

Original Paper

Metaphors in the Reports on the *Reform and Opening-up Policy* in China

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Abstract

This study, based on the BCC (Beijing Language and Culture University Corpus Center) corpus, systematically analyzed the metaphorical reasoning of the Reform and Opening-up in China. It finds a tendency of concentration for the sources. The top four sources (Journey: 83.14%; Nature: 8.16%; War: 6.31%; Building (1.15%) contributed 98.76% of the resonance among all the 16 source domains. These four sources highlight two important aspects: Events (Journey, War and Building) and Conditions (Nature). The different sources share some highlights such as leadership, participant, places, result and process, but they also have specific foci: Journey on decision making, destination and motivations; War on risks, conflicts and tactics; Building on complex structure of the project. These productive sources can reveal the ideologies promoted by the government which inspired people's devotion, patience, openness, tactics, alertness, sense of honor and morale.

Keywords

metaphor, reports, Reform and Opening-up Policy, China

1. Introduction

Metaphors are important in political discourses. Kövecses (2010) stated that “Politics is rife with conceptual metaphors” (p. 68). Thompson (1996) even held that “politics without metaphor is like a fish without water” because “the world of politics is cognitively and perceptually removed from the immediacy of everyday experience” (Graber, 1993, p. 310). Politics play an essential role in politics, therefore, the exploration on metaphors in the reports on policies can facilitate the public comprehension of the policies and smooth the implementation of them because “metaphor can make politics accessible to the (metaphorically) average citizens” (Thompson, 1996, p. 185).

The policy of *reform and opening-up* (abbreviated as R&O) was the brainchild of Deng Xiaoping,

under whose leadership China entered a new era (since 1978) that saw the “domestic institutional reforms and opening to the outside world” (Mühlhahn, 2019, p. 488). This decisive policy “laid the foundation for a successful transition from a planned economy to a market economy oriented towards the global market, achieving unprecedented high growth rates” (Mühlhahn, 2019, p. 488). In the reports on this policy, there are many metaphorical expressions in which the terms or expressions from other conceptual categories, such as War, Journey, Building and so on are used in the reports.

- (1) a. 广东成为改革开放排头兵。(BCC) (Note 1)

Guangdong province became the vanguard (soldier at the formation head) in R&O.

- b. 拉萨的改革开放驶进了快车道。(BCC)

The R&O in Lasa city has driven into the fast lane.

- c. 深圳经济特区是我国改革开放的窗口。(BCC)

Shenzhen special economic zone is the window of R&O in our country.

- d. 上海没有赶上改革开放的大潮。(BCC)

Shanghai city missed the great tide (opportunity) of R&O.

In (1a), (1b), (1c) and (1d), the terms which respectively belong to the domains of war (soldier), journey (fast lane), construction (window), and nature (tide) are adapted in the reports on the R&O policy, therefore they are metaphorical from the cognitive perspective. According to Kövecses (2015), metaphor is “conceptualizing one domain of experience in terms of another” (p. 2). The domains of war, journey, construction and nature are used to comprehend the abstract policy because they are “more physical, more directly experienced, and better known than the domain to be comprehended, which is typically more abstract, less directly experienced, and less known” (ibid).

It is now accepted that metaphor is conceptual (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3; Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). “Metaphor is mapping across knowledge structures (i.e., domains or ICMs)” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Croft, 1993; Kövecses & Radden 1998). Lakoff (1980) hold that “metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality” (p. 159), and the studies on metaphors in politics aroused great interest in the studies of cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics.

Lakoff (2016) analyzed the American political discourses and found that the two parties held different family metaphors which revealed their values and ideologies and influenced their policies. Goatly (2007) found that, in politics, human beings and society are conceptualized metaphorically through the domain of machine, commodities, weather and animals. Musolff (2004) explored the analogical reasoning in political debates and found that EU was conceptualized through the concept of human body, house and family. Charteris-Black (2005) analyzed the Journey metaphor used by six famous politicians in UK and USA, which draws a link between ideology, metaphor, and myth and a similarity between them is their function of persuasion within discourse.

Political speeches are rife with conceptual metaphors which attracted many scholars attentions, such as Wen (2018), Zeng (2019), Nguyen (2018), Wang and Zhang (2017), Liu and Shi (2018), and so on. In

these studies, the frequently used metaphor sources in political speeches are such domains as Journey, War, Construction, Human, Family, Sport and so on which may facilitate the audience's comprehension of the political issues.

Many studies focus on the application of war metaphors in political discourses. Lakoff (1991) analyzed the Bush administrations' metaphorical justification of the Iraq war: STATE AS PERSON and WAR AS BUSINESS. Gavriely-Nuri (2008) found more war metaphors in the Israeli political discourses on the second Lebanon war, that is, WAR AS MEDICINE, WAR AS BUSINESS and WAR AS SPORT. There are still more on the list, such as Luo (2005), Yang and Dong (2017), Sun, Ren and Cui (2019) and so on.

As one of epic-making policy, R&O has been become a catchphrase in the Chinese media for the past forty years, however, the current studies on R&O are mainly from political and economic perspectives (Lin, Cai, & Li, 2003; Brandt & Rawski, 2008; Zhang, 2009; Xue & Zhong, 2012; Guo, 2017; Zhang & Feng, 2019; Wu, 2019; Singh, 2019), and the studies on R&O from cognitive or linguistic perspectives are relatively limited. Even though R&O appeared in some studies on political discourses in media (Wang & Yang, 2012; Zhang, 2013), government report (Wang & Huang, 2012) or leaders' speeches (Zhang, 2018), they are only used to exemplify some of the metaphors in Chinese political discourses, and the studies that focus on the metaphors of R&O are still waiting to be carried out. Lakoff (2016) found that "much of what we read on the daily op-ed pages of our finest newspapers is metaphorical commonsense reasoning" (p. 19). The analysis on the news reports can reveal the metaphorical reasoning of the policy.

As the flagship official media, *People's Daily* is the most authoritative paper to show the ideologies and values in China. Therefore, this paper adapted it as the main source to explore the conceptual metaphors in the reports on R&O policy, and the research questions are the following:

- (2) a. What is the metaphorical reasoning adapted in the reports on R&O?
- b. What are the tendencies for the adaption of conceptual metaphors in the reports on R&O?
- c. What are functions of the metaphorical reasoning in the reports on R&O?

2. Theoretical Framework

The basic theoretical framework for this research is CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory). Lakoff (1980) claimed that "most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured; that is, most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts" (p. 56). Lakoff (1993) defined metaphor as "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system; a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping" (p. 203).

Kövecses (2010) stated that "a conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another" (p. 4). He defined that "the conceptual domain from which

we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). He mentioned that “metaphorical linguistic expressions are words or other linguistic expressions that come from the language or terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4).

