, Macao’s development is standing at a new historical starting point, there is not just precious opportunities, but difficult challenges to be faced.

5w19p:
中国将同国际社会一道，共担责任、共迎挑战，继续推动国际体系朝着更加公平、公正、包容的方向发展。
China will work with the rest of the international community to undertake responsibilities, meet challenges and continue to actuate international system towards the direction of more equitable, just and inclusive.

6w17p:
欧盟拥有强大的实体经济、雄厚的科技力量、坚实的人才基础，完全有能力应对当前面临的挑战，我们对欧盟的发展充满信心。
The EU, with strong real economy, great strength in science and technology and a large pool of talents, is fully capable of meeting such challenges we are facing ahead. We have every confidence in EU’s future.

6w20p:
我们希望欧方能真正相信中国的发展对欧盟各国是机遇而不是挑战，这样才能把互信的基础打得更深厚。
We hope that the EU will truly appreciate that China’s development is an opportunity rather than a challenge to EU members.

7w11p:
我们要继续高举和平、发展、合作的旗帜，与世界各国人民一道，共同分享发展机遇，共同应对各种挑战，建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界。
We continue to hold high the flag of peace, development and co-operation, and to be together with other people in the world, to share the chance to develop and to deal with different challenges together, so as to build up a steady peaceful, prosperous and
8w23p:
我们愿意以更加积极的姿态，参与多边经贸事务和全球性问题治理，与世界各国一道，共同分享发展机遇，共同应对各种挑战。We are ready to engage more actively in multilateral economic and trade affairs and management of global issues, sharing out development opportunities with other countries and taking on the challenges together.

3) POLITICAL PLAN IS WAR STRATEGY <23>
战略 zhànliè (war strategy / military strategy)
1w6p:
我们仍处于重要战略机遇期，在工业化和城镇化快速推进中，基础设施建设、产业结构和消费结构升级、环境保护和生态建设、社会事业发展，蕴含着巨大的需求和增长潜力，它将有力支撑中国经济在较长时间内继续保持较高速度增长。We are in an important period of strategic opportunities and in the process of fast industrialization and urbanization. Infrastructure construction, upgrading of industrial and consumption structures, environmental protection and conservation projects, and various social development programs—all contains huge demand and growth potential and will bolster relatively high-speed growth of our economy for a long time to come.

1w6p:
更为重要的是，我们树立了以人为本、全面协调可持续发展的科学发展理念，始终坚持改革开放，始终奉行互利共赢的开放战略，找到了一条符合中国国情、顺应时代潮流的正确发展道路；我们的人民拥有坚韧不拔、自强不息、百折不挠的精神与意志，正是这些优秀品质，使历史悠久的中国在逆境中焕发更加强劲的生命力。We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win (war) strategy. We have found the right development path in line with China’s national conditions and the trend of our times. Our people are hard-working, persevering and resilient. It is precisely these fine qualities that endow China, a country with a time-honored history, with greater vitality in the face of adversities.

2w7p:
我们制定实施10个重点产业调整和振兴规划，既着眼于解决当前困难，又致力于产业的长远发展，特别是加强技术改造和科技创新，抑制产能过剩，支持战略性新兴产业发展，将大大增强中国经济的可持续发展能力。We have formulated and carried out plans to adjust and reinvigorate ten key industries, with a view to both addressing their immediate difficulties and ensuring their long-term development. In particular, we want to strengthen technical upgrading and innovation, rein in excess capacity and support the development of new industries of strategic significance so that the Chinese economy will be put on a more sustainable path.

2w12p:
扩大内需是中国经济发展的长期战略方针，是应对国际金融危机、抵御外部风
To boost domestic demand is a long-term strategic policy for China’s economic growth and the only way for us to tackle the financial crisis and resist external risks.

We will firmly implement the win-win strategy of opening-up and work hard to raise the level of the open economy.

We should see scientific and technological innovation as an important pillar and make greater effort to develop new industries of strategic importance.

We will seek breakthroughs in key technologies that are vital to industrial transformation and upgrading, speed up the development of new industries of strategic importance, and give priority to research, development, and industrial application of technologies in new energy, new materials, bio-medicine, third generation mobile communications, and the integration of telecommunications networks, cable TV networks and the Internet. We will accelerate the development of a low carbon economy and green economy so as to occupy a high (advantageous) position in the international industrial competition.

