

Arithmetic and Treatment: Metaphor Choice in China's Economy Reform Discourse

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Abstract. This article examines metaphor choice in China's Economic Reform discourse. Drawing on corpus data, we analyze the metaphors used by the website of China Reform (CR) targeting at Chinese readers and the website of China Daily (CD) targeting at English-speaking people, to frame ECONOMIC REFORM and influence public perception. It is found that both embodied experience and cultural models are recruited as the metaphoric vehicles or source domains for the strategic profiling of different aspects of ECONOMIC REFORM as the target domain. Additionally, metaphor choice is different in CR and CD in representing the same target domain, that is, ARITHMETIC and TREATMENT are characteristic in CR. It reflects that metaphor use is sensitive to target audience and broader sociocultural context, especially to the knowledge base within an epistemic community.

1、 Background

From the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors we live by* [1], the study of conceptual metaphor has undoubtedly been one of the major topics in the cognitive linguistics research program. Since its inception, the conceptual theory of metaphor has provided us with hundreds of examples which have demonstrated the power of a cognitive construct which pervades every aspect of experience. Moreover, Lakoff [2] has taken the value of metaphors as a matter of thought a step further by demonstrating they can be used as a type of ideological weapon serving to frame political or economic issues. The theory of conceptual metaphor has stirred up the world of linguistics, and its applications have been extended to numerous genres, including literary poems as well as technical passages.

Specialized languages have, indeed, proven particularly fruitful for the application of the conceptual theory of metaphor. Even if our first intuition about the jargon of experts is that of a plain, unexciting language, most analyses of professional jargon have revealed a rich language that abounds in metaphors. In this way, the number of studies which have demonstrated the ubiquity of metaphor

and its usefulness as a cognitive tool to understand abstract concepts by way of more concrete ones has proliferated in specialized fields, such as those of economics and finance, medicine, or computing and Internet.

In this paper we focus on conceptual metaphor in one of the most influencing specialized fields nowadays, namely, that of financial language. In the age of globalization, business growth and economic fluctuations, financial issues are a burning topic of international interest. Economists are not the only ones under the sway of the financial world. Linguists have also succumbed to the magnetism of its language, filled with a unique imagery and flexibility. As a result, in recent years we have witnessed a proliferation of studies on the language of economy and finance, with a special focus on the use of metaphor in economic texts. The aim of most of the current studies on metaphor from a cognitive linguistics perspective is not to achieve a characterization of the language of finance per se, but rather to profile the underlying contextual and ideological motivations that give rise to its linguistic features.

From this point of view, to find out the different underlying ideologies and culture, the comparison of the same conceptual metaphor in different languages will be a useful methodology to uncover similarities and differences in the conceptualization of economic and financial issues in different societies. The present work is in keeping with the contrastive approach, but differs from the papers previously mentioned in identifying a thematic focus and adopting a corpus linguistics methodology. Moreover, the thematic focus which targets at the ECONOMY REFORM of the corpus is consistent, which is almost unseen, if any, by the author.

During the transition from planned economy to a market economy in the last four decades, China has experienced an economic miracle. This year marks the 40th anniversary of China's reform and opening-up policy. Therefore, the present study will shed light on methodological innovation by taking a corpus-based study rather than intuitive conclusions. Moreover, by revealing the similarities and differences in the metaphor use of ECONOMIC REFORM, it will contribute to transmission of Chinese culture in a more strategic way during translation and interpretation.

2、 Literature Review

Contemporary research on economic language offers ample evidence that metaphor is ubiquitous in economic discourse where it plays a key role in defining issues, setting agendas, reflecting ideologies, and shaping public opinion. What is it about metaphor that makes it such a powerful economic tool?

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides a crucial insight into the human mind that illuminates the ubiquity of metaphor in human language in general and in political discourse in particular [3]. Essentially, metaphor structures our thought and helps us understand abstract and intangible matters by the use of familiar and accessible concepts of basic bodily experience as cognitive heuristics.

Conceptual metaphors exhibit pervasive conventional mappings across conceptual domains. For example, across languages, time is conceptualized in terms of space as in “a look back” where “back” stands for the past, and social relationship is conceptualized in terms of physical distance, as in “a close friend” where closeness indicates intimacy. Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphor is not just a linguistic phenomenon; it is a cognitive process without which some abstract thoughts are impossible. The intersection of metaphoric language and political discourse is one of many instantiations of embodied cognition. Politics presents a complex domain of human experience that is laden with serious consequences and yet too abstract for ordinary citizens to understand. Drawing on embodied experiences, metaphors serve to “link the individual and the political by providing a way of seeing relations, reifying abstractions, and framing complexity in manageable terms” [4]. In addition to simplifying and managing complex information, metaphors shape our perspective on politics through the particular lens of their source concepts by foregrounding and back grounding various aspects of an issue. The necessity of metaphor in political discourse is aptly captured in Thompson’s vivid simile—“Politics without metaphor is like a fish without water.”