According to the basic notions of conceptual metaphor, in the news reports on R&O, the concept of R&O is the Target domain because it tends to be more concrete, while the concepts used to understand it are Source domains, such as War, Journey, Construction and Nature in (1a), (1b), (1c) and (1d). However, there may be other sources that can be used in the conceptualization of R&O, because “the primary function of metaphor is to provide a partial understanding of one kind of experience in terms of another kind of experience” (Lakoff, 1980, p. 154) and that “metaphors can have the power to define reality, they highlight some features of reality and hide others” (Lakoff, 1980, p. 157). In addition, just as Kövecses (2010) mentioned, “concepts have several aspects to them, speakers need several source domains to understand these different aspects of target concepts” (p. 96). Therefore this paper attempts to analyze the conceptual metaphors of R&O, which may reveal the different highlighted aspects promoted by the authoritative media of *People’s Daily*.

3. Data Collection and Description

In this research, the contexts of R&O are extracted from the sub-corpus of news and journals in BCC corpus (see footnote 1.), which will supply the potential metaphorical contexts for the research. The key words (Chinese characters) are 改革开放 (gaige kaifang) (Reform and opening-up). With the key words typed into the searching box of the sub-corpus, a total of 94182 hits of contexts (30 characters on both sides of the keywords) are extracted from BCC corpus and copied into an Excel file for further analysis.

As to the identification of conceptual metaphors in discourse, Charteris-Black (2004) proposed two stages: “the first requires a close reading of a sample of texts to identify the presence of semantic tension—either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels resulting from a shift in domain use” (p. 35).

The first step is read through the contexts to identify the semantic tension between the Target keyword 改革开放 (gaige kaifang) (Reform and opening-up) and the words involved in the statements of the Target key words. As to the identification of the Source domains, the semantic classification dictionary of Chinese: *The Thesaurus of Modern Chinese* (Su, 2013) and *A Usage dictionary of Chinese and English Conceptual Metaphors* (Su, 2009) will provide important references for the index words for different domains.

“The second stage is a further qualitative phase in which corpus contexts are examined to determine whether each use of a key-word is metaphoric or literal. (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 35). In the second stage of this research, the semantic relationships between the Source domain keywords and the Target keyword are examined. When semantic tensions identified, the contexts will be marked as potential metaphorical expressions in the relevant columns (M as marker) and the potential Source domains and the keywords that

indicated them are also copied into the relevant columns respectively as shown in the sample table below.

Table 1. Samples for Source Domain Marking

Contexts	Property	Source	Type	Token
邓小平是是中国的改革开放之父。	M	人	父	1
Deng Xiaoping is the Father of R&O in China	M	Human	Father	1
1979 年春天，改革开放之花在神州初绽。	M	植物	花	1
In the spring of 1979,buds of R&O first bloomed in China	M	Plant	Bud	1

After the reading and marking procedure, the columns of Property are sequenced by increasing order, which produce the number of potential metaphorical contexts (20607 among 94182 hits). Next the columns of Types and Tokens are also sequenced by increasing order respectively, and the number of each are calculated and marked besides the keywords of each, as demonstrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Samples for the Marking of Source Domain

Source	Property	Type	Token
舞台 (Stage)	M	舞台 (Stage)	65
	M	帷幕/大幕 (Stage Curtain)	42
	M	背景 (Background)	38
	M	序幕 (Prologue)	27
	M	角色 (Role/player)	1
	M	预演 (Rehearsal)	1
	M	活剧 (Live play)	1
	Total	7	175

After the classification of the potential sources and the calculation of the types and tokens of each source, it comes to the calculation of the resonance of the potential metaphors. According to Charteris-Black (2004), “the resonance is an indication of the extent to which metaphor source domains are found in a particular corpus and therefore is a measure of their productivity” (p. 89) The way to calculate the resonance is that “it is the sum of the tokens multiplied by the sum of the types of the metaphors that are from the same source domain” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 89). Therefore the resonance of Stage metaphors in the corpus of R&O is $175 (65+42+38+27+1+1+1) \times 7 (1+1+1+1+1+1+1) = 1225$.

The measure of the resonance of the source domain is useful because “this figure can then be compared with that for other source domains; the value of this measure is that it provides empirical evidence for the resonance of different source domains” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 89). Based on the calculation above, the resonance of the other sources is all calculated which may show the productivity of the potential metaphors.

The data processing produced 16 source domains as shown in Table3 below.

The ranking of resonance percentage in Table3 showed that the resonance of the source domains is relatively concentrated on Journey (83.14%), Nature (8.16%), War (6.31%) and Building (1.15%). These four sources produced 98.76% of the total resonance, while the fourteen other sources (Plant, Human, Music, Experiment, Chess Game, Exam, Stage, Drawing, Animal, Book, Business and Sport) combined only produced 1.24% of the total resonance and their individual percentage is all below 1%. However, the total token is 20607 and the total resonance is 3200115, so, even with extremely low percentage, there are still noticeable types and tokens for less productive sources in the reports.

The resonance of the source domains and the percentage of each resonance show their different productivity, which may, to some extent, reveal the different highlighted aspects of R&O and the different ideologies promoted in the news report of R&O in People's Daily.

Table 3. Source Domain Resonance Rankings

Source	Type	Token	Resonance	Resonance Percentage (Note 2)
旅途 (Journey)	239	11133	2660787	83.14661%
自然 (Nature)	89	2933	261037	8.15711%
战争 (War)	93	2171	201903	6.30924%
建筑 (Building)	26	1414	36764	1.14883%
植物 (Plant)	19	1138	21622	0.67566%
人 (Human)	24	196	4704	0.14699%
音乐 (Music)	23	161	3703	0.11571%
实验 (Experiment)	12	238	2856	0.08925%
棋局 (Chess game)	9	316	2844	0.08887%
考试 (Exam)	3	524	1572	0.04912%
舞台 (Stage)	7	175	1225	0.03828%
图画 (Drawing)	7	56	392	0.01225%
动物 (Animal)	7	52	364	0.01137%
图书 (Book)	4	71	284	0.00887%
生意 (Business)	2	25	50	0.00156%
运动 (Sport)	2	4	8	0.00025%
Total	566	20607	3200115	100%

4. Metaphorical Reasoning of R&O in *People's Daily*

The results from the data processing will be discussed in this section to explore the metaphorical reasoning of R&O, the tendencies of the source domains and the functions of them. In this section, the most productive source

domains will be analyzed in detail respectively while the less productive source domains will receive relative less attention for the relatively less complexity of them and the length restriction of this paper.

4.1 Source Domain Resonance

The data collection, metaphor identification and classification found 16 source domains for R&O reports in People's Daily. According to the resonance ranking in Table3, the top four productive sources have the highest percentage of resonance (Journey: 83.14%; Nature: 8.16%; War: 6.31%; Building (1.15%) and among all the 16 source domains, these four sources take 98.76% of all resonances, so they are the most productive, and will be analyzed in details respectively in the following sections.

