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2024년 2월

박사학위 논문

A Comparative Study of Conceptual Metaphors in the Poverty Alleviation Discourse:

Focusing on the Discourse of Xi Jinping and Lyndon B. Johnson

Graduate School of Chosun University

Department of English Language and Literature

Wang Zhongrui

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빈곤퇴치 담론의 개념적 은유에 관한 연구:

시진핑과 린든 B. 존슨의 담론을 중심으로

2024년 2월 23일

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이 논문을 문학박사 박사학위신청 논문으로 제출함

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Abstract

Metaphor exists in various aspects of our lives. Traditionally, the research on metaphor has merely scratched the surface, and researchers have long regarded it as a rhetorical device. However, with the development of cognitive linguistics, contemporary linguists have come to that metaphor serves as more than just a rhetorical device; it also functions as a tool aiding in comprehending the world. In 1980, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson introduced the theory of conceptual metaphor, which immediately demonstrated its powerful explanatory power. As a result, many linguists began to study political discourse within this theoretical framework.

This dissertation centers on the utilization of conceptual metaphors within the poverty alleviation discourse by the Chinese President Xi Jinping and the American President Lyndon B. Johnson. I carefully analyzed the discourse of these two national leaders, investigated the commonalities and variations in their metaphorical expressions, explored the metaphorical mapping relationships and entailments, and explained how these metaphors help the two leaders elucidate poverty alleviation to the public and mobilize active participation in poverty alleviation efforts. In terms of metaphorical entailment, I have put forward some explanations for the differences and similarities from the perspective of metaphorical entailment.

Throughout history, poverty has been a persistent challenge for humanity, and both China and America have faced this issue. To explain poverty alleviation issues to their respective populace and persuade them to actively engage in poverty alleviating, the two national leaders have used a multitude of metaphors in their poverty alleviating discourse. President Xi Jinping proposed the slogan of Winning the Battle Against Poverty, while President Lyndon B. Johnson proposed the idea of the War on Poverty.

This dissertation focuses on the poverty alleviation discourse of the two national leaders and reports an in-depth research of the similarities and differences in selections of conceptual metaphors. Two types of discourse were collected and studied: one aspect

involves President Xi Jinping's discourse on poverty alleviation, encompassing the vocabulary employed in a range of meetings and speeches spanning from November 2015 to January 2021, totaling 201 paragraphs whose English translations add up to 38,054 words. The other pertains to the language employed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to advance poverty alleviation, including his State of the Union addresses, meetings, and speeches from 1964 to 1969, amounting to 217 paragraphs and 36,781 words. The two types of corpus share high similarity in that they both come from speeches of national leaders, are of the same topic and in similar genres, span six years, and have a similar number of words.

The study addresses four questions:

1. What kinds of conceptual metaphors are employed in the two sets of discourse?
2. What are the similarities and differences between the prominent conceptual metaphors selected by both national leaders in their discourse?
3. How do these metaphors assist national leaders in explaining poverty alleviation and in mobilizing the populace to actively engage in the battle against poverty?
4. What are the reasons for the differences and similarities in the selection of metaphors in the poverty alleviation discourse between the two leaders?

This study utilizes a blended methodology, integrating both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative research seeks to calculate the quantity and frequency of various metaphorical expressions in the two corpora. Meanwhile, the qualitative research delves deeper into the specific contexts where metaphors are used, examining metaphor mapping and investigating similarities and differences in metaphor use in the two corpora. Furthermore, it interprets the reasons behind these similarities and differences from the perspective of metaphorical entailment. This dual-method approach enables a comprehensive exploration of both the statistical prevalence and the nuanced application of metaphors within the selected discourse.

The research found that both leaders used various types of metaphors in their discourse on poverty alleviation. President Xi Jinping utilized metaphors such as BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CLOTHES, MACHINE, JOURNEY and WAR. And President Lyndon B. Johnson employed metaphors such as BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CONFINEMENT, CONTAINER, SUPERNATURAL BEING, JOURNEY and

WAR. There are similarities and differences at both general and specific levels: (1) At the general-level, there are five shared metaphors present in both discourses, such as BUILDING metaphor, DISEASE metaphor, PLANT metaphor, JOURNEY metaphor, and WAR metaphor. At the specific-level, the two leaders often make similar choices within sub-source domains. (2) Simultaneously, among the metaphors that surface in both types of discourse, significant variations can be observed. At the general-level, CLOTHING and MACHINE metaphors are distinctive to President Xi Jinping's discourse, whereas CONFINEMENT metaphor, CONTAINER metaphor, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor are exclusive to President Lyndon B. Johnson's words. The differences on a more detailed level are chiefly manifested in the usage of WAR metaphors. President Xi Jinping's selections of metaphorical expressions within the WARFARE notably utilizes the concept of decisive battles, and the quantity and frequency of expressions related to STRATEGY and PROCESS in his metaphors significantly exceed President Lyndon B. Johnson's employment of these metaphorical expressions.

I analyzed the metaphorical entailments of these metaphors one by one, finding that: through shared metaphorical entailments, both leaders emphasize the importance and necessity of poverty alleviation. They encourage the citizens to steadfastly hold onto their goals, to persistently put in effort, to continuously explore appropriate strategies, and to remain united while combating poverty. Additionally, they advocate for following national plans and supporting state policies during this struggle against poverty. Through different metaphorical entailments generated by various source domains or sub-source domains, President Xi Jinping elucidates the distinct responsibilities borne by both the nation and individuals in poverty alleviation. He underscores the utilization of proper poverty policies to enhance work efficiency, with the aim of eradicating poverty in the shortest possible time. In contrast, President Lyndon B. Johnson employs metaphors to emphasize the grim nature of poverty, thereby motivating the American people to actively combat it. Meanwhile, he implies that eradicating poverty is a long-term objective that demands comprehensive planning.

In summary, the two national leaders have both similarities and differences in their employment of metaphors, and both are appropriate selections aimed at better explaining poverty alleviation and persuading citizens to actively participate in it.

Key Words: conceptual metaphor, political discourse, comparative study, metaphorical mapping, metaphorical entailment

초록

빈곤퇴치 담론의 개념적 은유에 관한 연구 시진핑과 린든 B. 존슨의 담론을 중심으로

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I. Introduction

As an introductory chapter, this chapter comprises four sections, with the aim of providing the research background, stating the research objectives, highlighting the research significance, and offering a concise overview of the main content covered in each subsequent chapter.

A. Research Background

Poverty has been a pressing concern, posing a global challenge that impedes human development and advancement. Despite continuous improvements in the global economy, the problem of poverty remains persistent, with the wealth gap emerging as a significant factor affecting security and stability. Therefore, the eradication of poverty and the promotion of development have garnered widespread consensus among the international community. Throughout the years, nations have undertaken diverse measures and attained certain outcomes in this realm.

Of course, China and America are also engaged in poverty alleviation. The new China was founded in 1949, and it has consistently placed significant emphasis on poverty alleviation since its inception (Zhou, 2023). At various developmental stages, China has formulated distinct poverty alleviation goals and strategies, progressively eliminating poverty and progressing towards prosperity. Especially in the final phase, from October 2015 to the beginning of 2021, embarked on the Battle Against Poverty, marking a renewed commitment to poverty alleviation. After years of unwavering dedication, in 2021, China declared a victory in the fight against impoverishment.

Similarly, the 36th American president, Lyndon B. Johnson, declared War on Poverty in his State of the Union Address to build a Great Society for the American people. By the time he ended his presidency in 1969, Lyndon B. Johnson had enacted the Economic Opportunity Act, founded the Office of Economic Opportunity, and put into various social welfare policies related to people's livelihood, medical care,

insurance, and education. These policies included National Health Insurance Bill, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Community Action Program, ect. During his tenure, these policies greatly helped the American people get rid of poverty (Brauer, 1982), and some of these policies remain in effect today (Haveman, 2015).

China's Battle Against Poverty and the America's War on Poverty have exerted significant impact on the economy and politics of both countries and dramatically changed their people's lives. The 'battle' in China and the 'war' in America will undoubtedly be recorded in the respective history of the two countries. As political leaders of their respective countries, President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson have inevitably been instrumental in the pursuit of poverty eradication in their nations. They held many meetings, delivered speeches, and explained the importance, necessity of poverty alleviating to related staff or their people on multiple occasions to stimulate their active participation in the efforts against poverty. They prepared the overall work arrangements for poverty alleviation based on specific national conditions and promoted the smooth implementation of various plans. It is widely known that both China and America have a complex population structure, with the Chinese and American people having different educational backgrounds, growth environments, and cultural literacy. To make their words easier to understand and be accepted, the two political leaders adopted clever and appropriate methods to narrow their distance from the populace and make them have greater faith in their words. Drawing from the analysis of the dataset, I have discovered that both political leaders utilize a rich variety of language forms and employ flexible and diverse means of expressions. Interestingly, they employ metaphors abundantly and flexibly in their discourse, which deserves further in-depth research.

Researchers have been studying metaphors since the time of Aristotle, with roots dating back to his work *Rhetoric* more than two thousand years ago. Over time, the research on metaphors has undergone a transition from rhetorical research to cognitive research. People have gradually realized that metaphors belong not only to linguistic expressions, but also to thoughts, activities and behaviors, and they serve as a vital approach for humans to perceive and comprehend the objective reality. In the classic

book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) re-examined and studied metaphors in human behaviors, mindsets, conceptual categories, language symbols, and other fields, and proposed the mapping mechanism of metaphors. According to the book, metaphors possess internal structures and the meanings of them are the results of mapping some features of the source concepts onto the target concepts. This proposal of the mapping mechanism provides an intricate account of the operational mechanism of metaphors. The book, being a significant milestone in the history of metaphor research, offers new perspectives for linguistic research and provides a theoretical framework for this dissertation.

B. Research Purpose

Language serves as an essential instrument for human communication and the transmission of information. Across various forms of discourse, employing linguistic devices such as wording and phrasing is pivotal in conveying ideological messages (Huang, 2012). Lakoff's work (1990) offers a more comprehensive elucidation of the correlation between politics and language, enhancing our understanding of the subject. According to his argument, politics and language are inseparable because they mutually influence and shape each other. He recognized that language serves as a means to actualize political ideas and significantly influences the character and perception of politics. All political actions can be controlled and influenced by language (Dou, 2011). Without the manipulation of language, it will be harder or even impossible to achieve political goals. Language in politics serves a variety of political purposes, including the creation and reinforcement of specific value systems, the shaping of beliefs that impact people's behaviors, motivations, desires, and fears, and the establishment of certain ideologies, such as common sense (Thomas et al., 2004). These viewpoints substantiate the inseparable connection between language and politics. Therefore, political discourse has always been one of the hot topics in linguistic research.

Based on these research findings, I adopt a cognitive linguistics approach to explore

political discourse, with a specific focus on analyzing the poverty alleviation discourse conveyed by political leaders in both China and America. The primary contents of the study encompass the following four aspects:

1. What kinds of conceptual metaphors are employed in the two sets of discourse?
2. What are the similarities and differences between the prominent conceptual metaphors selected by both national leaders in their discourse?
3. How do these metaphors assist national leaders in explaining poverty alleviation and in mobilizing the populace to actively engage in the battle against poverty?
4. What are the reasons for the differences and similarities in the selection of metaphors in the poverty alleviation discourse between the two leaders?

C. Research Significance

Politicians are often skilled at the art of language, particularly in concretizing abstract concepts when discussing them. This approach serves two purposes: enhancing the audience's understanding and preventing them from getting bored (Thomas et al., 2004). Undoubtedly, metaphors can assist politicians in achieving both of these objectives simultaneously.

I have chosen two types of typical political discourse for study. One is a summary of speeches by President Xi Jinping on poverty alleviation from 2015 to 2021. The other is a summary of speeches, annual messages, and remarks on poverty alleviating by President Lyndon B. Johnson during his tenure from 1964 to 1969. Within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory, I utilize a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to uncover those metaphors utilized by the two leaders within their poverty alleviation discourse. After observing the types of metaphors, the number of metaphorical expressions, and their frequency in both corpora, I examine the mapping relationships of these metaphors from source domains to target domains, analyzing how they aid national leaders in achieving the goals of explanation and persuasion. I focus specifically on the similarities and distinctions in the usage of conceptual metaphors by both leaders, and explain those aspects from the perspective of

metaphorical entailments.

So this dissertation holds significant importance in both theoretical and practical aspects of research. Theoretically, it contributes to the further development of the theory of conceptual metaphor, particularly in enriching the theoretical achievements in the study of metaphorical entailments. Additionally, it contributes to the research in conceptual metaphors within political discourse, particularly in the discourse on poverty alleviation, and has the potential to generate valuable insights and discoveries in this field. From a practical perspective, the conclusion provides evidence for the active utilization of conceptual metaphors in poverty alleviation discourse, even if this usage may be unconscious. It reemphasizes the significance of conceptual metaphors in enhancing the persuasive power of political discourse and aiding politicians in achieving their objectives. This dissertation extensively examines the metaphorical entailments arising from nine metaphors, pointing out that these entailments offer diverse perspectives for interpreting poverty alleviation, thereby providing better policy explanations and mobilization. Additionally, this observation helps explain why national leaders may have different preferences in the use of metaphors.

D. Layout of the Dissertation

This dissertation comprises eight chapters.

Chapter I, this chapter, introduces the background of the topic selection, research objectives, and illustrates the theoretical and practical significance of the exploration. It presents the overall logic of the writing, showcasing the structure of the article and the main content of each section.

The following chapter, Chapter II, serves as a literature review. Initially, it offers a comprehensive examination of prior research on conceptual metaphors, including theories of conceptual metaphor, metaphorical mapping, and metaphorical entailment. Then, it delves deeper into examining political discourse through the lens of cognitive metaphor theory. As this research centers on discussion about poverty, this section also presents a survey of relevant studies within this domain.

Chapter III explains the research methodology. It presents the source of the corpus,

outlines the research steps, and describes the method for identifying and confirming metaphors.

Chapter IV investigates the metaphors observed in Xi Jinping's discourse. Based on the identification of metaphors, it categorizes prominent ones, examines their metaphorical expressions regarding their word forms, occurrences, and frequencies, etc. It studies the mapping relationship from the source domain to the target domain of seven metaphors, namely BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CLOTHING, MACHINE, JOURNEY, and WAR, and explains how these metaphors assist President Xi Jinping in explaining and elaborating on poverty and poverty alleviation work.

Chapter V focuses on the metaphors that appear in the discourse of President Lyndon B. Johnson. It first identifies all the metaphors present in the discourse, and after individual confirmation, categorizes the prominent ones. It provides a detailed overview of the quantity and frequency of metaphorical expressions I counted with the assistance of AntConc 4.2.0. In context, it studies the metaphorical mappings of the metaphors such as BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CONFINEMENT, CONTAINER, SUPERNATURAL BEING, JOURNEY, and WAR, and explains how these metaphors assist President Lyndon B. Johnson in explaining and elaborating on poverty and poverty alleviation work.

Chapter VI presents the findings of the comparative study. Based on the findings from Chapters IV and V, a comparative examination of the prominent conceptual metaphors within the poverty alleviation discourses of both national leaders is conducted. It analyzes the similarities and differences of these metaphors at both general and specific levels.

Chapter VII encompasses two main themes. On one hand, it systematically presents the metaphorical entailments derived from the prominent metaphors identified in the poverty alleviation discourse of both leaders. On the other hand, it explicates the reasons for the similarities and distinctions in the usage of conceptual metaphors by the two leaders from the standpoint of metaphorical entailments. Additionally, it conducts an in-depth analysis of how these significant metaphorical entailments assist the leaders in fulfilling the roles of explanation and persuasion.

Chapter VIII serves as the conclusion of the dissertation. In it, I summarize the main

findings and contributions of each chapter, present the inferences derived from the study, identify deficiencies in this study and propose areas of exploration for future studies.

II. Literature Review

For an extended period, metaphor was regarded as a figure of speech, wherein a comparison is made between one thing and another by asserting that one is the other (Kövecses, 2010). For instance, when we talk about a girl, we might use the metaphorical expression “She is a fox.” (Ndraha, 2018, p. 32). It is considered as a linguistic phenomenon employed for artistic and rhetorical objectives. However, this traditional explanation of metaphor was challenged by a new view in the 1980s when Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in their groundbreaking publication *Metaphors We Live By*, proposed the theory of conceptual metaphor.

A. Previous Studies on Conceptual Metaphor

In the conceptual metaphor theory, metaphors are not merely figures of speech utilized in everyday conversations; instead, they serve as tools that enable people to comprehend abstract concepts by connecting them to more fundamental and physical ones. Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) discoveries indicate that the core of metaphor is a cognitive matter. The systematic use of metaphorical expressions in our language implies that metaphor is an inherent phenomenon and an integral aspect of human thought.

As for the definition, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed,

the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another, or in another way, we understand experience metaphorically when we use a gestalt from one domain of experience to structure experience in another domain. (p. 5)

Or, simply, “Metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). For example, love is always

considered to be a journey. In romantic relationships, couples may encounter difficulties, much like facing obstacles during a journey, while the marriage of a couple can be viewed as pedestrians reaching the destination of their journey. Evidently, within this context, the abstract concept of LOVE is understood as a tangible journey-like experience. The conceptual domain JOURNEY serves as the source domain of metaphorical expressions used to grasp the abstract realm of LOVE. The conceptual domains of JOURNEY and LOVE are denoted as the source and target domains, respectively.

Hence, it becomes apparent that metaphor exhibits three distinct characteristics: First, metaphor is conceptual. Instead of a rhetoric device, metaphor is a manifestation of thought, a cognitive organization articulated through language (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Illustratively, within the English language, ARGUMENT is always understood in terms of WAR, as shown below:

- (1) a. Your claims are **indefensible**.
 b. I've never **won** an argument with him.

– (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, pp. 1-2)

In the above linguistic expressions, with conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, ARGUMENT is shaped as WAR. In this way, we interpret a more abstract concept with a more concrete one. Therefore, metaphor is inherently conceptual, allowing us to comprehend one concept by establishing correspondences with another concept (Zhang, 2019).

Second, metaphor is systematic. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) advanced the notion that metaphorical concepts display systematicity, and the linguistic expressions used to describe these concepts also exhibit systematic patterns, which serve as intrinsic characteristics of metaphorical concepts. Metaphorical expressions are systematically connected to conceptual metaphors in our daily lives, shaping our thought processes and behaviors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) take the metaphorical concept of TIME to illustrate the systematicity of metaphors. Our routine encounters involving money,

resources, and valuable commodities typically shape our conceptualization of time. Hence, we conceive and perceive time as something that can be expended, lost, conserved, allocated, utilized, or frittered away. TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY are interconnected conceptual metaphors forming a cohesive system through subcategorization, where money is conceptualized as a finite resource and finite resources are culturally perceived as valuable. In such a metaphorical process, a number of words related to limited resource and valuable commodity together form a conceptual system. It is plausible to posit that the sub-categorization relationships establish entailment connections among the metaphors, specifically “TIME IS MONEY entails that TIME IS A RESOURCE, which entails that TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 9).

The third characteristic of metaphor is embodiment. Conceptual metaphors are not arbitrary or accidental occurrences. Instead, their foundation is experiential, as they stem from our bodily and life experiences. As an example, the conceptual metaphor QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION is evident in many daily linguistic expressions, as shown in Example (2). This metaphor links VERTICAL ELEVATION and QUANTITY in a certain manner conceptually. What lies behind such association is precisely our everyday experience. For example, when apples are piled up, the height of the pile increases as the number of apples grows. Similarly, when water is poured into a glass, the level increases with the amount of water added. The emergence of the conceptual metaphor QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION is driven by experiences of this nature.

- (2) a. The price of shares is **going up**.
 b. She got a **high** score in her exam.

– (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 76)

The embodiment of metaphors has been supported by numerous empirical findings. The experiments of Zhong and Liljenquist (2006) and Lee and Schwarz (2010) both corroborate the argument of Lakoff and Johnson (1999) that moral metaphors have an experiential basis, and such experiential basis pertains to not only bodily experience, but

also social and cultural experience (Zhang, 2020).

1. Metaphorical Mapping

In the previous section, we stated that, following the cognitive linguistic perspective, a conceptual metaphor comprises two domains: the source domain and the target domain. The tangible or physical concepts such as JOURNEY, WAR, FOOD, and others are typically used as the source domains. The abstract concepts we try to understand, such as LIFE, LOVE, IDEA, and others, are usually the target domains. There is a set of correspondences between the source and target domains based on the similarities, enabling the utilization of elements from the source domain to comprehend the concepts in the target domain. The systematic correspondences are referred to as metaphorical mappings (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Lakoff and Turner (2009) proposed that the metaphorical mapping between the source domain and target domain consists of the following components: the structure in the source domain is mapped onto the structure of the target domain; various relationships within the source domain are mapped onto the relationship network of the target domain; knowledge from the source domain is mapped onto the knowledge of the target domain.

We can take SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS as an illustration of how mappings constitute a conceptual metaphor.

(3) SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS

- a. He works for the local **branch** of the bank.
- b. Our company is **growing**.
- c. They had to **prune** the workforce.
- d. The organization was **rooted** in the old church.
- e. There is now a **flourishing** black market in software there.
- f. His business **blossomed** when the railways put his establishment within reach of the big city.

g. Employers **reaped** enormous benefits from cheap foreign labour.

– (Kövecses, 2010, p. 10)

In the above linguistic expressions, it is evident that social organizations such as banks, companies, markets, and businesses are understood in terms of plants. SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS and PLANTS are the target and source domains, respectively. Through systematic metaphorical mappings, the constituent elements of PLANTS are mapped onto the constituent parts of SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, as shown below:

<i>Source: PLANT</i>		<i>Target: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION</i>
(a) the whole plant	⇒	the entire organization
(b) a part of the plant	⇒	a part of the organization
(c) growth of the plant	⇒	development of the organization
(d) removing a part of the plant	⇒	reducing the organization
(e) the root of the plant	⇒	the origin of the organization
(f) the flowering	⇒	the best stage, the most successful stage
(g) the fruits or crops	⇒	the beneficial consequences

<Figure 1> Metaphorical Mappings of SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS
 (Kövecses, 2010, p. 10)

In Figure 1, in the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS, different elements in the source domain PLANT are mapped onto the target domain SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. This set of mappings helps us better understand abstract concepts, such as business and market. The words that we usually use to describe plants are employed to describe social organizations. The entire organization is conceptualized as the entirety of a plant, whereas a part of the organization is conceptualized as a component of the plant. The plant's growth corresponds to the organization's development. The organization's origin is manifested in the root of the plant. The plant blossoms with a flower or bears fruit, signifying a flourishing stage and metaphorically conveying the organization's success.

Through the establishment of metaphorical mappings, the constituent elements from the source domain are employed to comprehend corresponding elements in the target

domain. However, not all elements from the source domain participate in the mappings simultaneously; thus, we focus only on a subset of constituent elements in the target domain during the mapping process. Kövecses (2010) refers to this characteristic as the partial nature of metaphorical mappings.

(4) THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT

- a. Her ego is very **fragile**.
- d. She is easily **crushed**.

– (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 92-93)

As shown in (4) only a single aspect of the target domain MIND is focused on. The primary focus lies in the psychological strength or its absence, that is, the metaphor focuses on the single aspect of the target concept, MIND. At the same time, the remaining elements of the target concept, MIND, are hidden.

According to Kövecses (2010), the processes of highlighting and hiding in metaphorical mapping presuppose each other and operate in conjunction with each other. He supported his claims by providing metaphors related to ARGUMENT.

(5) a. AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER:

Your argument has much **content**.

b. AN ARGUMENT IS WAR:

He **won** the argument. I couldn't **defend** that point.

c. AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING:

She **constructed a solid** argument.

– (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 92-93)

As shown in the above expression, ARGUMENT, the target concept is interpreted through different source domains, such as CONTAINER, WAR, and BUILDING. These source concepts highlight different aspects of ARGUMENT.

The CONTAINER metaphor in (5a) highlights the content of an argument, whereas,

the WAR metaphor in (5b) focuses on the one who controls the argument, whereas, in (5c), the BUILDING metaphor's main focus appears to be the structure of an argument and its strength.

This example indicates some constituent elements of arguments are highlighted, while the other aspects are hidden at the same time. When the CONTAINER metaphor highlights the arguments' contents, it hides other aspects, like the progress and strength involved, at the same time. The WAR metaphor highlights the aspect of the controller and controlled in the argument, so the other aspects of an argument, such as contents and structures, are hidden. Kövecses reached the conclusion that various metaphors emphasize distinct parts of the same target concept while simultaneously concealing other aspects (Kövecses, 2010).

Another property proposed by Kövecses is that sometimes the speakers choose only certain elements of a source domain to understand a target domain (Kövecses, 2010). As shown in (6):

(6) ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING

- a. We've got the **framework** for a **solid** argument.
- d. With the **groundwork** you've got, you can **build** a **strong** argument.

– (Kövecses, 2010, p. 93)

The sentences in the above example include some metaphorical expressions for the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS BUILDING. The word 'framework' in (6a) refers to the structure of a building; and 'solid' and 'strong' indicate the strength of the building. In other words, some constituent elements in the source domain BUILDING, such as construction, structure, and strength, are used to understand the target concept ARGUMENT. In the metaphorical comprehension of the concept ARGUMENT, numerous constituent elements from the source domain BUILDING are disregarded. These elements encompass various aspects such as rooms, roofs, chimneys, windows, and the specific architectural style associated with a building. In the aforementioned sentences, all of these aspects are concealed.

In conclusion, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) proposal suggests metaphor is conceptual, and metaphorical mapping is the systematic correspondence between elements of the source domain and those of the target domain. Kövecses (2010) explained the partial feature of metaphorical mapping and highlighted that only some aspects of the source domain are utilized in interpreting the target domain.

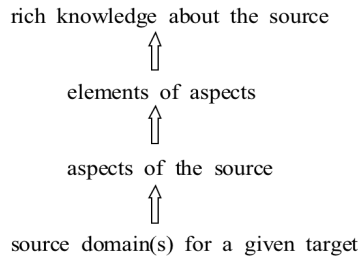
2. Metaphorical Entailment

I discussed the metaphorical mappings between the source and target domains in the previous sections. I will focus on the metaphorical entailments in the following part.

The term metaphorical entailment was initially introduced in the work *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Subsequently, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) introduced the notion that metaphorical entailments are rooted in coherent folk theories tied to specific domains, as demonstrated in their comprehensive analysis of anger. In 2010, Kövecses further clarified the concept of metaphorical entailment, explaining that, in addition to the aspects and constituent elements being referred to, our additional knowledge about the constituents of a source domain corresponds to those of a target domain. "When rich additional knowledge about a source is mapped onto a target, we call it metaphorical entailment" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 122). Choi (2018, 2019) has also conducted an in-depth study on metaphorical entailment, highlighting that "When the mapping arises, rich background knowledge of source elements, referred to as metaphorical inference, is mapped onto a target domain, resulting in metaphorical entailment" (Choi, 2019, p. 107).

In the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, a path is one of the constituent elements of the concept JOURNEY, and it corresponds to the progress of an argument. While traversing our path, it is common to encounter crossroads where there exists a possibility of straying from the intended path. The 'straying from the intended path' is additional knowledge about a journey. It corresponds to digressing from an argument. The mapping 'digressing from an argument is straying from the intended path' is different from the constituent mapping we discussed before. It is called

metaphorical entailment. The relationship among the source domain, aspects of the source, elements of the aspects, and rich knowledge about the elements can be observed in the following figure.



<Figure 2> The Relationship Among Source Domain, Aspects of Source, Elements of Aspects, and Rich Knowledge About Elements

– (Kövecses, 2010, p. 122)

Notably, mapping rich knowledge from the source onto the target domain is a universal phenomenon. It plays an essential role in metaphorical comprehension (Kövecses, 2010) and influences our thinking (Choi, 2018).

Besides the role of metaphorical comprehension, metaphorical entailments also play a vital role in constructing discourse, which ensures the coherence of discourse, allowing for smooth progression of speech. Kövecses (2010) proved this through the following example:

(7) Teacher: You look like a healthy apple.

Author: I hope it's not rotten inside.

Teacher: I hope, too, that it will last a long time.

– (Kövecses, 2010, p. 123)

In Example (7), we can identify a metaphor: PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The teacher metaphorically compared the author to a healthy apple. Regarding apples, we have the following knowledge: an apple that appears healthy on the outside may be rotten on the inside, and an apple that is healthy both inside and outside can be stored for a

longer time. As the source domain APPLE is mapped onto the target domain PEOPLE, the two relevant pieces of knowledge about apples are also mapped onto the target domain. They are used in the discussion about the author's physical health. The knowledge 'an apple that appears healthy on the outside may be rotten on the inside' corresponds to the knowledge 'a person who appears healthy on the outside may be unhealthy internally,' and the knowledge 'an apple that is intact both inside and outside can be stored for a longer time' corresponds to the knowledge 'a person who is healthy both internally and externally tends to live longer.' This gives rise to two metaphorical entailments. In the conversation, the author chose the first metaphorical entailment, while the teacher chose the second one. By activating these metaphorical entailments, both parties ensure understanding of each other's intended meaning in their speech and facilitate a smooth conversation.

