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Monograph

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines metaphors that are intended to express an offensive meaning in Chinese diplomatic discourse, and the role that these metaphors play in the discursive construction of the ascribed identities of various countries. It pays particular attention to the period between 1954 and 1966 and, in so doing, fills an important knowledge gap as historical Chinese political metaphors have been somewhat neglected in the field. This study of Chinese metaphors reveals that the source domains PERSONIFICATION, PERSON, ANIMAL and PERFORMANCE were most frequently used to evoke offence in the Chinese political arena. The way in which these offensive metaphors were deployed was dependent on the political situation at that time: for instance, the U.S. was constructed as a 'tough' political 'exploiter' who was supported by a 'band' of minor allies, India as an 'unreasonable' representative of the Americans while asserting non-alignment in diplomacy, and the Soviet Union as a 'cold-blooded' former friend of China. This historical study is significant for two main reasons. First, it presents the complex socio-political contexts that existed during 1954–1966 when China was undergoing diplomatic development and their influence on the pragmatic use of metaphors for delivering offence. Although some of the metaphors might appear to be outdated when compared with present-day Chinese political language, this change reflects developments in the global political situation and Chinese diplomatic language over the last number of decades. Second, the study highlights the cultural characteristics of Chinese metaphors and demonstrates their use in political discourse for persuading the Chinese public.

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1. Introduction

The foreign diplomacy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is generally divided into three main phases: (1) The early phase of diplomacy which was led by Mao Zedong and his government following the establishment of the PRC in 1949; (2) Deng Xiaoping's foreign diplomacy which was initiated by his 'Reform and Opening' policy in 1978; (3) Xi Jinping's current diplomacy following the 18th National Congress in 2012 (Lu 2019, Su 2017, Wang and Wu 2019). This paper pursues a historical pragmatic interest in political discourse during the earliest of these phases: we will examine offensive metaphors that were used in this time period.

Studying the use of offensive metaphors during the first phase of Chinese foreign policy is particularly interesting. The period following the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 was politically turbulent, and witnessed many changes in

Chinese diplomacy (Zhang 2001). In particular, a hostile relationship existed between Mao Zedong, the founding father of the PRC, and the U.S. led Western Coalition, as "each side represented a political and economic system which the other side saw as the arch-enemy of its own system" (Roy 1998: 15). Mao called the U.S. a 'paper tiger', and the Communist Party of China (CPC) engaged in active rhetoric to create strong national unity in the face of the perceived foreign threat posed by the U.S. and its allies. The U.S. and the Soviet Union were two superpowers with conflicting interests, and India was one of the developing countries that proposed the 'Non-Aligned Movement' but who also had a close relationship with the U.S. The countries that were classed as being either in the in-group or out-group with China varied according to how the political situation was developing at the time. After 1945, the U.S. was regarded by China as being the representative of Western powers and a 'global policeman' (Colley 2017). It refused to recognize the CPC as the official government of China after the civil war between the CPC and Kuomintang. The Soviet Union stood for socialist interests and was in conflict with the U.S. during the Cold War period. The CPC considered the Soviet Union to be a good example of how to implement socialist values and, therefore, had

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a good relationship with its neighbor until the end of the 1950s. India, being a developing country, strived for independence and economic development. However, it often sought the U.S.'s protection when engaged in territorial conflicts with China.

In this political environment, it was particularly important for the CPC to forge national unity and to wage a war of words against these various countries through their diplomatic policies – and, in these endeavors, metaphors served as a solution to political problems or events and helped to persuade the public to comply with the ideas within these policies (Jeffery and Katz 1996: 131). With regard to the metaphors that were employed, those used immediately after the establishment of the PRC in 1949 included various – often complex – forms, such as ‘Set up another Cooking Stove’ (*lingqi luzao*另起炉灶), ‘Clean up the House and then Invite and Treat’ (*dasao ganjing wuzi zai qingke*打扫干净屋子再请客) and ‘Lean to One Side’ (*yibian dao*一边倒)¹. According to conceptual metaphor theory (see section 2.1), the typical features of these source domains (‘new stove’, ‘clean’ and ‘invite and treat’, and ‘lean’) are mapped on to the target domains (‘official regime’, ‘remaining imperialist power’ and ‘establishment of new foreign relations’, and ‘socialist camp’), and as they are based on human experience they provide a clear framework for the public to understand the implied political ideas. In the late 1950s and 1960s, confrontation between the ‘socialist’ and ‘western’ camps gradually evolved into a competition for hegemony between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and the split between China and the Soviet Union accelerated the adjustment of diplomatic policies. The ‘Lean to One Side’ policy (i.e. standing together with the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union) became redundant and the ‘Two Lines’ policy (i.e. opposing both imperialism and revisionism) was therefore proposed (Shu 2008). This change in policy implied that the leaders of China were fighting a war of diplomatic words against the world’s two superpowers. Being the same target domain in the aforementioned policies, the Soviet Union’s identity changed from a ‘friend’ sharing the same ideology (‘One Side’) to an ‘opponent’ to be fought against (‘Two Lines’). Nevertheless, no shift in diplomacy occurred regarding the U.S., since it was always viewed as an enemy or exploiter (see section 5). The use of metaphors with an offensive meaning to refer to and describe certain countries became important during the turbulent historical situation that existed at that time, and they became a key strategy for discursively creating identities for nations and for ‘giving’ an impression (Goffman 1959) to the Chinese population.