4.2 Dominant Conceptual Metaphors in the Reports on R&O

4.2.1 Journey Metaphor

Journey metaphor is the absolutely dominant source domain in the report of R&O, because it has the most linguistic forms and occurrences and the highest percentage of resonance (83.14%), therefore it is the most productive. According to Lakoff (1993), journey metaphor is “the event structure metaphor” (p. 220) in which “Long term, purposeful activities are journeys. Purposes are destinations. Means are paths (to destinations). Causes are forces. Changes are movements. Difficulties are impediments to motion. Expected progress is a travel schedule” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 220). Charteris-Black (2004) held that “PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION” (p. 93).

Based on these previous studies on Journey Metaphor and the analysis of the potential metaphorical expressions from the corpus on R&O, it may be proposed that THE IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY is adapted in the reports on R&O policy. The domain of journey involves such concepts as participants, road, vehicles, movement, and destination, while in the implementation of R&O for development, such aspects are also manifested metaphorically in the reports.

- (3) a. 我们的党带领全国人民坚定不移走改革开放这条强国富民之路。

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, all Chinese people determinedly stepped on the road of R&O, a road to make the country powerful and the people rich.

- b. 广东是中国改革开放的先行者。

Guangdong Province is the forerunner (pioneer) of R&O implementation in China.

- c. 作为中国改革开放探路者的深圳，行于无路，敢为天下先。

As the path-finder of R&O in China, Shenzhen dare to be the first to find paths from the unknown.

- d. 作为新一轮改革开放的“领跑者”的上海自贸区，究竟实验出什么新意？

What are the novelties of Shanghai Free Trade Zone as the pace setter of the new round of R&O?

In (3a), in the implementation of R&O, the communist party is the leader, who leads the travelers (Chinese people) to achieve the purpose or reach the destination of making the country powerful and people rich. In (3b), (3c) and (3d), the provinces or cities that implemented R&O first are the fore-runners, path-finders and pace setters in the implementation of R&O. In the three examples, GOVERNMENT AS PEOPLE metaphor works as well because the implementation of R&O is done by a group of people: the

local governments, who take the lead to find good approaches to implement it.

The means to achieve the development with the implementation of R&O are the roads to the destination. Road or routes play an important role in the metaphorical reasoning of R&O reports, and the different aspects of road are mapped onto the means or process of R&O implementation.

- (4) a. 改革开放之初，大家几乎从比较贫困的起跑线出发。

At the beginning of R&O, almost all of us embark on the starting line of relative poverty.

- b. 改革开放的道路艰难曲折而又充满希望。

The road to implement R&O is tough and full of twists and turns, but full of hope as well.

- c. 改革开放既不走封闭僵化的老路，也不走改弦易帜的邪路，不改革开放只有死路一条。

The implementation of R&O should neither take the old road of retreat and rigidity, nor the misleading road of reverse course. Without R&O, there is only the dead end.

- d. 经历了改革开放 20 年的历程，中华民族走向全面振兴。

After 20 years' travelling on the road of R&O, Chinese nation embarked on overall revitalization.

- e. 中国正式加入世贸组织是改革开放的一个历史性里程碑。

China's official entrance into WTO is a historical milestone in the implementation of R&O.

- f. 改革开放的最大思想障碍和阻力是害怕资本主义。

The biggest ideological obstacles and hindrances are the dread of capitalism.

In (4a), the beginning of the R&O implementation is the starting line. In (4b) and (4c), the process may be smooth or tough just like the road taken, familiar means are old roads. When the correct road (means) taken, it will proceed successfully; when the wrong road (means) taken, it will be full of twists and turns and mislead travelers to dead ends. In (4d) and (4e), the temporary achievements of R&O implementation are the distance travelled while the important achievements or events are the milestones. In (4f), the difficulties in the process are obstacles or hindrances on the road.

In the Journey process, travelers may use vehicles. According to Lakoff (1993), "a vehicle is a superordinate category that includes such basic level categories as car, train, boat, and plane" (p. 211), while "the examples of vehicles are typically drawn from this range of basic level categories: car (long bumpy road, spinning our wheels), train (off the track), boat (on the rocks, foundering), plane (just taking off, bailing out)" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 211). In the process of R&O development, the policy that promotes the development is the vehicle, and the terms from vehicle categories are mapped onto the policy of R&O.

- (5) a. 我们本来是个穷地方，搭的又是改革开放第二班车，比发达地区慢一拍。

Our place, originally poor, boarded the second bus of R&O, so we are slower than developed areas.

- b. 中国改革开放的列车已经启动，正朝着光明的未来高速前进。

The train of R&O in China has started, heading towards the bright future at high speed.

- c. 法治是指引中国改革开放这艘航船风雨中不变航向的灯塔。

The rule of law is the beacon that guided the ship of Chinese R&O to the predetermined tack in front of trails and hardships.

d. 直辖新机遇推动重庆改革开放驶入快车道。

The new opportunity of municipality promoted the R&O of Chongqing onto the fast lane.

e. 离开“四个坚持”，改革开放就会脱离社会主义轨道。

Without the Four Cardinal Principles, R&O in China will be derailed from the socialism track.

f. 改革开放双轮驱动，中国经济实力显著增强。

Driven by the two wheels of R&O, Chinese economic power has been strengthened significantly.

g. 深圳改革开放进入深水区，深化改革开放需要寻找新引擎。

The R&O in Shenzhen entered the abyssal zone, and a new engine was needed for further R&O.

In (5a) (5b) and (5c), three vehicles (Bus, Train, Ship) are mapped directly onto R&O policy which supplied the means (vehicles) for development, while the movement of the vehicles are mapped onto the development of China. In (5d) and (5e), the traffic terms such as fast lane and track are mapped onto the change and tendency of the development of China. In (5f) and (5g), the important components of vehicles (wheels and engines) are mapped onto the development of R&O, in which the functional significance of these components are mapped onto the importance of R&O and the means to promote it. There are still more tokens for all the vehicles, such as traffic lights, steering wheel, ticket, drive, accelerator, bacon, horn, sail, fuel and so on and these tokens can manifest the metaphorical reasoning by through vehicles, however for the concern of paper length, they will not be exemplified in details.

Movement is also important in journey metaphor. According to Charteris-Black (2004), “Journey is a prototype purposeful activity involving movement in physical space” (p. 73). Lakoff (1993) held that “Changes are movements” (p. 220), while Charteris-Black (2004) “conceptualized progress as movement forwards” (p. 74). In the reports on R&O, through Journey metaphor, the movement category is mapped on to the changes attained through the implementation of R&O in China.