In the above examples, we analyzed the case that only one or a few metaphorical entailments are exploited. Sometimes, various knowledge related to the source domain can be completely mapped onto the target domain. (Kövecses, 2010). As an example, within the English language, a widely recognized metaphor exists: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. In this metaphor, A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is the source domain, while the target domain is ANGER. Regarding the liquid inside a container, we have the following additional knowledge: as it is heated, the liquid level will rise; vapor will be generated; the liquid and vapor will exert pressure on the container walls; when the container walls are compressed to a certain extent, an explosion may occur; fragments and hot liquid splashing after the explosion can cause harm to people nearby. These coherent causal knowledge are more or less mapped onto the target domain ANGER, as shown in (8):

(8) a. WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASE, THE FLUID RISES

She could feel her gorge **rising**.

b. INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM

I was **fuming**.

c. INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES PRESSURE ON THE CONTAINER

He was **bursting with** anger.

- d. THE ANGRY PERSON TRIES TO KEEP THE PRESSURE BACK
I **suppressed** my anger.
- e. WHEN ANGER BECOMES TOO INTENSE, THE PERSON EXPLORES
She **blew up** at me.
- f. WHEN AN ANGRY PERSON EXPLODES, PARTS OF HIM/HER GO UP IN THE AIR
I **blew my stack**.
- g. WHEN AN ANGRY PERSON EXPLODES, WHAT WAS INSIDE HIM/HER COMES OUT
His anger finally **came out**.

– (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 124–125)

As shown in the above expressions, diverse knowledge associated with the hot fluid contained has been completely mapped onto an angry person. Unlike the above examples, the following case will show that the entailments in a metaphor characterize a set of related target concepts. Kövecses (2010) illustrated this opinion with the metaphor COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS.

We have a good understanding of plants, and our in-depth knowledge of their natural biological growth aligns with the developmental processes of intricate systems like social traditions, economic organizations, political systems, and so on. It facilitates our comprehension of the developmental aspects of these complex abstract concepts. The linguistic expressions in the example below are listed in Kövecses's famous book, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*.

- (9) a. PREPARING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMPLEX SYSTEM IS PREPARING THE GROWTH OF A PLANT
The work **will prepare the ground for** future development.
- b. TO START OR CREATE A COMPLEX SYSTEM IS TO SOW A SEED
He had **the skill to plant the seed in** Jennifer's mind that her problem was insignificant.
- c. THE QUICK DEVELOPMENT OF A LARGE NUMBER OF THINGS IS

THE QUICK GROWTH OF A LARGE NUMBER OF SHOOTS OR LEAVES

Concrete hotels and tourist villages are **sprouting** along the desert shore.

- d. POTENTIAL OR SOURCES OF FUTURE EVENTS ARE SEEDS;
FUTURE EVENTS ARE THE FUTURE GROWTH OF A PLANT

He also **carries within** him a **seed** of self-destruction.

– (Kövecses, 2010, p. 129)

Through these examples, I demonstrated how additional information about plants or fluids in containers is fully utilized to comprehend the target concept. However, in some cases, not everything is mapped from that source to the target concept. To explain this phenomenon, researchers have proposed the invariance principle: given the aspects that participate in a metaphorical mapping, map as much knowledge from the source onto the target as is coherent with the image-schematic properties of the target (Kövecses, 2010). The invariance principle prohibits the representation of knowledge that lacks coherence with the image schema. Take LIFE IS A JOURNEY as an example. In this conventional metaphor, the road symbolizes the journey of life. We often encounter fellow travelers on this journey, and we have the freedom to choose our direction, whether to move forward or turn back. However, unlike on a physical road, in life, once we make a decision, we cannot go back or undo our choices.

B. Previous Studies on Political Discourse

As mentioned before, this is a study on political discourse, so in the following section, we will review the findings of the political discourse research.

Political discourse has long been a focus of attention. Scholars from various disciplines, including communication, politics, and rhetoric, have extensively researched political discourse, focusing on different aspects and offering diverse perspectives on the subject. It was not until the early 1980s or even the early 1990s that the study of political discourse truly began to be approached from a linguistic perspective (He,

2012). During literature review, it was found that linguistic research on political discourse covers various genres, including lectures (Wodak & Boukala, 2015), legislative discussions (Gruber, 2015), political discourse in newspapers (Musolff, 2023), diplomatic language (Fenton-Smith, 2007), campaign speeches (Jones, 2014), political discourse on social media platforms (Kreis, 2017), citizen forums (Perrez & Reuchamps, 2012, 2015), and political cartoons (Hanauer, 2011).

There have been abundant achievements in the research of political discourse as well. For example, Chilton published *Analyzing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice* in 2004, which explores our political thinking and behavior using linguistic theoretical frameworks. In the book *The Language of Politics*, published in 2000, Beard introduced the examination of political discourse from a semantic standpoint, discussing how politicians convey their ideologies through the use of metaphors, metonymy, analogy, and transitivity. Several anthologies focusing on political discourse from a linguistic perspective have also been published, such as *Handbook of Political Communication* (1981), *Analysing Political Speeches* (1997), and *Political Discourse Analysis* (2008).

In addition to the aforementioned monographs and anthologies, political discourse has been extensively studied by critical discourse analysts, with prominent figures such as Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003, 2013, etc.), Van Dijk (1994, 2008, 2009, etc.), and Wodak (1989, 2007, etc.). Fairclough, a highly regarded British linguist, is widely acknowledged as a leading expert in the critical discourse analysis domain. He initially introduced the concept of critical discourse analysis in his seminal work, *Language and Power* (1989). He held a strong conviction that the fundamental goal of discourse analysis is to explore the societal aspects of communication. In his research on political discourse, he delved into the connections between discourse, politics, ideology, and power, placing particular emphasis on the role of the political context. He put forth the viewpoint that politics employs discursive forms to express specific ideologies.

Van Dijk (1994) conducted research on cognitive context models in discourse and primarily analyzed the significant role that discourse and communication play in the establishment, legitimation, and reproduction of power and inequality. In 2008, Van Dijk expanded his investigation into the correlation between political discourse and political cognition in his publication titled *Discourse and Power*. He specifically

introduced the concept of political implicature. In Van Dijk's book *Society and Discourse*, published in 2009, he emphasized the significance of context in understanding political discourse. Examining the interaction between context, social cognition, situational factors, and culture, he extensively analyzed the correlation between context and politics, using political discourse in the British Parliament as an example, including figures such as Blair and other parliamentary members.

Recently, cognitive linguistics has exhibited robust explanatory potential in dissecting political discourse. Commonly utilized theories encompass the conceptual metaphor theory advanced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), framing theory put forth by Lakoff (1996), critical metaphor analysis theory predominantly advocated by Mulsoff (2010), Charteris-Black (2004), and O'Halloran (2003), discursive strategies exemplified by Hart (2010), discourse space theory outlined by Chilton (2005), and the proximization theory primarily presented by Cap (2008).

In this study, an examination of the political discourse of President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson is conducted within the framework of conceptual metaphors, utilizing the research methods of critical metaphor analysis. As a result, the subsequent section will primarily review relevant research on conceptual metaphor and critical metaphor analysis theory.

1. Conceptual Metaphor and Political Discourse

Since the release of the pioneering work *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors have gained recognition as a fundamental cognitive instrument for comprehending not only the tangible realm but also the realms of society and psychology (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993). The utilization of the conceptual metaphor theory in scrutinizing political discourse has produced valuable outcomes.

Lakoff (1991) was the first to introduce conceptual metaphor theory into the discussion of political discourse. As a political strategist for the Democratic Party, Lakoff (1991, 1993) undertook a scholarly examination of the metaphors employed by the Bush family to legitimize the two Iraq wars. Through this analysis, he revealed the political

orientations, ideological perspectives, and values hidden behind political metaphors. In his book *Don't Think of the Elephant* (2004), Lakoff used the frame theory and conceptual metaphor theory to scrutinize the cognitive process of how American bipartisan politics used different moral metaphors to frame the same political issues, and thus drew different metaphorical inferences. In the book *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think* (1996, 2002), he made a comparative analysis of the differences in ideology and moral values between the two American parties, pointed out that this difference was derived from two different moral metaphor models, and then implemented different political policies.

One of Lakoff's contributions in political discourse analysis lies in employing conceptual metaphor theory to examine the cognitive mechanisms underlying the political discourse of the two major parties in the United States. This analysis concludes that there are two distinct cognitive patterns of family metaphors at work. He believes that the political program and discourse of the Democratic Party of the United States are based on the Nurturant Parent Model, while the political platform of the Republican Party is based on the Strict Father Model. The Republican Party has come a long way in building its political discourse and political program centering around its bottom cognitive model (i.e. Strict Father Model), while the Democratic Party has not yet woken up to this point, which has put itself at a disadvantage in presidential elections. Inspired by Lakoff's binary approach to the cognition of moral metaphor, distinguishing between the Strict Father Model and the Nurturant Parent Model, more and more scholars (Cienki, 2005; Deason & Gonzales, 2012; Moses & Gonzales, 2015) have begun to apply it to political discourse analysis. On top of that, Lakoff and Wehling (2012) also claimed that conceptual metaphor system is a foundational pattern of human thinking, and our way of thinking and acting is metaphorical. Therefore, different conceptual metaphor systems allow for different moral views and ideologies, which in turn lead to the adoption of different policies.

Mulsoff (2004) studied conceptual metaphor and ideology in European political discourse through corpus analysis in his book *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning in Debates About Europe*. In his article *Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust*, he revealed how biological metaphor became a racist ideology (Mulsoff,

2010).

In their book *Foreign Policy By Metaphor*, Chilton and Lakoff (2005) systematically analyzed the metaphors in international relations discourse, and put forward the influential theme of ‘security metaphor’, which has been widely used in the research on Western cold war discourse. They claimed that metaphors are not just words or fantasies; they embody ways of thinking that fundamentally shape the discourse of foreign policy, not only the choice of words, but also the mindset.

Clearly, these research achievements by scholars have confirmed that conceptual metaphors are foundational models of our cognition and can reveal cognitive mechanisms. Through the study of metaphors, we can delve into the cognitive patterns and ideologies of politicians, thereby gaining insights into the underlying reasons for policy formulation and predicting the trajectories of policy makers’ decisions. These studies provide a paradigm for this research and offer a theoretical foundation, enabling me to explore politicians’ attitudes towards poverty and poverty alleviation through metaphor analysis.

However, I’ve also noticed that scholars often employ research methods rooted in cognitive linguistics, with relatively little consideration given to pragmatic and sociological factors. The selection of data for research is also limited in scope. For instance, Lakoff (1991, 1993, 2002, 2004) predominantly studies the political discourse of the two major parties in the United States, while other scholars tend to focus solely on their own country’s political discourse. This lack of exploration into data from other countries results in an insufficiently comprehensive comparative analysis of metaphors used in political discourse across different nations. I think these gaps in research present opportunities for advancing the development of critical metaphor analysis and also offer a chance to conduct comparative studies on metaphors within political discourse across diverse cultural contexts.

2. Critical Metaphor Analysis and Political Discourse

Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2006, 2017) has focused on metaphor as a persuasive

tool in political discourse. In 2004, he proposed a method for critical metaphor analysis that integrates theories from various disciplines such as corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, and pragmatics. Using this method, he examined metaphors in political discourse originating from both the U.K. and the U.S. He contends that political speeches are a distinctive form of discourse, aiming to present an idealized vision of the social world. As a result, the selection of metaphors in these speeches is likely to be deliberate and conscious. Within the work *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor* (2005), Charteris-Black harmoniously linked metaphor with traditional rhetoric. Drawing on case studies of speeches by nine prominent politicians, he explained how metaphors were employed to highlight emotions such as sorrow (appealing to the audience's emotions) and traits of authority or credibility (from the speakers), as well as to create 'myths' (fixed political patterns or conventions representing specific groups) to sway the audience. Charteris-Black's significant contribution lies in his formulation of a method for critical metaphor analysis through corpus analysis. This approach facilitates the examination of complex relationships between language, power, and ideology. His investigative approaches have yielded fresh perspectives in the examination of political discourse. Integrating cognitive metaphor theory with critical discourse analysis, Charteris-Black expanded both the breadth and content of metaphor research while also enhancing the methodological toolkit of critical discourse analysis. Increasingly, scholars have embraced this methodology for their own research endeavors.

The theoretical affirmation of the persuasive potential of metaphor's cognitive mechanism in critical metaphor analysis provides a theoretical foundation for this study. Moreover, Charteris-Black's comparative analysis based on data from two countries offers a research paradigm that aligns with the objectives of this dissertation. Importantly, the integrated approach of critical discourse analysis draws on methodologies from various disciplines, enhancing the interpretative power regarding metaphors and revealing potential (possibly unconscious) intentions of language users. In a word, this methodology aids in achieving the research goals of this dissertation, thus serving as an inspiration for its application.

3. Previous Study on Poverty Alleviation Discourse

In the preceding sections, I summarized the achievements made by linguists in the study of political discourse. As this dissertation intends to conduct an in-depth investigation into discourse related to poverty alleviation, I will now provide an overview of existing research on poverty alleviation discourse.

Reviewing the literature, I find that some linguists have begun to pay attention to this type of discourse. Examining President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, they revealed the metaphor of ADDRESSING POVERTY IS WAR through the conceptual metaphor analysis of the slogan "War on Poverty." (Hartmann-Mahmud, 2002; Smith, 2002; Flusberg et al., 2018). Using corpus research methods, Ovchinnikova (2014) also provided evidence of a similar metaphor POVERTY IS AN ENEMY in Russian language. Mohler et al. (2014) discussed the conceptual metaphor POVERTY IS A DISEASE when introducing a new multilingual conceptual metaphor identification method. David and Matlock (2018) used specific analysis tools from natural language processing technology, named MetaNet, to automatically detect poverty and cancer discourse. By automatically detecting metaphorical expressions, researchers can identify metaphorical expressions in large-scale corpora, gaining deeper insights into the commonalities and variations of cross-linguistic metaphors. They confirmed through corpus research methods that the conceptual metaphor DEALING WITH POVERTY IS PHYSICAL COMBAT exists in both English and Spanish (David & Matlock, 2018). Dodge (2016) conducted research on poverty metaphor expressions as a case study, using an in-depth semantic corpus approach to investigate how poverty metaphors contribute to the process of conceptualization. The research findings indicated that within metaphorical expressions related to poverty, two prevalent source domains each endorse diverse forms of reasoning regarding poverty, the consequences, and approaches to mitigate or eliminate it. This indicates that poverty metaphors can support diverse viewpoints and understandings, providing different perspectives for the cognitive understanding and solutions to poverty issues. The research offers valuable insights for the fields of linguistics and sociology and holds practical significance for improving

poverty alleviation policies and communication strategies.

In China, poverty alleviation is considered a top priority, attracting extensive attention from scholars and sparking research from various perspectives. The research directions mainly focus on communication, narrative studies, and translation studies.

Within the sphere of communication and narrative studies, researchers have scrutinized the discourse features and narrative strategies in the media's reporting on poverty alleviation in China. For instance, Wang (2021) conducted an analysis of poverty alleviation reports in *China Daily*, exploring the types of conceptual metaphors, distribution patterns, and the shaping of the national image within these reports. Huang and Zhang (2021) delved into the attitudes, stances, and ideologies behind poverty alleviation reporting, proposing better reporting strategies. Additionally, some researchers have studied reports or documentaries on poverty alleviation, discussing the use of international discourse narrative strategies to enhance international communication efficiency (Yang & Wang, 2023; Wang & Zeng, 2022).

In the field of translation studies, scholars have proposed translation strategies for Chinese-specific terms. Taking the book *BaiTuo PinKun* 'To Get Rid of Poverty' as an example, Wang and Yan (2022) presented translation strategies to achieve micro-pragmatic intentions through techniques such as addition, deletion, separation, combination, and transformation. Furthermore, Li (2023) put forth his translation strategies from the perspective of ecological translation studies, drawing insights from President Xi Jinping's address at the National Commendation Conference for Poverty Alleviation.

Furthermore, scholars have researched the metaphorical construction mechanisms of poverty alleviation discourse in news reporting and the mobilization function of metaphors in Chinese media discourse (Li & Zhuge, 2022). Chen & Duan (2022) and Wang (2021) also separately studied poverty alleviation-related news cartoons and public service advertisements, investigating the multimodal metaphors employed in these forms of media.

The research on discourse related to poverty alleviation in China has indeed offered valuable insights into diverse facets of the subject, encompassing metaphoric expressions, narrative strategies, and communication techniques. These research

accomplishments significantly enriched the disciplines of linguistics, communication, and social studies, deepening our comprehension of how language influences public perceptions and attitudes regarding poverty alleviation.

However, the current research findings on poverty alleviation discourse have certain limitations and gaps, calling for a more in-depth and comprehensive exploration of different facets of the subject.

Firstly, in the current research on poverty alleviation discourse, the critical metaphor analysis theory has not been fully applied. It is a method of critically interpreting and analyzing the use of metaphors. Introducing this theory into the study of poverty alleviation discourse can help deepen our understanding of this type of discourse. Such research will contribute to revealing the interpretive and persuasive functions of metaphors in poverty alleviation discourse.

Secondly, there is a need to address differences in metaphor usage across different cultures. Poverty alleviation discourse is a complex topic involving diverse cultural and societal factors. Conducting comparative research on metaphor usage in different cultures, especially examining metaphors used by leaders in poverty alleviation discourse in China and America, can help us better comprehend cultural and linguistic disparities and similarities.

Thirdly, there is an insufficient exploration of source domains involving metaphors. The predominant focus in current research is on WAR as a source domain, as evidenced by the conceptual metaphor ADDRESSING POVERTY IS WAR, with insufficient exploration of other potential source domains. Investigating the influence of different source domains on poverty alleviation discourse could furnish us with a more profound comprehension.

Additionally, the diversity in samples and contexts is limited. Current research on leaders' poverty alleviation discourse has relatively small sample sizes, and the contexts in which the discourse occurs are relatively narrow. Expanding the scope of samples and covering different contexts would make the research more comprehensive and representative.

Overall, poverty alleviation discourse is an important research area that encompasses multiple aspects and requires further in-depth exploration and investigation. Inspired by

previous research, this study seeks to examine the similarities and distinctions in metaphor usage within poverty alleviation discourse by leaders in China and America and explore the underlying reasons for the similarities and differences. This study will further enrich the research outcomes of both conceptual metaphor and discourse analysis fields.

Moreover, in the existing literature, there is no widely accepted or explicit definition for poverty alleviation discourse. Therefore, based on the research focus and by referencing definitions from other types of discourse, I propose the following definition: poverty alleviation discourse can be broadly defined as a collective term encompassing various linguistic expressions related to poverty alleviation. More precisely, it pertains to language focusing on poverty-related themes, encompassing the comprehension of poverty, explanations of anti-poverty policies, and calls for poverty alleviation actions. For the dissertation, I embrace the narrower definition to enhance precision in research and analysis.

C. Summary

This chapter presents an overview of the previously mentioned related research. Firstly, the theoretical basis of this study is summarized, including metaphorical mapping, metaphorical entailment, and other related theories. The explanations of relevant linguists on these basic theories are presented. This study will analyze the discourse on poverty alleviation by President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson, utilizing the framework of cognitive metaphor theory. Consequently, it aligns with the research domain of political discourse. Hence, the second section is primarily dedicated to showcasing scholars' theoretical contributions in political discourse analysis, particularly emphasizing the perspectives of conceptual metaphor and critical metaphor analysis theory. The status quo of literature on poverty alleviation discourse is also introduced in this section.

I have noticed that scholars need to delve deeper into their research on poverty alleviation discourse, particularly in terms of comparative studies exploring the

similarities and differences of metaphors in state leaders' discourse on poverty alleviation. Based on this discovery, this study showcases innovation in both its content and research approach. Meanwhile, this study holds significant theoretical and practical importance, elaborating on the accomplishments in both theory and practice within the research on poverty alleviation discourse from a conceptual metaphor perspective.

III. Research Methodology

This chapter will detail the methodological approach utilized in the current study, primarily outlining the research questions, data sources, and specifying the research procedures.

A. Research Questions

The study seeks to examine the utilization of metaphors in the discourse regarding poverty alleviation delivered by Chinese President Xi Jinping and American President Lyndon B. Johnson. The primary objective is to investigate the following four key questions:

1. What kinds of conceptual metaphors are employed in the two sets of discourse?
2. What are the similarities and differences between the prominent conceptual metaphors selected by both national leaders in their discourse?
3. How do these metaphors assist national leaders in explaining poverty alleviation and in mobilizing the populace to actively engage in the battle against poverty?
4. What are the reasons for the differences and similarities in the selection of metaphors in the poverty alleviation discourse between the two leaders?

B. Data Collection

This part offers a concise summary of the origins and gathering procedure of the corpus. Because the study is a comparative research on the poverty alleviation discourse of the leaders of China and America, it involves two types of corpora. One is from the Chinese President Xi Jinping, and the other is from the American President Lyndon B. Johnson. The process of corpus selection will be explained in the following part.

1. Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse

The Communist Party of China has organized the Chinese people in a planned manner to combat poverty for over 70 years. The process can be segmented into 6 distinct stages, with the final stage being the period from November 23, 2015, to February 25, 2021, known as the phase of the Battle Against Poverty. President Xi Jinping, on November 23, 2015, participated in the Conference of the Central Committee on Poverty Alleviation and Development, initiating the Battle Against Poverty and urging the public to triumph in this endeavor. Six years later, in 2021, during the National Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development, he announced that China had achieved a comprehensive victory in the fight against poverty, successfully overcoming the formidable challenge of eradicating severe poverty.

The poverty alleviation discourse of President Xi Jinping primarily comes from related paragraphs in his speeches, reports, lectures, and instructions during China's Battle Against Poverty from November 23, 2015, to February 25, 2021, totaling 201 paragraphs and 52,628 characters (38,054 words in English). All of them are available in both English and Chinese versions, making them accessible and comparative for both Chinese and international readers. These documents are all published by the official press The Research Institute of Party History and Literature of the CPC Central Committee, Central Compilation & Translation Press, or on official websites, with authority and accuracy.

2. Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse

America has consistently held the position of the world's largest economy, but it has also been plagued by poverty for an extended period. Looking back at history, it can be observed that the issue of poverty is mentioned in almost every presidential campaign and inauguration speech. To solve this problem, the then President Lyndon B. Johnson proposed the "War on Poverty" in 1964, calling for collective nationwide action to overcome this enduring adversary. During his presidency, significant progress was made in addressing poverty in the country, and some welfare policies implemented during that time laid the foundation for the current welfare system in America. The

poverty alleviation institutions he established continue to operate to today. For this study, his views on poverty and poverty alleviation are selected as expressed in State of the Union addresses, public speeches, and diplomatic receptions. Altogether, there are 217 paragraphs and 36781 English words. All literature comes from <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>. This website aggregates public materials, significant historical documents, and other essential statistical information related to the research of American presidents. The website's main objective is to function as a platform for scholarly research, offering authoritative and unbiased information.

Choosing these research subjects is driven by two motivations. Both datasets center on the shared theme of addressing poverty and are positioned within the framework of approaching poverty alleviation as a form of war. The thematic coherence facilitates meaningful comparisons and analysis. Additionally, the two datasets exhibit strong alignment in terms of themes, time span, word count, language style, and authority, providing a solid basis for conducting comparative research.

C. Research Methods and Procedures

This section will offer an in-depth explanation of the research methods and steps employed in this study. The research approach incorporates both quantitative and qualitative methods. The main objective of conducting quantitative research, which involves calculating the quantity and frequency of metaphorical expressions, is to observe the distribution of different metaphors in the two corpora. On the other hand, qualitative research is utilized to examine the application of metaphors in specific contexts, encompassing metaphor mapping, as well as exploring the resemblances and distinctions in metaphors between the two corpora. The research also attempts to propose reasons for variations in metaphor choice through qualitative research, considering these from the perspective of metaphor entailments.

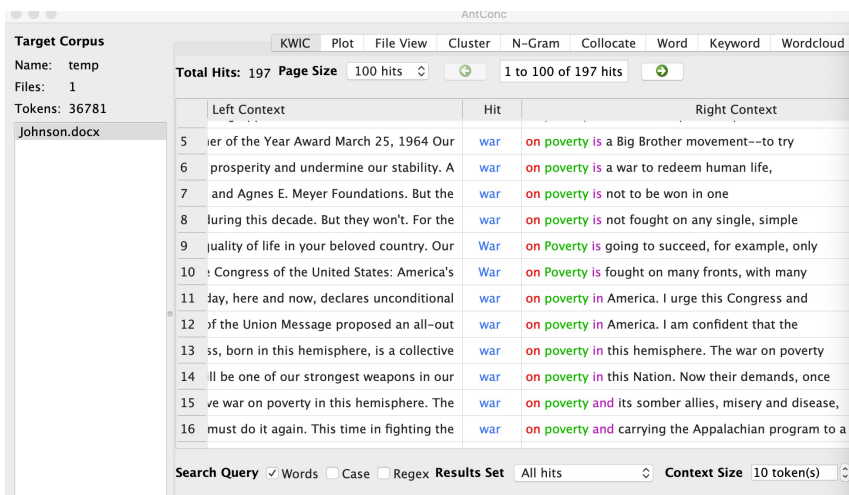
The study mainly includes the following steps:

Step 1: The research procedure begins with a thorough reading of the two types of discourse, during which candidate metaphorical expressions will be manually identified

and recorded.

Step 2: The candidate metaphorical expressions are located within the original texts and a preliminary count of their quantity and frequency are undertaken. For this purpose, I employ AntConc 4.2.0, a corpus analysis software developed by British scholar Laurence Anthony. Relying on the software’s functionalities, including corpus retrieval, word frequency analysis, and information filtering, I determine the positions of the candidate metaphorical expressions within the original discourse and conduct an initial calculation of their word forms and frequencies.

Taking Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse on alleviating poverty as an example: I first open the text with software, and then input the term ‘war’ into the search box. The software provides the following statistical results, highlighting all instances of the word ‘war’ and calculating its total frequency. As shown in Figure 3, the term ‘war’ appears 197 times in the text.



<Figure 3> The Frequency of Metaphorical Expression WAR in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Step 3: In this step, further determination of conceptual metaphors is made, and statistical results are compiled. Firstly, based on the results obtained from AntConc 4.2.0 software, I manually identify and exclude expressions unrelated to poverty

alleviation among the candidate metaphors, filtering out metaphors similar to the Example (10). Using the software-generated statistical results as a foundation, I integrate the manually verified data to compile comprehensive statistical information, including the types of metaphors, their frequency of occurrence, and their proportions in both corpora sets. This integrated analysis enhances the accuracy and credibility of the statistical data.

- (10) a. “We cannot fight a **war** in our cities.”¹⁾
 b. “Great questions of **war** and peace, of civil rights and education, the elimination of poverty at home and abroad, are the concern of millions who see no difference in this regard between their beliefs and their social obligations.”²⁾
 c. “We cannot fight a **war** on ignorance and illiteracy and disease.”³⁾

In the statistical results of metaphorical expressions, the word ‘war’ is found in the three sentences mentioned above. However, in (10a) and (10b), the word ‘war’ retains its literal meaning as a noun, referring to the concept of war itself, and does not convey a metaphorical meaning. In (10c), the word ‘war’ does exhibit a metaphorical usage, but it is not directly related to poverty or poverty alleviation. Therefore, during the manual verification and calculation of metaphor statistics, such sentences will be individually identified and excluded from the analysis.

Step 4: Each prominent metaphor appearing in the poverty alleviation discourse of the two national leaders is analyzed one by one. Under the guidance of cognitive metaphor theory, metaphorical mappings of these metaphors in specific contexts are explored.

Step 5: A comparative study is conducted. Compare the prominent metaphors

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- 1) Excerpt from the “Remarks Upon Signing Bill to Permit Increase in Interest Rates on Insured Home Loans.” May. 07, 1968.
 2) Excerpt from “Remarks to Members of the Southern Baptist Christian Leadership Seminar.” Mar. 25, 1964.
 3) Excerpt from “Remarks Upon Signing Bill to Permit Increase in Interest Rates on Insured Home Loans.” May. 07, 1968.

appearing in the poverty alleviation discourses of the two national leaders, both at a general-level and a specific-level, summarizing the commonalities and distinctions.

Investigate the metaphorical entailments of the related metaphors, and explain the reasons for the similarities and differences in metaphor usage between the two leaders from the perspective of metaphorical entailments.

In addition, there are two issues that need explanation:

Initially, for precise metaphor identification, the process follows the approach proposed by the Pragglejaz Group in 2007, and the specific procedures are delineated as follows:

- (1) Thoroughly understand the entire text or discourse.
- (2) Identify the lexical units present in the text or discourse.
- (3) a. For every lexical unit, determine its contextual meaning, specifically how it pertains to an entity, relationship, or attribute within the scenario described in the text.
- b. Ascertain whether each lexical unit possesses a foundational contemporary meaning. Foundational meanings are typically more tangible, linked to physical actions, more precise, and historically older.
- c. If the lexical unit exhibits a more fundamental contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one provided, determine whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be comprehended through comparison.
- (4) If so, label the lexical unit as metaphorical.

The basic meanings of the expressions are determined by consulting dictionaries. The 10th edition of the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, edited by A.S. Hornby, a British lexicographer, and educator, along with others, is referred to for English word meanings. In determining the basic meanings of Chinese words, I referred to the 7th edition of the Modern Chinese Dictionary, edited by the Lexicography Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Secondly, the method of critical metaphor analysis, as suggested by Charteris-Black (2004), is applied in the interpretation of the conceptual metaphors. This method melds insights from fields such as corpus linguistics, pragmatics, and cognitive linguistics to

analyze discourse. It strives to uncover potential subconscious intentions of those using language and bring to light any hidden ideological and political motivations. Therefore, based on identifying candidate metaphors, I combined pragmatic and cognitive factors to confirm and explain metaphors. By examining the metaphorical entailments from a pragmatic and cognitive perspective, I further explored how the metaphorical entailments assist national leaders in achieving their interpretative and persuasive goals and how they influence the leaders' choices in metaphor usage.