But complex matters such as economy are often communicated with different metaphors in different cultural spaces where different source domains may be employed, and where the same source domains may not be equally salient. Littlemore [5] points to the role of shared cultural knowledge, values, and stereotypes in metaphor interpretation. Quinn [6] argues that the use of metaphor plays into preexisting cultural models to facilitate the communication of abstract ideas, and that the cognitive function of metaphor is mediated by culture specific experiences.

However, the view of metaphor as systematic embodiment and the view of metaphor as being subject to culture-specific knowledge and preferences of conceptualization are not incompatible. Scholars working within the CMT framework recognize that cultural experiences shape metaphorical conceptualization and give rise to cross-linguistic variation in the choice of source domains [7]. The recognition of cultural variation in metaphorical thinking counterbalances the argument for its cognitive universality. While noting the centrality of spatial experience as our most fundamental bodily experience, Lakoff and Johnson also contend, “every experience takes place within a vast background of cultural presuppositions” [1]. In other words, culture shapes the way we experience the world. Gibbs [8] suggests that our embodied experience is shaped by “social and cultural constructions of experience,” according to which some aspects of our bodily experience are viewed as “more salient than others”. In other words, culture shapes the way we conceptualize the world by prioritizing some experiences over others. Thus, differences in cultural cognition necessarily give rise to differences in metaphorical conceptualization in different languages.

The CMT approach distinguishes itself from earlier approaches to metaphor not just in its

assertion of the cognitive role and cultural background of metaphor. It also provides an interactional theory of truth by refuting objectivism, which has implications for metaphoric discourse about politics. From this theoretical viewpoint, metaphor defies traditional truth-value analysis. As Lakoff and Johnson argue “Truth is always relative to a conceptual system that is defined in large part by metaphor.” [1] Truth in the experientialist framework depends not so much on the inherent properties of things as on the interactional properties arising from our daily experience of perception and categorization. In this line of inquiry, it is less important to explore the truth-value of metaphoric language than to explore what metaphor accomplishes in communication. Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphor can “define reality” by way of “a coherent network of entailments that highlight some features of reality and hide others.”

This subjectivist view of metaphor entailments indicates the pragmatic potentials of metaphor and is in line with earlier research on metaphor as a cognitive heuristic, a framing device, as well as a conveyer of emotion and stance in politics. However, approaching metaphor from a cognitive semantic perspective, CMT is primarily concerned with metaphorical conceptualization in isolation from real-world usage in discourse. As Cienki [9] observes, CMT is concerned with metaphor as part of the system of linguistic knowledge or competence rather than the way metaphor is used in communication. Accordingly, the selection of a particular source domain should be heavily motivated by social factors. [10]. Kovecses [7] does acknowledge the significance of the social dimension in the variation of metaphors, as these variations are rooted in “the experiences of the people divided by these dimensions.” If metaphors represent human experience, then it can be expected that both conceptual and linguistic metaphors will vary according to different social realities. Nevertheless, no such realities have been considered in the case of ECONOMIC METAPHOR metaphors within cognitive linguistic research. Our research aims to tap into cognitive sociolinguistics by focusing on the factors that result in language-internal variation of metaphor usage. As emphasized by Geeraers et al [11], despite the growing interest within cognitive linguistics for socio-variation studies, it still remains a relatively understudied area. Moreover, its research method is limited to introspection. These limitations of CMT can be remedied with a greater focus on the use of metaphor as a discursive means serving sociopolitical ends, and by employing usage data, which will be undertaken in this study.

3、 Methodology

Questions

It aimed to address the following questions:

- (1) What are respective source domains which help conceptualize the target domain ECONOMIC REFORM in one corpus which is targeted at Chinese readers and the other which is targeted at

English readers?

(2) What are the differences, if any, in the use of these source domains between the two corpora?

(3) What can these differences, if any, reveal about Chinese culture and its transmission?

Data Collection Procedure

We constructed two corpora with a thematic focus on ECONOMIC REFORM.