(6) a. 我们的改革开放事业刚刚起步，任重而道远。

We have just step on the course of R&O, with long-term and arduous tasks ahead.

b. 我们的改革开放事业沿着社会主义航向前进。

Our enterprise of R&O is moving forward along the course of socialism.

c. 我们取得了一些成绩，是因为我们赶上了改革开放加速的好时代。

Catching a golden time of speeding up R&O, we have made some achievements.

d. 改革开放初期，虽然缓慢、呆滞，但轨迹清晰，比较平稳。

Even though slow and stagnant initially, R&O develops smooth and steady, with clear tracks.

e. 中国的改革开放不可逆转，市场经济的方向不可动摇。

R&O in China is irreversibly turned to the unshakable direction of Market economy.

f. 中国改革开放不会走回头路。

R&O in China will never backtrack.

In the examples above, the expressions for movement are adapted in the metaphorical reasoning on the changes and development initiated by R&O. In (6a), the first action to implement R&O and the first changes from is the first steps taken. In (6b), (6c) and (6d), the changes towards an expected conditions (destinations) are movement forward and the changes may be quickened (speed up), but it may also be slow and stagnant or steady and smooth. However the expected changes or conditions should not be changed (irreversible) and they will change to better conditions rather than to worse conditions (backtrack). Some other tokens of movement also present, such as leap, turn, retreat, fall behind, miss, take off, jump, stop, lead, catch up and so on. They metaphorically describe the changes initiated by R&O; however for the concern of paper length, they will not be analyzed respectively.

The end of a journey is the destination. Lakoff (1993) mentioned that “Purposes are destinations; States are locations” (p. 220) and that “Purposes are desired locations” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 226). Based on such metaphorical reasoning, we may propose that DESIRED STATES ARE DESTINATIONS. In R&O reports, the desired social states or conditions are the destinations (Purposes) for the R&O implementation.

(7) a. 我们一定能够把邓小平同志开创的改革开放伟大事业进行下去,胜利到达我们的目的地。

We can definitely carry on the great course of R&O, which was initiated by Deng Xiaoping, and reach our destination with triumph.

b. 改革开放是发展生产力,解放生产力,要坚持改革开放,一直到共产主义。

R&O is to liberate and develop productivity, so we must adhere to it until we reach communism.

c. 改革开放是富国强民之路,是民族振兴之路。

R&O is the road to a powerful country, rich people and the national prosperity of China.

d. 改革开放是通往现代化的必由之路。

R&O is the inevitable course to the modernization in China.

In (7a), the expected conditions or social models are conceptualized as the destination of journey. In (7b), the destination or the expected social model is specified: communism. In (7c) and (7d), the expected social conditions are instantiated as powerful country, rich people, national prosperity and modernization. Some other expected conditions or changes also present, such as civilization, victory, hope, happiness, prosperity, glory, development and so on. All of them show the expected changes from R&O.

4.2.2 Nature Metaphor

Nature metaphor, ranked No2. of resonance, is comparatively less productive than Journey metaphors. Nature metaphor is generalized from such subordinate categories as Weather (wind, rain, thunder), Season (Spring), Sunlight, climate, soil, and Water (wave, stream, tide, spring, flood and dew). In the metaphorical reasoning of R&O, the properties of these sources are mapped onto some aspects of R&O.

(8) a. 1978年,改革开放的春风将中国带入了现代化建设的新时期。

In 1978, the spring breeze of R&O led China into the new era of Modernization Construction.

b. 青年知识分子更能在改革开放的风雨雷电中开创出一片新天地。

Young intellectuals can create a new world through the storms, thunders and lightening (hardships and Challenges) of R&O.

- c. 民营科技企业在改革开放的阳光雨露的滋润下已经结出丰硕果实。

Bathed in the Sunshine and dew of R&O, the private-owned technology enterprise has yielded substantial results.

- d. 正是这个理论和基本路线，给中国带来了改革开放的春天。

It is this theory and guideline that brings the Spring of R&O to China.

- e. 改革开放的大气候，使人们挣脱精神枷锁、复苏主体意识。

The favorable climate (situation) of R&O removed the spiritual shackles from Chinese people and revitalized their consciousness of individual subjectivity.

- f. 改革开放的阳光与土壤，栽培出了我们伟大事业中的新嫩苗

The sunshine and soil of R&O have nurtured young promising talents for our great enterprise.

In these examples above, weather, season, sunlight, climate and soil are related to the physical environment in nature, while in the metaphorical reasoning on the implementation of R&O policy, these physical environment are mapped onto the favorable or unfavorable circumstances or conditions of R&O.

Grady (1997) proposed a key metaphor: "CIRCUMSTANCES ARE WEATHER" (p. 109) Based on Grady's idea, Charteris-Black (2004) proposed the weather metaphor: "A SOCIAL CONDITION IS A WEATHER CONDITION" (p. 103) and he stated that "weather metaphors are a conventional source domain for conveying abstract notions of change and associated ideas; The more intense the weather condition the more intense the change implied" (ibid). However, the analysis on R&O reports showed that the physical environment or circumstance involve more categories like season, climate, sunshine and soil, therefore it may be proposed that A SOCIAL CONDITION IS A NATURAL CONDITION.

As demonstrated above, the policy of R&O created the favorable social and political conditions (spring breeze, rain, sunshine, dew, soil) for changes in China. Such physical natural conditions are favorable to the changes in nature. In Chinese culture, the warm spring breeze (8a) can bring rain (8c) and warmth and create the climate (8e) which is favorable to the growth of plants in Spring (8d). Sunshine and soil (8f) are the essential conditions for the growth of plants. However, extreme natural conditions may bring unfavorable conditions because too much wind, rain or thunder may cause damages; therefore they are challenges and hardships to the growth of plants. In the process of implementing R&O, young intellectuals may face such unfavorable conditions (8b) but they will grow stronger after the challenges.

In the physical natural environment, there is an important physical entity on the earth: Water. The analysis on the R&O reports showed that water takes many forms in the metaphorical reasoning, such as waves, tides, spring, stream, flood, ocean, whirlpools and so on.

- (9) a. 新一轮改革开放浪潮正在全国兴起，改革正向纵深推进。

A new wave of R&O is surging all over China, and more profound reforms are under way.

- b. 改革开放波飞浪涌的十四年，是经济建设突飞猛进的十四年。

The fourteen years with tides and waves of R&O is the time for swift and vigorous development in economic construction.

- c. 改革开放已成为不可逆转的历史潮流。

R&O has already become an irreversible stream in history.

- d. 中国共产党带领人民，在改革开放时代洪流中搏击风浪，创造出世所罕见的发展奇迹。

Communist Party of China lead the people to fight against the stormy hardships in the flow of R&O, and created the unprecedented miracle of development.

- e. 改革开放是当代中国的鲜明标志和活力源泉。

R&O is the distinct symbol of modern China and the spring source of vitality.

- f. 一九九二年邓小平南巡谈话后，全国改革开放进入新的热潮。

After the Speech of Deng Xiaoping during his inspection tour of south China in early 1992, R&O in China has entered a new upsurge.