D. Summary

This chapter outlines the research methodologies and processes implemented in this dissertation. It offers insight into the origins of the corpus and the criteria for material selection, coupled with an introduction to the software tools utilized. The chapter delves deep into the procedure of manually pinpointing conceptual metaphors and elucidates the guiding tenets for their contextual interpretation. These components establish the groundwork for the composition of this dissertation.

IV. Metaphors in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse

The research methodology was detailed in the preceding chapter. This chapter centers on the distribution and mapping relationships of metaphors within President Xi Jinping's discussion of poverty alleviation. Following the method outlined in Chapter III, metaphorical expressions in his discourse are identified and statistically analyzed in detail, examining their types, word forms, frequencies of occurrence, and proportions.

Through manual identification and quantitative analysis, it is found that there are 87 unique metaphorical expressions in President Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, with a cumulative occurrence of 892 times. Among these metaphors, seven conceptual metaphors are particularly prominent, namely BUILDING metaphor, DISEASE metaphor, PLANT metaphor, CLOTHING metaphor, MACHINE metaphor, JOURNEY metaphor, and WAR metaphor, each appearing more than 15 times in the discourse.

Specifically, as shown in Table 4-1, The WAR metaphor dominates the discourse with 37 metaphorical expressions, appearing a total of 670 times, accounting for 75.1% of all metaphors. The JOURNEY metaphor has 19 metaphorical expressions, appearing 61 times, which accounts for 6.8% of the total and ranks second. The CLOTHING metaphor, with only one lexical unit, appears 45 times, accounting for 5.1% and ranking third. Together, these three metaphors constitute 87% of all identified metaphors. The frequencies of the BUILDING, DISEASE, MACHINE, and PLANT metaphors are relatively lower, with each metaphor accounting for less than 5% of the total.

Additionally, there are some metaphors such as THEATRE and CRAFT metaphors that occur less than five times in the discourse, accounting for a mere 1.7% of the total, and are thus categorized as OTHERS. The research results pertaining to the seven prominent metaphors will be the primary focus of this chapter.

Table 4-1. Metaphor in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Form	Frequency	Percentage
BUILDING	4	35	3.9%
DISEASE	9	32	3.6%
PLANT	6	15	1.7%
CLOTHING	1	45	5.1%
MACHINE	2	19	2.1%
JOURNEY	19	61	6.8%
WAR	37	670	75.1%
OTHERS	9	15	1.7%
Total	87	892	100%

Having understood the overall distribution of metaphors in the discourse delivered by President Xi Jinping regarding poverty alleviation, I will now delve into a detailed investigation of the metaphorical mappings of each type of metaphor, beginning with the BUILDING metaphor.

A. Metaphorical Mappings of BUILDING Metaphor

The domain of buildings is a highly significant source domain used for conceptualizing abstract and complex systems in our everyday experiences, representing various phenomena and events in discourses related to theory, society, careers, creativity, relationships, and more, as architectural structures (Kövecses, 2002; Goatly, 1997; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In President Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, there are a total of four metaphorical expressions, belonging to two sub-source domains: BUILDING PROCESS and FOUNDATION. Within the BUILDING PROCESS domain, there are three metaphorical expressions, appearing 29 times, while within the FOUNDATION domain, there are only one metaphorical expressions, appearing six times. The specific distribution is listed in the following table.

Table 4-2. Distribution of BUILDING Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
BUILDING PROCESS	jiancheng (built) 2 jianshe (build) 24 shigong (construction) 3	3	29	82.9%
FOUNDATION	jichu (foundation) 6	1	6	17.1%
Total		4	35	100%

1. BUILDING PROCESS and Metaphorical Expressions

In the source domain BUILDING PROCESS, there are three metaphorical expressions, namely *jiancheng* ‘built’, *jianshe* ‘build’, and *shigong* ‘construction.’ *Jiancheng* ‘built’ refers to the state of being already completed or established. It is commonly used to describe finished buildings or projects, emphasizing the achieved result. *Jianshe* ‘build’ refers to the process of construction, establishment, or development. It is typically used to describe ongoing or future construction work, emphasizing the actions and process. The conventional meaning of *shigong* ‘construction’ is to implement projects as per the design requirements, such as building houses, repairing bridges, laying roads, and digging canals. When used metaphorically, it corresponds to the implementation or execution of tasks in poverty alleviation.

Charteris-Black (2004) contends that the BUILDING metaphor frequently occurs in political discourse, where society is often conceptualized as a building, and the process of social development is interpreted as a building process. In consist with his view, in the discourse of President Xi Jinping’s corpus, the most frequently occurring building-related metaphorical expression is “to build a moderately prosperous society,”⁴⁾

4) A moderately prosperous society refers to the current goal of social construction in China, representing a stage where the national economy is relatively affluent, and the people’s lives are

which appeared 24 times.

- (11) a. *quanmian jianshe xiaokang shehui, yao shixian nongcun pinkun*
 completely **build** prosperous society, must achieve rural poverty
*renkou quanbu tuo pin.*⁵⁾
 populations completely alleviate poverty

“To comprehensively **build** a moderately prosperous society, it is necessary to achieve the complete alleviation of poverty among rural populations.”

- b. *fanshi you tuopin renwu de, douyao... zhuajin shigong.*⁶⁾
 any have poverty alleviation task COM should expedite **construction**

“For any tasks related to poverty alleviation, **construction** should be expedited.”

The metaphorical expression *jianshe* ‘build’ in sentence (11a) indicates the use of the BUILDING metaphor. *Jianshe xiaokang shehui* ‘to build a moderately prosperous society’ refers to the gradual development towards a well-off society. In this sentence, the concept of society is metaphorically conceptualized as a building, and the process of societal development is interpreted metaphorically as the construction process of a building. This demonstrates the conceptual metaphors THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY IS BUILDING PROCESS and A MODERATELY PROSPEROUS SOCIETY IS BUILDING.

In sentence (11b), the metaphorical expression *shigong* ‘construction’ does not refer to its literal meaning of building or construction work. Instead, it corresponds to the implementation or execution of a plan or task during efforts to alleviate poverty. This sentence implies two metaphors: POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS A BUILDING, and THE PROCESS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS BUILDING/CONSTRUCTION PROCESS.

comparatively well-off.

5) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development” November 27, 2015.

6) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Cooperation Between Eastern and Western Regions for Poverty Alleviation.” July 20, 2016.

2. FOUNDATION and Metaphorical Expressions

A building is a complex structure composed of multiple components such as a foundation, walls, roof, and more. Naturally, the foundation becomes a sub-source domain in the metaphor of BUILDING.

- (12) a. fupinkaifa shi qiyi duo nongcun renkou chenggong
 poverty alleviation let 700 million more rural population successfully
 tuo pin, wei quanmian jianchegn xiaokang shehui
 lift out of poverty for comprehensive construction prosperous society
 daxiale jianshi de **jichu**⁷⁾
 lay solid COM **foundation**

“Poverty alleviation efforts have successfully lifted over 700 million rural impoverished people out of poverty, **laying a solid foundation** for the comprehensive construction of a moderately prosperous society.”

I discussed the metaphor A MODERATELY PROSPEROUS SOCIETY IS A BUILDING in the previous example. In Example (12a), this metaphor reappears. Within this sentence, President Xi Jinping conceptualizes the construction of a moderately prosperous society as a building, metaphorically depicting the task of ‘lifting 700 million rural population out of poverty’ as the foundation of the building. This demonstrates the conceptual metaphor of POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE FOUNDATION. Foundations play an essential role in buildings, ensuring their long-term safety and stability. So, the metaphorical expressions related to foundations highlight the foundational role that poverty alleviation plays in societal development.

Summing up, two sub-source domains, namely BUILDING PROCESS and FOUNDATION, have been identified within his discourse on poverty alleviation, which correspond to two target domains: the DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY and POVERTY ALLEVIATION respectively. The specific mapping relationships are detailed in Table

7) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development” November 27, 2015.

4-3.

Table 4-3. Metaphorical Mappings of BUILDING in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
building	—————→	a moderately prosperous society
building	—————→	poverty alleviation
building process	—————→	the development of society
building process	—————→	the process of poverty alleviation
foundation	—————→	poverty alleviation

B. Metaphorical Mappings of DISEASE Metaphor

Diseases originate from shifts in the external environment or irregularities within the patient's internal systems. These changes can lead to disruptions in the body's electrolyte balance, disturbances in acid-base levels, and increased cellular deterioration and death, ultimately resulting in pathological changes within the patient's body. Such circumstances can cause discomfort or even lead to death, naturally evoking fear in people. Humans are well-acquainted with diseases, making the DISEASE metaphor a frequently used one. In political discourse, it is often employed to explain social issues.

Poverty is one of the common social issues, and in the context of discussing poverty, President Xi Jinping uses the DISEASE metaphor to portray it. In his poverty alleviation discourse, I have identified 32 metaphorical expressions related to diseases, including diseases, diagnosis, and treatment, with 9 word forms, such as *zheng* 'disease', *zhaobinggen* 'find the root causes of disease', *yaofang* 'prescription', as detailed in Table 4-4. These source domains correspond to different target domains, such as POVERTY, IDENTIFYING THE CAUSES OF POVERTY, and MEASURES OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION, ect.

Table 4-4. Distribution of DISEASE Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
DISEASE	zheng (disease/lump) 9 wanji (ailment) 1	2	10	31.3%
DIAGNOSE	zhaobinggen (find the root causes of disease) 4 bamai (pulse diagnose) 1	2	5	15.6%
TREATMENT	zhiliao (therapy) 3 zhi (cure) 3 yao (medicine) 5 yaofang (prescription) 2 shuxue (blood transfusion) 4	5	17	53.1%
Total		9	32	100%

1. DISEASE and Metaphorical Expressions

In this sub-domain, President Xi Jinping employs two metaphorical expressions: *zheng* ‘disease’ and *wanji* ‘ailment.’ *Wanji* ‘ailment’ refers to a longstanding and hard-to-cure disease, while the *zheng* ‘disease’ means a disease or illness in Chinese characters.

(13) a. pinkun shi renlei shehui de **wanji**.⁸⁾

poverty is human society COM **ailment**

“Poverty is a stubborn **ailment** in human society.”

b. fu pin yao zhaozhun zhengjie **bazhunmai**

alleviate poverty must find lump **take the pulse** well

8) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

“In poverty alleviation, we must accurately **diagnose the pulse** and **find the lump.**”

In sentence (13a), poverty is metaphorically interpreted as a stubborn ailment, a disease that’s hard to cure or lingers for an extended period. Likewise, poverty has existed for thousands of years and remains prevalent even today. The two share a strong similarity, laying the foundation for the conceptual metaphor POVERTY IS DISEASE.

2. DIAGNOSE and Metaphorical Expressions

It is a general understanding that when one falls ill, treatment is required, and the first step to treatment involves the identification of the cause of the disease. Hence, diagnosis is a significant sub-source domain within the DISEASE metaphor. In this sub-domain, President Xi Jinping selects *bamai* ‘pulse diagnosis’ and *zhaobinggen* ‘find the root cause of the disease.’ Traditional Chinese medicine methods, such as *bamai* ‘pulse diagnosis’, are employed to pinpoint the reasons for the disease and develop *yaofang* ‘prescription’, prescribing appropriate remedies to achieve a cure. *Zhaobinggen* means ‘to find the root cause of the disease.’ According to the mapping mechanism of conceptual metaphors, these constituent elements are mapped onto POVERTY ALLEVIATION, the target domain. In such a context of poverty alleviation, it’s crucial to utilize various methods and approaches to identify the fundamental factors contributing to poverty. Subsequently, tailored and effective measures should be formulated to assist impoverished populations in escaping from poverty. Therefore, sentence (13b) manifests the conceptual metaphor IDENTIFYING THE REASON OF POVERTY IS FINDING THE CAUSE OF DISEASE.

3. TREATMENT and Metaphorical Expressions

In the source domain TREATMENT, President Xi Jinping selects five metaphorical

expressions, including *zhiliao* ‘therapy’, *zhi* ‘cure’, *yao* ‘medicine’, *yaofang* ‘prescription’, and *shuxue* ‘blood transfusion’. When treating an illness, one needs to prescribe medicine based on the diagnosis. For common illnesses, taking medicine is sufficient, but for more difficult diseases, other treatment methods such as *zhiliao* ‘therapy’ and *shuxue* ‘blood transfusion’ may be necessary. These relate to formulating plans to alleviate poverty based on the factors contributing to poverty and adopting diverse approaches to address poverty in accordance with the specific causes.

What needs to be explained here is *shuxue* ‘blood transfusion’, which is a novel term that has emerged in alleviate poverty, always referred to as *shuxueshi fupin* ‘blood transfusion-style poverty alleviation.’ President Xi Jinping frequently uses this metaphorical expression to describe an approach where impoverished regions heavily rely on external aid and financial support. This metaphor likens poverty alleviation to giving blood transfusions to impoverished areas, similar to how patients receive blood transfusions to sustain their vital signs during treatment.

Table 4-5 lists two conceptual metaphors that can be observed based on the above examples and analysis: POVERTY IS DISEASE, and POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS MEDICAL TREATMENT.

Table 4-5. Metaphorical Mappings of DISEASE in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
disease	—————▶	poverty
medical treatment	—————▶	poverty alleviation
root cause of disease	—————▶	reason of poverty
pulse diagnosis	—————▶	finding causes of poverty
prescription	—————▶	measures in poverty alleviation
targeted therapy	—————▶	targeted poverty alleviation
blood transfusion	—————▶	provide resources to the poor
recovery	—————▶	successful poverty alleviation

C. Metaphorical Mappings of PLANT Metaphor

Plants are a major category in the biological kingdom, typically consisting of organs such as seeds, roots, stems, branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits. Sun and Zhang (2018) posit that, as one of the most familiar forms of life and points of reference for humans, numerous characteristics and habits of plants bear similarities to those of humans. Thus, correspondences are subconsciously established between plant and human traits. Furthermore, given China’s deep agricultural culture, there are many metaphorical expressions related to plants in the Chinese. In President Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, there are six metaphorical expressions related to plants, such as *gen* ‘roots’, *shuoguo* ‘abundant fruits’, and *diguan* ‘drip irrigation’, which respectively belong to the sub-source domains of ROOT, FRUIT, and CULTIVATION, and have occurred a total of 15 times, as depicted in the table below.

Table 4-6. Distribution of PLANT Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
ROOT	qionggen (poverty root) 2 shenggen (take root) 2	2	4	26.7%
FRUIT	shuoguo (abundant fruit) 1	1	4	26.7%
CULTIVATION	diguan (drip irrigation) 3 manguan (flood irrigation)3 yamiaozhuzhang (overcultivate) 1	3	7	46.6%
Total		6	15	100%

In the poverty alleviation discourse of President Xi Jinping, while metaphorical expressions related to plants are not abundant, they conceptualize different target domains. These metaphors provide vivid and expressive comparisons for poverty

alleviation work, helping people to better understand and appreciate the significance and approaches to poverty alleviation. Despite their limited number, these plant-related metaphors play a crucial role in conveying the message effectively. I will begin my discussion with the ROOT metaphor.

1. ROOT and Metaphorical Expressions

There are two metaphorical expressions related to the roots of plants: *qionggen* ‘poverty root’ and *shenggen* ‘take root.’ Each of these 2 metaphorical expressions appears twice, conceptualizing the target domains POVERTY and POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICY, respectively.

- (14) a. xibu diqu yao chedi badio **qionggen**.⁹⁾
 west region should completely uproot **poverty root**
 “The western regions should completely **uproot** the poverty.”

In (14a), the phrase *badio qionggen* ‘uproot the poverty’ metaphorically describes the complete resolution of poverty, akin to uprooting a plant to prevent its regrowth. From this linguistic expression, I identify the metaphors POVERTY IS PLANT, THE CAUSE OF POVERTY IS THE ROOT OF PLANT, and POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS UPROOTING THE PLANTS.

- (15) a. cong dangdi shiji chufa, tuidong gexiang zhengce luodishenggen.¹⁰⁾
 from local reality starting promote various policy **take root**
 “Consider the local realities and promote the implementation of various poverty alleviation policies to **take root**.”

Shenggen ‘take root’ is a metaphorical expression that depicts the conscientious

9) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Cooperation Between Eastern and Western Regions on Poverty Alleviation”, July 20, 2016.

10) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Targeted Poverty Elimination.” February 12, 2018.

implementation of policies according to specific circumstances to a plant establishing roots. In this sentence, the conceptual metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICY IS PLANT can be identified.

2. FRUIT and Metaphorical Expressions

In Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, there is only one metaphorical expression related to the fruit of a plant, which appears twice. It hints at the conceptual metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS PLANT.

- (16) a. tuopingongjian, jiechule wuzhide leilei **shuoguo**, ye jiechule jingshende poverty alleviation yielded material **bountiful fruits**, too yield spiritual leilei **shuoguo**.¹¹⁾

abundant fruits

“The poverty alleviation have yielded **abundant** material **fruits**, as well as **abundant** spiritual **fruits**.”

The expression *jiechu shuoguo* ‘yielded bountiful fruits’ in sentence (16a) metaphorically means the abundant achievements in poverty alleviation, similar to a plant bearing fruits. Here, the conceptual metaphors POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS PLANT, and THE ACHIEVEMENTS OBTAINED IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION ARE THE FRUITS OF PLANTS are manifested.

3. CULTIVATION and Metaphorical Expressions

In order to enhance the growth of plants, cultivation work is indispensable. I found three metaphorical expressions related to cultivation in President Xi Jinping's discourse, with seven occurrences, as shown in Table 4-6.

11) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

Terms like *diguan* ‘drip irrigation’ and *manguan* ‘flood irrigation’ are used to describe different methods of watering plants. *Diguan* ‘drip irrigation’ involves the delivery of water directly to plant roots, one drop at a time, through a network of tubes and emitters. *Manguan* ‘flood irrigation’ is a method of watering plants by flooding the entire field or area with water. These two metaphorical expressions can be used together in a sentence, portraying different forms of assistance provided to impoverished regions as drip irrigation and flood irrigation respectively. For example:

(17) a. bugao dashui **manguan**, jingzhun **diguan**, fupin fu dao
not **flood irrigaton**, precise **drip irrigation** alleviation poverty to
genshang.¹²⁾

roots.

“Instead of **flood irrigation**, we need to implement precise **drip irrigation**, providing poverty alleviation down to the roots.”

b. tuopin zhaimao yao fangzhi **yamiao zhuzhang**.¹³⁾

poverty alleviation must prevent **pulling up sprouts to help them grow**

“We must prevent impetuosity in poverty alleviation, akin to the detrimental act of **pulling up sprouts to help them grow**.”

In Example (17a), there is a conceptual metaphor that POVERTY ALLEVIATION METHODS ARE CULTIVATION METHODS. *Manguan* ‘flood irrigation’ corresponds to adopting general and imprecise poverty alleviation methods, while *diguan* ‘drip irrigation’ corresponds to precise and targeted poverty alleviation methods.

The metaphor to be discussed finally in this part is *bamiao zhuzhang* ‘pulling up the seedlings to help them grow’, a Chinese idiom that describes an erroneous cultivation method. Its original meaning is to find the growth of seedlings too slow, so one pulls them up one by one to make them taller, but the result is that all the seedlings wither. In sentence (17b), this expression implies a metaphor that WRONG POVERTY ALLEVIATION METHODS ARE WRONG CULTIVATION METHODS.

12) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Targeted Poverty Elimination”, February 12, 2018.

13) Excerpt from the “Remarks During an Inspection Visit to Chongqing.” January 4, 2016.

To summarize, President Xi Jinping has employed plant metaphors to create several relatively abstract target domains. The correspondences of constituent elements between PLANT and POVERTY are depicted in Table 4-7.

Table 4-7. Metaphorical Mappings of PLANT in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
plant	—————→	poverty
plant	—————→	poverty alleviation
uprooting of plants	—————→	poverty alleviation
fruits of plants	—————→	achievements in poverty alleviation
cultivation methods	—————→	poverty alleviation methods

D. Metaphorical Mappings of CLOTHING Metaphor

In human life, clothing is a critically important tool for survival. It serves to protect our bodies, keep us warm, maintain body temperature balance, and also serves a decorative function. Consequently, CLOTHING metaphors are quite common in Chinese. In President Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, there is a prominent CLOTHING metaphor that utilizes *mao/maozi* 'hat' as the source domain. This metaphorical expression appears a total of 45 times, in two forms, *mao* and *maozi*, which are both translated into 'hat.'

Table 4-8. Distribution of CLOTHING Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse				
Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
HAT	mao/ maozi (hat) 45	2	45	100%

1. HAT and Metaphorical Expressions

In his discourse, President Xi metaphorically portrays poverty as *maozi* ‘a hat,’ and being in poverty is conceptualized as *daimaozi* ‘wearing the hat,’ while eradicating poverty as *zhaimaozi* ‘removing the hat.’ In sentence (18a), the conceptual metaphors POVERTY IS HAT, BEING IN POVERTY IS WEARING HAT, POVERTY ERADICATION IS REMOVING HAT are manifested.

(18) a. dao 2020 nian, quebao pinkun xian quanbu tuo pin
 By 2020 year, ensure impoverished counties all alleviate poverty
 zhai **mao**.¹⁴⁾
 remove **hat**

“By 2020, ensure that all impoverished counties are lifted out of poverty and have **removed the hat** of poverty.”

Table 4-9. Metaphorical Mappings of CLOTHING in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
hat	→	poverty
removing hat	→	poverty alleviation
wearing hat	→	in poverty

E. Metaphorical Mappings of MACHINE Metaphor

“Machine metaphors are an essential part of modern language and the modern way of thinking” (Glebkin, 2013, p. 145). The MACHINE metaphor is also quite common, with frequently encountered concept metaphors such as “WORLD IS MACHINE, SOCIETY IS MACHINE, and BODY IS A MACHINE” (Glebkin, 2013, p. 148). In

14) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development” November 27, 2015.

the discourse on poverty alleviation delivered by President Xi Jinping, the metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS MACHINE is working very well.

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
POWER	dongli (power) 17	1	17	89.5%
OPERATION	yunzhuan (operate) 1	1	2	10.5%
Total		2	19	100%

As shown in Table 4-10, in his discourse, there are two metaphorical expressions, namely *dongli* ‘power’ and *yunzhuan* ‘operation’, with *dongli* ‘power’ appearing more frequently, a total of 17 times, and *yunzhuan* ‘operation’ appearing twice.

1. POWER and Metaphorical Expressions

In this sub-domain, the metaphorical expression *dongli* ‘power’ appeared 17 times, accounting for 89.5% of the total. Power refers to the energy or force required for a machine to operate, generate motion, or complete specific tasks, constituting a crucial element for the normal functioning and operation of machines. In sentence (19a), President Xi Jinping metaphorically interprets poverty alleviation as a machine, where the financial support from the government is considered as the power driving the machine’s motion, activating the conceptual metaphors POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS MACHINE, and THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT IS THE POWER OF MACHINE, highlighting the significant role of the government.

- (19) a. jiaqiang caizheng zhichi, buduan wei fupingongzuo jiaqiang
 enhance financial support continuously for poverty alleviation infuse
dongli, baozheng qi zhengchang yunzhuan.¹⁵⁾

power maintain its normal operation

“Enhance financial support, continuously infuse **power** into poverty alleviation, and maintain its smooth operation.”

b. zeren dao ren, quebao fupin gongzuo

responsibilities assign individual ensure poverty alleviation efforts

xietiao **yunzhuan**, tongshi fali.¹⁶⁾

coordinated **operation** collaborative effort

“Taking responsibility personally, ensuring the smooth **operation** of poverty alleviation work.”

2. OPERATION and Metaphorical Expressions

In sentence (19b), the smooth progress of poverty alleviation is metaphorically describe as the normal operation of a machine. Every component of a machine serves its own function, and the machine can only operate smoothly when all parts are functioning properly. This corresponds to poverty alleviation where everyone is required to diligently fulfill their respective tasks.

In a word, three metaphors can be identified here: POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS MACHINE, THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT IS THE POWER OF MACHINE, and THE PROGRESS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS OPERATION OF MACHINE.

Table 4-11. Metaphorical Mappings of MACHINE in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
machine	—————▶	poverty alleviation
power	—————▶	financial support
operation of machine	—————▶	progress of poverty alleviation

15) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

16) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development” November 27, 2015.

F. Metaphorical Mappings of JOURNEY Metaphor

For a considerable duration, researchers in the domain of cognitive linguistics have been examining the JOURNEY metaphor. As early as 1980, Lakoff and Johnson introduced the conceptual metaphor of LOVE IS A JOURNEY, which is frequently employed to depict a romantic relationship between individuals, as seen in expressions like “It’s been a long bumpy road.”¹⁷⁾ or “Look how far we’ve come.”¹⁸⁾ Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggested that, following the principles of conceptual metaphor theory, JOURNEY metaphors can be categorized as structural metaphors. These metaphors facilitate the construction of one concept based on another. These structural metaphors are deeply rooted in our experiences and imply that one concept is metaphorically organized in relation to another (Hu, 2011). In the conceptual metaphor “LIFE IS A JOURNEY” proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989), a journey is seen as a purposeful activity involving the movement from a starting point to a finishing point in physical space. Lakoff (1993) redefined the JOURNEY metaphor as purposeful activity traveling along a path toward a destination. Hence, the employment of the verb emphasizes the action, while the use of destination underscores the objective.

Based on the findings from aforementioned research, we can conclude that JOURNEY metaphors are composed of destination, path, movement, obstacle, and other constituent elements. They can depict the progress of life, love, education, and other abstract matters, including poverty alleviation. The JOURNEY metaphor, deeply embedded in people’s conceptual frameworks, facilitates the comprehension of poverty alleviation. In the discourse of the two leaders, numerous metaphorical expressions are utilized to compare poverty alleviation to a journey from various perspectives. These expressions elucidate the objectives and progression of poverty alleviation, evoke aspirations for a better life, and inspire active participation in this career.

As indicated in Table 4-12, the JOURNEY metaphor is employed in President Xi

17) Excerpt from Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 333.

18) Excerpt from “Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 333.

Jinping’s discourse on poverty alleviation, constituting a frequency of 6.8%. PATH metaphors emerge as the most dominant, comprising 55.7% of all metaphors, followed by MOVEMENT metaphors, which account for 31.2% of the overall metaphors. OBSTACLE metaphors take the third spot in terms of frequency, encompassing three expressions and making up 8.2% of the metaphorical representations. GUIDE metaphors, represented by a single term, appear three times, constituting 4.9% of the total metaphors employed.

Table 4-12. Distribution of JOURNEY Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
PATH	7	34	55.7%
OBSTACLE	2	5	8.2%
GUIDE	1	3	4.9%
MOVEMENT	9	19	31.2%
Total	19	61	100%

In the upcoming paragraphs, I will explore the metaphorical mappings of JOURNEY metaphor in Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse by examining specific examples.

1. PATH and Metaphorical Expressions

A path can be defined as a directed trajectory or route that an object follows as it moves through space (Zwarts, 2005). It encompasses a starting point, a destination, and various locations that connect the starting and finishing points (Johnson, 1987). According to Lakoff (1993), selecting the means to reach a goal is akin to navigating a route in a journey. In Chinese, the term *daolu* ‘path’ is frequently used metaphorically to symbolize the direction of development, the trajectory of progress, and the means of achieving goals.

During the journey, a path is indispensable, thus also serving as a productive source domain. In President Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, there are seven metaphorical expressions related to path, which appear a combined total of 34 times. Apart from words directly signifying path, such as *daolu* ‘path’, *lu/ luzi* ‘path’, or *tujing* ‘path’ there are also terms denoting specific positions on the path, like *chufadian* ‘starting point’ and *lichengbei* ‘milestone.’ The specific details have been concluded in the table below.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
daolu (path)	10	34
luzi (path)	7	
lu (path)	6	
tujing (path)	5	
chufadian (starting point)	3	
hangxiang (course)	1	
lichengbei (milestone)	2	

Chinese expressions such as *daolu* ‘path’, *lu/ luzi* ‘path’, or *tujing* ‘path’ recurrently turn up in President Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse. These expressions have the same meaning as the English words path/ road. They often appear in phrases such as *shehuizhuyi daolu* ‘path of socialism’, *gongtong fuyu zhilu* ‘road to common prosperity for all’ and *quanmian jiancheng xiaokang lu* ‘road to a moderately prosperous society.’ They are frequently used in conjunction with verbs such as *zou* ‘go along’ or *jianchi* ‘adhere to,’ as shown in Example (20):

- (20) a. **zou** zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi **daolu** jiuuyiding nenggou
walk along Chinese characteristics socialism **path** certainly can
 bancheng gengduo xiang tuo pin zheyang de dashi nanshi.¹⁹⁾

finish more like eradicate poverty such COM affairs challenges
 “As long as we uphold the leadership of the CPC and **adhere to the path** of socialism with Chinese characteristics, we will be able to conquer more important challenges like poverty alleviation and keep advancing from victory to victory.”

- b. Jiandingbuyi **zou** gongtong fuyu **daolu**.²⁰⁾
 unswervingly **walk along** common prosperity **path**

“We should steadfastly **walk along the road** of common prosperity.”