To date, very few studies have explored Chinese political metaphors and their role in ascribing national identities in the context of China’s foreign diplomacy. This historical study explains the complex socio-political contexts that existed during that particular period of time and their influence on the pragmatic use of metaphors for delivering offence, namely threat, humiliation, sarcasm and irony. In addition, this study illustrates the cultural features of Chinese metaphors and demonstrates how they can be used to persuade the public by ascribing national identities in political discourse.

This paper aims to answer the following research questions:

- (1) What quantitative changes have taken place between 1954 and 1966 in China’s diplomatic texts and the corresponding use of metaphors with an offensive meaning?

- (2) What source domains are most frequently used to deliver offence in diplomatic discourse? What ones are frequently used for different countries?
- (3) How do these metaphors help to construct different national identities? For instance, are the U.S. and India constructed in Chinese political discourse by using different metaphors?

2. Metaphor, offence and the construction of national identities in Chinese diplomacy

2.1. Metaphor in Chinese diplomatic discourse

According to conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), there are two main types of conceptual domain. A source domain refers to the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions, while a target domain denotes the conceptual domain that we are trying to understand. Conceptual metaphors typically employ a concrete or physical concept as their source and a more abstract concept as their target. They are the instrument that people generally use when trying to make sense of political concepts, such as ‘country’, ‘ally’, ‘the relationship between China and the Soviet Union’, and so on. To achieve political goals, politicians make use of human experiences that are familiar to the public to present complex or new target domains (Chilton and Lakoff 1999, Cheng 2015, Fu and Yuan 2017, Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic 2016). These source domains contribute to the arousing of emotions, one of the mechanisms by which metaphors can realize persuasion, and thus influence the way in which people understand and think about politics (Charteris-Black 2004, 2011, Mio 1997).

Among the small number of studies on Chinese diplomatic discourse that exist, Weng (2013) applied a corpus methodology and critical metaphor analysis to 24 speeches to investigate how metaphors were used by different countries to achieve the identity construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in diplomatic discourse on climate change between 2008 and 2012. Weng argues that political positions influence the selection and use of metaphors by the UK, Canada and China, who construct their identities of self and other to satisfy the interests of all the members of their own ideological camps. This research has shed light on the choice of metaphor and corresponding identity construction in present-day diplomatic contexts. Wageche and Chi (2017) draw on conceptual metaphor theory to examine the use of metaphors in four speeches given by Xi Jinping and Barack Obama (two delivered by each leader) when they visited Africa and Europe for the first time during their presidencies (in 2013 and 2009, respectively). These speeches show a considerable difference in the source domains preferred by the two presidents. Xi’s speeches feature DIPLOMACY IS A NATURAL FIELD, including natural concepts of the physical environment such as *water*, *well*, *mountain*, *bridge*, *sunshine*, *tree*, etc. He advocated forming a stronger diplomatic association by conceptualizing global challenges and the solutions to these challenges by using the above source domain. Obama applied DIPLOMACY IS A JOURNEY in his speeches, with the aim of persuading the public about the necessity of forming an allegiance to undertake a journey together. Metaphors which were frequently used included *distance*, *crossroads*, *pace*, *destination*, *skip*, *arrive*, etc. This research compares the metaphorical features of the diplomatic discourse of the two leaders and highlights the cultural characteristics of the Chinese diplomatic discourse. However, both studies use small-scale data and present-day diplomatic texts, which leaves a knowledge gap in the historical analysis of Chinese language and politics.