- g. 中国的改革开放已经进入“深水区”，继续推动改革会遭遇许多困难。

The R&O in China has entered the abyssal zone, and more difficulties will be encountered in the process of further reform.

- h. 江西人民踊跃奋起，在改革开放的海洋里扬起风帆，一显身手。

People from Jiangxi province briskly set sails in the ocean of R&O to show their talent.

- i. 上海是中国新一轮改革开放漩涡的中心。

Shanghai is at the center of the new whirlpool of R&O in China.

Charteris-Black (2004) analyzed metaphors in economy and found that “it is the instability of water that is most salient when it is used for economic concepts; Water and its behaviour readily becomes a heuristic for the understanding of more abstract processes (p. 163) and he specified the abstract process as the following “Movement in the water is used to convey, often in a more emotional style, instability, rapid changes”. (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 167). Based on the analysis above and the corpora on R&O reports, it is proposed that CHANGES OR TRENDS IN SOCIETY, POLITICS AND ECONOMY ARE WATER/LIQUID.

As demonstrated in the examples above, in (9a), (9c), (9f) and (9h), the movement of the water or the liquidity is mapped onto the trend of the development of R&O. In (9b), (9d), (9g) and (9i), the instability of water is mapped onto the changes or developments in the implementation process of R&O policy. The change, instabilities or difficulties are conceptualized through the instabilities of the waves, tides and whirlpools. In (9e), the fluidity of spring is used to conceptualize the abstract notion of vitality, in which the R&O policy is viewed as the spring head that can send endless vitality to the development of society.

4.2.3 War Metaphor

R&O policy is born to encounter endless conflicts because the basic notion of it is “domestic institutional reforms and opening to the outside world” (Mühlhahn, 2019, p. 488). Domestic institutional reforms will reform or change the former institutional practices in China, so conflicts between the former and

new practices will definitely present because the different practices may cause conflicts between different ideologies, values and beliefs. The second part of R&O policy is also full of conflicts, because the world is full of conflicts and different people hold different cultures, ideologies, values, beliefs. When opening to the outside world, China has to face endless conflicts of culture (eastern Vs. western), ideology (socialism Vs. capitalism), values (collectivism Vs. individualism), and beliefs (atheism Vs. theism) and so on. Therefore in the reports on R&O policy, expressions of conflicts, especially war expressions are used in the metaphorical reasoning of the policy.

Yang and Dong (2017) held that “war metaphor is an analogy from real war fares to non-war actions or events. As a kind of discourse phenomena, war metaphor describe non-war categories through war terms and endow these categories with strong antagonism, urgency and rhetorical and cognitive tensions” (p. 2). The analysis of the corpora showed that war metaphors in R&O reports are manifested in such aspects as war participants, battlefield, war actions, weapons and equipment.

(10) a. 天津作为中国北方最重要的港口城市，在新一轮改革开放中争当领军者、排头兵。

As the most important port city in Northern China, Tianjin strives to function as the Commander and vanguard (soldier at the formation head) in the new round of R&O.

b. 深圳是中国改革开放的闯将。

Shenzhen is the path-breaker (brave general) in the R&O of China.

c. 青年应该自觉站到时代前列，争做改革开放的急先锋和现代化建设的生力军。

Young people should be ready to stand in the front of time and strive to work as the daring Pioneers of R&O and the vital force in modernization construction.

d. 人民群众是历史的创造者，也是改革开放的主力军。

The masses is the creator of history and the main force of R&O.

e. 他是改革开放新政策的得力的一位实施指挥员。

He is a trusty commander in the implementation of the new policies of R&O.

f. 干部队伍是推动改革开放并在改革开放中不断发展壮大着的一支生机蓬勃的队伍。

The contingent of cadres grows up as a contingent of increasingly thriving vitality in process of promoting R&O.

g. 官僚主义是当前改革开放的大敌。

Bureaucrat-ism is currently the big enemy to R&O.

Kövecses (2010) stated that “POLITICS IS WAR; American society can be seen as composed of armies that correspond to political groups, the leaders of the armies correspond to political leaders” (p. 68). R&O policy is related to politics in China, but the corpora analysis shows that in Chinese discourse of R&O, the armies are not political groups, but the Chinese people or the places to implement R&O while the commander is not necessarily the political leaders. The conflicts are not between political groups but between the implementation of R&O and the hindering factors against it. So based on Kövecses’ idea and the corpora, it can be proposed that IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A WAR.

In (10 a) and (10b), the cities which implemented R&O policy first are conceptualized as Commander, Vanguard and Path-breaker respectively because they take the lead to implement the policy and set leading examples to other places. In these two cases, GOVERNMENT AS A PERSON metaphor also works, because the governments of the two cities are the entities that implement the policy. In (10 c) the function of the young people in R&O implementation is conceptualized as daring pioneers and vital forces because they are brave and full of vitality. In (10 d), the masses are treated as the main force of R&O, because the policy can only be implemented when the masses follow it to make changes in society, without their involvement and devotion, the policy will only be abstract notions. In (10 e) the person who can lead the mass to conquer hindering factors to implement the new policy is conceptualized as a trusty commander who can guide the soldiers to fight. In (10f) the cadres who work in different walks of society are treated as the contingent because they work as a team in the fight against hindering factors in R&O implementation. In (10 g), Bureaucrat-ism is the hindering factor to R&O, and should be conquered, so it is conceptualized as enemy of war that has to be defeated. Another important aspect of war is the battlefield. Within IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A WAR, the places to implement the policy may be conceptualized as the battlefields, however corpora analysis showed that the places vary in functions.

(11) a. 在改革开放和经济建设的主战场上，企业和企业家担当着极其重要的历史使命。

On the main battlefield of R&O and economic construction, companies and entrepreneurs shoulder historical responsibilities of vital significance.

b. 1990年，他来到了中国改革开放的前沿阵地—深圳。

In 1990, he came to the front line of R&O: Shen zhen.

c. 五大经济特区是改革开放的前哨。

The five Special Economic Zones are the outposts of R&O.

d. 党支部在改革开放中发挥战斗堡垒作用。

Communist Party branches function as the battle fortress in R&O.

e. 四个自贸试验区凭借得天独厚的地缘优势，形成各具特色的改革开放高地。

Endowed with unique geographical advantages, the four Free Trade Zones formed different R&O highlands with unique features.

f. 在改革开放和现代化建设的各条战线，活跃着许许多多优秀青年。

Excellent youths are active on the operational lines of R&O and modernization construction.

g. 广州是“一带一路”国家战略中的关键一环，是中国改革开放的桥头堡。

As the bridgehead of R&O, Guangzhou is a key link in the national strategy of Belt and Road.