A traveler can choose different paths during a journey, and the choice of paths determines whether he can reach his destination and how fast he arrives at it. So, path is often mapped onto the development model of a country (Yang & Fu, 2018). China is a socialist country, and socialism is its development model. Achieving socialist modernization is the country’s development goal, including the eradication of poverty. The path to common prosperity is one of the strategies, aiming to eradicate poverty and attain shared prosperity. Thus, from sentences (20a) and (20b), we can identify the metaphor THE MEANS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE PATH TO THE DESTINATION. In Example (20a), the path corresponds to the development model characterized by socialism with Chinese characteristics. While in Example (20b), paths correspond to poverty alleviation policies.

Path is for the displacement from a starting point to a finishing point. Typical human movement involves advancing from an initial point or origin, following a path, toward a goal or destination (Forceville, 2011). In President Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, the metaphorical expression *chufadian* is employed. It shares a similar meaning with the English term ‘starting point,’ both indicating the position of the traveler (Li & Zhuge, 2022), implying the beginning of the journey, and also hinting at the choice of the path ahead. The starting point of a path corresponds to the

19) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

20) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Press Conference of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 19th CPC Central Committee.” October 25, 2017.

beginning stage of poverty alleviation. The metaphorical mapping THE STARTING POINT OF WORK IS STARTING POINT OF JOURNEY is linguistically manifested in Example (21).

- (21) Rang renmin guoshang hao rizi, shi yiqie gongzuo de **chufadian**.²¹⁾
 secure people have better life is all work COM **starting point**
 “To secure a better life for our people, is the **starting point** of all our work.”

Additionally, during the journey, we should choose the path or even replan a new route. Getting lost or taking wrong paths corresponds to deviations and mistakes during poverty alleviation. The Chinese expressions *xin luzi* ‘new paths’, *dui luzi* ‘right paths’ and *hao luzi* ‘good paths’ mentioned by President Xi Jinping correspond to new means or effective methods for resolving problems.

2. OBSTACLE and Metaphorical Expressions

Encountering obstacles that hinder smooth progress during a journey due to natural or human-made factors is quite common. Therefore, people often utilize the OBSTACLE metaphor to comprehend the challenges and difficulties associated with abstract concepts.

Table 4-14. OBSTACLE Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
shan/gaoshan (mountain)	4	5
jingji (brambles and thorns)	1	

As shown in Table 4-14, in President Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, two

21) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

metaphorical expressions related to obstacles are identified: *gaoshan* ‘mountain’, representing terrain obstacles and *jingji* ‘brambles and thorns’, potentially caused by natural or human factors. The two expressions correspond to the hardships in the target domain POVERTY ALLEVIATION, for example:

(22) a. rang wo guo wuqian duo wan pinkun renkou
 let our country 5000 more 10 thousand poverty people
 quanbu tuo pin, shi women tuo pin lushang bixu fanyue
 all eliminate poverty is we eliminate poverty journey must climb
 de zuihou yizuo **gaoshan**.²²⁾
 COM last a **mountain**

“On the path of poverty alleviation, there remains one final **mountain** to conquer, assisting the remaining 50 million impoverished individuals in China to break free from the constraints of poverty.”

b. banianlai dang he renmin **pijingzhanji**, qude
 over eight years Party and people **break through brambles and thorns** achieve
 tuopin gongzuo de jieduanxing chengguo.²³⁾
 poverty alleviation COM phases results

“Over the past eight years, the Party and the people **breaking through brambles and thorns** (have braved all difficulties), achieving interim achievements in poverty alleviation work.”

In sentence (22a) *gaoshan* ‘mountain’ symbolizes the challenges and obstacles that travelers encounter during their journey. These challenges can be mapped onto the difficulties faced in the process of poverty alleviation. Just as travelers must overcome mountains or danger to reach their destination, overcoming these obstacles is crucial for successfully achieving poverty alleviation goals. In sentence (22b) *pijing zhanji*

22) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Cooperation Between Eastern and Western Regions for Poverty Alleviation.” July 20, 2016.

23) Excerpt from the “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

‘breaking through brambles and thorns’ is a Chinese idiom that describes clearing thorny obstacles on the journey and continuing to move forward. This idiom conveys a JOURNEY metaphor, where “Road Full of Thorns” and “Poverty Alleviation” are the source and target domains, respectively. *Jingji* ‘brambles and thorns’ corresponds to those difficulties in poverty alleviation, and the act of clearing thorns on the road corresponds to overcoming difficulties in the work. In a word, the aforementioned sentences in (22) manifest the metaphor: THE DIFFICULTY IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS OBSTACLE IN JOURNEY. Meanwhile, the metaphors of *gaoshan*, ‘mountains’, and *jingji* ‘brambles and thorns’, underscore the monumental challenges faced by China’s poverty alleviation. President Xi Jinping employs these metaphors as a means to impress upon the public the reality that the road to poverty alleviation is strewn with considerable difficulties.

3. GUIDE and Metaphorical Expressions

Throughout the journey, especially in complex route situations, travelers may encounter unfamiliar road conditions. In order to reach their destination smoothly, people often seek the help of a guide, or use maps and navigation tools to choose the correct path, overcome obstacles along the way, and arrive at their destination according to the planned schedule. The same applies to poverty alleviation. In Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, there is one metaphorical expression, *luxiantu* ‘map,’ which appears three times.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
luxiantu (map)	1	3

A map is a graphical representation of a land or sea region, displaying physical features such as terrain, roads, rivers, and more. In this sentence, it metaphorically

represents the planning and guiding principles for poverty alleviation, providing guidance for the work, just as a map can help people plan routes and provide directions during a journey. Sentence (23a) manifests two metaphors: POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS JOURNEY, and WORK PLAN IS GUIDE.

- (23) a. yao mingque **luxiantu**, wei zuohao sannian de tuopin gongzuo
to establish **map** for accomplish three-year COM poverty alleviation
tigong daoxiang.²⁴⁾
provide guidance
“To establish a clear **map** and provide guidance for the three-year poverty
alleviation task.”

4. MOVEMENT and Metaphorical Expressions

The concept of MOVEMENT in a journey, is related to changes in position. This metaphor can be applied to describe the changes in abstract things, portraying them as a process from one state or position to another. By associating abstract concepts with the movement experienced during a journey, we can vividly express the development, progress, and evolution of things. Therefore, it can be used to conceptualize the progress in poverty alleviation work.

As shown in Table 4-16, through repeated identification and understanding within the context, nine metaphorical expressions related to movement emerge in the discourse concerning poverty alleviation by President Xi Jinping. These expressions occurred 19 times and can be further categorized into forward movement, and speed of movement. Among them, the metaphorical expressions categorized under forward movement had the highest frequency, with a total of seven instances occurring 14 times, such as, *qianjin* ‘move forward’, *qianxing* ‘move torward’, and *xiangqian* ‘move forward.’ The other two metaphorical expressions, *jiakuai* ‘accelerate’ and *luohou* ‘lag behind’, appeared a total of five times, indicating the speed of movement.

24) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Targeted Poverty Elimination.” February 12, 2018.

**Table 4-16. MOVEMENT Metaphorical Expressions
in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse**

Movement	Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
forward movement	qianjin (move forward) 2 qianxing (move forward) 3 xiangqian (advance) 2 ganshang (catch up with) 2 xiayibu (next step) 2 majin (forge ahead) 2 kuayue (breakthrough) 1	14	19
speed of movement	jiakuai (accelerate) 3 diaodui (lag behind) 2	5	

In the subsequent analysis, we will scrutinize the metaphorical mappings of these metaphorical expressions, supplemented by concrete examples.

The three words *qianjin* ‘move forward’, *qianxing* ‘move forward’, and *xiangqian* ‘advance’ share a certain similarity in meaning, as they all express the idea of moving or progressing towards a certain direction or goal. The physical movement forward corresponds to the progress of poverty alleviation, as illustrated in Example (25).

(25) a. chaozhe gongtong fuyu de mubiao wenbu **qianxing**.²⁵⁾

toward common prosperitiy goal **steadily move**

“**Moving** steadily **forwards** the goal of common prosperity.”

b. zai tuopin lushang, women yao wanzhongyixin jiayougan

on poverty alleviation road, we must unite work hard

yueshi jiannan yue **xiangqian**.²⁶⁾

more tougher more **advance**

25) Excerpt from “President Xi Jinping’s New Year Message 2021.” Jan. 4, 2021.

26) Excerpt from the “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

“On the road to poverty alleviation... we must unite and work hard together, the tougher the challenges, the more we **advance**.”

During the journey, we will continue to move forward along the path, gradually approaching our destination. Similarly, in poverty alleviation, under the right leadership, we persistently strive and gradually approach the goal of poverty reduction, just as we make progress during a journey. Therefore, in Example (25), the terms *qianjin* ‘move forward,’ *xiangqian* ‘advance’ all express the idea of progressing toward a certain goal. In context, they convey the notion of progressing towards the goals of poverty alleviation, common prosperity. The metaphorical expressions interpret poverty alleviation as a physical forward motion, manifesting the conceptual metaphor MAKING PROGRESS IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FORWARD MOVEMENT IN JOURNEY.

(26) a. rang dishouru renkou **jiaku** bufa zai xiandaihua jinchengzhong
 let low-income people accelerate pace in modernization process
bu diaodui ganshanglai.²⁷⁾
not fall-behind catch up

“We should encourage the population in low-income regions to **accelerate their pace** and ensure that they **do not fall behind** in the **process** of modernization, enabling them to **catch up**.”

Moreover, in Example (26a), poor people in underdeveloped areas are compared to travelers, and modernization is treated as a path. To prevent them from falling behind on the path of modernization, poor people in underdeveloped areas need to speed up. The metaphor here is THE WORKING SPEED IS THE SPEED DURING A JOURNEY.

In this section, I analyze discourse by President Xi Jinping, specifically focusing on the use of JOURNEY metaphors. It can be observed that President Xi Jinping employs

27) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

essential elements of a journey, such as path, movement, obstacle, and guide as source domains, interpreting poverty alleviation from various aspects. Through the analysis of statistical data and an in-depth examination of metaphorical expressions, the following metaphorical mappings are identified, as presented in the table below:

**Table 4-17. Metaphorical Mappings of JOURNEY
in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse**

Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
journey	—————→	poverty alleviation
path	—————→	means of poverty alleviation
obstacle	—————→	difficulties in poverty alleviation
guide	—————→	guide in poverty alleviation
forward movement	—————→	progress in poverty alleviation
speed of movement	—————→	working speed

It is evident that the JOURNEY metaphor plays a significant role in President Xi Jinping's speeches and contributes to the construction of his discourse on poverty alleviation. In his discourse, poverty alleviation is framed as a journey, culminating in the eradication of poverty and the realization of shared prosperity. Key phrases such as *tuopinzhilu* 'the path of poverty alleviation' and *shehuizhuyidaolu* 'the path of socialism' are presented as the routes to be followed on this journey. The Chinese people are required to overcome difficulties, make continuous progress on the predetermined path under the guidance of policies, and ultimately reach the destination of common prosperity. By using the JOURNEY metaphor, President Xi Jinping effectively describes the comprehensive process of poverty alleviation and inspires the Chinese people to persist in the right path, overcome obstacles, and continue advancing in it.

G. Metaphorical Mappings of WAR Metaphor

Within Xi Jinping’s discourse, the WAR metaphor is particularly prominent. The aim here is to comprehensively explore how he employs the WAR metaphor to explain the work of poverty alleviation.

The identified metaphorical expressions were categorized and quantified based on the constituent elements of WAR, including warfare, warfare process, opponents, battlefield, weapons, strategy, and war outcomes. Table 4-18 shows the distribution of WAR metaphorical expressions in President Xi Jinping’s discourse.

Table 4-18. Distribution of WAR Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse			
Source Domain	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
WARFARE	6	19	2.8%
WARFARE PROCESS	14	170	25.3%
OPPONENT	2	5	0.7%
BATTLEFIELD	4	22	3.3%
STRATEGY	3	391	58.4%
WEAPON	3	3	0.4%
WAR OUTCOME	5	60	9.0%
Total	37	670	100%

The findings reveal a substantial frequency of 670 instances where this metaphor is employed. Notably, the STRATEGY metaphors are the most frequently used, specifically observed 391 times, accounting for 58.4% of the total. Following the STRATEGY metaphors, WARFARE PROCESS metaphors have a total of 170 occurrences, accounting for 25.3%. In third place are the WAR OUTCOME metaphors, accounting for 9.0%. BATTLEFIELD and WARFARE metaphors account for 3.3% and 2.8% respectively. OPPONENT and WEAPON metaphors are both relatively infrequent, with less than 1% occurrence each.

As mentioned before, metaphor serves as the mechanism through which the human mind conceptualizes an abstract notion by relating it to a tangible counterpart. Or, in other words, people use relatively familiar things to comprehend and structure an abstract and difficult concept. As shown in Example (27), President Xi Jinping compares addressing poverty to a battle, which manifests the conceptual metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS BATTLE.

- (27) a. Tuo pin benlai jiushi yichang **ying zhang**.²⁸⁾
 Eradicate poverty essentially is a **tough battle**
 “Poverty eradication has always been a **tough battle**.”
- b. jianjue daying tuopin zhechang **zhang**.²⁹⁾
 win poverty eradication this **battle**
 “We must win the **battle** against poverty.”

Addressing poverty involves political and economic actions, while battle entails armed conflicts; these two aspects belong to distinct conceptual domains, each with its unique characteristics. The mapping and correlation between the domains of WAR and POVERTY ALLEVIATION are grounded in individual experiences. Drawing upon our knowledge, we understand that wars often result in hunger, displacement, loss of life, and widespread unhappiness among people. The objective of war is to defeat enemies and safeguard oneself or one’s territory, a parallel that holds true for poverty alleviation. Poverty, seen as the adversary, gives rise to hunger, conflict, and even mortality. Overcoming poverty becomes imperative to ensure the well-being and safety of those affected. It is evident that both poverty and war have the potential to devastate lives. By defeating poverty, we not only protect the impoverished but also strive for a better life for all, akin to safeguarding ourselves by vanquishing enemies in war. In the subsequent section, we will delve into the mappings between the two

28) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

29) Excerpt from “Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.” October 18, 2017.

domains, WAR and POVERTY ALLEVIATION, and explore their roles in greater detail.

1. WARFARE and Metaphorical Expressions

The discussion begins with an examination of metaphorical expressions pertaining to warfare. The research identified six metaphorical expressions related to warfare, as shown in Table 4-19. They are *yingzhang* ‘tough battle’, *juezhan/ shouguanzhan* ‘final battle’, *zonggong* ‘final assault’ and *zhandou/ zhanzheng* ‘battle.’

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
yingzhang (tough battle)	8	19
juezhan (final battle)	4	
shouguanzhan (final battle)	1	
zonggong (final assault)	3	
zhandou (battle)	2	
zhanzheng (battle)	1	

Among these metaphorical expressions, *yingzhang* ‘tough battle’ appears the most frequently, with a total of eight occurrences. The Chinese character *zhang* signifies battle, and the word *yingzhang* ‘tough battle’ refers to a battle in which the strengths of both sides are equal, and a great cost must be paid to win³⁰). This metaphorical expression has recurrently emerged in Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, highlighting the significant challenges of poverty alleviation. Sentence (28) is a

30) <http://xh.5156edu.com/html5/44484.html>

linguistic manifestation of the metaphorical mapping POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS TOUGH BATTLE.

- (28) a. dao 2020 nian xianxing biao zhun xia de nongcun pinkun renkou
 by 2020 year current standard under COM country poverty people
 quanbu tuo pin, zhe shi yichang **ying zhang**.³¹⁾
 all eliminate poverty, this is a **tough battle**
 “By 2020, all rural poor people under the current standard will be lifted out of poverty, which is a **tough battle**.”

In Xi Jinping’s discourse, the expression *zhan* ‘battle’ also appears frequently, carrying significant meaning in the Chinese language as both a verb and a noun. As a verb, it signifies engaging in combat or waging war, while as a noun, it represents military conflicts or warfare. When utilized as a noun, *zhan* ‘battle’ can combine with other words to form compound terms such as *zhandou* ‘battle’, and *zhanzheng* ‘battle’, encompassing warfare or combat in a broader context. Additionally, preceding the character *zhan*, other words such as *jue* ‘final’ and *shouguan* ‘final’ can be added to create compound expressions such as *juezhan* ‘final battle’ and *shouguan zhan* ‘final battle’, signifying crucial battles where the outcome is determined. The military term *zonggong* ‘final assault’ refers to launching a comprehensive offensive or full-scale attack against the enemy, similar in meaning to *juezhan* ‘final battle’ or ‘decisive showdown.’

- (29) a. 2020 nian ye shi tuopin gongjian **jue zhan** zhi nian.³²⁾
 2020 year also is poverty eradication **final battle** COM year
 “2020 will also be a year of **final battle** for the eradication of poverty.”
 b. dang zhongyang yaoqiu quan dang quan guo

31) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Symposium on Securing a Decisive Victory in Poverty Alleviation.” March 6, 2020.

32) Excerpt from the “Speech at the First Session of the 13th National People’s Congress.” March 20, 2018.

Party Central Committee demands entire party entire country
 yi gengda de juexin gengqiang de lidu dahao
 with greater COM determination stronger COM efforts fight
shougaunzhan
final battle.³³⁾

“The Party Central Committee demands that the entire Party and the whole country march towards the final victory of poverty alleviation with greater determination and stronger efforts, and fight the **final battle** with full confidence.”

In (29a) and (29b), the expressions *juezhan* ‘final battle’ and the *shouguanzhan* ‘final battle’ appear respectively, mapping onto the final stage of poverty alleviation work. These two sentences collectively demonstrate the metaphorical mapping THE LAST STAGE OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FINAL BATTLE.

2. WARFARE PROCESS and Metaphorical Expressions

The process of two armies engaging in battle on the battlefield is complex and intense, involving numerous military terms, tactical operations, and a propensity for generating metaphorical expressions. As shown in Table 4-20, in Xi Jinping’s discourse on poverty alleviation, there are 14 metaphorical expressions related to the process of engagement, appearing a total of 170 times. These metaphorical expressions include aggressive terms such as *da* ‘fight,’ *chongfeng* ‘assault,’ *xuanzhan* ‘declare war,’ and *jinjun* ‘charge’ as well as common terms found in warfare process like *junlingzhuang* ‘military pledges’ and *zonggongling* ‘final battle order,’ prevalent during the process of war.

33) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

Table 4-20. WARFARE PROCESS Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
jingzhun (targeted)	130	170
chuzhan (fight)	3	
zuozhan (fight a battle)	1	
da/dazhang (fight)	16	
daxiang (begin shooting)	2	
junlingzhuang (military pledge)	8	
chongfeng (assault)	2	
chongfenghao (charge)	1	
changzheng (march)	2	
xuanzhan (declare war)	1	
tuji (make a raid)	1	
gongji (attack)	1	
zonggongling (final battle order)	1	
jinjun (march)	1	

Among them, the most frequently used expression is *jingzhun* ‘targeted’, which appears as many as 130 times. This term originates from military terminology, specifically the concept of selecting a target to focus on or engage in combat. In China’s poverty alleviation discourse, it is often combined with the term *fupin* ‘poverty alleviation’, resulting in the phrase *jingzhun fupin* ‘targeted poverty alleviation’, commonly known as the approach to alleviate poverty involves accurately identifying the specific causes of poverty and implementing tailored measures for poverty alleviation. Example (30) illustrates this concept:

(30) a. fahui zhengzhi youhsi, kaizhan **jingzhun** fu pin.³⁴⁾

34) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development.”

leverage political strength, conduct **targeted** alleviate poverty

“We should fully leverage our political strength to conduct **targeted poverty alleviation.**”

Based on the provided example, we can identify a metaphorical mapping between the two domains, where aiming at military targets aligns with accurate assistance in the target domain. Similarly, the act of precisely attacking military targets in the source domain corresponds to the execution of poverty alleviation measures in the target domain. This mapping describes the working methodology of poverty alleviation, highlighting precision and targeting. Based on the above analysis, we can identify the following metaphor TARGETED POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS TARGETED STRIKING IN A WAR.

The expressions *chuzhan*, *zuozhan*, *da*, despite differing in form, share similar meanings, all corresponding to the English word ‘fight.’ Their combined frequency ranks second. These metaphorical expressions depict the act of fighting in a war. However, in the poverty alleviation discourse, these words do not refer to actual combat activities, but instead metaphorically convey the intensity of the human endeavor to combat poverty. They serve as metaphors demonstrating the metaphorical mapping POVERTY IS ENEMY and POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FIGHT, as shown in Example (31):

- (31) a. dao 2020 nian zhi you san nian de shijian, quan shehui yao
until 2020 year only has three year COM time, whole society should
xingdong qilai, jinrui **chuzhan**...³⁵⁾
should act take concentrate three years later win eliminate
“With the three years left until 2020, the whole society must leap into action
and **fight** against poverty.”
- b. wulun zhechang gongjianzhan duo nan da, doubixu daying.³⁶⁾

November 27, 2015.

35) Excerpt from the “New Year Message 2018.” December 31, 2017.

36) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and

Whatever this **tough battle** how difficult **fight**, must win
 “We must **fight**, no matter how difficult this **tough battle** (poverty alleviation) may be.”

Metaphorical expressions like *jinjun* ‘march’, *xuanzhan* ‘declare war’, and *chongfeng* ‘assault’ are employed in linguistic expressions such as ‘we will launch a charge in the war against poverty,’ and ‘we march towards poverty.’ These metaphorical expressions all manifest the metaphor that POVERTY IS ENEMY. They not only highlight the adversarial nature of poverty but also emphasize the proactive role of individuals in the fight against poverty.

Junlingzhuang ‘military pledge,’ refers to the solemn commitment made by soldiers on the battlefield upon receiving military orders. It signifies their willingness to accept punishment according to military law if they fail to fulfill their assigned tasks. In Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, this metaphorical expression appears eight times, all of which refer to written commitments signed by CPC Party leaders after receiving poverty alleviation tasks. The metaphorical mapping here is: THE WRITTEN COMMITMENT IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE MILITARY PLEDGE ON BATTLEFIELD. The metaphor highlights the determination and commitment of the CPC Party leaders toward poverty alleviation.

3. OPPONENT and Metaphorical Expressions

In war, it is natural to have opposing sides, both consisting of soldiers, commanders, and so on; hence, this is a constituent element of war and is a prolific source domain. However, when discussing poverty alleviation, President Xi Jinping utilizes only two metaphorical expressions to address this aspect: *zhihuibu* ‘command center’ and *zhulijun* ‘troops.’ The frequency and total occurrences of these words are summarized in Table 4-21. These two terms appeared five times. They have the lowest proportion in the war metaphor, accounting for less than 1%.

Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

Table 4-21. OPPONENT Metaphorical Expressions in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
zhihuibu (command center)	3	5
zhulijun (main troops)	2	

Within a military organization, a hierarchical chain-of-command structure is commonly established in the same camp, encompassing various roles such as commanders, generals, soldiers, and the masses (Chapman & Miller, 2020; Mutch, 2006). A well-defined hierarchy in warfare is essential for the efficient execution of orders. In Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, two military terms *zhihuibu* 'command centers', and *zhulijun* 'main troops' are employed. This is illustrated in Example (32):

- (32) a. xianji dangwei shi quanxian tuo pin de **zhihuibu**.³⁷⁾
 county CPC committees be county alleviate poverty COM **command center**
 "County CPC committees should be the **command centers** of the poverty alleviation battle."
- b. yixian gongzuozhe shi tuo pin de **zhuli jun**.³⁸⁾
 frontline workers are alleviate poverty COM **main troops**
 "The frontline workers in the battle against poverty are **main troops**."

The hierarchical structure of the military is metaphorically applied to the social hierarchy system (Chapman & Miller, 2020). In Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, the WAR metaphor is used to interpret the management system in poverty eradication. In (32b) *zhulijun* 'main troops' in the military corresponds to the *yixian gongzuozhe* 'frontline workers' in the target domain of POVERTY ALLEVIATION,

37) Excerpt from the "Speech at the Seminar on Eliminating Poverty in Severely Impoverished Areas." June 23, 2017.
 38) Excerpt from the "Speech at the Seminar on Eliminating Poverty in Severely Impoverished Areas." June 23, 2017.

implying that frontline workers directly engage in the battle against poverty just like soldiers engage in face-to-face combat with the enemy on the battlefield. This sentence demonstrates the metaphorical mapping THE FRONTLINE WORKERS IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION ARE TROOPS IN WAR. In (32a), we observe a metaphorical mapping between the concept of command centers in WAR and the constituent element of POVERTY ALLEVIATION, namely the local Party committees represented by *xianji dangwei* ‘county-level CPC committee.’ This metaphorical mapping implies that in the combat against poverty, the Party committees in the county serve as command centers in a war, that is THE CPC PARTY COMMITTEES ARE COMMAND CENTERS IN A WAR. This mapping emphasizes the significance of county-level Party committees in poverty alleviation. Their role is to relay orders from higher authorities and oversee the activities of frontline personnel, assuming responsibility for the effectiveness of poverty eradication efforts.

Moreover, the military hierarchy metaphors manifest the hierarchical relationships of WAR onto POVERTY ALLEVIATION, allowing individuals to easily comprehend their roles and responsibilities, which facilitates the seamless implementation of poverty alleviation efforts.

4. BATTLEFIELD and Metaphorical Expressions

The battlefield, characterized by a tense and life-or-death atmosphere, is widely acknowledged as the most intense and confrontational aspect of war (Jermier & Forbes, 2016). It serves as a constituent element within the source domain of WAR, encompassing a complex environment that includes defensive fortifications, combat shelters, and various other elements. This diverse environment generates numerous metaphorical expressions.

As shown in Table 4-22, there are four expressions related to the battlefield in Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, which are *baolei* ‘fortress’, *zhuzhanchang* ‘main battlefield’, *yixian* ‘frontline’, and *qianxian* ‘frontline.’

**Table 4-22. BATTLEFIELD Metaphorical Expressions
in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse**

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
baolei (fortress)	10	22
zhuzhanchang (main battlefield)	6	
yixian (frontline)	4	
qianxian (frontline)	2	

When we conceptualize poverty as an enemy and poverty alleviation as a war, correspondingly, impoverished areas can be seen as the main battlefield, and the most formidable aspects of poverty eradication efforts can be likened to fortified strongholds on this battlefield, as shown in Example (33):

(33) a. women xiang shendu pinkun **baolei** faqi zong gong kenxiale
we to impoverished poverty **fortress** launch final assault cracked
zhekuai ying gutou.³⁹⁾

this hardest bone.

“We launched the final assault on the **fortress** of entrenched rural poverty, and cracked this ‘hardest nut.’”

b. shendupinku diqu shi zhongguo tuo pin zhanzheng de **zhu**
impoverished area is China alleviate poverty war COM **main**
zhanchang⁴⁰⁾.

battlefield

“The impoverished areas are the **main battlefields** in China’s war against poverty.”

39) Excerpt from “President Xi Jinping’s New Year Message 2021.” January 4, 2021.

40) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Eliminating Poverty in Severely Impoverished Areas.” June 23, 2017.

Through analyzing these examples, we can identify two conceptual metaphors THE IMPOVERISHED REGIONS ARE FORTRESSES ON THE BATTLEFIELD and THE IMPOVERISHED REGIONS ARE MAIN BATTLEFIELDS. These metaphorical mappings emphasize the areas involved in improving poverty situation, clarify the focus of the efforts, indicate the challenges associated with the tasks, and evoke a sense of urgency among the local residents.

5. STRATEGY and Metaphorical Expressions

In general, strategy entails setting objectives and priorities, devising actions to attain those objectives, and mobilizing resources to implement those actions. It outlines the approach by which the objectives will be achieved.⁴¹⁾ It signifies that military leaders, by understanding the principles governing the development and fluctuations of essential objective and subjective conditions in warfare, engage in extensive planning, deployment, and guidance of military forces to effectively accomplish established political and military objectives. As depicted in Table 4-23, Xi Jinping’s discourse encompasses three metaphorical expressions related to strategies: *gongjian/gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking’, *fanglve* ‘strategy’, and *zhanlve* ‘strategy.’

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
gongjian/ gongjianzhan (fortress-attacking)	377	391
fanglve (strategy)	5	
zhanlve (strategy)	9	

According to the statistical results, the metaphorical expression *gongjian/gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking’ is the most frequently used, appearing a total of 377 times. In fact,

41) <https://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/strategy>.

since the CPC proposed the decision to triumph in the Battle Against Poverty in 2015, the metaphorical expressions *gongjian/ gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking’ have a high frequency in Chinese poverty alleviation discourse. This is a strategy that originates from Sun Tzu: *The Art of War*⁴²⁾, referring to the combat of capturing strategically important locations with strong defenses, such as cities, passes, fortresses, or strongholds. The attackers often need to concentrate on their superior forces and weapons, besiege the enemy quickly, and cut off supplies or reinforcements of the enemy to form a local advantage in military strength, so that they can implement targeted attacks.

- (34) a. zai fupin gongzuo zhong, yao jizhong youshi bingli da **gongjianzhan**.⁴³⁾
in poverty alleviation need concentrate superior forces **fortress-attacking**
“In poverty alleviation efforts, it is necessary to concentrate forces and engage in **fortress-attacking** to overcome challenges.”

In this sentence, President Xi Jinping utilizes *gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking’ in a war to interpret the actions of addressing challenges in the process of alleviating poverty, thereby manifesting the metaphorical mapping RAPID PROBLEM-SOLVING IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FORTRESS-ATTACKING. This metaphor highlights the significant difficulty of poverty alleviation work, indicating that China needs to adopt corresponding policies in order to achieve successful poverty eradication.