Our analysis of economic reform draws on two sets of online data, the bulk of which is obtained between May 2016 and August 2018. The two websites are China Reform (hereafter CR) and China Daily (hereafter CD). By choosing flagship and authoritative websites in reporting news, we are more confident of our data in this study. Moreover, CR is written in Chinese, which therefore targets at Chinese readers; while CD is in English and therefore at English people. In this way, we compared the metaphors use targeting at people from different nations.

Considering that the thematic focus of this study is ECONOMIC REFORM, the data in CR on economy are directly used for further processing, while the relevant data in CD are extracted by ways of typing in keyword “ECONOMIC REFORM”. The thematic focus of these documents ensured that the metaphor sources being identified pertain to ECONOMY REFORM as the intended target domain. In this way, target domain is determined, and source domain is paid special attention. By examining source domains, it is direct to tap into how ECONOMIC REFORM is framed.

After determining the source of data, the following specific strategies about selection and filtering out were employed for the sake of extracting linguistic expressions instantiating conceptual mappings from non-annotated corpora. These two strategies are executed at the same time, but not one after another.

(a) Search manually for metaphors, by reading through the corpus and extracting all metaphorical expressions one by one. In this step, the expressions with “double quotation marks” in CR are paid special attention, which are highly likely to satisfy the metaphorical requirement of this study. Apart from the expressions with obvious “double quotation marks”, there are some other less explicit in form. The items identified are quite wide-ranging; these included single nouns (e.g. “定心丸(centering pills)”, “加减法(addition and subtraction)”, “两条腿(two legs)”“step”, “meat”, “stride”), verbs (e.g. “奏响(paly)”, “mend”, “streamline”), phrases (e.g. “添砖加瓦(add bricks and tiles)”, “pooling of risks”, “a pool of”), sentences (e.g. “一蒿松劲退千寻(One Artemisia)”, “Guangzhou Development District streamlines regulatory processes”), and similes (e.g. “像心跳一样(like heartbeat)”, “like a house”). Strictly speaking, similes are different from metaphors in rhetorical devices. But in this study, concerning the question of how the audiences frame the theme of “ECONOMIC REFORM”, the rhetorical differences have no impact on the conceptualization. As a

result, similes are also counted in the process of collecting data.

(b) In the meanwhile, we filter out the expressions that could not be coded as a source domain for the target domain of ECONOMIC REFORM. One type is that the target domain is ECONOMY, other than ECONOMIC REFORM. The metaphor ECONOMY is about entity, while the metaphor ECONOMIC REFORM is about action. Take “过剩的经济基础(Excess economic base)” as an example, in this case, the metaphor is like this: ECONOMY IS FOOD. The other type is that the thematic focus is not ECONOMIC REFORM. Although we choose to type in “ECONOMIC REFORM” in CD for the source of data, there are still some expressions that aren't the theme of ECONOMIC REFORM.

In the end, we had 65 analyzable items in CR, 70 in CD. These items are classified into more general types in the following analysis and tagged with the types. After the classification and tagging, we will use Antconc to derive the frequencies of each type.

Analytical Procedures

Our data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. On the one hand, a quantitative analysis gave us the opportunity to establish a direct comparison between the corpora under study. On the other, a qualitative analysis allowed us to carry out a deeper and more detailed conceptual analysis of the corpus, enabling us to discover similarities and differences between the metaphorical expressions of the two corpora.

In order to carry out a quantitative analysis, we firstly are supposed to identify the metaphorical expression, which is also mentioned above. In our manual search for the source domain concepts, the unit of analysis was between the word and the clausal level, with many idiomatic phrasal units in between. Following Lu and Ahrens [12], we took domain incongruity as the primary criterion for selection. We examined the literal sense of an expression, and the semantic and pragmatic congruity between the literal meaning and the context in which it occurs. Incongruity was taken as indication of the figurative nature of an expression. For example, the expression of in 供给侧改革要“对症下药 (Supply side reform should be "the right medicine")” is counted as a metaphor because of the incongruity of its literal sense in the given context, specifically with the symbol of citation.