In (11a), the reform of economy is conceptualized as the main battle filed because economic foundation decides political superstructure and economy is decisive in R&O implementation. The places where R&O was implemented first are the front lines (11b), outpost (11c) and bridgehead (11g), because they are the first places to implement the policy and also first to confront the conflicts from the implementation. They

however just because they are the first, they can monitor or observe the conflicts first and have their advantages, so they are highlands (11e) of R&O implementation. The areas to implement the policy are the operational lines (11f) because R&O in different areas as economy, politics, culture, education, transportation, industry, and so on, different reforms are to be carried out and different conflicts may be confronted. The Party branches are very important because they can provide political guidance to guarantee the victory of R&O implementation, so they are the battle fortress (11d). The analysis of the metaphorical expressions can lead to the conceptual metaphor of PLACES OR REALMS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ARE BATTLE FIELDS.

In POLITICS IS WAR metaphor, “the weapons used by the army are the ideas and policies of the political groups” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 68). In the IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A WAR, the policy is the military equipment: weapon, banner and so on and beneath them is the conceptual metaphor: POLICY OR THEORY IS MILITARY EQUIPMENT.

(12) a. 邓小平理论是我国改革开放和现代化建设的伟大旗帜。

Dengxiaoping Theory is a great banner in the R&O and modernization construction in China.

b. 会议确立了党在社会主义建设中的正确路线，吹响了改革开放的进军号。

The assembly set the correct road map for the Party in Socialism construction and sounded the trumpet for battle in R&O.

c. 中国特色社会主义是我国改革开放和现代化建设的强大思想武器。

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a powerful ideological weapon in the R&O and modernization construction in China.

d. 改革开放“第一炮”在深圳蛇口“炸响”。

The first bomb of R&O exploded at She kou industrial zone in Shenzhen city.

e. 现代化国防力量始终是改革开放和现代化建设的坚强后盾。

Modernized national defence force will always be the powerful backing in the R&O and modernization construction in China.

In (12a), political theory are conceptualized as the banner on the battlefield because banners on battlefields indicated the marching direction while Deng xiaoping Theory marked the political direction for R&O policy and guided the people to victory. In (12b) when the trumpet for battle is sounded, the battle will begin, while when the assembly announced the policy, it will be implemented. In (12c) and (12d), the political ideology or policy are the weapons to conquer the conflicts in R&O implementation, and the first attempt to implement the policy start the first bomb to solve the conflicts. In (12e), the national defense forces can guarantee the stable social environment of R&O, so they are the backing to supply security to the war of implementing R&O policy.

The process of R&O implementation for development is full of conflicts, so the expressions for conflicts or war, such as conflict, challenge, mobilize, march, defend, conquer and victory, can also be used in the metaphorical reasoning of the process of R&O implementation. The conceptual metaphor beneath these

metaphorical war expressions is ACTIONS IN R&O IMPLEMENTATION ARE WAR ACTIONS.

(13) a. 改革开放是一场革命，不仅会遇到利益冲突，也会遇到旧观念的挑战。

As a revolution, R&O will encounter conflicts of interests and challenges from dated ideas.

b. 邓小平同志 1992 年视察南方的讲话是中国改革开放第二次动员令。

Deng xiaoping's speech during his 1992 inspection tour of south China is the second mobilization order in R&O.

c. 各族人民团结和睦，正在改革开放的大进军中走向富裕和文明。

Harmoniously united, all nationalities are marching toward affluence and civilization in R&O.

d. 改革开放越深入，抵御风险的能力就越强。

The further implement of R&O will produce stronger capacities to defend it against risks.

e. 经过改革开放 20 年洗礼的中华民族，奋起保卫改革开放成果。

After twenty years' troubles and trials in R&O implementation, Chinese nation strives to protect the achievements of R&O.

f. 我国的改革开放和现代化建设战胜各种困难和风险，取得巨大成就。

Conquering difficulties and risks, R&O and modernization construction in China have achieved tremendous success.

g. 党领导全国人民在改革开放中胜利实现社会主义现代化。

The Party led all Chinese to victory in realizing the socialist modernization through R&O.

In (13a), there are different interests and ideas (conflicts and challenges) in the process of R&O implementation, then Deng xiaoping's speech encourage (mobilize) (13b) the people to take further measures or actions in solving there conflicts. The process of taking measures to solve conflicts is conceptualized as the process of marching (13c) because they both involve measures to solve conflicts in the forward movement (development) for certain purposes. The measures to get ride of the risks and conflicts to guarantee the development of R&O is understood as the actions of defending (13d) and protecting (13e). The solving of the conflicts and risks are the conquering (13f) of the enemy, because conflicts and enemies are both dangerous and hard to get rid of. Therefore beneath such metaphoric expressions is the conceptual metaphor: CONFLICTS AND RISKS ARE ENEMIES. The result of R&O implementation is regarded as the victory (13g) of war. When the conflicts and risks (enemies) are removed (diminished or killed) and the final goal is achieved, the implementation is also a victory.

4.2.4 Building Metaphor

In the metaphorical reasoning of R&O, buildings also play an important role. "Human beings build houses and other structures for shelter, work, storage, and so on. Both the static object of a house and its parts and the act of building it serve as common metaphorical source domains." (Kövecses, 2010, p. 19). Charteris-Black (2004) found that "abstract political policies are represented as sharing the same structural relations as building; the underlying conceptual metaphors are WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING and SOCIETY IS BUILDING" (p. 73). Based on the corpora of R&O reports and the ideas by

Charteris-Black, it can be proposed that IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS BUILDING A CONSTRUCTION. In the implementation activity of R&O policy, the leaders are the architects and the people are the builders. The activity of implementing the policy is the action of building an expected construction: socialism or socialistic China, and the metaphors beneath these constructions are NATION IS BUILDING and SOCIETY IS BUILDING. While the factors that construct or influence the implementation are the structural parts and materials of the building.

(14) a. 中国改革开放的总设计师: 邓小平。

Deng xiaoping: Chief Architect of R&O in China.

b. 邓小平是改革开放事业的奠基人，改革方针政策的制定者。

Deng xiaoping is the founder of the R&O enterprise and the formulator for the principles and policies of the reform.

c. 改革开放建设者们解放思想，勇敢实践。

The constructors of R&O emancipate their minds to practice courageously.

In (14a) and (14b), Deng xiaoping was regarded as the chief architect and founder of R&O because he was the leader who contrived the policy of R&O, and his thoughts are the ideological and political bases upon which the implementation of R&O is carried out. In (14c), the Chinese people who devote themselves in the practice of R&O implementation are the constructors because they are the one that realized the policy through their trails and practices.

The construction of a build involves such steps as design the blueprint, lay the foundation, construct and so on. In the construction of social or political policies, these steps of physical construction are mapped onto the abstract measures or actions in the implementation of the policy. The construction process (physical and abstract) is “a staged process that implies social co-operation (since buildings are rarely constructed single-handedly) and that takes place over an extended period of time” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 96).