In Chinese, the term *zhanlve/ fanglve* ‘strategy’ all refer to military strategy, which encompasses the comprehensive planning and guidance of warfare⁴⁴⁾. President Xi Jinping has mentioned them several times, such as the Rural Revitalization Strategy and the Targeted Poverty Alleviation Strategy. These strategy-related metaphorical expressions imply a mapping THE STRATEGY TO ERADICATING ABSOLUTE POVERTY IS THE STRATEGY TO ELIMINATE THE STRONGEST ENEMY.

42) *The Art of War* is an ancient Chinese military text by Sun Tzu.

43) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Eliminating Poverty in Severely.” June 23, 2017.

44) <http://xh.5156edu.com/html5/z64m17j37275.html>.

6. WEAPON and Metaphorical Expressions

Weapons play a vital role on the battlefield, serving diverse purposes such as neutralizing enemies, ensuring self-preservation, and facilitating escape from hostile forces. Similarly, in the fight against poverty, any method or tool that assists in alleviating or overcoming poverty is regarded as a weapon.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
zhishengfabao (powerful weapon)	1	3
wuqi (weapon)	1	
zuhequan (combination punches)	1	

As shown in Table 4-24, there are only three weapon-related metaphorical expressions in President Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse, namely *zhishengfabao* 'powerful weapon', *wuqi* 'weapon' and *zuhequan* 'combination punches.'

- (35) a. jiaoyu shi zhansheng pinkun zui youli de **wuqi**.⁴⁵⁾
 education is defeat poverty most powerful COM **weapon**
 "Education is the most powerful **weapon** in poverty alleviation."
- b. weirao fuchi shei zenme fu shei lai fu de wenti women da
 Regarding help who how help who to help COM issue we paly
 zhengce **zuhe quan**.⁴⁶⁾
 policy **combination punches**.
 "To address the questions of whom to support, how to support, and who

45) Excerpt from the "Speech at the Seminar on Cooperation Between Eastern and Western Regions on Poverty Alleviation." July 20, 2016.

46) Excerpt from "Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved." February 25, 2021.

will provide the support, we employ a series of **combination punches** in our policy.”

Just as weapons aid in overcoming enemies in war, effective methods for poverty alleviation can assist in conquering poverty. The weapons used in war correspond to the policies or measures employed in poverty alleviation, demonstrating the metaphorical mapping THE POLICIES/ MEASURES OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION ARE WEAPONS IN WAR.

7. WAR OUTCOME and Metaphorical Expressions

The outcome of a war, a pivotal element of warfare, holds significant importance in both evaluating and influencing the conflict’s course. It also serves as a crucial source of metaphorical expressions. People often use the concept of war outcomes to describe the outcomes of various conflicts or competitions. This metaphor helps individuals better understand and articulate complex issues and the dynamics of victory and defeat among different forces. As indicated in Table 4-25, I identified five distinct forms of metaphorical expressions related to war outcomes in President Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse, with a total of 60 occurrences. Among these expressions, the most frequently used one is *daying* ‘win.’

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
daying (win)	30	60
dahao (win)	15	
shengli (victory)	8	
gongke (conquer)	5	
zhansheng (win)	2	

In Example (36), metaphorical expressions related to war outcomes can be found, including *daying/ dahao* ‘win’, *shengli* ‘victory’, and *gongke* ‘conquer.’

(36) a. **daying** tuo pin zhanzheng, dui quanmian jiancheng xiaokang
win eliminate poverty battle for overall build prosperous
 shehui shixian liangge yibainian mubiao juyou shifen zhongyao
 society achieve two centenary goal have very significant
 de yiyi.⁴⁷⁾

COM meaning

“**Winning the battle against poverty** holds significant importance in achieving the two centenary goals and completing the construction of a moderately prosperous society in all respects.”

b. zhiyou fanguo zhezuo shan, tuo pin de wanli
 only cross this mountain eliminate poverty COM long
 changzheng caineng qude zuihou de **shengli**.⁴⁸⁾

march can win final COM **victory**

“We have to cross this mountain to win the **final victory** in this long march of poverty alleviation.”

c. suoyou shendu pinkun diqu de zuihou baolei quanbu
 all impoverished poverty area COM last fortress all
 bei **gongke**.⁴⁹⁾

been **conquered**

“The last fortress of all deeply impoverished areas has been completely **conquered**.”

In these sentences, it is evident that the achievements in poverty alleviation are

47) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Cooperation Between Eastern and Western Regions on Poverty Alleviation.” July 20, 2016.

48) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

49) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

metaphorically conceptualized as positive war outcomes on the battlefield, demonstrating a metaphorical mapping POVERTY ERADICATION IS WINNING IN A WAR.

In this section, a thorough analysis is conducted on the distribution and usage of WAR metaphors in Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse. The proportions of different types of WAR metaphors are calculated, and the overall distribution of WAR metaphors is summarized. Subsequently, high-frequency metaphorical expressions are carefully examined to identify the underlying metaphorical mappings within them. (See Table 4-26)

Table 4-26. Metaphorical Mappings of WAR in Xi Jinping’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
war/fight/tough battle	—————▶	poverty alleviation
enemy	—————▶	poverty
final battle	—————▶	the last stage of poverty alleviation
targeted striking	—————▶	targeted poverty alleviation
troops	—————▶	workers in poverty alleviation
headquarter	—————▶	CPC committees
battlefield/fortress	—————▶	impoverished regions
strategy in war	—————▶	strategy in poverty alleviation
weapon in war	—————▶	policies/measures in poverty alleviation
victory in war	—————▶	poverty eradication

From the conducted analysis, the following conclusions can be inferred: President Xi Jinping frequently employs metaphorical expressions related to war in his poverty alleviation discourse. He metaphorically conceptualizes poverty as an enemy and interprets poverty alleviation work as a war. The policies and measures of poverty alleviation are explained in terms of strategies and weapons used in warfare. Impoverished regions are understood as battlefields or fortresses on the battlefield. By the mapping from WAR onto POVERTY ALLEVIATION, President Xi effectively conveys the urgency and necessity of poverty alleviation to the Chinese people. He

utilizes a significant number of strategy-related metaphorical expressions, highlighting the importance of poverty alleviation policies. Additionally, the extensive use of metaphors associated with the process of war emphasizes the progress of poverty alleviation and reminds impoverished individuals and workers in China to be mentally prepared to exert maximum effort in the challenging battle against poverty.

H. Summary

In this chapter, I explore the prominent metaphors employed in President Xi Jinping's discussion of alleviating poverty. These include the BUILDING metaphor, the DISEASE metaphor, the PLANT metaphor, the CLOTHING metaphor, the MACHINE metaphor, the JOURNEY metaphor, and the WAR metaphor. By analyzing these metaphors, we can discern President Xi Jinping's multifaceted portrayal of poverty and poverty alleviation efforts. He conceptualizes poverty as a disease, an adversary, and even a hat. Additionally, he depicts poverty alleviation as a war, a journey, a constructive process, and the act of weeding, among other comparisons. Furthermore, he conceptualizes poverty alleviation as activities such as a chess game and embroidery, interpreting the process of overcoming challenges in poverty alleviation to gnawing on tough bones. These expressions also activate other metaphors, such as the GAME metaphor, the CRAFT metaphor, and the FOOD metaphor. However, given the infrequent use of these metaphors, I will refrain from delving deeper into their exploration within this context.

V. Metaphors in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Chapter IV provides an overview of the metaphors present in discourse on poverty alleviation by President Xi Jinping, concentrating upon their classification, proportions, and mappings from source domains to target domains. This chapter will shift its emphasis to the metaphors found in President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse. Consistent with the previous chapter, this chapter maintains the same writing logic and employs identical research methods for identifying, determining, and quantifying the metaphors. The table below presents the summarized findings.

Source Domain	Word Form	Frequency	Percentage
BUILDING	6	17	2.3%
DISEASE	11	19	2.6%
PLANT	1	16	2.2%
CONFINEMENT	7	23	3.2%
CONTAINER	4	35	4.8%
SUPERNATURAL BEING	4	25	3.4%
JOURNEY	39	116	16.0%
WAR	27	453	62.2%
OTHERS	7	24	3.3%
Total	106	728	100%

As depicted in Table 5-1, President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse encompasses eight key conceptual metaphors, which appear frequently throughout the discourse. Among these eight metaphors, the most prevalent is also the WAR metaphor, which occurs 453 times, constituting 62.2% of the total occurrences. Following is the JOURNEY metaphor, accounting for 16.0%. The CONTAINER metaphor is the next most prominent, appearing 35 times and accounting for 4.8% of the overall occurrences. The remaining five metaphors, namely BUILDING metaphor,

DISEASE metaphor, PLANT metaphor, SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor, and CONFINEMENT metaphor, each account for less than 4% of the total. Additionally, there are sporadic occurrences of metaphors, appearing fewer than five times, which are classified under the “OTHERS” category, accounting for 3.3% of the total.

On the basis of understanding the distribution of these metaphors, I will meticulously present specific instances of each metaphor category in the forthcoming sections of this chapter, elucidating their metaphorical expressions and mappings.

A. Metaphorical Mappings of BUILDING Metaphor

Buildings are ubiquitous in people’s lives, from the houses we live in to the places we work and various facilities we use. Hence, constructing concepts based on the source domain of buildings aligns well with people’s cognitive understanding. Scholars have studied several metaphors related to building, for example, interpreting abstract concepts such as argument, theory, and society as structures of a building. These metaphors reveal that people have a good understanding of buildings and, to some extent, this understanding influences their choice of metaphors.

Table 5-2. Distribution of BUILDING Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
BUILDING PROCESS	build 8	1	8	47.1%
PARTS OF BUILDING	door 6 gate 2 exit 1	3	9	52.9%
Total		6	17	100%

As shown in Table 5-2, in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse, four expressions of BUILDING metaphors are found, belonging to two sub-source domains: the BUILDING PROCESS and PARTS OF BUILDING.

1. BUILDING PROCESS and Metaphorical Expressions

In the source domain BUILDING PROCESS, the metaphorical expression ‘build’ appeared five times, corresponding to the poverty eradication process or the construction of a Great Society, as shown in the following sentences.

- (37) a. We don’t like to see poor people. We don’t like to see unemployed people. We don’t like to see hungry people. We want to **build** the Great Society of our dreams.⁵⁰⁾
- b. “We are going to **build** a Great Society where no man or woman is the victim of fear or poverty.”⁵¹⁾

From these two sentences, it can be inferred that the President believes an ideal society is a society where poverty has been eradicated. Therefore, the process of building a great society aligns with the process of alleviating poverty. So, in the above two sentences, two conceptual metaphors can be identified THE GREAT SOCIETY IS BUILDING and POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS CONSTRUCTION PROCESS.

2. BUILDING PARTS and Metaphorical Expressions

A building consists of various parts, including doors, windows, beams, walls, etc., which can also serve as source domains. For instance, in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse, there are metaphorical expressions ‘door’, ‘exit’, and ‘gate’, with three terms appearing nine times.

50) Excerpt from the “Remarks at the Swearing In of Sargent Shriver as Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.” October 16, 1964.

51) Excerpt from the “Remarks in Cleveland at the Convention of the Communications Workers of America.” June 17, 1964.

- (38) a. Poverty is deeply rooted and its causes are many. But this program... will provide a lever with which we can begin to open the **door** to our prosperity for those who have been kept outside.⁵²⁾
- b. As long as children are untrained, men without work, and families shut in **gate-less** poverty, that promise is unkept⁵³⁾
- c. Let us, above all, open wide the **exits** from poverty to the children of the poor⁵⁴⁾

These three sentences illustrate the BUILDING metaphor, where in (38a) THE PROSPERITY IS BUILDING is conveyed, while in (38b) and (38c) the metaphor POVERTY IS BUILDING is employed.

Based on the above analysis, I will systematically summarize multiple metaphorical mappings related to BUILDING in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3. Metaphorical Mappings of BUILDING in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
building	—————▶	the Great Society
building	—————▶	prosperity
building	—————▶	poverty
building process	—————▶	poverty alleviation

B. Metaphorical Mappings of DISEASE Metaphor

52) Excerpt from the “Special Message to the Congress Proposing a Nationwide War on the Sources of Poverty.” March 16, 1964.

53) Excerpt from the “Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Stepping Up the War on Poverty.” February 17, 1965.

54) Excerpt from the “Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President.” January 20, 1964.

Scholars began studying DISEASE metaphors as early as 1980. At that time, Lakoff and Johnson researched some metaphorical expressions about disease, and proposed the conceptual metaphor ILL IS DOWN. Over the past few years, an escalating number of researchers have started directing their attention toward utilizing DISEASE or SYMPTOM as the source domain to understand some social issues, such as war, corruption, crime, etc. (Xie, 2011). Poverty, as a societal issue, is also presented metaphorically as a disease in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse. This conceptual metaphor is manifested through 11 different word forms, appearing 19 times.

Table 5-4. Distribution of DISEASE Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
DISEASE	disease 2 ill 1 blight 1	3	4	21.1%
SYMPTOM	symptom 3 contagious 1 scar 1	3	5	26.3%
TREATMENT	drug 1 immune 1 cure 6 cured 1 curable1	5	10	52.6%
Total		11	19	100%

1. DISEASE and Metaphorical Expressions

President Lyndon B. Johnson used three metaphorical expressions related to diseases, including ‘diseases’, ‘ill’ and ‘blight’ to interpret poverty. In sentence (39a), the metaphor POVERTY IS DISEASE is manifested.

- (39) a. Second, attacking the major **ills** of our society: poverty, pollution, and decay-requires, the interaction of many agencies working together at different

- levels of government.⁵⁵⁾
- b. Our aim is not only to relieve the **symptom** of poverty, but to **cure** it and, above all, to prevent it.⁵⁶⁾
- c. For poverty is **contagious**; no part of our society is **immune** from its terrible consequences.⁵⁷⁾

2. SYMPTOM and Metaphorical Expressions

From the sentences (39b) and (39c), we can see that President Lyndon B. Johnson used words closely related to symptom such as ‘symptom’ and ‘contagious’ in his discourse to explain poverty. These conceptual elements correspond to the state of poverty and the spread of poverty.

3. TREATMENT and Metaphorical Expressions

President Lyndon B. Johnson used a high proportion of metaphorical expressions in this sub-source domain, employing words such as ‘cure’, ‘curable’, ‘cured’, ‘drug’, and ‘immune.’ The metaphorical expression ‘cure’ in sentence (39b) belongs to the source domain of treatment, corresponding to the poverty governance. This activates the metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS TREATMENT FOR DISEASE.

In a word, we can observe that President Lyndon B. Johnson depicts poverty as a disease of society. This disease, with a long history and strong contagion, has no quick remedy. However, its symptoms can be alleviated, and it could potentially be cured eventually. Through his discussion on disease, President Lyndon B. Johnson conveys his perspective on poverty, emphasizing its historical depth, ubiquity, and the difficulty of

55) Excerpt from the “Special Message to the Congress: The Quality of American Government.” March 17, 1967.

56) Excerpt from the “Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.” January 08, 1964.

57) Excerpt from the “Remarks at a Reception for Participants in the Conference on Women in the War on Poverty.” May 08, 1967.

resolution, while also highlighting its solvability. Based on the analysis, the mapping relationships in Table 5-5 can be summarized.

Table 5-5. Metaphorical Mappings of DISEASE in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
disease	—————→	poverty
contagious of disease	—————→	spread of poverty
treatment for disease	—————→	poverty alleviation

C. Metaphorical Mappings of PLANT Metaphor

In English, PLANT metaphor is pervasive, such as IDEAS ARE PLANTS (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Sun & Zhang, 2018), PEOPLE ARE PLANTS (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) and COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS (Kövecses, 2010), among others. In President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, one PLANT metaphorical expression, 'root' is found.

Table 5-6. Distribution of PLANT Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse				
Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
ROOT	root 16	1	16	100%
Total		1	16	100%

1. ROOT and Metaphorical Expressions

The metaphorical expression 'root' appears 16 times, corresponding to the cause of poverty. As shown in Example (40):

- (40) a. It will provide both training and job opportunities for our young people and thereby strike at one of the basic **roots** of poverty.⁵⁸⁾
- b. Poverty has many **roots** but the tap **root** is ignorance.⁵⁹⁾

Linguistic expressions above reveal two conceptual metaphors: POVERTY IS PLANT, THE CAUSE OF POVERTY IS ROOT OF PLANT.

Table 5-7. Metaphorical Mappings of PLANT in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
plant	→	poverty
root	→	causes of poverty

D. Metaphorical Mappings of CONFINEMENT Metaphor

Monika Fludernik, in her masterpiece *Metaphors of Confinement: The Prison in Fact, Fiction, and Fantasy*, employs numerous literary examples to analyze the use of confinement (represented through prisons, cages, chains, and shackles) as a source domain mapping to various depictions of human deprivation of freedom in literature. She explores conceptual metaphors like LIFE IS PRISON, MARRIAGE IS PRISON, and LOVE IS BONDAGE, among others. Fludernik (2019) proposes that the core semantic meaning of confinement relates to restricting or diminishing one's self-controlled physical movements. Usually, an individual's mobility is curtailed through physical restraints, which hinder the free movement of their arms and/or legs. These metaphors emphasize the notions of restraint and imprisonment.

58) Excerpt from the "Statement by the President on the Decline in Unemployment." June 05, 1964.

59) Excerpt from the "Special Message to the Congress: Toward Full Educational Opportunity." January 12, 1965.

In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse, such metaphors appear with six different word forms, appearing 23 times, all of which have been summarized in the following table.

Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
CONFINEMENT	prison 7 imprison 1 prisoner 2	3	10	43.5%
CONFINING EQUIPMENTS	chain 6 locked 4 fetter 3	3	13	56.5%
Total		6	23	100%

1. CONFINEMENT and Metaphorical Expressions

In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse, there are three metaphorical expressions related to confinement, including ‘prison’, ‘imprison’, and ‘prisoner.’ As shown in Example (41a) and (41b), these metaphorical expressions activate the conceptual metaphors POVERTY IS PRISON and THE POORS ARE PRISONERS.

- (41) a. Our first objective is to free 30 million Americans from the **prison** of poverty.⁶⁰⁾
- b. Our war on poverty can be won only if those who are poverty’s **prisoners** can break the chains of ignorance.⁶¹⁾
- c. This man is going to try to break the **chains** of poverty that bind him.⁶²⁾

60) Excerpt from the “Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport, Knoxville, Tennessee.” May 07, 1964.

61) Excerpt from the “Presidential Policy Paper No. 1: Education.” November 01, 1964.

62) Excerpt from the “Remarks Upon Signing Bill Amending the Federal Credit Union Act.”

- d. This means that we must attack those deficiencies in education, training, health, and job opportunities by which the **fetters** of poverty are passed on from parents to children.⁶³⁾
- e. I deeply regret that there are still millions and millions and millions **locked** in poverty.⁶⁴⁾

2. CONFINING EQUIPMENT and Metaphorical Expressions

In sentences (41c), (41d) and (41e) there are metaphorical expressions such as ‘chain’, ‘fetter’, and ‘locked’, which are tools used to imprison people. These tools restrain certain parts of a person’s body, such as their hands or feet, to limit their physical freedom, achieving the goal of confinement and rendering them as prisoners. In daily life, poverty restricts the freedoms of many individuals, preventing them from making discretionary expenditures and freely arranging their own plans. Thus, there exists a correspondence between confinement equipments and poverty. From sentences (41c), (41d), and (41e), I can identify the metaphor POVERTY IS CONFINING EQUIPMENT, THE POORS ARE PRISONERS. Through these metaphorical expressions, President Lyndon B. Johnson discusses his perspective on poverty: poverty restricts human freedom.

In essence, with the CONFINEMENT metaphor, linguistic expressions manifest several conceptual metaphors, such as POVERTY IS PRISON, POVERTY IS CONFINING EQUIPMENT, and THE POORS ARE PRISONERS (as shown in Table 5-9). Through these metaphors, President Lyndon B. Johnson enables the public to perceive the constraints poverty imposes on humanity and underscores the suffering it brings.

December 13, 1967.

63) Excerpt from the “Remarks Upon Signing Bill Amending the Federal Credit Union Act.” December 13, 1967.

64) Excerpt from the “Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1965.” January 21, 1964.

Table 5-9. Metaphorical Mappings of CONFINEMENT in Lyndon B Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
prison	—————▶	poverty
confining equipment	—————▶	poverty
prisoner	—————▶	the poor

E. Metaphorical Mappings of CONTAINER Metaphor

Ontological metaphors offer a mechanism to interpret non-physical phenomena like thoughts, occurrences, feelings, conditions, deeds, and activities as tangible entities or substances (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). They make it easier for us to make sense of our experiences. By utilizing ontological metaphors, we're able to express our experiences using concepts of items, containers, and materials, without needing to define the precise type of item, material, or container we're referring to (Kövecses, 2010). Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) research demonstrates the prevalence of such metaphors in thought and language to the extent that most people aren't even aware that they are metaphorical. Among these, container metaphors pervade language in a wide yet subtle way.

Table 5-10. Distribution of CONTAINER Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse				
Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
IN/OUT	in 19 out of 7	2	26	74.3%
WELL/TRAP	well 3 trap 6	2	9	25.7%
Total		4	35	100%

As shown in Table 5-10, in President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, four metaphorical expressions have been identified, appearing 35 times. These expressions fall into two categories: the first being IN/OUT, and the second comprising

more specific descriptors, namely WELL/TRAP.

1. IN/OUT and Metaphorical Expressions

People often perceive predicaments and difficulties as inescapable situations, once caught in, they are hard to escape from, hence the metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS (Zhang, 2010). If you are inside the container, you are experiencing that state; if you are outside the container, you have escaped that state. Poverty is a typical predicament that is hard to escape from, being in poverty is like being inside a container; escaping from poverty is like getting out of the container. In President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, the metaphorical expression 'in' appeared 19 times, while 'out of' appeared seven times.

- (42) a. They and the 6.5 million who already enjoyed such incomes in 1960 — have a special obligation to the more than 10 million households still **in poverty**.⁶⁵⁾
- b. And 5.5 million Americans have been lifted **out of** poverty.⁶⁶⁾

Therefore, in sentences (42a) and (42b), we can identify the conceptual metaphors POVERTY IS A CONTAINER, BEING IN POVERTY IS BEING IN A CONTAINER, and ERADICATING POVERTY IS OUT OF A CONTAINER.

2. WELL/TRAP and Metaphorical Expressions

In President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, poverty is also metaphorically viewed as a deep well or a trap, as shown in Example (43). In (43a), the 'deep well', and in (43b), the 'trap' can both be seen as containers, once trapped within, it is difficult to escape. The state of being in a well or a trap corresponds to

65) Excerpt from the "Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport, Knoxville, Tennessee." May 07, 1964.

66) Excerpt from the "Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport, Knoxville, Tennessee." May 07, 1964.

the state of being in poverty, activating POVERTY IS A CONTAINER.

- (43) a. These programs are sturdy ladders in the deep **well** of poverty where millions of Americans have been trapped.⁶⁷⁾
- b. In the past 2 years alone, more Negroes and nonwhites have escaped the poverty **trap** than in the previous 6 years.⁶⁸⁾

In conclusion, the mapping relationships of CONTAINER metaphors in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse can be concluded in Table 5-11.

Table 5-11. Metaphorical Mappings of CONTAINER in Lyndon B Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
container	—————▶	poverty
in container	—————▶	being in poverty
out of poverty	—————▶	eradicating poverty

F. Metaphorical Mappings of SUPERNATURAL BEING Metaphor

This section explores the conceptual metaphors grounded in the source domain SUPERNATURAL BEING. Although people may not have had direct experiences with supernatural beings, these concepts have become deeply rooted in human society through forms of cultural expression such as myths, religious texts, folklores, books, and films (Trčková, 2011). Consequently, employing supernatural beings as source domains for conceptual metaphors is quite common. Many scholars and researchers have extensively studied the metaphor of supernatural beings. For instance, Kövecses (2003) explored the metaphor FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. Trčková (2011)

67) Excerpt from the “Message to the Congress Transmitting the Second Annual Report of the Office of Economic Opportunity.” June 22, 1967.

68) Excerpt from the “Remarks to Members of the Business Council.” December 04, 1968.

discussed the metaphor NATURAL DISASTER IS A MONSTER, while Jurgaitis (2018) delved into metaphors like ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING and CRISIS IS DEMONIC (DIVINE) WORLD. Additionally, Khaliq et al. (2021) proposed the metaphor COVID IS A MONSTER.

In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse, the conceptual metaphor identified is POVERTY IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. Poverty is explained as supernatural beings or things related to them, such as ‘monster’, ‘demons’, ‘spectre’, and ‘curse.’ There are four metaphorical expressions, occurring a total of 25 times, as depicted in the following table:

Table 5-12. Distribution of SUPERNATURAL BEING Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse				
Source Domain	Metaphorical Expressions	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
SUPERNATURAL BEING	monster 6 demon 5 spectre 5	3	16	64%
SUPERNATURAL EXPRESSION	curse 9	1	9	36%
Total		4	25	100%

1. SUPERNATURAL BEING and Metaphorical Expressions

The images of supernatural beings are diverse, but when describing poverty, the chosen ones are all dreadful. In describing poverty, President Lyndon B. Johnson used metaphorical expressions such as ‘monster’, ‘demon’, and ‘spectre’ totaling 16 occurrences. In the subsequent instances, denoted as (44a) and (44b), it becomes evident that he directly portrays poverty as a terrifying supernatural entity.

- (44) a. Yes, I have wrestled with poverty, that gaunt and that haggard **monster**, and I have met it in the day and the night.⁶⁹⁾

- b. Moreover, American agriculture now represents hope for cities and villages far beyond our shores, where the **spectre** of poverty threatens the stability—and even the peace - of the world.⁷⁰⁾
- c. For so long as man has lived on this earth poverty has been his **curse**.⁷¹⁾

2. SUPERNATURAL EXPRESSION and Metaphorical Expressions

Here we are discussing the metaphorical expression ‘curses,’ which means a serious statement made with the intention of invoking a supernatural force to cause harm or punishment to someone or something. Therefore, this sub-domain are named as SUPERNATURAL EXPRESSION. President Lyndon B. Johnson used this metaphorical expression nine times in his discourse, as shown in sentence (44c), which manifests the conceptual metaphor POVERTY IS A RESULT OF A CURSE.

In a word, ‘monsters’, ‘demons’, ‘spectre,’ and ‘curse’ are all supernatural. Through these metaphorical expressions, poverty is constructed as a supernatural being, activating the metaphor POVERTY IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. At the same time, we can observe that the metaphors related to supernatural beings used by President him are all associated with frightening ones, highlighting the terror of poverty.

Table 5-13. Metaphorical Mappings of SUPERNATURAL BEING in Lyndon B Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
supernatural being	→	poverty
result of curse	→	poverty

G. Metaphorical Mappings of JOURNEY Metaphor

- 69) Excerpt from the “Remarks at the Presentation of the Papers of President Andrew Johnson.” December 14, 1967.
- 70) Excerpt from the “Proclamation3809—National Farm-City Week.” September 28, 1967.
- 71) Excerpt from the “Remarks Upon Signing the Economic Opportunity Act.” August 20, 1964.

Through software-assisted statistical analysis and manual screening, the journey-related metaphorical expressions within President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty discourse have been identified. Then, based on Lakoff’s (1993) explanation of the Event Structure Metaphor, these journey-related metaphorical expressions have been categorized according to the constituent elements of path, obstacle, guide, and movement. Statistical analysis is also conducted on the word forms, frequency of occurrence, and proportions of metaphorical expressions, based on which the results are presented in Table 5-14.

In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse, a total of 39 journey-related metaphorical expressions are identified, occurring 116 times. Among them, MOVEMENT metaphors dominate with 20 word forms, appearing 50 times, which accounts for 43.1% of all JOURNEY metaphors. Following that, PATH metaphors come next, comprising 12 word forms and occurring 44 times, making up 37.9% of the overall total. Obstacle-related metaphors rank third, encompassing five different word forms and occurring 20 times, representing 17.2% of the total. GUIDE metaphors have the lowest frequency of use, with two word forms and two occurrences, representing 1.8% of the total.

Table 5-14. Distribution of JOURNEY Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse

Source Domain	Word Types	Frequency	Percentage
PATH	12	44	37.9%
OBSTACLE	5	20	17.2%
GUIDE	2	2	1.8%
MOVEMENT	20	50	43.1%
Total	39	116	100%

In the following section, the mappings of these sub-metaphors in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse will be examined. The examination of the PATH metaphor will be commenced.

1. PATH and Metaphorical Expressions

People in both China and America are familiar with the concept of JOURNEY and understand that one of its constituent elements is PATH. Therefore, similar to President Xi Jinping, President Lyndon B. Johnson also employs the PATH metaphor, utilizing metaphorical expressions such as ‘way,’ ‘course,’ ‘road,’ ‘crossroad,’ and ‘turning point.’ The specific distribution of these metaphorical expressions is listed in Table 5-15.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
way	17	44
course	6	
road	4	
avenue	2	
crossroad	2	
channel-way	1	
path	3	
trail	2	
milestone	2	
distance	2	
turning-point	1	
footing	2	

In President Johnson’s discourse, the metaphorical expressions such as ‘way,’ ‘road,’ and ‘path’ correspond to the process of alleviating poverty. For instance, in Example (45), the metaphorical expression ‘way’ and ‘road’ manifest the mapping between the two domains THE PROCESS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE PATH TO THE

DESTINATION.

- (45) a. We have a long **way** to go before we wipe out poverty in America and give every man a chance to find a job.⁷²⁾
- b. No man can say that the **road** ahead (to poverty eradication) will be easy, that our footing will always be sure, that there will be no obstacles, no perils.⁷³⁾

The metaphorical expressions ‘way’, or ‘road’ in these three sentences indicates another JOURNEY metaphor, that is POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS A JOURNEY. Eradicating poverty is the destination of this journey, and the path leading to the destination corresponds to the process of poverty alleviation, where a long and challenging road emphasizes the prolonged and arduous nature of poverty alleviation (Wang & Zeng, 2022).