In order to carry out a qualitative analysis of the corpora and describe the metaphorical mappings for each lexeme, we took as a starting point the classification of financial metaphors and the classification of political metaphors. Although the latter study is set in the field of politics, it offers one of the most exhaustive and up-to-date models for the analysis of conceptual metaphor. Furthermore, the field of politics and that of economy share many conceptual features that make them particularly likely to be described by similar metaphors. For example, both politics and economy often in solve an element of contest and rivalry that allow them to be conceptualized as a

COMPETITION GAME or as a BATTLE: a political campaign or a financial operation may be envisioned as a sports event or a competition, and a politician and a company may be conceived of as warriors in a battle. Inspired by the similarities of metaphor choice in economic and political discourse, the author also read some political discourse on China Daily and People's Daily (hereafter PD) simply for the sake of better categorizing the collected metaphor tokens into general types. For example, in anti-corruption discourse, CORRUPTION IS DISEASE and ANTI-CORRUPTION IS WAR are pervasive metaphors.

To put it more specific to the present study, we extracted all the metaphoric expressions used in the two websites during the period. We then analyzed and classified these metaphors into cognitive frames as source domains. A cognitive frame is a conceptual domain with a set of interrelated concepts that structure the way we understand an event or experience by profiling different aspects of that event or experience. For example, concepts such as symptom, remedy, medicine and patient are mutually associable elements within the cognitive frame of TREATMENT, each of which highlights a particular aspect of the frame and can independently activate the whole frame along with its associated concepts. A cognitive frame is formed on the basis of perception in context and categorization by prototype and is culture-specific. In this study, cognitive frame is the general type of metaphors.

Results

1. CR

The data yielded metaphors that fall into five general conceptual categories. They are as follows:

- (1) ECONOMIC REFORM IS JOURNEY.
- (2) ECONOMIC REFORM IS TREATMENT.
- (3) ECONOMIC REFORM IS COMPETITION.
- (4) ECONOMIC REFORM IS ARITHMETIC.
- (5) ECONOMIC REFORM IS CRAFT.

Below are examples of each metaphor.

- (1) ECONOMIC REFORM IS JOURNEY.

a.摸着石头过河

b.个税改革迈出关键一步

c. 国企改革进入爬坡过坎、滚石上山的关键阶段

a. Cross the river by feeling the stones

b. A key step in tax reform

c. The reform of state-owned enterprises has entered a critical stage of climbing the hills and rolling

stones up the mountain.

(2) ECONOMIC REFORM IS TREATMENT.

- a. 农业供给侧改革要“对症下药”。
- b. 东北经济遇到的困难不是哪一种“病”，而是“综合症”
- a. The reform of the agricultural supply side should be “the right medicine”.
- b. The difficulty encountered by the Northeast economy is not a kind of "disease" but "syndromes"

(3) ECONOMIC REFORM IS COMPETITION.

- a. “互联网制造”让中国智造迈上新跑道。
- b. 走好国企改革“最后一公里”
- c. 中企交出亮眼“期中成绩单”
- a. "Internet manufacturing" has made China's smart building a new runway.
- b. Take the “last mile” of state-owned enterprise restructuring
- c. The Chinese company handed over a bright "interim transcript".

(4) ECONOMIC REFORM IS ARITHMETIC.

- a. 做好“加减乘除”实现供需结构再平衡
- b. 央企重组后要实现“1+1>2”
- a. Do a good job of “addition, subtraction, multiplication and division” to achieve balance of supply and demand structure
- b. “1+1>2” should be realized after the reorganization of central enterprises

(5) ECONOMIC REFORM IS CRAFT.

- a. 抓住基建机遇，为“一带一路”建设添砖加瓦
- b. 在改革开放中描绘高质量发展新画卷
- a. Seize the infrastructure opportunities and contribute to the construction of the “Belt and Road”
- b. Depicting a new picture of high quality development in reform and opening up

In our data annotation, we counted as elements of the JOURNEY frame those metaphors that involve crossing river, riding horse, climbing stairs, navigation and so on; as elements of the TREATMENT frame those metaphors that involve medicine, symptom, disease and so on; as elements of the COMPETITION frame those metaphors that include running and exam; as elements of the ARITHMETIC frame those metaphors that include addition, subtraction, multiply, division; as elements of the CRAFT frame those metaphors that include singing, trumpeting, acting, building, compiling and so on.

Below is the table of types and frequencies of sub-metaphors (FS).

Table 1 TYPE and FS in CR

TYPE	JOURNEY	TREATMENT	COMPETITION	ARITHMETIC	CRAFT
FS	24	5	6	5	25

From the table, we can see that JOURNEY metaphor and CRAFT metaphor are relatively more productive than the other three.

2. CD

By identifying 65 metaphors in CD, they fall into the following three categories.

- (1) ECONOMIC REFORM IS JOURNEY
- (2) ECONOMIC REFORM IS CRAFT.
- (3) ECONOMIC REFORM IS COMPETITION.