¹ These three policies were not intended to include all the previous diplomatic relations established by the Kuomintang, and to develop new diplomatic relations with other countries in the name of the PRC. ‘Set up another Cooking Stove’ (*lingqi luzao*另起炉灶) and ‘Clean up the House and then Invite and Treat’ (*dasao ganjing wuzi zai qingke*打扫干净屋子再请客) were also intended to replace previous diplomatic policy and protect the PRC’s independence. ‘Lean to One Side’ (*yibian dao*一边倒) demonstrates how, diplomatically, China leant towards the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, as the U.S. was both in conflict with the Soviet Union and supporting the Kuomintang at that time.

2.2. Metaphor and offence in political discourse

Offence is an emotional feeling resulting from impoliteness, as seen in Culpeper's (2011) definition of impoliteness:

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organisation, including, in particular, how one person's or a group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviours are viewed negatively – considered 'impolite' – when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviours always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause **offence**. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example whether one understands a behaviour to be strongly intentional or not (p.23; emphasis added).

The gravity of an offence is determined on a scale in different impoliteness events (Culpeper 2011), for instance, threat and ridicule are considered to have more offensive force (Kinney 1994). Since one of its features is indirectness, the use of a metaphor is regarded to be an off-record strategy for realizing impoliteness (Bousfield 2008, Culpeper 1996), and can "be designed to achieve maximum impact in terms of offence with minimum effort" (Demjén and Hardaker 2016: 360). As for the 'offensive metaphors' that we are investigating in this study, we refer to those metaphors with an offensive meaning which have been triggered by the impoliteness events of threat, humiliation, sarcasm and irony towards another nation.

Extensive research has been undertaken into the use of metaphors in the political arena (Charteris-Black 2011, Chilton and Ilyin 1993, Mio 1997, Semino and Masci 1996). Metaphors can be particularly useful for expressing a negative evaluation because they are indirect (Demjén and Hardaker 2016). As Mio (1997: 114) argues, "metaphor defines the pattern of perception to which people respond, which can be a subtle way of highlighting what one wants to believe and avoiding what one does not wish to face". Thus, as a useful indirect strategy, a metaphor can both promote politicians and their political agendas, and attack their opponents in pragmatically complex ways (Chan and Yap 2015). To determine which factors contribute to offensiveness, Haslam et al. (2011) have examined content and context in the use of animal metaphors. They argue that offensiveness is intrinsic to particular metaphors and determined by their context of use. The meanings of animal metaphors are diverse, but they are centered on the offences of depravity, disagreeableness and stupidity. The contextual determinants of the metaphor's user, the metaphor's target and the nature of the relationship between them explain why animal metaphors can become more offensive when expressed across in-group and out-group boundaries.

Offensive Chinese metaphors are often manifested in idioms and proverbs. From a cultural outsider point of view, these forms may appear to be alien, while for Chinese speakers these forms are schematic (Cheng 2015). Thus, even though Chinese diplomatic texts can be translated, the attitudes of the Chinese government, the status quo of diplomatic situations and even the connoted offence may not be fully understood by cultural outsiders, simply because such metaphorical realizations are embedded in Chinese linguaculture.

2.3. Metaphor and the construction of national identities in diplomatic discourse

National identity is a special form of social identity, which implies a collective concept of 'imagined communities' (Wodak et al. 2009). It can be discursively produced, reproduced,

transformed and dismantled. As an effective language device, the use of metaphors has been extensively studied when investigating national identity in a political context. Wodak et al. (2009) have shown how the metaphorical construction of Austria's identity influences its political meaning, by featuring metaphors such as 'newborn child', 'Austria's rebirth', 'heart of Europe', etc. Chew (2000) reports on the relationship between national identity and 'islandness'. This study uses metaphors to conceptualize the identity of Singapore, a country whose political, economic and social significance far exceeds its size. Jovanovic (2011) has investigated how Serbian politicians apply metaphors to construct the Serbian national identity, through the creation of an ethnoscape, that is, a sacred territory filled with emotional connotations and cultural meanings. The contribution made to a national identity by the use of metaphors can help the public form a better understanding of abstract diplomatic situation.

Diplomatic discourse usually involves the construction of national identity. This construction process makes political stances more evident (Fu and Yuan 2017). As Chilton and Lakoff (1999) argue, the 'State is a Person' is one leading metaphor that influences the ways in which the public perceives foreign policy. The identities and traits that are attributed to a country are typically described by the use of different metaphors. For instance, the foreign relations can be identified as friends, enemies, neighbors, neutral parties, clients or even pariahs, or the personalities can be either trustworthy, cooperative and peace-loving, or aggressive, deceitful and incompetent. In addition, animal metaphors are suitable alternatives for portraying personalities. For example, Russia has often been referred to as a 'bear' and England a 'bulldog'. No matter what metaphors are adopted, the constructed identities can never be complete because language users will consciously select how to describe people by foregrounding crucial features for this purpose, while ignoring others (Steen et al. 2010). In other words, this phenomenon results from the selective mapping of metaphors.