- (46) a. For the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty, I submit, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It chart a new **course**.⁷⁴⁾
- b. But some realize that only knowledge, skill, and hard work can provide fruitful **avenues** to a decent future (a future without poverty).⁷⁵⁾

In (46a), the metaphorical expression ‘chart a new course’ serves as a metaphor for adopting a new poverty alleviation plan, where the ‘new chart’ corresponds to the new means in poverty alleviation. In (46b), comparing the methods to achieve a successful and bright future to ‘avenues’ is another metaphor. Here, the metaphorical expression ‘avenues’ also corresponds to the means in poverty alleviation: mastering knowledge, skill, and hard work.

72) Excerpt from “Remarks in St. Paul at the Minnesota State Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Convention. June 27, 1964.

73) Excerpt from “Commencement Address at the University of Texas.” May 30, 1964.

74) Excerpt from “Remarks in St. Paul at the Minnesota State Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Convention.” June 27, 1964.

75) Excerpt from “Remarks at the International Rice Research Institute, Los Banos, the Philippines” October 26, 1966.

In both of the sentences, the ‘course’ and ‘avenue’ in source domain correspond to the means in poverty alleviation, manifesting the conceptual metaphor THE MEANS IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE PATH OF JOURNEY. This means that just as a journey can reveal new paths leading to a destination, exploring novel measures and strategies in poverty alleviation can lead to new methods of addressing and overcoming poverty. The metaphor suggests that by adopting innovative approaches and exploring uncharted territories in poverty alleviation, we can discover more effective solutions and approaches to help those in need.

Other less frequently used words also correspond to the constituent elements in the target domain POVERTY ALLEVIATION. ‘Crossroad’ and ‘turning point’ correspond to the choices of patterns and methods in achieving poverty eradication, economic development, and building a great society. ‘Milestone’ corresponds to the achievements made during the process, while ‘distance’ emphasizes the prolonged nature of the poverty alleviation process.

2. OBSTACLE and Metaphorical Expressions

In this context, obstacles refer to the difficulties that hinder progress toward the destination of a journey. According to Lakoff (1993, p. 18) “Metaphorical difficulties of this sort come in five types: blockages; features of the terrain; burdens; counterforce; and lack of an energy source.”

In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse, four metaphorical expressions occur, namely ‘barrier’, ‘obstacle’, ‘bar’, and ‘uphill’, as listed in Table 5-16. ‘Barrier’ and ‘obstacle’ belong to the first category, while ‘bar’ represents the counterforce, and ‘uphill’ describes a topographical feature. These expressions metaphorically represent the difficulties faced in poverty alleviating, emphasizing the necessity to overcome and address these challenges in order to make progress towards alleviating poverty. In these four metaphorical expressions, a total of 20 instances appear, with ‘barrier’ being the most frequent, occurring 14 times, and the least frequent being the term ‘uphill,’ describing terrain, which only appears once.

OBSTACLE	Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
blockage	barrier	13	20
	obstacle	4	
counterforce	bar	2	
features of the terrain	uphill	1	

In Example (46), the three sentences contain the four metaphorical expressions, manifesting that THE DIFFICULTY IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE OBSTACLE IN JOURNEY, metaphorically likening the challenges and difficulties encountered in poverty alleviation to obstacles that obstruct progress in a journey. The metaphor suggests that just as physical barriers can obstruct movement in travel, the difficulties faced in poverty alleviation can impede progress towards achieving positive outcomes.

- (46) a. It will give many workers and farmers the opportunity to break through particular **barriers** which **bar** their escape from poverty.⁷⁶⁾
- b. We will work with them through our communities all over the country to develop comprehensive community action programs, overcoming the **obstacles** to eliminate poverty—with remedial education, with job training, with retraining, with health and employment counseling, with neighborhood improvement. We will strike at poverty's roots.⁷⁷⁾
- c. So, as we go down the long, winding, **uphill** trail of a greater society,... a place where every family has a roof over its head, where every child has an opportunity for an education...!⁷⁸⁾

76) Excerpt from “Special Message to the Congress Proposing a Nationwide War on the Sources of Poverty.” March 16, 1964.

77) Excerpt from “Remarks Upon Signing the Economic Opportunity Act.” August 20, 1964.

78) Excerpt from “Remarks in Cleveland at the Convention of the Communications Workers of

3. GUIDE and Metaphorical Expressions

In the previous chapter, we explored the conceptual metaphors concerning guide in Xi Jinping’s poverty alleviation discourse. The guidance in work is akin to that of a guide in a journey. With proper guidance, the progress of work can be expedited, much like how travelers can avoid taking wrong turns under the direction of a guide. Similarly, Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse on poverty alleviation also employs this metaphor. Through a manual screening, I discovered just two instances of metaphorical expressions, ‘guide’ and ‘point the way.’

Table 5-17. GUIDE Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
guide	1	1
point the way	1	1

Taking (48a) for instance, within the context, we can find that the guidance provided in poverty alleviating work, such as the report mentioned, is conceptualized as a guide in a journey. While, in (48b), the accumulated experience in poverty alleviation is regarded as a guide. These lead to the metaphorical mapping THE EXPERIENCE IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE GUIDE IN JOURNEY. This metaphor implies that just as a guide assists and leads individuals in a journey, guidance in poverty alleviation is essential for navigating the challenges and complexities of addressing or overcoming poverty. It emphasizes the importance of having reliable and knowledgeable guidance to effectively navigate the path towards poverty alleviation.

(48) a. We are **guided** by the report of the Commission on Rural Poverty in tackling the equally compelling problems of the rural slums.⁷⁹⁾

America.” June17, 1964.

b. The achievements we have made and the lessons we have learned **point the way** for further progress.⁸⁰⁾

4. MOVEMENT and Metaphorical Expressions

As a constituent element of the concept JOURNEY, the source domain MOVEMENT occurs with the highest frequency in Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse.

Table 5-18. MOVEMENT Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse			
MOVEMENT	Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
progress of movement	have come a long way 2	2	50
forward movement	move forward /go (ing) forward 11 stride forward 2 move toward 1 get ahead 2 go ahead 3 move ahead 3 be ahead 1 move along 1 move to 3 advance 3 breakthrough 2 headway 1 step 10	43	
speed of movement	speed up 4 fast 1	5	

Upon close analysis of the discourse, the identified metaphorical expressions can be further categorized into three groups: progress of movement, forward movement, and speed of movement, as presented in Table 5-18. The analysis of the data indicates that metaphorical expressions related to forward movement exhibit the highest number of

79) Excerpt from "Remarks to Members of the Business Council." December 04, 1968.

80) Excerpt from "Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President." January 16, 1969.

word forms and the highest frequency of occurrence. The most typical expressions in this category are ‘move/go forward’, ‘step’, and ‘move/go/get ahead.’

The following section will illustrate the mapping from MOVEMENT to POVERTY ALLEVIATION through specific sentences.

Firstly, in sentence (49a), the ‘total victory of war on poverty’ is metaphorically referred to as the destination of a journey, and the poverty alleviation work are likened to a journey that proceeds from a starting point to a goal. The phrase ‘have come a long way’ implies the distance already covered, mapping the achievement made in the work. This sentence embodies the concept metaphor THE ACHIEVEMENT OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS PROGRESS OF MOVEMENT.

- (49) a. To finish that work I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective: total victory. We **have come a long way** toward this goal.⁸¹⁾

Secondly, with the typical metaphorical expressions found in poverty alleviation discourse, we can identify such metaphorical mapping: MAKING PROGRESS IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FORWARD MOVEMENT IN A JOURNEY.

Metaphorical expressions like ‘move forward’, ‘go forward’, ‘march forward’, ‘stride forward’, ‘move toward’, and ‘step’ uniformly articulate the concept of moving ahead or making progress. They underline the notion of motion in a specific direction or towards a set goal, thereby resonating with the idea of making headway towards achieving work objectives. For example:

- (50) a. If we now **move forward** to where no man or woman is the victim of fear or poverty.... and the enduring gratitude of generations of Americans yet to come.⁸²⁾
- b. If we can catch the unskilled and undereducated and give them help at this early stage of their lives, we can **go forward toward** eradicating poverty.⁸³⁾

81) Excerpt from “Special Message to the Congress Proposing a Nationwide War on the Sources of Poverty.” March 16, 1964.

82) Excerpt from “Remarks Upon Signing the Economic Opportunity Act.” August 20, 1964.

- c. In the world, we believe that **a long step** can be taken toward overcoming poverty everywhere if free nations will only work together for a victory over the obstacles to free trade.⁸⁴⁾

In both sentences (50a) and (50b), the progress of poverty alleviation work is metaphorically depicted as a journey, where we need to keep moving forward towards the goal of eradicating poverty. Besides them, ‘get ahead,’ ‘go ahead,’ ‘move ahead,’ and ‘be ahead’ all have connotations of moving forward or surpassing in English. They all involve the idea of moving forward or improving from the current position or state. These expressions can be used to interpret the abstract concepts of progress, development, or advancement in the target domain. The words ‘advance,’ ‘breakthrough,’ and ‘headway’ all convey the idea of making progress or moving forward, often in the face of obstacles or difficulties. In the context of a journey or movement metaphor, ‘advance’ often refers to making progress towards a goal or objective. ‘Breakthrough’ suggests a significant or sudden advance, often after a period of stagnation or slow progress. ‘Headway’ refers to forward progress or the distance moved forward. It’s often used in the context of slow, steady progress. In a MOVEMENT metaphor, making headway might mean making slow but steady progress towards the goal.

‘Step’ is frequently used as a metaphorical expression to depict progress or development towards a goal in English. This word is mapped from the concrete, physical act of stepping onto the abstract concept of progression or development. In sentence (50c), ‘a long step’ is used to describe significant progress that could be made in eradicating global poverty if free nations work together. In this context, ‘step’ is employed as a metaphor, illustrating the process of tackling poverty as a journey where progress is gauged by the distance covered (or steps taken).

In summary, metaphorical expressions of the forward movement category all convey the concept of advancement and are used to describe the process of progressing towards

83) Excerpt from “The President’s News Conference at the New York World’s Fair.” May 09, 1964.

84) Excerpt from “Remarks to the Members of the Public Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations.” April 21, 1964.

the goal of eradicating poverty. In President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse, these metaphorical expressions manifest the concept metaphor that MAKING PROGRESS IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FORWARD MOVEMENT.

Thirdly, in Example (51), the metaphorical expressions 'speed up' and 'fast,' which typically denote the pace of travel, are utilized to describe the speed of progress in poverty alleviation. This usage manifests the conceptual metaphor SPEED OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS SPEED OF MOVEMENT IN JOURNEY. Via this metaphor, the discourse suggests that the rate at which poverty is reduced or eliminated can be likened to the speed at which a journey is undertaken.

- (51) a. We have a long way to go before we wipe out poverty in America and give every man a chance to find a job. We should **speed up**.⁸⁵⁾
- b. We can salvage them (the poor) for fruitful, productive lives in American society if we can move **fast** enough.⁸⁶⁾

'Speed up' and 'fast' both originally denote rapid physical movement. In sentence (51a), the need to move forward more quickly aligns with the need to accelerate the rate of poverty alleviation. In sentence (51b), 'move fast' metaphorically expresses the necessity for swift action in aiding the impoverished. These two linguistic expressions manifest the metaphor THE RATE OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE SPEED OF MOVEMENT IN A JOURNEY.

Through the analysis of statistical data, I have categorized the identified JOURNEY metaphors based on the constituent elements of path, obstacle, guide, and movement, and I have also examined their distribution within President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse. Furthermore, I have investigated the metaphorical mappings from JOURNEY to POVERTY ALLEVIATION. The comprehensive outcomes of this analysis are summarized below, offering an overview of the metaphorical mappings identified within the discourse.

85) Excerpt from "Remarks in St. Paul at the Minnesota State Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Convention." June 27, 1964.

86) Excerpt from "The President's News Conference at the New York World's Fair." May 09, 1964.

Table 5-19. Metaphorical Mappings of JOURNEY in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
journey	—————▶	poverty alleviation
path	—————▶	means/process of poverty alleviation
obstacle	—————▶	difficulties in poverty alleviation
guide	—————▶	guide in poverty alleviation
progress of movement	—————▶	achievements in poverty alleviation
forward movement	—————▶	making progress in poverty alleviation
speed of movement	—————▶	the rate of poverty alleviation

The JOURNEY metaphor can help people create mental representations of journey and simulate perceptions of journey (El Refaie, 2014). In the case of President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, he employs the JOURNEY metaphor to draw parallels between poverty alleviation and a journey. By utilizing this metaphor, he effectively conveys the objectives of poverty alleviation by associating them with the destination in a journey. The PATH metaphor serves a dual purpose: firstly, it is utilized to metaphorically depict the progression of poverty alleviation, and secondly, it is employed to elucidate the operational approaches and strategies utilized in the context of poverty alleviation. Meanwhile, the OBSTACLE metaphor helps elucidate the difficulties and challenges encountered in this process, while the metaphor of MOVEMENT is employed to illustrate the progress made in poverty alleviation.

Overall, the JOURNEY metaphor vividly portrays and effectively describes the work of poverty alleviation, tapping into people's existing knowledge and experiences related to journeys. This elicits resonance and understanding from the public, enabling them to conceptualize and relate to the challenges, goals, and progress associated with poverty alleviation. Ultimately, it fosters a deeper connection and support for such endeavors.

H. Metaphorical Mappings of WAR Metaphor

In Table 5-1, it is evident that WAR metaphors dominate the metaphors in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s poverty alleviation discourse, exhibiting the highest frequency of occurrence, while also showcasing diversity in their word forms. Following the methodology outlined in Chapter III, I conducted an in-depth study on the utilization of the WAR metaphor within President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse on poverty alleviation. Subsequently, drawing from the constituent elements of the source domain of war, which encompass warfare, process, opponent, battlefield, strategy, weapon, and war outcome, I systematically categorized the identified metaphors. Data on the variations of word forms, their occurrence frequencies, and corresponding proportions are comprehensively presented in the ensuing table.

Source Domain	Word Forms	Frequency	Percentage
WARFARE	2	183	40.4%
WARFARE PROCESS	8	93	20.5%
OPPONENT	4	63	13.9%
BATTLEFIELD	5	20	4.4%
STRATEGY	2	7	1.5%
WEAPON	2	17	3.8%
WAR OUTCOME	4	70	15.5%
Total	27	453	100%

As table 5-20 depicted, President Lyndon B. Johnson extensively utilizes WAR metaphors in the discussion on poverty alleviation, with a total of 27 metaphorical expressions appearing a cumulative 453 times. Among these, the most frequently used expressions are the overarching terms associated with warfare, with a total occurrence of 183 times, accounting for 40.4% of the overall usage. The second most frequent

category includes expressions that depict the process of engagement in a battle, appearing in eight different word forms and a total of 93 instances. The third and fourth most common metaphors pertain to the war outcome and the opponents, with 70 and 63 occurrences, respectively. In comparison, there are fewer metaphors associated with the source domain of battlefields and weapons, appearing 20 and 17 times, respectively. Metaphorical expressions related to strategy have the lowest frequency, with only two word forms and seven occurrences, accounting for 1.5% of the total.

In the subsequent part, I will delve more deeply into the mapping relationships of the WAR metaphor in his discussion regarding poverty alleviation with greater detail.

1. WARFARE and Metaphorical Expressions

Let's begin by examining the metaphorical expressions associated with warfare in President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse on poverty alleviation.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
war	174	183
battle	9	

Two metaphorical expressions related to warfare have been identified, with a cumulative occurrence of 183 instances. Among the two metaphorical expressions, the most frequently used one is the general term 'war,' utilized to depict conflicts. Since President Lyndon B. Johnson called on the entire nation to overcome poverty, he frequently used metaphorical expressions like 'war' and 'battle' while discussing the government's endeavors in alleviating poverty, as shown in Example (52):

(52) a. We have launched an all-out **War** on Poverty, and an all-out effort to give

every living American his full constitutional rights.⁸⁷⁾

- b. So let your young hearts armed with new weapons join in an old **battle** against ancient enemies— the enemies of poverty, disease, illiteracy, strife, and bigotry.⁸⁸⁾

Clearly, the metaphorical mapping POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS WAR can be observed in the two aforementioned sentences. Conceptual metaphor is an effective tool in constructing political discourse (Jia, 2015). As a skilled politician, President Lyndon B. Johnson deliberately selected the highly impactful term ‘war’, which inherently connotes intense conflicts, to depict the issue of poverty alleviation to the entire nation. Through this metaphor, he effectively conveyed the urgency and importance of addressing poverty to the American people, motivating them to swiftly mobilize and actively participate in the endeavor.

2. WARFARE PROCESS and Metaphorical Expressions

The process of warfare is one of the constituent elements of war. During the course of war, opposing sides engage in combat, involving actions such as soldiers fighting and generals commanding, in a complex and rapidly changing environment. In reality, the ongoing battle between humans and poverty persists relentlessly. Those living in poverty are burdened by its hardships and must exert their utmost efforts to overcome it and secure their survival. It is akin to engaging in a fierce battle against adversaries on the battlefield. Within Lyndon B. President Johnson’s discourse on poverty alleviation, a comprehensive analysis reveals the presence of eight distinct metaphorical expressions pertaining to the domain of WARFARE PROCESS. During the process of war, both offense and defense are indispensable components. However, in his discourse, the expressions predominantly fall within the category of offense, such as ‘attack,’ ‘wage a war,’ ‘fighting,’ and others, as depicted in Table 5-22.

87) Excerpt from the “Remarks in San Francisco at the Dedication of the Federal Building.” June 19, 1964.

88) Excerpt from the “Remarks in Athens at Ohio University.” May 07, 1964.

Table 5-22. WARFARE PROCESS Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
attack	52	93
wage a war	5	
launch a war	2	
fight	15	
fight against	11	
combat	4	
assault	2	
offensive	2	

In the following sentences, we can observe that President Lyndon B. Johnson combines expressions such as ‘attack’, ‘fight’, and ‘wage a war’ with poverty to describe the arduous process of poverty alleviation, emphasizing the idea of actively combating poverty.

- (53) a. We have helped more than a thousand local communities to **attack** poverty in the neighborhoods of the poor.⁸⁹⁾
- b. We must eliminate poverty... And we are going to **wage war on** poverty until we finally win!⁹⁰⁾

In President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse, there are 93 metaphorical expressions indicating a proactive offensive approach. Through these metaphors, he conceptualized the fight against poverty as an active offensive war, forming a metaphorical mapping: POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS PROACTIVE WAR. As the saying goes, the best

89) Excerpt from the “Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.” January 10, 1967.

90) Excerpt from the “Remarks in Los Angeles at a Democratic Fundraising Dinner.” June 20, 1964.

defense is a good offense. Through a plethora of proactive and assertive metaphorical expressions in the context of poverty alleviation, President Lyndon B. Johnson effectively encouraged the active involvement of the American people in poverty alleviation.

3. OPPONENT and Metaphorical Expressions

Like President Xi Jinping, President Lyndon B. Johnson also utilizes metaphorical expressions to represent the opposing sides in his discourse on poverty alleviation. In his discourse, four metaphorical expressions related to the opposing sides are identified, appearing 63 times. They encompass references to both the opposing sides, as indicated by words like ‘enemy’, ‘foe’ used to portray adversaries, and terms like ‘army’ that convey the own camp. Among these metaphorical expressions representing adversaries, the term ‘enemy’ appeared most frequently, occurring 46 times. The details are presented in Table 5-23.

Table 5-23. OPPONENT Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
enemy/ enemies	46	63
enlist	11	
army	4	
foe	2	

Next, let’s discuss the metaphorical mappings of OPPONENT metaphors, based on Example (54). ‘Enemy’ in (54a) and ‘army’ in (54b) are constituent elements in WAR. They correspond to the constituent elements of poverty alleviation, representing poverty itself and the individuals engaged in the fight against poverty. Thus, we can identify the metaphorical mappings POVERTY IS ENEMY, YOU (American people) ARE

SOLDIERS.

- (54) a. Poverty at home is an **enemy** of our society as much as aggressors abroad.⁹¹⁾
- b. I want to ask you to enlist now in the **army**— some of you are above the draft age and I can't force you to do it, but I want you to volunteer to join the army in our war against poverty.⁹²⁾

It is evident that President Lyndon B. Johnson employs OPPONENT metaphors to interpret the opposing sides in the struggle between the American people and poverty. The portrayal of the two sides as adversaries represents a typical binary opposition description, which can evoke a sense of animosity and fear toward the enemy and foster unity within the team. He utilizes WAR metaphors to elucidate the task of poverty alleviation, urging all American people to join the army and combat the enemy of poverty.

4. BATTLEFIELD and Metaphorical Expressions

As mentioned in chapter IV, the battlefield is a constituent component of war and can generate numerous metaphors. In President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse, there are five battlefield-related metaphorical expressions: 'front', 'frontline', 'battlefield', 'fortress' and 'beachhead.' 'Front' and 'frontline' are synonymous terms that can be used interchangeably, both referring to the foremost position in a war or battle. In the discourse, these two words appear a total of 17 times, as indicated in Table 5-24. Other words such as 'battlefield,' 'fortress,' and 'beachhead,' although appearing only once, also play a significant role in the discourse. Through these metaphorical expressions, President Lyndon B. Johnson further reinforces the metaphor POVERTY

91) Excerpt from the "Statement by the President on New York City's Mobilization for Youth Program." July 08, 1964.

92) Excerpt from the "Remarks to the Members of the International Labor Press Association." April 27, 1964.

ALLEVIATION IS A WAR, highlighting the focal points and challenges of poverty alleviation work.

Table 5-24. BATTLEFIELD Metaphorical Expressions in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
front	15	20
frontline	2	
battlefield	1	
fortress	1	
beachhead	1	

- (55) a. America's War on Poverty is fought on many **fronts**, with many weapons.⁹³⁾
 b. And we have mounted an attack upon the final **fortresses** of poverty.⁹⁴⁾

The process of alleviating poverty is intricate and encompasses various facets of work. As shown in sentence (55a), the regions, communities, or organizations that directly confront poverty and engage in practical actions are understood as the forefront position of the war. The metaphorical mapping is THE AREAS DIRECTLY CONFRONTING POVERTY ARE FRONTS IN WAR.

The 'beachhead' is the location where opposing sides fight each other, and it is a synonym of 'battlefield.' By conceptualizing different scopes of work in poverty alleviation with the battlefield metaphors, the metaphorical mapping POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS WAR is further strengthened.

A 'fortress' refers to a building with strong defenses that are hard to break through

93) Excerpt from the "Message to the Congress Transmitting First Report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity." June 18, 1968.

94) Excerpt from the "Remarks in New York City to Members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union." June 06, 1964.

on the battlefield. This metaphorical expression appears only once in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse, as shown in (55b), which highlights the difficulty of poverty alleviation.

5. STRATEGY and Metaphorical Expressions

War is a multifaceted undertaking, where strategy plays a pivotal role in determining its outcome. Hence, the WAR metaphor inherently signifies the presence of well-devised strategies to surmount challenges (Walker, 2020). However, this source domain does not appear frequently in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse on alleviating. As shown in Table 5-25, the metaphorical expression ‘strategy’ is mentioned six times, while the metaphorical expression ‘tactic’ is mentioned only once in the discourse. And it becomes apparent that in Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse, these two metaphorical expressions do not possess significant distinctions and both refer to military strategies and tactics employed in warfare.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
strategy	6	7
tactic	1	

- (56) a. All of you are needed to organize community action programs--to map the **strategy** and to carry out the plans for eliminating poverty in each community.⁹⁵⁾
- b. The **tactics** of our attack on this ancient enemy (poverty) must be versatile and adaptable.⁹⁶⁾

95) Excerpt from the “Remarks at the University of Kentucky.” February 22, 1965.

96) Excerpt from the “Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President.” January 20, 1964.

From (56a) and (56b), we can see that the poverty alleviation policies are metaphorically regarded as strategies in war, that is THE POVERTY ALLEVIATION STRATEGY IS STRATEGY OF WAR.

In warfare, strategies must be rigorously executed and promptly adjusted according to the situation (Zhang, 1974). In his discourse, President Lyndon B. Johnson employs metaphorical expressions like ‘pursue strategy’ and ‘adjust strategy.’ These metaphorical expressions underscore the importance of policy execution and the necessity of formulating and adjusting policies based on specific circumstances. They assist President Lyndon B. Johnson in persuading the staff to develop and implement poverty alleviation policies according to unique circumstances and to continuously adapt the policies as the work progresses.

6. WEAPON and Metaphorical Expressions

In a war, weapons play an important role, making them constituent elements of the source domain WAR. In his discourse on poverty alleviation that we have examined, President Lyndon B. Johnson utilizes two metaphorical expressions related to weapons. The most frequently used is ‘weapon’, appearing 16 times, while another word, ‘arsenal’, has only appeared once, as shown in Table 5-26.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
weapon	16	17
arsenal	1	

The subsequent section will analyze the metaphorical mapping of WEAPON metaphors in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse on poverty alleviation, taking Example (57) as a reference point. In (57a), ‘weapons’ in war corresponds to the

poverty alleviation plan. The ‘food stamp plan’ is metaphorically perceived as a weapon, highlighting its significance and effectiveness in addressing poverty alleviation.

- (57) a. As a permanent program, the food stamp plan will be one of our most valuable **weapons** for the war on poverty.⁹⁷⁾
- b. It gives me the deepest satisfaction to know that the increased funds authorized for American Indians by this act will add to our **arsenal** in the war on poverty.⁹⁸⁾

The metaphorical expression ‘arsenal’ in (57b) strengthens the WEAPON metaphor. In war, an arsenal signifies having an abundant supply of weapons to combat the enemy. Similarly, in poverty alleviation, it implies that the government possesses a wide array of approaches to assist the impoverished in overcoming poverty. So, in these two sentences, we can identify the metaphorical mapping THE MEASURES IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION ARE WEAPONS IN WAR.

In specific contexts, President Lyndon B. Johnson uses WEAPON metaphors to refer to ‘programs,’ ‘bills,’ and ‘acts.’ Additionally, certain specific measures, such as supporting education, improving medical and social security measures, or enhancing employment opportunities in impoverished areas, can also be conceptualized as weapons. In essence, all methods aimed at alleviating poverty are regarded as weapons by him.

7. WAR OUTCOME and Metaphorical Expressions

As depicted in Table 5-27, President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse on poverty alleviation contains four metaphorical expressions pertaining to the outcomes of war, namely ‘win/won,’ ‘conquer,’ ‘victory,’ and ‘defeat,’ which are used a total of 70 times. All these metaphors are associated with positive outcomes of war. Among these expressions, ‘win/won’ occurs 40 times, accounting for over 50% of the total, while

97) Excerpt from the “Remarks Upon Signing the Food Stamp Act.” August 31, 1964.

98) Excerpt from the “Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Increased Funds for Vocational Training of American Indians.” April 24, 1965.

‘victory’ and ‘conquer’ are relatively close with 12 and 11 occurrences respectively. ‘Defeat,’ referring to the act of defeating enemies, has the lowest frequency, appearing only seven times.

Metaphorical Expressions	Frequency	Total
win/won	40	70
conquer	11	
victory	12	
defeat	7	

By examining Example (58), we can study the metaphorical mapping of WAR OUTCOME in President’s discourse on poverty alleviation. In (58a) and (58b), both ‘win’ and ‘conquer’ are used as positive war outcomes, corresponding to the triumph of poverty alleviation, activating the conceptual metaphor POVERTY ERADICATION IS WINNING IN A WAR.

- (58) a. This war on poverty will take endless patience and ceaseless toil, but we intend to **win** it.⁹⁹⁾
- b. If we can catch the unskilled and undereducated and give them help at this early stage of their lives, we can go forward toward **conquering** poverty.¹⁰⁰⁾

Metaphors have a strong guiding power (Fuks, 2010). These metaphors depicting the favorable results of warfare showcase President Lyndon B. Johnson’s assurance and foresight in achieving triumph in the struggle against poverty, holding the promise to

99) Excerpt from the “Speech at the Seminar on Cooperation Between Eastern and Western Regions on Poverty Alleviation.” July 20, 2016.

100) Excerpt from “Speech at a National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved.” February 25, 2021.

boost morale and effectively motivate underprivileged individuals to actively participate in the campaign against destitution.

In contemporary American political discourse, metaphors are methodically drawn from the terminology of sports and war. (Howe, 1988), and President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse on poverty alleviation is no exception. Through statistics, we can see that multiple basic constituent elements of war, including battlefield, enemy, and weapon, are employed as source domains to describe poverty alleviation. Through the analysis of the high-frequency metaphors, we can draw the main conclusions of the metaphorical mappings presented in the table below.

Table 5-28. Metaphorical Mappings of WAR in Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty Alleviation Discourse		
Source Domain	Mapping	Target Domain
war/fight	—————▶	poverty alleviation
enemy	—————▶	poverty
soldiers	—————▶	the poor
battlefield	—————▶	domains of poverty alleviation
strategy in war	—————▶	strategy in poverty alleviation
weapon in war	—————▶	measures in poverty alleviation
victory in war	—————▶	wining in poverty alleviation

In conclusion, President Lyndon B. Johnson strategically uses WAR metaphors in his discourse on poverty alleviation. He constructs the WAR framework by repeatedly employing words like 'war/battle,' interpreting poverty as an enemy. This aims to evoke comprehensive understanding of war-related knowledge in people's cognition, conveying the urgency and significance of poverty alleviation, and thus rallying the American populace to actively engage in the fight against poverty. By utilizing a myriad of metaphors related to the engagement process, President Lyndon B. Johnson conveys a proactive and resolute stance towards achieving victory in the war on poverty. Employing WEAPON metaphors, he directs public attention to this issue, paving the

way for pivotal poverty alleviation policies and programs, such as those concerning food security, education, and healthcare (Zarefsky, 2005). Through the use of WAR OUTCOME metaphors, he ignites the morale and instills a sense of assured victory among the American people.