(15) a. 有中国特色社会主义理论为中国的改革开放事业设计了一幅宏伟蓝图。

The theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics laid out a magnificent blueprint for the R&O enterprise in China.

b. 邓小平的重要讲话为我国改革开放事业进入新阶段奠定了思想理论基础。

The important speeches by Deng xiaoping laid the ideological and theoretical foundations for the development of the R&O enterprise into a new stage.

c. 引智工作为改革开放和现代化建设提供强大的科技动力和智力支撑。

The recruitment of talents will provide powerful technological motives and intellectual support to R&O implementation and modernization construction.

d. 经过改革开放 20 多年的建设，我们的综合国力增强了，与世界的差距缩小了。

With the construction of R&O for more than 20 years, the comprehensive national power of China has been reinforced and the gap between China and the world has been narrowed.

In (15a), the contriving of the policy or plans for the R&O implementation is conceptualized through the process of laying out the blueprint. Blueprints are the structure maps that designed scientifically for constructing the complex and upright structure of a building. The policies and plans for development in all aspects are interconnected to form a complex system (the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics) and they have to be contrived scientifically to guarantee the upright development towards the expected society (socialism). In this metaphorical reasoning, THEORY IS BUILDING and SOCIETY IS BUILDING also work. In (15b) and (15c), the speeches by Deng Xiaoping provided the basic theoretical notions upon which the plans and policies are contrived and implemented, so they are the foundations that guarantee the development of R&O. The enrollment of talents play an important role in implementation of the policies and plans because plans and policies need to be realized with the intellectual contribution of the talents. In (15d), the implementation process over 20 years is conceptualized as the construction process, because both of need time to guarantee the endurance of the expected building.

Building is a complex framework with different components, such as foundation, column, door, window and so on. The combination of these components in a scientifically-designed method will produce the stable, enduring and useful building. The relationships between the different components and the functions of them can be mapped onto the abstract framework of R&O policy.

(16) a. 依法治国是新一轮改革开放的制度基石。

To govern by law is the institutional cornerstone for the new round of R&O.

b. “两个务必”是进行现代化建设和改革开放的精神柱石。

The *Two Principals* (Note 3) is the spiritual column in the implementation of R&O and the modernization construction.

c. 各行各业先进分子是支撑当今中国改革开放大厦的栋梁。

The activists from all walks are the pillars to support the building of R&O in current China.

d. 广大青年积极投身改革开放建设事业中，为社会主义大厦添砖加瓦。

The youths devoted themselves to the construction of R&O, offering bricks and tiles (contributing) to the building of socialism.

e. 党毅然打开决定当代中国命运的改革开放大门。

The Party resolutely opened the door of R&O, deciding the destiny of contemporary China.

f. 深圳对内是全国改革开放的窗口，对外是世界了解中国的一面镜子。

Domestically, Shen zhen is the window to R&O of China while internationally it is a mirror for the world to learn more about China.

g. 深圳：改革开放的“样板间”。

Shen zhen: Model room of R&O implementation.

In (16a) the policy of ruling by law provides the basic institutional base to guarantee the right development of R&O, so it is conceptualized as the cornerstone in the building. In (16b) two important principles exhorted by Chairman Mao Zedong set the basic spiritual requirements for the Party member, and the two

principles can keep the upright spirit for the Party members who play leading role in R&O implementation, so they are like columns that support the building (R&O implementation). In (16c) and (16d), the implementation of R&O policy and socialism society are conceptualized as buildings while the people who devoted themselves to it are the pillars because they support this policy and without their devotions, the policy may not be realized. A building is constructed with such materials as bricks and tiles, while the socialism society is realized with the efforts and devotions of each individual, so are their contributions are like the bricks and tiles that construct the grand building of socialism. In (16e) and (16f), in a building, the door and the window functions as the connection between the inside and the outside. While R&O policy is opening up to the other countries, so it is just like open the door or window to the outsiders, and beneath the door and window metaphors lie the conceptual metaphor of COUNTRY AS BUILDING. In (16g), Shenzhen's implementation practice of R&O can set up a good model for other places to learn about R&O implementation, so it is conceptualized as a model room which is constructed to set up a model or sample for the potential housing consumers.

4.3 Discussion

The analysis of the top four productive source domains revealed some of the metaphorical highlights of R&O implementation which may reflect the social and political ideologies promoted by the Communist Party of China. The analysis of the tokens for each sources and the comparison of them can lead to some in-depth ideological highlights of the policy.

Journey metaphor positively evaluated the purposeful social activity of R&O policy implementation as a journey, which expressed aspirations towards the expected social goals: socialism. Ji and Chen (2007) stated that "journey metaphor can enhance the affinity between the orator and the audience to arrive at the consensus of choosing the right road to mutual prosperity" (p. 47). The analysis of the tokens of Journey metaphor confirmed the importance of choosing the right road and direction and the vehicles. Among the 11133tokens of Journey metaphor, there are 3499 tokens (31.4%) for road and direction, 2231tokens (20%) for forwards movements and 2040 tokens (18.3%) for vehicles and motives. R&O policy is not only the road and direction chosen but also the vehicles to achieve the destination. The policy is the right road and direction because it reforms the domestic institutional practices and opens up to the international society, which can relieve productivity and promote the development of society. The policy is also the vehicle and motive for the development because it is through the implementation of this policy that the development towards the purposeful destination is achieved. Journey metaphor highlights the social and political development towards the bright future of socialism and hence can inspire the people's motivation and desire to follow the Party to carry out the policy.

The analysis of Nature metaphor mainly highlights the influences of R&O which affects the social and political development in China. The rank of the tokens showed that among the 2933 tokens of Nature metaphor, the top three in tokens are: Waves and Tides: 1291tokens (44%), Winds: 713 tokens (24.3) and the general term of Environment: 545 tokens (18.6%). Waves and tides, and Winds are powerful, flexible

and irresistible, so they are used to demonstrate the influence of R&O policy which is powerful in promoting the social development. Even though the policy may be flexible to specific situations, the general trend to socialism is resistible and will never change. Winds, especially spring winds, also emphasize the productive influence of R&O, because in Chinese culture spring winds or winds from the east are warm winds which bring humid air from the Pacific Ocean. The spring winds bring humid air and rain to the mainland and they are beneficial to the growth of crops in spring. It is a symbol of new life. When the new policy of R&O was implemented, many areas will begin their new practices, so it is like the spring wind which brings new life to earth. The environment tokens emphasize the aspects of situations for the implementations of R&O and the situations created by the policy.