Below are examples of each metaphor.

- (1) ECONOMIC REFORM IS JOURNEY
 - a. China makes strides in cutting overcapacity.
 - b. Partners walking toward prosperity
- (2) ECONOMIC REFORM IS CRAFT.
 - a. Xi's speech blueprint for greater synergy
 - b. China cuts retail fuel prices
- (3) ECONOMIC REFORM IS COMPETITION
 - a. China's economic growth looks set to accelerate this year
 - b. China can overcome a trade war.

As follows, below is the table of TYPE and TAE frequencies.

Table2 TYPE and FS in CD

TYPE	JOURNEY	CRAFT	COMPETITION
FS	25	35	10

From the table, we can see that COMPETITION is relatively less productive than JOURNEY and CRAFT metaphors, which is an indication that China still tends to be cooperation-oriented. The result is in accordance with traditional Chinese culture which is characterized by planned economy, but in contrast with Sun and Jiang [13], whose findings indicate that China are more competition-oriented.

3. Comparison and discussion

By comparing the two results of the two corpora, we observe remarkable discrepancies in metaphor choice between CR and CD. Within CD, no metaphors of ARITHMETIC and TREATMENT are identified. Why are there such differences when clearly the two websites run by Chinese share the

same party ideology as well as political and economic perspective?

Economic discourse takes advantage of metaphors that draw on both embodied experiences and entrenched cultural models to strategically construct viewpoint and reality. In doing so, such discourse shapes people's understanding of complex sociopolitical issues and supports ideological agendas. An important way metaphor influences the cognitive aspect of perception is by playing into our affective dimension and evoking emotions, which can conveniently distract from logic and facts. Furthermore, as a form of knowledge representation, metaphor use is constrained by boundaries of an epistemic community. This study confirmed these points.

The CR economic reform lexicon is a combination of bodily and cultural metaphors, among which TREATMENT metaphor is bodily metaphor while ARITHMETIC metaphor is cultural. Furthermore, the two metaphors are not found in CD which is targeted at English readers. The reasons are as follows.

(1) ARITHMETIC

The reasons why ARITHMETIC is not found in CD which is targeted at English readers are attributed to the following two aspects. One is the difference in the system of number, as linguistic symbols, between Chinese and English. This also shows that in the digital symbol system, there is a big difference between Western countries and Asian countries. In English, we refer to "14, 16, 17, 18, 19" as "fourteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen", so we will think that we will say "11, 12, 13, 15" "oneteen, twoteen, threeteen, fiveteen", but we don't name it like this, but use different numbers. We call "11, 12, 13, 15" as "eleven, twelve, thirteen, fifteen". Similarly, we refer to "40" and "60" as "forty" and "sixty", and they sound like the numbers associated with them ("4" and "6"). We call "50" and "30" and "20" "fifty", "thirty" and "twenty", which, however, differ greatly from "5" ("five"), "3" ("three") and "2" ("two") in both phonology and orthography. For English numerical system, apart from the deviation of words in representing numbers, there are regularities in the order of the single digit and tens digit. For tens, such as "20", "30", "40" or more, we put the tens digit before the single digit, such as "21, 22" ("twenty-one, twenty-two"). In contrast, the single digits are first and the tens digits follow by means of affix "teen", such as "14", "17" and "18" ("fourteen", "seventeen", "eighteen"). Therefore, unlike the digital symbols with logical order in Asian countries like China, Japan, and Korea, the English digital system has no rules.

The relatively shorter and regular duration required to utter numerical digits in Chinese allow larger numerals to be held in short-term memory, thus facilitating calculations with larger numbers. This difference in length makes Asian children perform numerical tasks faster than English children. As is proved by experimental evidence, a study comparing English-speaking Canadians and Chinese-speaking Canadians found that Chinese Canadians were faster than the other two groups