I. Summary

Chapter V presents the research findings on the metaphors found in President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse. A total of eight main metaphors and several scattered metaphors are identified, ranked in order of their frequency: WAR metaphor, JOURNEY metaphor, CONTAINER metaphor, SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor, CONFINEMENT metaphor, DISEASE metaphor, BUILDING metaphor, and PLANT metaphor. Through the aforementioned analysis, it is evident that President Lyndon B. Johnson elucidates poverty as an enemy, a disease, a supernatural being, and a container, among others. He depicts poverty alleviation as a war, a journey, and a healing process for diseases. Through these metaphors, he offers multiple perspectives to describe poverty and poverty alleviation, underscoring the urgency and necessity of lifting people out of poverty to the public. He encourages individuals to persistently explore, overcome challenges, and seek suitable methods in the journey of poverty alleviation. Additionally, I also found sporadic metaphors in his discourse, such as STAGE metaphors, GAME metaphors, and CIRCLE metaphors. However, due to their limited occurrence, they were not extensively explored in this study.

VI. Comparison Results

In preceding chapters, metaphors present in the poverty alleviation discourse of President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson have been thoroughly examined. This examination vividly demonstrates the lexical forms, usage frequencies, and proportions of metaphorical expressions employed by these two leaders in their poverty alleviation discourse. Furthermore, it meticulously examines the metaphorical mapping relationships between the two domains of each metaphor.

In this section, the study's scope will be extended. Initially, it will delve into the similarities and differences in metaphorical usage by both leaders at both a general and specific level. This will lay the foundation for the next stages of research.

A. Similarities and Differences at the General-level

In this section, we will delve into the similarities and distinctions in the utilization of metaphors within the poverty alleviation discourse of the two national leaders. The commonalities and disparities in the choice of source domains are referred to as similarities and differences at the general level, while the shared characteristics and distinctions in the usage of sub-source domains are referred to as similarities and differences at the specific level.

1. Similarities at the General-level

In Chapters IV and V, I have compiled statistics on the source domains used by these two presidents. Now, through Table 6-1, we will reexamine the commonalities and distinctions in the selection of source domains by both national leaders.

The data in the table proves that WAR metaphor, BUILDING metaphor, JOURNEY metaphor, DISEASE metaphor, and PLANT metaphor are shared in the poverty alleviation discourse of both leaders. They regard poverty as an enemy, as a disease,

and consider eradicating poverty as a war, a journey, and treating a disease, etc. When discussing poverty alleviation, both leaders describe the prosperous life after overcoming poverty as a building, and poverty alleviation work or economic development is described as the process of constructing or the foundation of a structure. In both sets of discourse, the WAR metaphor is the most extensively employed, constituting approximately 75.1% of the metaphors in President Xi's discourse and around 62.2% of all metaphors in President Johnson's discourse. The metaphor employed with the second highest frequency in both cases is the JOURNEY metaphor, with its frequency being even higher in President Johnson's discourse compared to that of President Xi.

**Table 6-1. Comparison of Metaphors
in Xi Jinping's Poverty Alleviation Discourse and Lyndon B. Johnson's Poverty
Alleviation Discourse**

Source Domain	Xi Jinping's Discourse			Johnson's Discourse		
	Form	Frequency	Percentage	Form	Frequency	Percentage
BUILDING	4	35	3.9%	6	17	2.3%
DISEASE	9	32	3.6%	11	19	2.6%
PLANT	6	15	1.7%	1	16	2.2%
CLOTHING	1	45	5.1%	0	0	0
MACHINE	2	19	2.1%	0	0	0
CONFINEMENT	0	0	0	7	23	3.2%
CONTAINER	0	0	0	4	35	4.8%
SUPERNATURAL BEING	0	0	0	4	25	3.4%
JOURNEY	19	61	6.8%	39	116	16.0%
WAR	37	670	75.1%	27	453	62.2%
OTHERS	9	15	1.7%	7	24	3.3%
Total	87	892	100%	106	728	100%

2. Differences at the General-level

From the table, we can also observe that certain metaphors are uniquely present in the poverty alleviation discussions of only one of the leaders. The CLOTHING metaphor and the MACHINE metaphor exist solely in Chinese president's discourse on poverty alleviating. There are expressions like POVERTY IS A HAT, POVERTY ERADICATION IS REMOVING THE HAT in his discourse. And he also used MACHINE metaphor to interpret poverty alleviation, with the metaphors POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS MACHINE, THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT IS THE POWER, INDIVIDUALS ARE MACHINE COMPONENTS, and THE PROGRESS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS OPERATION OF MACHINE. These are absent from the American president's discourse.

Meanwhile, in President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse, the CONFINEMENT metaphor, CONTAINER metaphor, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor appear exclusively. He perceives poverty as a prison, shackles, a deep well, a trap, as well as supernatural beings like monsters and demons. In his discourse, there are conceptual metaphors like POVERTY IS A PRISON, POVERTY IS CONFINING EQUIPMENTS, BEING IN POVERTY IS BEING IN A CONTAINER, ERADICATING POVERTY IS GETTING OUT OF A CONTAINER, and POVERTY IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING.

In summary, the metaphors used by the two national leaders in describing poverty and poverty alleviation have both similarities and differences. There are five conceptual metaphors that commonly appear in both leaders' poverty alleviation discourse. Among them, the WAR metaphor and JOURNEY metaphor rank in the top two in their respective discourses, especially the WAR metaphor, which is used far more frequently than the others.

Furthermore, it has been observed that in President Xi Jinping's discourse, there are two metaphors that are unique, and in President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse, there are three exclusive metaphors. Even though the frequency and overall count of each metaphor type are not extensive, they still carry considerable significance and warrant

thorough consideration.

B. Similarities and Differences at the Specific-level

In addition to the likenesses and variances in their source domain preferences, the two presidents also exhibit numerous resemblances and disparities in their choices of sub-metaphors when utilizing the same overarching metaphors

1. Similarities at the Specific-level

Poverty is a problem faced by all of humanity globally, and the aspiration to overcome it is a shared endeavor. Therefore, in depicting poverty and its alleviation, including the selection of sub-metaphors, there are numerous similarities between these two leaders.

a. BUILDING Metaphor

Both national leaders have chosen the BUILDING metaphor, using the building process as the sub-source domain. They have likened the affluent life after poverty eradication to a building, where poverty alleviation is the construction process, and economic development is the foundation of poverty alleviation, as well as the basis for building a better life. Therefore, in their discourse, the metaphorical mappings of THE MODERATELY PROSPEROUS SOCIETY/GREAT SOCIETY IS BUILDING, and POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FOUNDATION have emerged.

b. DISEASE Metaphor

In the use of DISEASE metaphor, there is also a convergence. Both national leaders view poverty as a chronic and unhealed disease, highlighting the cure for poverty. In both of their discourses, the metaphors POVERTY IS DISEASE, POVERTY

ALLEVIATION IS TREATMENT have emerged.

c. PLANT Metaphor

In the PLANT metaphor, the plant's root is a sub-source domain chosen by both leaders. They all consider poverty to be like a plant, and the cause of poverty is akin to the root of a plant. In their discourse, the conceptual metaphors POVERTY IS PLANT, THE CAUSE OF POVERTY IS ROOT OF PLANT have been identified.

d. JOURNEY Metaphor

It is obvious that the JOURNEY metaphor is a prevalent shared one in the discourse of both national leaders. They regard poverty alleviation as a journey, and the eradication of poverty as the destination of that journey. In their respective discourses, they have chosen the sub-source domain of path, obstacle, guide, and movement frequently, leading to the following conceptual metaphors: THE MEANS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE PATH TO DESTINATION, THE DIFFICULTY IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE OBSTACLE IN JOURNEY, THE EXPERIENCE/PLAN/PROGRAM IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE GUIDE IN JOURNEY, and THE PROGRESS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS THE MOVEMENT ON PATH.

e. WAR Metaphor

The WAR metaphor stands out prominently in both sets of discourses. President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson have used constituent elements in war such as opponents, the process of war, weapons, strategies, battlefields, and war outcomes as the sub-source domains. They have likened poverty to our enemy, poverty alleviating to a war, policies of poverty alleviating to weapons, the guiding principles of poverty alleviation to strategies on the battlefield, and the eradication of poverty alleviation to

victory in war. Therefore, in the discourses of both leaders, the following metaphors have emerged: POVERTY IS ENEMY, POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS WAR, THE MEASURES IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION ARE WEAPONS IN WAR, and THE POVERTY ERADICATION IS THE WINNING IN A WAR.

2. Differences at the Specific-level

The previous section has already demonstrated that there are five shared conceptual metaphors in the poverty alleviation discourse of the two leaders. However, in specific contexts, the use of these five metaphors also varies slightly. To explain poverty and poverty alleviation from different perspectives, the two leaders choose different sub-metaphors.

a. BUILDING Metaphor

In his discourse on poverty alleviation, President Lyndon B. Johnson selects BUILDING PARTS as the sub-source domain, viewing poverty as a building, and implementing poverty alleviation programs as assisting the impoverished in unlocking opportunities to break free from poverty, as expressed in: ‘open wide the exits from poverty to the children of the poor.’ This suggests the conceptual metaphors POVERTY IS BUILDING, POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS OPENING THE DOOR.

b. DISEASE Metaphor

President Xi Jinping selects ‘diagnosis’ as the sub-source domain when using the DISEASE metaphor, such as *bamai* ‘pulse diagnosis’ and *zhaozhun binggen* ‘identifying the root cause of the disease,’ corresponding to the task of seeking the reasons of poverty in the target domain of poverty alleviating. This has created the conceptual metaphor IDENTIFYING THE REASON OF POVERTY IS FINDING THE ROOT CAUSE OF DISEASE. President Lyndon B. Johnson, on the other hand, selects

‘symptom’ as the sub-source domain, such as ‘contagious’, corresponding to the characteristic that poverty can also easily spread on a large scale. This has generated the metaphor THE SPREAD OF POVERTY IS THE SPREAD OF A DISEASE.

c. PLANT Metaphor

When using the PLAT metaphor, President Xi Jinping not only uses the root as the sub-source domain but also utilizes the cultivation process as a sub-source domain. He employs several agricultural terms, such as *diguan* ‘drip irrigation’ and *manguan* ‘flood irrigation,’ to explain poverty alleviation methods, manifesting the metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION METHODS ARE IRRIGATION METHODS. This sub-source domain does not exist in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse.

d. JOURNEY Metaphor

Both leaders extensively employ JOURNEY metaphor in their respective discourses, and the selection of sub-domains is focused on PATH and MOVEMENT.

Source Domain	Xi Jinping’s Discourse			Lyndon B. Johnson’s Discourse		
	Form	Frequency	Percentage	Form	Frequency	Percentage
PATH	7	34	55.7%	12	44	37.9%
OBSTACLE	2	5	8.2%	5	20	17.2%
GUIDE	1	3	4.9%	2	2	1.8%
MOVEMENT	9	19	31.2%	20	50	43.1%
Total	19	61	100%	39	116	100%

However, in comparison, President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse employs the

JOURNEY metaphor more frequently and to a greater extent as shown in Table 6-2.

The analysis of the metaphorical mapping relationship reveals that in the discourse of President Xi Jinping, the sub-source domain of PATH corresponded to the means of alleviating poverty and the social development model. In President Lyndon B. Johnson’s discourse, at times, the PATH corresponds to the process of poverty alleviating, as seen in Example (40) “We have a long way to go before wiping out poverty in America...” which highlights the lengthiness of the poverty alleviation process.

e. WAR Metaphor

The most prominent distinction is found in the application of the WAR metaphor. Both national leaders extensively employ WAR metaphors, but there are substantial disparities in their choice of sub-source domains, as shown in Table 6-3:

Source Domain	Xi Jinping’s Discourse			Johnson’s Discourse		
	Form	Frequency	Percentage	Form	Frequency	Percentage
WARFARE	6	19	2.8%	2	183	40.4%
WARFARE PROCESS	14	170	25.4%	8	93	20.5%
OPPONENT	2	5	0.7%	4	63	13.9%
BATTLEFIELD	4	22	3.3%	5	20	4.4%
STRATEGY	3	391	58.4%	2	7	1.5%
WEAPON	3	3	0.4%	2	17	3.8%
WAR OUTCOME	5	60	9.0%	4	70	15.5%
Total	37	670	100%	27	453	100%

The table demonstrates that the most conspicuous disparity in employing the WAR

metaphor between the two national leaders lies in their utilization of the sub-source domain of strategy. President Xi Jinping employs it 391 times in his discourse, accounting for 58.4%, while in President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse, metaphorical expressions related to strategy only appeared seven times, accounting for 1.5%. Regarding the metaphorical expressions, Xi Jinping not only employs general terms such as *zhanlve/fanglve* 'strategy/tactics,' but also narrowed these strategies to *gongjian/gongjianzhan* 'fortress-attacking.' As shown in Table 4-23, in Xi Jinping's discussion on poverty alleviation, the term *gongjian/gongjianzhan* 'fortress-attacking' appears repeatedly, up to 377 times, comprising 95% of strategy-related metaphorical expressions.

The second noteworthy distinction resides in the utilization of the sub-source domain WARFARE. In President Lyndon B. Johnson's words on poverty alleviation, it appears 183 times, accounting for 40.4%, while in President Xi Jinping's discourse, it appears only 19 times, accounting for 2.8%. A comprehensive investigation of the distribution of metaphorical expressions in both types of corpora was undertaken, and the results are presented in the respective tables labeled as Table 4-20 and Table 5-21. It is also evident that within the realm of WARFARE, President Lyndon B. Johnson used two words 'war' and 'battle.' The metaphorical expressions used in President Xi Jinping's discourse are hyponyms of war, more specifically reflecting the situations and stages of warfare. Examples include terms like *yingzhang* 'tough battle,' symbolizing the strenuousness of the task, and phrases like *zonggong* 'final battle,' embodying the last stage of a war. These metaphorical expressions all pertain to the situation of war, conceptualizing the situation of poverty alleviation. They convey that China's poverty alleviation has reached its concluding phase, and the responsibility is substantial.

The third disparity is found in the application of PROCESS, the source domain. As depicted in Table 6-3, the utilization of this sub-source domain by the two national leaders is somewhat similar, but a closer look at their metaphorical expressions reveals that President Xi Jinping concentrated on the metaphorical expression *jingzhun* 'targeted,' up to 130 times, as shown in Table 4-20, accounting for a certain percentage of the metaphorical expressions in this category. There is another expression that appears only in President Xi's discourse and not in President Johnson's, and that

metaphorical expression is *junlingzhuang* ‘military pledge.’

The final difference lies in the sub-source domain OPPONENT. In terms of form, frequency, and proportion of metaphorical expressions related to OPPONENT, those in President Johnson’s discourse are more prevalent than in President Xi’s discourse. Additionally, the majority of metaphorical expressions used by President Johnson revolve around the concepts of ‘enemy’ or ‘foe.’

C. Summary

In conclusion, this section explores the commonalities and differences in the employment of metaphors within the discussions of poverty alleviation by both national leaders, examined at both the general and specific levels.

Through in-depth analysis, we can find many similarities in the metaphors these two leaders used when describing poverty and poverty alleviation. At the general level, there are five metaphors present in both sets of discourse, including the metaphors of BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, JOURNEY, and WAR. At the specific-level, both leaders utilized several identical sub-domains, such as BUILDING PROCESS, FOUNDATION, TREATMENT, and ROOT, among others. Notably, in the JOURNEY and WAR metaphors, the sub-domains used by both leaders are almost identical.

Nonetheless, notable discrepancies also exist in their utilization of metaphors. At the general-level, the CLOTHING and MACHINE metaphors are unique to President Xi’s discourse, while the CONFINEMENT, CONTAINER, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphors are unique to President Johnson’s discourse. At the specific-level, subtle differences are observed in the choices of sub-source domains by the two leaders. For example, when using the BUILDING metaphor, President Johnson chooses the sub-domain BUILDING PARTS; when using the DISEASE metaphor, President Xi chooses sub-domain DISEASE DIAGNOSIS. The most notable distinction lies in the selection of sub-domains within the WAR metaphor. President Xi extensively employs expressions associated with strategy. Furthermore, discernible variations exist in the utilization of metaphorical expressions in the sub-domains of WARFARE, OPPONENT,

and PROCESS.

What exactly causes these similarities and differences? In the next chapter, I will delve into this question and attempt to provide some explanations from the perspective of metaphorical entailment.

VII. Discussion

In the chapters IV and V, I discussed the distribution and metaphorical mappings of metaphors in the poverty alleviation discourse of President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson, highlighting the similarities and differences in their metaphor usage in chapter VI. In this part, I will further investigate the reasons for the commonalities and variations in the selection of specific metaphors by the leaders of the two countries, based on the study of metaphorical entailments. My hypothesis is that it is indeed metaphorical entailment that influences the choices of metaphors made by both leaders. The metaphorical entailments arising from shared source domains or sub-source domains assist them in expressing similar viewpoints. On the other hand, those distinct source domains or sub-source domains enable them to emphasize specific aspects related to poverty or poverty alleviation. Let's begin by discussing metaphor entailments.

A. Metaphorical Entailments of the Observed Metaphors in Both Leaders' Discourse

In Chapter II, I provided a comprehensive overview of the scholarly contributions concerning metaphorical entailment. We have known that the additional knowledge associated with the source domain is known as metaphorical inference. When the mapping arises, metaphorical inference is also mapped onto the target domain, generating metaphorical entailments (Choi, 2019). Additionally, the metaphorical entailments exist in our culturally, historically, and socially embedded experiences (Johnson, 1983), and can be used in interpreting the target domain (Kövecses, 2010). It allows us to connect all expressions of a single metaphorical conceptual structure. The systematic nature of metaphorical concepts and their entailments enables us to grasp a particular facet of a concept by emphasizing one aspect while concealing others (Vernoos, 2018).

This section will conduct a thorough examination of the metaphorical entailments

present in the discourse of both leaders, starting with the shared conceptual metaphor of building. This exploration aims to demonstrate their persuasiveness and shed light on their influence on metaphor usage.

1. Metaphorical Entailments of BUILDING Metaphor

Both President Xi Jinping and President Lyndon B. Johnson choose the BUILDING metaphor to describe a brighter future society. In their discourse, both THE MODERATELY PROSPEROUS/GREAT SOCIETY IS BUILDING and the conceptual metaphor POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FOUNDATION are present. Society is conceptualized as a building, where poverty alleviation or economic development is considered as the foundation of a building.

Common buildings share the following characteristics: they possess intricate structures, including foundations, frameworks, walls, and roofs. We anticipate buildings to be stable and robust in structure. Therefore, during the construction process, efforts are devoted to enhancing the stability of the building's foundation. The more stable the foundation, the stronger the building becomes. When the metaphor is established, these attributes of buildings are also mapped onto the target domain. Correspondingly, the future society we strive to build is also intricate. To ensure that the future society becomes more stable and prosperous, foundational work must be executed exceptionally well. Eradicating poverty is a fundamental task, and the more effectively this task is carried out, the greater the potential for constructing a remarkable future society.

Establishing a foundation is not an instant achievement; it requires the efforts of numerous construction workers. As linguists suggest, the BUILDING metaphor always conveys positive evaluations, symbolizing that for achieving a certain success, people need to work together, as a valuable outcome necessitates societal cooperation and dedicated effort (Charteris-black, 2004; Sun & Li, 2019). Poverty alleviation, being the foundation for building a better society, is not an instantaneous task; it requires the active participation and collaborative efforts of the entire society to make it more effective.

2. Metaphorical Entailments of DISEASE Metaphor

According to Mio (1997), the DISEASE metaphor stands out as one of the frequently employed metaphors by politicians, implying the concepts of spreading to others, epidemics, and cures. Both leaders choose to metaphorically portray poverty as a disease and collectively opt for the source domain TREATMENT when discussing poverty alleviation. These linguistic phenomena are in line with Mio's (1997) perspective. We possess extensive knowledge about diseases, which are often contagious and can affect many people when one person falls ill. Therefore, timely medical treatment is crucial, as it not only alleviates the individual's suffering but also contributes to the well-being of others. In a medical context, diagnosis is a key step in treating and saving patients. Doctors need to formulate appropriate treatment plans based on diagnostic results for the swift recovery of patients. These additional knowledge about disease corresponds to certain elements in poverty alleviation: we need to meticulously identify the causes of impoverishment and propose appropriate solutions based on specific reasons. Only in this way can the increase in the number of impoverished individuals be effectively prevented, or poverty be completely eradicated.

Through this metaphorical entailment, both national leaders emphasized the significance of identifying the reasons of poverty and the importance of implementing proper strategies in their respective poverty alleviation efforts.

3. Metaphorical Entailments of PLANT Metaphor

The PLANT is a common thread in the discourse of the two leaders. Both of them employ the conceptual metaphor POVERTY IS PLANT and THE CAUSE OF POVERTY IS THE ROOT OF PLANT, conceptualizing poverty as a plant and the causes of poverty as the roots of the plant.

When it comes to plants, the knowledge that we are all familiar with is that in order to make plants grow stronger and more abundant, gardeners attach great importance to

cultivation, with weeding being an essential task within it. Weeds have a strong reproductive capacity and rapid growth, competing with plants for nutrients. If not removed in a timely manner, they can adversely affect plant growth, potentially leading to slower growth, weaker plant, or even wilting. Therefore, gardeners always remove weeds during the cultivating process. When the metaphor of plants is activated, this knowledge related to plants is also mapped onto the target domain of poverty.

Poverty, much like weeds, can quickly spread if left unchecked, thereby affecting the normal societal development. Hence, the eradication of poverty is of paramount importance to ensure rapid societal progress. Through this metaphorical entailment, both national leaders emphasize the necessity of eradicating poverty.

4. Metaphorical Entailments of MACHINE Metaphor

The preceding analysis has demonstrated that the MACHINE metaphor is one of the distinctive metaphors present in President Xi Jinping's discussion on poverty alleviating. He conceptualizes the concept of poverty alleviation as a machine, primarily selecting two sub-source domains: *dongli* 'power' and *yunzhuan* 'operation.' The government investment is portrayed as the power of the machine, and the process of poverty alleviating is interpreted as the operation of a machine. Through the metaphor, he conceptualizes the process of poverty alleviating as the operation of a machine, and then have this knowledge mapped onto the target domain of poverty alleviation.

Machine stands as one of humanity's greatest inventions, and the knowledge associated with it includes that machines possess significant power, exhibit high work efficiency, and can rapidly complete numerous tasks. By conceptualizing poverty as a machine, this knowledge is mapped onto the targeted domain. Much like machines can fulfill tasks, poverty alleviation enables us to efficiently address various societal problems such as hunger, disease, homelessness, and limited education opportunities. This metaphorical entailment emphasizes the importance of poverty alleviation for societal development.

"A machine is a mechanical structure that uses power to apply forces and control

movement”¹⁰¹⁾ and moreover, “modern machines are complex systems composed of structural elements.”¹⁰²⁾ Drawing from this knowledge about machines, it can be deduced that the smooth operation of a machine necessitates an ample power supply and the proper functioning of its individual components.

Ensuring the power for the machine’s operation corresponds to the government’s sustained commitment to maintain the momentum of poverty alleviation. The seamless operation of machine components corresponds to individuals carrying out their respective tasks within the poverty alleviation process. These metaphorical entailments aid President Xi Jinping in underlining the need for heightened government investment in the poverty alleviation process, while also emphasizing the importance of individual contributions.

5. Metaphorical Entailments of CONFINEMENT Metaphor

Confinement implies the action of confining or the state of being confined. By using this metaphor, Lyndon B. Johnson highlights the suffering caused by impoverishment. In the discourse, he employs two sub-source domains, namely CONFINEMENT and CONFINEMENT EQUIPMENT, with metaphorical expressions such as ‘prison’, ‘imprison’, ‘chain’, ‘locked’, and ‘fetter.’ Confinement and confinement equipments mean restrictions on human freedom. Those subjected to confinement, especially individuals subjected to instruments of torture, may endure physical and emotional torment, including beatings and interrogations, ultimately facing even loss of life, evoking fear in everyone. In the context of POVERTY IS CONFINEMENT, these related knowledge corresponds to that poverty can shackle humanity, subjecting individuals to physical and mental torment.

Through the metaphorical entailment of confinement, President Lyndon B. Johnson likens the anguish caused by the constraints of poverty to the suffering of losing freedom and facing limitations. This triggers people’s fear of poverty, prompting them

101) <https://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/machine>

102) <https://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/machine>

to realize that escaping poverty is the only way to avoid such suffering, thereby emphasizing the necessity and significance of poverty alleviation. This could potentially elucidate why President Lyndon B. Johnson opted for this metaphor.

6. Metaphorical Entailments of CONTAINER Metaphor

The CONTAINER metaphor is a metaphor that appears exclusively in President Lyndon B. Johnson's poverty alleviation discourse. He employs two kinds of sub-source domains: the first one pertains to the IN/OUT domain, while the other is more specific and involves container names such as 'well' and 'trap.' In his discourse, I identified conceptual metaphors such as POVERTY IS CONTAINER, BEING IN POVERTY IS BEING IN A CONTAINER, and POVERTY ERADICATION IS OUT OF A CONTAINER.

Based on Lakoff and Johnson's new interpretation of conceptual metaphor, the CONTAINER metaphor can be categorized within a cluster of metaphors that link fundamental sensory-motor experience to how we engage in reasoning and organize our perception of the world. In our shared understanding, containers symbolize limited space and restrictions. Smaller or shallower containers are easier to exit, while deeper containers are more challenging to exit from, requiring significant effort, the use of tools, and sometimes even assistance from others. The metaphorical expressions 'well' and 'trap' used in President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse represent more specific categories of containers. We possess a well-defined comprehension of these, as both involve deep excavations in the ground. The interior environment of a well or a trap is inhospitable, and being ensnared within one signifies not only a loss of freedom but also the potential for life-threatening situations. Consequently, individuals confined within a well or trap experience fear and make efforts to break free. When we conceptualize the concept of poverty as a container, particularly resembling a deep well or trap, these abundant knowledge correspond to poverty and its alleviation. Those with less severe poverty are more likely to eradicate it, while those in deep poverty need to exert greater effort. Sometimes, personal capability alone is insufficient to break free

from poverty, necessitating external assistance.

These metaphorical entailments implies that in the context of poverty alleviation, different approaches should be employed based on individual circumstances. Those with the capacity to lift themselves out of poverty can explore their own paths, while those in deep poverty require support and assistance.

7. Metaphorical Entailments of SUPERNATURAL BEING Metaphor

In the metaphor of SUPERNATURAL BEING, President Lyndon B. Johnson uses the source domains ‘monster,’ ‘demon,’ ‘specter,’ and ‘curse’ to describe poverty, constructing the conceptual metaphor POVERTY IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING. The words used all refer to evil supernatural creatures. Our understanding of these creatures is that they are mysterious, beyond human control, bring misfortune, and may cause death, thus instilling fear in us. To ensure their own safety, people would stay away from the evil supernatural beings or even kill them. Similarly, poverty can lead to hunger, disease, and even loss of life, inflicting both mental and physical suffering on individuals and instilling a sense of fear. Therefore, people should distance themselves from poverty as if escaping from an evil supernatural being.

Through these metaphorical entailments, President Lyndon B. Johnson evoked fear among the populace regarding poverty, motivating them to seek ways to eradicate it.

8. Metaphorical Entailments of JOURNEY Metaphor

The conceptual metaphor JOURNEY is a shared one in the poverty discourses of both national leaders, encompassing constituent elements such as path, obstacle, guide, and movement that are commonly associated with a journey.

The JOURNEY metaphor seems to be deeply rooted in human cognition and extensively embedded in various cultures (Cibulskienė, 2012). The act to move from a specific location to another one is a shared experience among individuals globally. Across the span of the journey, guided by our destination, we select a course of action

and progress along it. Along this expedition, we may encounter smooth paths, obstacles, or even moments of disorientation. To ensure a triumphant arrival at our destination, we may depend on navigation tools or the guidance of experts. These significant life experiences related to journeys provide us with a concrete foundation for conceptualizing the abstract concept as a journey. Moreover, when the metaphor is activated, the associated background knowledge of it is simultaneously mapped onto the target domain, potentially enhancing our understanding towards the target domain.

Firstly, the concept of a journey is rooted in the foundational schema of source-path-goal (Lakoff, 1993), perceived as an intentional endeavor involving movement from an initiation point to a conclusion or spatial destination (Charteris-Black, 2005). This movement isn't accomplished instantaneously; it requires a process during which, regardless of the mode of transportation used, travelers invest time and effort. Similarly, transitioning from poverty to a prosperous life is also a gradual process. This process doesn't happen overnight; it requires individuals to invest time and effort.

Therefore, the metaphorical entailment generated by the JOURNEY metaphor implies that eradicating poverty should be comprehended as a long-term goal. We need to approach poverty alleviation with a long-term vision, establish enduring plans, and strive for their implementation.

Secondly, during a journey, travelers need to choose a path that leads them to the intended destination. This knowledge about the sub-source domain of path corresponds to the selection of working methods in poverty alleviation.