War metaphor also plays an important role in the reasoning of R&O implementation. However it highlights some other aspects of R&O implementation. Among the 2171 tokens, the top three are: Frontier and highland: 602 tokens (27.9%), Victory: 403 tokens (18.6%) and Strategies and tactics: 363 tokens (16.7%). Frontier and highland are the nearest to the conflicts on the battlefield, so it can inspire the sense of urgency in the participants of war, but they may also command some advantages from the highland. The places which take the first step in R&O implementation will encounter risks, changes and conflicts, so they are at the frontier. The strategies and tactics in used in the war against the risks and conflicts are the measures or principles adapted in the implementation, and this inspired the awareness of techniques and skills. The achievements in R&O implementation are the victories in the battle against the risks and conflicts and they will inspire the sense of honor and hope in the participants.

Building metaphor mainly highlights the openness, stability and endurance of the R&O policy implementation. Among the 1414 tokens, the top three aspects are: Architects: 662 tokens (46.8%), Window and door: 297 tokens (21%) and Foundations: 146 tokens (10.3%). The architects are the most important person in the process of construction, because it's the architects' scientific reasoning and designing that decides the function, the stability and the endurance of the building. In the grand social activity of implementing R&O policy to achieve socialism, Deng Xiaoping played the important role of the Chief Architect, and it's his forward-looking idea about building that decide the smooth construction of socialism. The other important highlight is the openness of this policy, because the second part of this policy is opening up to the international society. The function of windows and doors are connecting the inside with the outside, while the places where R&O implemented first and the places which are opened to the international society just function as the connection between China and the world. The stability and endurance depend on the foundation, while the future of R&O implementation depends on the policy and the support from all aspects. The foundation highlights inspire the participant's active devotions in protecting the foundations of this grand project.

There are also some similarities between Journey metaphor, War metaphor and Building metaphor, because they are all purposeful activities which are composed of participants, procedures, places and desired purposes. The participants are the leader (Pathfinder, Commander, and Architect) and the follower

(Traveller, Solider and Builder). The procedures are the steps and movements in Journey, War and Construction while the difference between them are that Journey process highlights the horizontal forward movement which commands time, devotion, and patience from the participants War actions highlight counter-actions against conflicts therefore it emphasis the conflicts and risks, and tactics for the countermeasures against them while the construction action is the vertical upward movement therefore it highlights the interdependence of different elements that guarantee the stability and endurance of the building. All events or actions of the three need places (Road, battlefield and construction site). The desired purposes of the three are the destination, the victory and the construction.

These three events and actions sources have positive evaluations for the R&O implementation because they depict the implementation as a forward or upward movement towards the desired destination and a bright future, therefore they can arouse people's active devotion to the grand project under the leadership of the Party, meanwhile it also alert the people to the potential risks and challenges in the process because the course may not be smooth all the way there may be turns and twists obstacles and hindrances therefore they need to be patient Meanwhile there may also be risks, conflicts and enemies which keep the people alert and vigilant, and these challenges can arouse people's sense of honor and keep their morale to confront all risks and challenges.

5. Conclusions

Based on the data from sub-corpus of People's Daily in BCC corpus, this study conducted a systematic analysis on the metaphorical reasoning of R&O implementation in the news reports. After the collection of potential target domain contexts, the identification of potential source domains and the calculation and ranking of the resonance of the sources, it is found that 16 sources are adapted in the metaphorical reasoning of R&O implementation, but the general distribution of the resonance showed a concentration tendency because the top four sources (Journey: 83.14%; Nature: 8.16%; War: 6.31%; Building (1.15%) contribute 98.76% of all resonances. This tendency may to some extent reveal the highlights of the reports and the ideologies promoted in them. The source domains also have different aspects but they are partially adapted in the reports and they also have their highlights.

The conceptual metaphor from Journey domain is THE IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY. This metaphor evaluated the policy as a purposeful social activity and it highlights the choice of policy and the trend of it. Methods or measures are also highlighted as the vehicles and motives in the journey metaphor.

The conceptual metaphor from Nature domain is A SOCIAL CONDITION IS A NATURAL CONDITION, which highlights the importance of social or political conditions for the implementation of R&O policy. Meanwhile there is also a sub-metaphor: CHANGES OR TRENDS IN SOCIETY, POLITICS AND ECONOMY ARE WATER/LIQUID, which highlights the influence of policy as powerful waves. Productive policy is also evaluated as warm spring winds that bring humid warm winds to the earth.

The conceptual metaphor from War domain is IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A WAR which emphasis the conflicts and risks in policy implementation. The sub-metaphors derived from it are the following: PLACES OR REALMS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ARE BATTLE FIELDS, POLICY OR THEORY IS MILITARY EQUIPMENT, ACTIONS IN R&O IMPLEMENTATION ARE WAR ACTIONS and CONFLICTS AND RISKS ARE ENEMIES. War metaphors mainly highlight the risks, strategies and victory of war and inspire the senses of risks, emergency, tactics and honor or morale in the participants.

The conceptual metaphor from Building domain is IMPLEMENTATION OF R&O FOR DEVELOPMENT IS BUILDING A CONSTRUCTION, which mainly highlights the openness, stability and endurance of the R&O policy implementation. The sub-metaphor derived from it is: NATION IS BUILDING and SOCIETY IS BUILDING. This metaphor inspires the participant's active devotions in protecting the foundations under the leadership of the Party.

Among the top four productive sources, three of them are related to purposeful activities or events. Journey metaphor and building metaphor depict the implementation as a forward or upward movement towards the desired destination and a bright future, which can arouse people's active devotion to the grand project under the leadership of the Party. War metaphor may alert the people to the potential risks and challenges in the process because there may be turns and twists obstacles and hindrances. War metaphor can also arouse people's sense of honor and keep their morale to confront all risks and challenges.

In conclusion, in the reports of the R&O implementation, metaphors are used to promote the different aspects of this complex social and political event. The different highlights can inspire the readers and participants to devote themselves to the grand project, in the process of which leadership, devotion, patience, alertness courage and cooperation are needed.

This study conducted a systematic analysis on R&O policy implementation from the perspective of conceptual metaphor, and will bring some light to the study of this great policy that changed the history of China meanwhile it will also add some new element to the study of political discourse analysis.

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Notes

Note 1. All the examples are from BCC (Beijing Language and Culture University Corpus Center) corpus, which is a free online corpus accessible at <http://bcc.blcu.edu.cn/>. With a total of 15 billion Chinese characters (Newspapers and Journals: 2billion; Literature works: 3 billion; Blogs: 3billion; Science and Technology: 3 billion; Comprehensive: 1 billion; Ancient Chinese: 2 billion), BCC can give a comprehensive global view of modern Chinese usages. In this paper, the sub-corpus of Newspapers and Journals is used in the exploration on metaphors in R&O reports.

Note 2. In the calculation of the resonance percentages of the sources, five digits after the decimal point are retained, otherwise the weakest sources may not present in the general percentage map of resonance.

Note 3. Chairman Mao Zedong exhorted all party members to remain modest and prudent, guard against conceit and impetuosity, and retain the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle for good.