We should take it as a strategic priority to pursue balanced development between urban and rural areas and among various regions and promote urbanization, and make greater effort to expand new areas of growth.

We will continue with our effort to pursue a holistic strategy on regional development and foster new regional growth areas at a faster pace.

China stands firm on IPR protection. We will continue to implement our national IPR strategy, take strong measures to foster a legal, market and cultural environment for
IPR protection, see to it that all fruits of innovation be respected and rewarded and translate inventions and discoveries of all kinds into real forces of production.

5w7p:
上世纪 80 年代初，中国改革开放的总设计师邓小平，曾提出我国现代化进程分“三步走”的战略构想。
In the early 1980s, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China’s reform and opening-up program, proposed a three-step strategy for China’s modernization drive.

5w7p:
“三步走”战略的核心和本质，都是坚持以人为本，增进全体中国人的福祉。
Putting people’s interests first and promoting the wellbeing of the entire Chinese people – this is what the three-step strategy is all about.

5w9p:
同时，我们将加快培育和发展战略性新兴产业。
At the same time, we will accelerate the development of strategic emerging industries.

5w18p:
走和平发展道路，是中国政府和人民根据时代潮流和自身利益作出的战略抉择，是中国积极参与经济全球化、最终实现现代化的必由之路。
To walk on the path of peaceful development is a strategic decision made by the Chinese government and people in keeping with the trend of the times and based on our own interests. This is the only way which will enable China to embrace economic globalization and achieve modernization.

6w3p:
2010年，两国发表《中德关于全面推进战略伙伴关系的联合公报》，商定建立中德政府磋商机制。
In 2010, we signed the Chinese-German Joint Communique on Comprehensively Actuating (Promoting) Strategic Partnership and agreed to establish a governmental consultation mechanism between China and Germany.

6w13p:
尽管当前世界政治经济形势正在发生重大变化，但中国对中欧关系的战略定位不会改变，对中欧互利合作的方针政策不会改变，对中欧长期友好的信念和决心不会改变。
But the strategic importance China attaches to its relations with the EU will not change, its policy to promote mutually-beneficial cooperation with the EU will not change, and its abiding commitment to long-term friendship with the EU will not change.

6w14p:
中欧都主张世界多极化，支持经济全球化，维护文明多样性，是推动世界和平与发展的的重要战略力量。
Both supporting a multi-polar world, economic globalization and diversity of civilizations, China and the EU are important strategic forces for promoting global
peace and development.

6w17p:
从中欧的地位看，作为两支处于上升中的重要力量，双方加强合作具有战略意义。
In terms of the respective place of China and Europe in the world, both are important and rising forces, and enhancing China-Europe cooperation carries strategic significance.

8w17p:
坚定不移地实施对外开放的基本国策和互利共赢的开放战略，
Our state policy of unswervingly opening to the outside world and our win-win strategy of opening-up are the free choices made by our people.

8w17p:
我们刚刚制定了“十二五”规划，明确提出实行更加积极主动的开放战略，清楚地表达了中国政府和人民坚持对外开放的巨大勇气和决心。
The recently-formulated 12th Five-Year Plan has clearly outlined a more proactive opening strategy, which gives expression to the huge courage and resolve of the government and people of China for continued opening-up.

8w19p:
我们将加快实施“走出去”战略，鼓励有条件、守信誉的各类企业对外投资，重视开展有利于改善不发达国家民生和增强自主发展能力的合作，注意承担社会责任和义务，造福当地人民。
We will speed up the implementation of the "going global" strategy, encourage more capable and credible Chinese firms to invest overseas, pay attention to the cooperation schemes aimed at improving the livelihood of the underdeveloped countries and enhancing their capacity for independent development, and stress the need to undertake relevant social responsibilities in the interest of the local communities.

8w22p:
要加强战略对话，增进战略互信，拓宽合作领域，妥善处理经贸摩擦。
It is necessary for both sides to step up strategic dialogue, increase strategic trust, broaden areas of cooperation and properly handle their trade frictions.