On a journey, there could be multiple paths to the destination, or along a single path, multiple exits might be available for selection. Travelers should try to select the correct path and persevere in walking it to reach the destination as quickly as possible. Making the wrong choice or giving up halfway could result in time delays or failure to reach the destination. This also implies that, in order to eradicate poverty, we need to explore and adhere to the correct working methods. The right methods can help us achieve the goal of poverty alleviation sooner. Choosing the wrong methods might slow down the progress or lead to unsuccessful outcomes in poverty alleviation.

Through these metaphorical entailments, the two national leaders implied the

importance of choosing working methods, urging the people of both countries to actively explore the correct approaches in poverty alleviating and strive to attain the objective of eradicating poverty as soon as possible.

Thirdly, during the journey, it's possible to encounter obstacles. At such times, we need to either overcome these obstacles or find a detour. Therefore, if we consider poverty alleviation as a journey, the knowledge related to the sub-source domain of obstacles corresponds to problem-solving in poverty alleviation, generating the metaphorical entailment RESOLVING THE DIFFICULTIES IN POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS OVERCOMING THE OBSTACLES IN A JOURNEY.

Furthermore, during the journey, overcoming obstacles or taking detours can consume energy and even lead to delays in reaching the destination. This implies that achieving the goal of poverty alleviation can be challenging, requiring time and effort to address these challenges, and necessitating patient efforts towards achieving the goal. Through this metaphorical entailment, both leaders have reminded their respective populations that alleviating poverty is not a smooth process; it might entail various challenges. When confronted with difficulties, we must not back down but rather exhibit patience and actively seek solutions.

Fourthly, the knowledge related with the sub-source domain FORWARD MOVEMENT in JOURNEY metaphor is about persistently moving forward during the journey, which corresponds to the unwavering work in poverty alleviation.

If the direction of movement is correct, moving forward signifies that we are getting closer to the destination, eliciting positive emotions for travelers. Similarly, in poverty alleviation, achieving milestones implies that we are getting closer to the goal of successful poverty alleviation, which also brings about positive feelings. Furthermore, as mentioned in the earlier analysis, I pointed out the knowledge related to obstacles, including overcoming obstacles, which not only enriches our journey experience but also brings a sense of accomplishment. Similarly, in poverty alleviation, resolving difficulties and making progress also contribute to enhancing our experience in poverty alleviation work, fostering a sense of fulfillment.

From this perspective, through the entailments of the JOURNEY metaphor, the two leaders not only underscored the importance of perseverance in poverty alleviation but

also stirred a sense of positive engagement among the public in the pursuit of poverty alleviation.

9. Metaphorical Entailments of WAR Metaphor

Although peace and development are the main themes of our times, wars occur from time to time, like the Gulf War, Kosovo War, Afghanistan War, and Libyan Civil War. Therefore, whether or not personally experienced, we are familiar with war, and this concept can be applied to aid our understanding of other concepts.

First, the consistent selection of WAR metaphor serves to underscore the exigency and severity of the situation (Flusberg et al., 2018). War can significantly influence the survival and stability of a nation and its people; in the event of losing a war, the defeated side would face the prospect of enemy domination and oppression. Consequently, when confronted with the reality of war, citizens feel the urgency and necessity of defending their homeland and actively engage in conflicts to safeguard the interests of their country and fellow citizens (Tang et al., 2023). Both leaders perceive poverty as an adversary that jeopardizes the nation's survival and social stability, interpreting poverty alleviation as a battle. If we fail to eradicate poverty, it will impact both the stability of the country and individuals' lives. This metaphorical entailment also suggests the urgency and necessity of poverty alleviation, compelling people to swiftly engage in poverty alleviation efforts.

Secondly, a prototypical war is characterized by well-defined schematics, including the conflict between opposing forces and the clear division between the in-group (referred to as 'us') and the out-group (the enemy). These groups engage in a struggle to achieve vastly different goals (Flusberg et al., 2018). The source domain provides an additional understanding that the in-group shares common interests and a shared adversary. To win a war, members of the group always unite and confront the opposing side. When we conceptualize poverty as an enemy, the metaphorical inference of enemy is mapped onto poverty simultaneously, corresponding to the fact that all members of our group unite to eradicate poverty for a better life. This metaphorical

entailment highlights the importance of uniting all individuals who can be united when battling poverty, working together to attain the objective of effective poverty alleviation.

The third metaphorical entailment we will discuss comes from the sub-source domain WAR OUTCOME. Several linguists have analyzed a fundamental element of WAR metaphors, which is the notion of the end of war, whether in the form of failure, victory, or negotiated peace (Flusberg et al, 2018; Smith, 2002). The knowledge associated with the element of war outcome is extensive, including the understanding that people anticipate victory of a war. The pain and fear experienced during war make people long for its swift conclusion, particularly hoping for a positive outcome, because it signifies a return to peace and tranquility. Such relevant knowledge corresponds to the expectations in the target domain POVERTY ALLEVIATION, where people anticipate to achieve successful eradication of poverty and living prosperous lives. In a war, in order to achieve a successful outcome, significant effort and sacrifices must be made. Therefore, this metaphorical entailment also suggests that in poverty alleviation, making efforts and sacrifices is essential for achieving success. It evokes an anticipation among the public for a better life after overcoming poverty, encouraging individuals to engage in poverty alleviating actively and work hard to turn the anticipations into reality as soon as possible.

The fourth metaphorical entailment comes from the sub-source domain STRATEGY. Metaphorical inference derived from military strategy often includes the notion that the appropriate and flexible use of strategy can hasten the victory of a war (Tang, 1974). This related knowledge corresponds to that implementing appropriate policies during the process of poverty alleviation can accelerate our achievement of the goal to eliminate poverty.

As shown in the Chapter VI, within the sub-source domain STRATEGY, President Xi Jinping employs the specific term *gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking’ 377 times, marking the most significant distinction in the use of WAR metaphors between him and President Lyndon B. Johnson. This is a strategy that originates from *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*¹⁰³⁾, referring to the combat of capturing strategically important locations

103) The Art of War is an ancient Chinese military text by Sun Tzu.

with strong defenses. The knowledge associated with this strategy is that, in the face of a formidable enemy, our side must concentrate all its strength. The aim is to eliminate the enemy as swiftly as possible, as there is a risk of being defeated by a powerful adversary otherwise. This knowledge corresponds to the practice in poverty alleviation, where it's necessary to concentrate manpower and resources, eliminate absolute poverty, and swiftly accomplish the task of poverty eradication.

Appropriate and flexible use of strategy, however, requires a careful analysis of the war's situation, the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, and our own arsenal and forces. Similarly, it's important to conduct a thorough analysis of the stages of poverty alleviating, understand the progress of the task, the amount of remaining tasks, and the allocation of human and material resources.

The fifth metaphorical entailment I want to discuss originates from the sub-domain WARFARE PROCESS. The warfare process is a crucial determinant of victory in a conflict. Associated knowledge suggests that, during the process of a war, employing weaponry effectively and improving accuracy in targeting military objectives contribute to expediting the attainment of victory. Similarly, employing appropriate poverty alleviation methods and enhancing efficiency in poverty reduction can accelerate the pace of eradicating poverty. In the warfare process, to enhance the accuracy of targeting military objectives, it's essential to accurately identify targets, gather information, and ensure precise strikes when initiating military operations. Similarly, to expedite the pace of poverty alleviation, we need to delve into the series of causes leading to poverty and formulate precise assistance plans.

In this section, I examined the metaphorical entailments of the prominent metaphors observed in both leaders' discourse. In the subsequent segments, I attempt to elucidate the causes behind the resemblances and disparities in the usage of them from the viewpoint concerning metaphorical entailments.

B. The Reasons for the Similarities in the Usage of Metaphors in Both Leaders' Discourse

In the previous discussion, I hypothesized that the reason behind the similarity in metaphor selection between the two leaders lies in their ability to better explain poverty and poverty alleviation from comparable perspectives through these shared metaphors. Through a comprehensive analysis of metaphorical entailments, this hypothesis has been substantiated, primarily manifested in the subsequent aspects:

1. Highlighting the Importance and Necessity of Poverty Alleviation

Through the analysis of the metaphorical entailments of WAR, it becomes evident that interpreting poverty as aggressive adversaries underscores the detrimental impact of poverty on nations and societies. The PLANT metaphor implies that just as nurturing plants requires removing weeds, societal prosperity necessitates the elimination of poverty. The BUILDING metaphor implies that, just as a solid foundation ensures a sturdy structure, constructing a better society necessitates the unwavering completion of foundational work in poverty alleviation. The DISEASE metaphor highlights contagiousness and treatment. Much like an illness, if not promptly addressed, poverty can spread and disrupt normal societal progress. Thus, it is clear that only through poverty eradication can better societal development be achieved, making the importance of poverty alleviation self-evident. Utilizing these metaphorical entailments, both leaders emphasize the significance and necessity of poverty alleviation repeatedly to effectively persuade the public to participate in poverty alleviation efforts actively.

2. Highlighting the Exploration and Persistence in Poverty Alleviation

The metaphorical entailments brought forth by the JOURNEY metaphor are abundant, among which is the fact that a journey is a process leading to a destination. Completing a journey is not an instant accomplishment; we need to explore paths and maintain sustained perseverance to keep moving forward. When encountering obstacles along the way, we must find ways to navigate around them and persist, rather than giving up midway. These embodied experiences align with the pursuit of poverty

alleviation goals, overcoming challenges, and resolutely executing tasks. By adopting the JOURNEY metaphor, these two leaders can vividly inspire the domestic populace to actively explore and courageously persevere in their poverty alleviation efforts.

3. Highlighting the Effort and Proper Methods in Poverty Alleviation

The entailments drawn from multiple shared metaphors all suggest the importance of putting in effort and seeking appropriate working methods. Engaging in combat with enemies during war, the continuous and uninterrupted progress on a journey, as well as the construction of sturdy buildings, all require effort. Similarly, if poverty alleviation is taken as the target domain, a substantial amount of effort is necessary to achieve the eradication of poverty. This shared metaphorical entailment underscores the significance of effort across these various metaphors.

The exploration of the right path during a journey and devising appropriate treatment plans in the face of illness, all imply the significance of choosing the right approach to work. In their speeches, these two leaders effectively convey to the populace, through these metaphorical entailments, the importance of exerting effort and seeking the right working methods in poverty alleviation.

4. Highlighting the Unity and Compliance in Poverty Alleviation

Regarding the source domain of opponent in WAR metaphor, we possess this background knowledge: within the same camp, unity must be maintained, and all possible forces must be united to achieve victory in the war. Furthermore, urgency of war demands nationwide allocation of resources and personnel, with individuals adhering to the nation's directives. These common understandings are mapped onto the domain POVERTY ALLEVIATION, resulting in metaphorical entailments that assist the two national leaders in achieving their goal of rallying the entire nation to unite and eradicate poverty. Simultaneously, it also guides the public to support the nation's arrangements concerning personnel and resources, endorsing new policies as well.

In conclusion, through these five shared metaphors, the two leaders are able to describe poverty and poverty alleviation from similar perspectives through their metaphorical entailments, which is the reason behind their choice of these metaphors.

C. The Reasons for the Differences in the Usage of Metaphors in Both Leaders' Discourse

The distinctions in the utilization of metaphors between the two leaders stem from their attempts to emphasize specific aspects of poverty or poverty alleviation through certain metaphorical entailments, enabling them to better persuade the populace to actively eradicate poverty. This idea can be substantiated from the following perspectives:

1. Highlighting the Government Investment and Individual Contribution in Poverty Alleviation in Xi Jinping's Discourse

The MACHINE metaphor is a metaphor that appears uniquely in President Xi's discussion. He employs a machine to interpret poverty alleviation, which can efficiently address certain social issues, much like a machine can complete tasks in a short period. This underscores the significance of poverty alleviation. The normal operation of a machine requires a constant supply of energy and ensuring the proper functioning of each component. If we view the process of poverty alleviating as analogous to the operation of a machine, the continuous supply of energy corresponds to the government's investment, while the proper functioning of each component corresponds to the individual's contribution in the process of lifting themselves out of poverty. These metaphorical entailments embody the necessity of poverty alleviation and emphasize the roles of both national investment and individual contributions in this cause. To alleviate poverty in China is a nationwide endeavor that encompasses a diverse and complex array of individuals. Through these metaphorical entailments, the

Chinese President underscores the importance of alleviating poverty for societal development and highlights the responsibilities that both the nation and individuals must shoulder in this endeavor: the nation must ensure financial investments, and individuals must fulfill their respective tasks.

2. Highlighting the Poverty Alleviation Policy in Xi Jinping's Discourse

The WAR metaphor is a shared metaphor, but there is a significant divergence in the utilization of the sub-source domain STRATEGY between the two national leaders. As shown in Table 6-3, metaphorical expressions related to strategy are employed with a notable frequency of 391 instances in President Xi Jinping's discourse, while President Lyndon B. Johnson's discourse includes only seven instances. Further examination reveals that within this sub-source domain STRATEGY, President Xi Jinping predominantly utilizes the metaphorical expression *gongjianzhan* 'fortress-attacking,' which is used a remarkable 377 times. The following analysis will elucidate the reasons behind such extensive usage of *gongjianzhan* 'fortress-attacking.'

In President Xi's poverty alleviation discourse, he metaphorically interprets China's poverty alleviation to a final or concluding battle. The metaphorical entailments generated by this metaphor have enabled the Chinese people to comprehend the situation confronting China's poverty alleviation work: the progress in mitigating poverty has entered its ultimate phase, presenting certain challenges, and the most beneficial choice for us is to employ appropriate policy to eradicate absolute poverty in the shortest possible time.

After making the Chinese people aware of the situation of poverty alleviating, President Xi Jinping further highlights the poverty eradicating policy. He extensively utilizes the metaphorical expression *gongjianzhan* 'fortress-attacking,' derived from the sub-source domain STRATEGY. The relevant knowledge associated with the concept of *gongjianzhan* 'fortress-attacking' corresponds to the policy of poverty alleviation: concentrating manpower and resources to eliminate absolute poverty within a short

period. In conclusion, through the metaphorical entailments of the STRATEGY metaphor, President Xi Jinping emphasizes the significant role of employing the appropriate policy in poverty alleviation and persuades the Chinese people to implement the poverty alleviation policy of *gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking.’ This reasonably explains why the term *gongjianzhan* ‘fortress-attacking’ appears 377 times in his discourse.

3. Highlighting the Terror of Poverty in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Discourse

The CONTAINER metaphor, CONFINEMENT metaphor, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor that appear in President Johnson’s discourse on poverty alleviation all contribute to highlighting the terrifying nature of poverty. The metaphor of containers entails being constrained and losing freedom; imprisoned individuals not only lose their liberty but also face punishments and suffering brought about by restraints and sentences, leading to physical and mental anguish. Moreover, the association with malevolent supernatural entities implies the presence of uncontrollable evil forces that bring misfortune or even the loss of life. When these related concepts are mapped onto POVERTY, the entailments are that poverty can constrain individuals, leading to both mental and physical distress, and even result in loss of life. These metaphorical entailments can instill a strong sense of fear, which in turn makes the American people realize that only by overcoming poverty can they escape the fear it brings, thus motivating them to actively eradicate poverty.

4. Highlighting the Long-term Vision of Poverty Alleviation in Lyndon B. Johnson’s Discourse

The JOURNEY metaphor is a shared metaphor in the poverty discourse of the two national leaders, but comparatively, it appears more frequently in President Johnson’s discourse. In his discourse, there are 39 metaphorical expressions with 116 instances,

constituting 16% of the total metaphors, while in President Xi’s discourse, there are 19 metaphorical expressions with 61 instances, accounting for 6.8% of the total metaphors. The analysis of the metaphorical mapping reveals that within President Xi’s discourse, the sub-source domain of PATH corresponds to the means of alleviating poverty and the social development model. In President Johnson’s discourse, the PATH also corresponds to the process of poverty alleviating, as seen in Example (40) “We have a long way to go before wiping out poverty in America...” which highlights the lengthiness of the poverty alleviation process.

As we’ve previously examined, the knowledge associated with a journey encompasses the understanding that the path can be long and filled with obstacles. Consequently, a journey cannot be accomplished overnight; it necessitates meticulous long-term planning. This knowledge aligns with the concept of a prolonged vision within the sphere of poverty alleviation. Through this metaphorical entailment, President Johnson counsels American people not to rush for immediate outcomes but to regard poverty alleviation as a venture requiring a long-term vision for planning. This could explain why he uses more JOURNEY metaphors. Historical evidence showcases that the poverty alleviation policies crafted during President Johnson’s era, encompassing legislation concerning education, healthcare, and more, not only provided relief to the current poverty situation in America, but many of these initiatives continue to exert a vital influence on poverty alleviation to this day.

D. Summary

This chapter systematically analyzes the metaphorical entailments of the prominent metaphors observed within the poverty-alleviation discourse of the two national leaders. It dissects how these metaphorical entailments aid these leaders in achieving their persuasive communicative objectives. Based on this foundation, the differences and similarities in metaphorical usage between the two national leaders are explained from the perspective of metaphorical entailments.

After thorough examination and analysis, the following conclusion can be drawn: both

leaders employ the same metaphors to convey their shared perspectives on poverty and poverty alleviation through metaphorical entailments. They effectively convey the importance and necessity of eradicating poverty to their respective populations, emphasizing the imperative to steadfastly follow the goals of poverty alleviation and actively explore. Moreover, they convey the importance of making efforts and adopting the right approach in poverty alleviation, maintaining an optimistic and proactive attitude when facing challenges, advocating for unity in their work, adhering to national directives, and supporting national policies.

Simultaneously, both leaders approach the themes of poverty and its alleviation from unique vantage points, harnessing a rich tapestry of metaphorical domains and sub-domains.

President Xi Jinping emphasizes mobilizing public enthusiasm in poverty alleviation and urges staff to collaborate closely to guarantee the smooth progress of poverty reduction through MACHINE metaphors. With the extensive use of sub-source domains such as STRATEGY, DIAGNOSIS, and IRRIGATION, he emphasizes the importance of employing the right policies and methods in poverty alleviation to enhance work efficiency. On the other hand, President Lyndon B. Johnson uses CONTAINER, CONFINEMENT, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphors to highlight the horrors of poverty, thereby inspiring the American people to actively eliminate it. Additionally, through the JOURNEY metaphor, President Lyndon B. Johnson conveys to the American people the idea that poverty cannot be eradicated overnight. It requires long-term planning and continuous efforts.

VIII. Conclusion

Poverty has been an enduring and significant issue throughout human history, posing a global challenge that impedes human development and advancement. Both China and America have enacted a variety of approaches aimed at diminishing poverty and enriching the general welfare of their respective populations. President Xi Jinping set the goal of achieving triumph in the Battle Against Poverty in China in 2015, while on the other side of the ocean, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a War on Poverty as early as 1960s. To elucidate the challenging nature of this task and motivate individuals to engage actively in alleviating poverty, both national leaders have discussed poverty alleviation on numerous occasions, employing a significant amount of metaphors in their discourses. This dissertation employs both quantitative and qualitative approach, to comprehensively investigate the selection of metaphors within the discourse of poverty alleviation by the two leaders. This chapter serves as the conclusion of the dissertation, providing a comprehensive overview of the research findings.

A. Summary of Chapters

The dissertation has eight chapters. Chapter I, the introduction, presents the notion that language is an essential tool for human communication and is closely intertwined with politics. To effectively achieve political objectives and persuade the public to accept national policies, politicians always employ a variety of linguistic techniques among which metaphor is an indispensable one. The discourses on poverty alleviation by the leaders from China and America are typical examples of political discourse, characterized by the abundant use of metaphors. This dissertation aims to examine the metaphors in the discourse on poverty alleviation, utilizing the cognitive metaphor theory. The concluding segment of this chapter emphasizes the importance of this study and offers a synopsis of the dissertation's structure.

Chapter II presents a thorough review of the existing literature, covering relevant research findings in two main aspects. The initial section centers on the foundational

theories of conceptual metaphor, including metaphorical mapping and metaphorical entailment. The theories of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003), Kövecses (2005, 2010), Yu Ning (1998), and others are introduced. Given the study's focus on political discourse, this chapter meticulously summarizes the research conducted by several linguists on political discourse using the conceptual metaphor theory framework. The works of Lakoff (1996, 2002, 2004), Mulsoff (2004), and other linguists are discussed. Furthermore, the research findings of Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2006, 2017) on critical metaphor analysis are also incorporated. The last section of this chapter presents an overview of studies on poverty alleviation discourse. Based on the literature review, this section encapsulates the shortcomings of existing research and precisely identifies the particular scope of interest for this study.

Chapter III introduces the research questions, data collection, research methodology and specific procedures.

The following questions are proposed:

1. What kinds of conceptual metaphors are employed in the two sets of discourse?
2. What are the similarities and differences between the prominent conceptual metaphors selected by both national leaders in their discourse?
3. How do these metaphors assist national leaders in explaining poverty alleviation and in mobilizing the populace to actively engage in the battle against poverty?
4. What are the reasons for the differences and similarities in the selection of metaphors in the poverty alleviation discourse between the two leaders?

To answer these questions, this study carefully selected the corpus to be analyzed. One source encompasses President Xi Jinping's remarks and addresses regarding poverty alleviation in various meetings spanning from November 2015 to January 2021, totaling 201 paragraphs whose English translations add up to 38,054 words. The other source comprises President Lyndon B. Johnson's statements and speeches on addressing poverty within his State of the Union addresses, meetings, and lectures spanning the years 1964 to 1969, totaling 217 paragraphs with 37,577 words. The two corpora exhibit significant similarities because they both originate from speeches delivered by national leaders, focus on the same topic, and belong to similar genres. Additionally, they cover a duration of six years and contain a comparable word count.

The research utilized a mixed-methods approach, integrating qualitative and quantitative methods. The process included of five steps: (1) manually identifying metaphorical expressions, (2) using the software AntConc. 4.2.0 to analyze the distribution of metaphors in the two types of discourse, (3) repeatedly interpreting and selecting metaphors, (4) conducting a comparative analysis of metaphor usage in the two sets of discourses, and (5) analyzing the metaphorical entailments of these prominent metaphors and explaining the similarities and disparities in both leaders' selections of conceptual metaphors from the perspective of metaphorical entailments. This chapter also introduces that the metaphor identification process primarily uses the steps suggested by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), allowing for a more precise identification of metaphors. When interpreting metaphors, the dissertation employs the notion proposed by Charteris-Black, critical metaphor analysis, which combines pragmatic and cognitive factors in specific contexts to analyze the interpretive and persuasive roles of conceptual metaphors in both leaders' discussion.

Based on data analysis, I can observe that in the discourse of the two leaders, numerous metaphors are present, including but not limited to the BUILDING metaphor, DISEASE metaphor, PLANT metaphor, JOURNEY metaphor, WAR metaphor, among more than ten others, used in ways that exhibit both similarities and differences. This finding lays the foundation for the research.

Chapter IV focuses on the analysis of prominent metaphors in President Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse. Within this chapter, each of the significant metaphors found in Xi Jinping's poverty alleviation discourse is introduced. These include the conceptual metaphors of CLOTHING, BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, MACHINE, JOURNEY, and WAR. I provide information on the number of word forms, total occurrences, and usage frequency for these metaphors, and analyze their metaphorical mapping relationships.

Chapter V primarily analyzes the metaphors used by President Lyndon B. Johnson in his poverty alleviation discourse. Within this chapter, I introduce each of the eight metaphors that appear in his poverty alleviation discourse, including the conceptual metaphors of BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CONFINEMENT, CONTAINER , SUPERNATURAL BEING, JOURNEY, and WAR. I also present the number of word

forms, total occurrences, and usage frequency for these metaphors and analyze their mapping relationships between the two domains.

Chapter VI offers a comparative examination of the prominent metaphors observed in the poverty alleviation discourses of both national leaders, meticulously summarizing the similarities and differences at both the general and specific levels.

Chapter VII systematically analyzes the metaphorical entailments of the prominent metaphors found in the poverty alleviation discourses of the two leaders, discussing how they assist both leaders in achieving explanatory and persuasive objectives. Based on this, the chapter summarizes the reasons for the commonalities and variations in the application of metaphors by the two leaders from the perspective of metaphorical entailments.

Chapter VIII serves as the concluding chapter of this dissertation, summarizing the theoretical foundation, research questions, research methods, research process, and research findings of the entire study. Additionally, it emphasizes the shortcomings of this research and explores the directions for future studies.

B. Findings

Drawing from the analysis of the two corpora, the following conclusions can be drawn.

Initially, the research reveals a significant prevalence of metaphors in the discourse on poverty alleviation by the two national leaders. President Xi Jinping uses metaphors of BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CLOTHES, MACHINE, JOURNEY, and WAR, while President Lyndon B. Johnson uses metaphors of BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, CONFINEMENT, CONTAINER, SUPERNATURAL BEING, JOURNEY, and WAR (see Table 4-1 and Table 5-1). Apart from these prominent metaphors, there are also sporadic instances of metaphors such as STAGE metaphor, CRAFT metaphor, and FOOD metaphor.

Second, the metaphorical usage of the two leaders has many similarities and differences, both at the general and specific level. The shared metaphors such as the

BUILDING, DISEASE, PLANT, JOURNEY, and WAR metaphors appear in both discourses, at the general level. While, at the specific level, both leaders make similar choices in most sub-source domains, like PATH, OBSTACLE, GUIDE, and MOVEMENT within the JOURNEY metaphor.

Differences emerge at the general level, with CLOTHING and MACHINE metaphors unique to Xi Jinping's discourse, while CONFINEMENT, CONTAINER, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphors are unique to Lyndon B. Johnson's. His use of JOURNEY metaphors in terms of quantity and frequency far exceed those used by President Xi Jinping, while the number and proportion of WAR metaphors used by President Xi are significantly higher than those used by President Johnson. At the specific level, differences mainly appear in the use of WAR metaphors. President Xi Jinping's selections of metaphorical expressions within the WARFARE notably includes the concept of decisive battles, and his usage of words and frequency related to STRATEGY and PROCESS is far higher than President Lyndon B. Johnson's.

Third, the reason for these similarities and differences has been analyzed from the perspective of metaphorical entailment.

The reason both leaders choose these shared metaphors is that they can effectively highlight the importance and urgency of poverty alleviation, guiding the public to actively participate in it, face challenges without fear during the process, persevere unwaveringly, and explore appropriate approaches. These metaphors encourage unity and collaboration in poverty alleviation and call on citizens to support national policies. I suggest that these differences arise from the choices made by the leaders to highlight various aspects of poverty or poverty alleviation work. For example, President Lyndon B. Johnson employs the CONFINEMENT metaphor, CONTAINER metaphor, and SUPERNATURAL BEING metaphor to emphasize the personal constraints of poverty and evoke fear of it, thereby mobilizing the American people to actively eradicate poverty. He also employs the JOURNEY metaphor to emphasize the enduring nature of poverty alleviation work, explaining to the public the necessity of planning poverty elimination as a long-term goal. On the other hand, President Xi Jinping employs a diverse array of metaphors to address poverty issues. He employs the MACHINE metaphor to emphasize both the national and individual responsibility in poverty

alleviation. Through the WAR metaphor, PLANT metaphor, and DISEASE metaphor, he emphasizes the importance of appropriate working methods, persuading the Chinese people to embrace targeted poverty alleviation, employing a strategy of fortress-attacking, concentrating manpower and tangible resources, and swiftly eradicating poverty in a short time.

In summary, both national leaders exhibit both commonalities and distinctions in their use of metaphors. These differences and similarities are not arbitrarily chosen, but carefully selected. Both leaders utilize these metaphors to create a vivid and resonant depiction of poverty alleviation, crafting a message that appeals to their respective audiences, better explaining the work of poverty alleviation, and persuading citizens to actively engage in it.

C. Limitations

This dissertation individually analyzes the prominent metaphors that appear in the poverty alleviation discourse of two national leaders, considering their proportions, occurrence frequencies, metaphorical mappings, and metaphorical entailments. It emphasizes the disparities and similarities in metaphor utilization in the two sets of discourse and discusses the causes of them from the perspective of metaphorical entailment. However, I believe that this study has the following two limitations:

First, in the process of analysis, each metaphor is treated as an independent entity, overlooking the connections between these metaphors, and there is no investigation of the interactions among these source domains. The research does not explore whether certain source domains are more likely to interact with each other, leading to preferential use of certain metaphors.

The second limitation lies in the exploration of the reasons for the similarities and disparities in the metaphor utilization by the two leaders. Due to the absence of essential testing tools and empirical research, this study only provides explanations from the perspective of metaphorical entailment and does not delve into other reasons such as historical or cultural factors.

D. Implications

Considering the aforementioned limitations, future research will prioritize the following topics

Firstly, in the next steps of my research, I will continue to delve into the utilization of metaphors in poverty alleviation discourse, specifically attempting to uncover the intrinsic connections and collaborative interactions between metaphors. My intention is to enrich our current understanding by thoroughly grasping how these metaphors collaboratively collaborate to construct and interpret discourse of poverty alleviating, and whether this collaborative interplay influences the choice of metaphors.

Secondly, it is important to enhance research capabilities, and in future research, try to explore the factors contributing to metaphorical variations in cultural, historical, and social contexts through empirical research or with the assistance of advanced tools. This will assist in overcoming the limitations of the current study.

Thirdly, I also plan to extend the findings of this study into other types of discourse, following the research approach of this study. For instance, I will focus on the choice and usage of metaphors by national leaders from both China and America in educational discourse and artificial intelligence discourse, in hopes of finding commonalities and specificities across different fields.

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