3. Data and methodology

Data was collected from China's State Council Gazette². The government gazette is a periodical publication which is authorized to publish legal notices for the attention of the public. It is released by China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and expresses a position, opinion or attitude on particular issues or events in the name of the state, government, department, leader or spokesperson, representing different levels of authority and severity of diplomatic affairs. From the Gazette, we identified 419 diplomatic texts by reading their textual content. These sources included statements, diplomatic notes and speeches, which were all provided with texts (including the transcripts of spoken materials). The collected texts spanned the time period from 1954 (the year in which the Gazette was piloted) to 1966. China's State Council Gazette was officially released in 1955 and no material is available for 1967–1977 due to the Cultural Revolution.

In terms of data analysis, the study follows the three steps of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004): identification, interpretation and explanation, which combines conceptual metaphor theory and critical discourse analysis. Firstly, to identify the metaphors which have an offensive meaning, we read the collected texts thoroughly, used MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit) to isolate candidate indirect metaphors and extracted those which trigger the offensive criteria of threat, humiliation, sarcasm and irony in situated diplomatic contexts. A check of basic and contextual meanings was made with the help

² <http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/gongbao/guowuyuan1954-1999.htm>

of an online dictionary³. Our coding process involved two people, and overlapping metaphors were kept for analysis. MIPVU is an autonomous tool for searching for the use of metaphor-related words and is based on the MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) (Steen et al. 2010). The basis for the determination of metaphors in the MIP depends on whether their contextual meaning contrasts with their basic meaning and can be understood in comparison (Pragglejaz Group 2007), which gives us indirect metaphors as a result. MIPVU makes some adjustments for identifying indirect metaphors, and also adds some additional steps for the recognition of direct metaphors, implicit metaphors, metaphor signals, new-formation metaphors and metaphors due to personification. By adopting this methodological approach, we identified 480 metaphor-related words with an offensive meaning, and categorized them into three groups according to country - the U.S. and its allies, the Soviet Union and India. Within the U.S. and its allies group, allies refer to the countries who had formed military alliances with the U.S. during the 20th century and six main allies were mentioned in the analysis (see section 5.1). In most cases, they were mentioned alongside the U.S. rather than appearing in the texts individually.

Secondly, regarding interpretation, the identified metaphors in each group were categorized into source domains based on conceptual metaphors, with the aim of determining how the effect produced by the metaphor was influenced by its content. We used Excel to record the source domains, occurrences, the countries they indicated and the document numbers (of the texts in which they appeared). The final step in the analysis was concerned with explanation, and focused on (1) the offensive features that were conceptualized by the metaphors and (2) the constructed national identities within a broader socio-political context.

4. Quantitative results

The number of diplomatic texts during the period 1954 and 1966 (Fig. 1) and the corresponding occurrence of metaphors with an offensive meaning (Fig. 2) both increased over time. Between 1954 and 1961, the number of texts showed a general increase, while, during the same period, the number of metaphors in these texts remained low and relatively stable, with the exception of 1958 (an increase was observed) and during 1955 and 1957 (no metaphors were observed). During the same time period, the greatest number of texts ($n = 33$) were released in 1960 and the largest number of metaphors ($n = 22$) occurred in 1958. These metaphors were solely concerned with the U.S. and its allies. Between 1962 and 1966, the number of metaphors was greatly influenced by the number of diplomatic texts. Both values peaked in 1965, with 155 metaphors and 80 texts. This year also saw the largest number of metaphors being used in relation to the U.S. and its allies ($n = 137$). In the case of the Soviet Union and India, the largest number of metaphors occurred in 1963 ($n = 34$) and 1962 ($n = 28$), respectively. These quantitative differences were the result of great socio-political changes.

Between 1949 and 1957, the CPC focused on revitalizing the domestic economy following the end of the second Sino-Japanese war and the Chinese civil war, and thus few metaphors with an offensive meaning were used in diplomatic texts. As an example, consider the situation in 1956. Due to financial and technological assistance from other socialist countries, China effortlessly undertook the last part of the first Chinese five-year plan (1953–1957), transforming itself into a socialist country. This is one reason why, although there are quite a number of diplomatic texts, only a small number of metaphors with an offensive meaning are found

in 1956. It is one of the few relatively stable years in the course of China's development.