8w22p:
广大发展中国家蕴藏着巨大的发展潜力，是我国实施市场多元化战略和“走出去”战略的重点。
The developing countries contain an enormous potential for development and they occupy an important position in China’s market diversification strategies and "going global" strategies.

4) Ally <3>
6w3p:
2004年我访德期间，两国宣布在中欧全面战略伙伴关系框架内建立具有全球责任的伙伴关系。
During my visit to Germany in 2004, the two countries announced the launching of the China-Germany partnership with global responsibility within the framework of the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership.

6w13p:
中国高度重视发展与欧盟的关系。中欧建交以来，我们始终把中欧关系作为对外关系的战略重点，始终希望同欧盟做携手共进、互利共赢的好伙伴。
Ever since the establishment of China’s diplomatic ties with the EU, relations with the EU have always occupied a strategic place in China’s overall external relations, and China has remained committed to building win-win partnership with the EU.

6w22p:
只要深化互利合作，扩大双方利益汇合点，不断丰富和充实全面战略伙伴关系的内涵，就能把问题解决好，就能获得双赢的结果。
As long as we deepen mutually-beneficial cooperation in all areas, expand common interests and further enrich and strengthen our comprehensive strategic partnership, we will be able to settle these problems and create win-win outcomes.

5) Miscellaneous <4>
2w12p:
我们要把调整经济结构作为主攻方向，更加注重以内需，特别是最终消费拉动经济增长。
Our main direction of attack (target) restructuring the economy, and make greater effort to enhance the role of domestic demand, especially final consumption in actuating growth.

2w12p:
扩大内需是中国经济发展的长期战略方针，是应对国际金融危机、抵御外部风险的必由之路。
To boost domestic demand is a long-term strategic policy for China’s economic growth and the only way for us to tackle the financial crisis and resist external risks.

2w14p:
一方面要突破制约产业转型升级的关键技术，促进战略性新兴产业加快发展，重点支持新能源、新材料、生物医药、第三代移动通信、三网融合等产业的技术研发和产业化，加快低碳经济、绿色经济，努力占领国际产业竞争的制高点。
We will seek breakthroughs in key technologies that are vital to industrial transformation and upgrading, speed up the development of new industries of strategic importance, and give priority to research, development, and industrial application of technologies in new energy, new materials, bio-medicine, third generation mobile communications, and the integration of telecommunications networks, cable TV networks and the Internet. We will accelerate the development of a low carbon economy and green economy so as to occupy a high (advantageous) position in the international industrial competition.

4w14p:
IV. FLAG <5>
AIM IS Flag

3w6p:
First, hold high the flag of progress.

4w12p:
中央政府将继续坚定不移地贯彻“一国两制”、“澳人治澳”、高度自治的方针，严格按照澳门基本法办事，全力支持行政长官和特区政府依法施政，全力支持社会各界人士在爱国爱澳旗帜下实现最广泛的大团结，全力支持澳门推动经济适度多元发展，加强同祖国内地的交流合作，扩大对外交往。
The central government will continue to unswervingly implement the "One Country, Two Systems", "Macau people governing Macau" and a high degree of autonomy in strict accordance with the Basic Law of Macau, and fully support the Chief Executive and the SAR government administration according to law, fully support the community to be united under the flag of patriotism to the country and to Macau, fully support Macau to actuate moderate multi-dimensional economic development, strengthen exchanges and cooperation with the mainland, and expand contact with foreign countries.

4w15p:
要珍惜并发扬优良传统，包容共济、求同存异、顾全大局、协力同心，在爱国爱澳的旗帜下实现最广泛的团结，为澳门各项事业发展营造良好的社会环境和氛围。
To cherish and carry forward the fine traditional, to be inclusive and seek common ground while reserving differences, pull together to achieve the broadest unity under the flag of patriotism to the motherland and Macao, to create a good social environment and atmosphere for the development of various undertakings in Macau.

7w11p:
我们要继续高举和平、发展、合作的旗帜，与世界各国人民一道，共同分享发展机遇，共同应对各种挑战，建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界。
We continue to hold high the flag of peace, development and co-operation, and to be together with other people in the world, to share the chance to develop and to deal with different challenges together, so as to build up a steady peaceful, prosperous and harmonious world.

7w12p:
高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，
hold high the flag of Chinese socialism.