when solving complex addition. It is an indication that Chinese require less working memory resources to do so. For another diachronic experience conducted among children from four-year-old to seven-year-old, when required to count numbers, the average level of 4-year-old Chinese children can be as high as 40, while the number of English children of the same age can only count to 15. Most American children cannot count to 50 even when they are 5-year-old. In other words, in many basic math skills, 5-year-old American children have fallen behind Asian children of the same age for one year. Asian children can easily perform some basic operations with the regularity of their digital system. Then these English-speaking and Chinese-speaking 7-year-old children are required to have a mental arithmetic of thirty seven plus twenty two and 三加七(three plus seven), which are orally transmitted to children. The result is also in accordance with the prediction that Chinese-speaking children are faster in deriving the results. For both Chinese-speaking and English-speaking children, they figure out the result in the following way. Firstly, both kinds of children must first convert the words into numbers ($37+22$). In the very first step, we predict that Chinese-speaking children are faster than English-speaking children, because phonologically, English has more syllables to represent the same concepts, which cost more time. Secondly, for English-speaking children, they do it this way: $7+2=9$, $30+20=50$, $9+50=59$. However, for a Asian child, he or she will make equals, the equation or the answer will be self-evident. To put it simply, compared with English-speaking children who have to decompose the number, with equals, it is more direct for Chinese children to derive the answer.

Apart from the intrinsic symbolic difference between Chinese numbers and English numbers, there are some social factors relevant to technology and education. In the 1990s, calculators were not something that every family could afford. However, on a daily basis, it is perfectly fundamental to do the calculations, comprising of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. Otherwise, you will be easy to fall into tricks. Considering that automatic technology is less developed in that era, people have to pay conscious efforts to do calculations. Luckily, making vertical equals is easy for Chinese number, thus people, to derive the result. Even when you encounter multiplication, you can't report the result as easy as addition. However, it has already simplified the procedures to derive the result by calculating in mind. As a result, senior people are competent in doing simple calculations. For the computing abilities of youngsters, it is necessary to take educational factors into considerations. Western children begin in the third and fourth grades and show no interest in mathematics. It is believed that perhaps because mathematics does not seem to be logical, they are not interested in mathematics. Not only is the basic formula dogmatic and complex, but the Western language structure is also not intuitive enough. On the contrary, for Asian children, they can remember more numbers in the mind and calculate them quickly, which may be the source of their interest in

arithmetic, or the result of the pressure of passing the examinations. In conclusion, for technological and educational reasons, Chinese have a strong computing power, which is recognized by the world.

(2) TREATMENT

The metaphor TREATMENT in CR is also highly characteristic of China while there is no counterpart in CD, which indicates that China is determined to improve itself and low key to the outsiders. Each metaphor intensifies selected perceptions and ignores others, thereby helping one to concentrate upon desired consequences of favored public politics and helping one to ignore their unwanted, unthinkable, or irrelevant premise and aftermaths. Each metaphor can be a subtle way of highlighting what one wants to believe and avoiding what one does not wish to face. In this case, by highlighting ECONOMIC REFORM as curing disease or treatment, Chinese people will realize the seriousness and imperativeness. On the contrary, if the media simply tells the public the necessity to reform, we will probably treat it as simply the symbols without meaning, not to mention the actual actions to make improvements.

In this study, TREATMENT metaphor is not found in CD, possibly because China is a nation concerning faces. In most circumstances, people tend to announce good news other than bad ones to other people, which is one kind of face-saving strategy. One function of the government press briefings is to shape the image. The most significant effect should be achieved is a face balanced and harmonious environment, that is, to provide required information for journalists at home and abroad in an appropriate way. As embodied experience, the idea of curing disease helps the speaker construct a viewpoint on a complex issue in a way that is accessible to the listener. Its entailments tacitly highlight what is undesirable while hiding what may be desirable about the understanding of the cause of economic reform. In this way, the government or the media will accomplish its goal to establish a polite image.

4、 Conclusion

This study conducts a research on economy and the ongoing economic reform campaign in China by examining the website of China Reform (CR) and the English version of China Daily (CD). It also makes a methodological contribution to research on metaphor in use by examining corpus other than by intuitive thinking. Furthermore, the comparison and contrast of the Chinese and English websites takes corpus research of metaphors to a new level by exploring how the same party ideology and political agenda are framed for two different audiences. With this methodological innovation, this study makes a theoretical contribution by uncovering a clear pragmatic strategy in metaphor choice across languages, which is sensitive to culture-specific epistemic conventions and conceptual preoccupations. In this sense, the theoretical contribution rises above the mere confirmation that both culture and embodiment motivate metaphoric discourse.

Finally, this study points to a methodological issue that is inevitably associated with the use of a language as the lingua franca of scholarly communication that is other than the language being analyzed. As can be seen in our analysis of the ARITHMETIC and TREATMENT source domains, conceptual or referential differences can be obscured by word-to-word English translations of the concepts that represent the source domains in Chinese. This problem is not specific to research on metaphor source domains and should be a reminder of the misleading potentials of any literal translation in linguistic analysis and a reminder of the care that must be taken to avoid them.

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