From 1958 onwards, the CPC was confronted with a series of socio-political upheavals, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Sino-Soviet split which occurred in 1958 and 1960, respectively. However, events relating to the Soviet Union did not appear in diplomatic documents. Instead, the U.S. was criticized in 1958 diplomatic texts for interfering in the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis, and controlling Japan by revising the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the U.S. and Japan. In 1962 and 1966, China found itself dealing with several serious international issues, such as territorial conflicts with India (1962), intensification of the Vietnam War (1964–1965), September 30 Movement in Indonesia (1965) and deteriorating relations with both the U.S. and the Soviet Union due to their support of invasive activities.

On the basis of conceptual metaphor theory, the identified 480 metaphors were then categorized into fifteen source domains (Table 1). The most frequently used source domains were found to be PERSONIFICATION, PERSON, ANIMAL and PERFORMANCE, which imply that the offence is one of threat, humiliation, sarcasm or irony. The proportions of each of these differ in the three groups (see section 5). It is noticeable that the extension of metaphor includes simile, personification, metonymy, synecdoche and analogy, as the understanding of their target domains comes from mapping (Fu and Yuan 2017). PERSONIFICATION experiences the between-domain and within-domain mappings, and herein it maps body parts and human acts onto the target countries.

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of the high-frequency source domains in each group. PERFORMANCE, PERSON and PERSONIFICATION appear in more than one group. The source domain ANIMAL has the greatest frequency of occurrence in the U.S. and its allies group, accounting for 21%, which means that the source domains in this group are richer and identity is more comprehensive. For India and the Soviet Union, the source domain PERSONIFICATION accounts for the largest proportion of metaphors, 48% and 31% respectively, suggesting that this source domain contributes more to their identities.

5. Analysis of the most frequently used source domains

In this section, we analyse the most frequently used source domains according to the groups (U.S. and its allies, India and the Soviet Union) in which the metaphors are used in our corpus. The examples chosen for analysis contain the most frequently used metaphors in each source domain.

5.1. The most frequently used source domains for the U.S. And its allies

This group consists of the U.S. and 20 of its military allies (see Table 3). It is clear that the offensive metaphors used for the U.S. account for the largest proportion with 253 occurrences. Many of the allies were mentioned along with the U.S. on fewer than 5 occasions, but six allies show a relatively high frequency of occurrence, including Japan ($n = 15$), South Korea ($n = 16$), South Vietnam ($n = 43$), Taiwan China ($n = 10$), Thailand ($n = 16$) and the U.K. ($n = 7$). Their frequent co-occurrences with the U.S. indicates corporation or an association which did not contribute to regional peace, and thus resulted in the following offensive metaphors in the diplomatic texts.

In this group, ANIMAL, PERSON and PERFORMANCE are the most frequently used source domains. Regarding ANIMAL metaphors, their use fulfills the mapping of: (1) animal species, (2) properties and living habits, and (3) relationship with humans.

According to the Great Chain of Being, humans are superior to other animals (Lakoff and Turner 1989). ANIMAL is regarded as

³ <http://xh.5156edu.com/>

Fig. 1. Number of diplomatic texts in 1954–1966.

Fig. 2. Number of offensive metaphors in 1954–1966 diplomatic texts.

Table 1

Fifteen source domains with connotations of offensive meaning.

Personification	Person	Animal	Performance	Business	Journey	Building	Up/Down
116	91	84	73	29	26	16	13
War	Game	Disease/Disability	Transubstantiation	Literature	Education	Machine	
12	6	5	4	3	1	1	

Table 2

Most frequently used source domains in each group.

Countries	U.S. & allies				India				Soviet Union			
Source domain	Animal	76	21%		Personification	36	48%		Personification	16	31%	
	Person	73	21%		Person	10	13%		Business	9	18%	
	Performance	65	18%		Performance	8	11%		Person	8	16%	
									Disease/Disability	4	8%	

being a more effective source domain for the projection of offence in comparison to alternative source domains (Gil and Ruiz 2005, Kövecses 2006, Demjén and Hardaker 2016). The animal species that are frequently used in the collected texts are those living primarily in a forest or other natural habitats, such as *tiger* (*hu* 虎),

raccoon dog (*he* 貉) and *wolf and jackal* (*langbei* 狼狽), who are strong, fierce and cunning. In the minds of Chinese people, the *tiger* is the king of the jungle because the markings on its head appear to be similar to the Chinese character ‘王’ (*wang*), ‘King’. The tiger is so fierce that most of its prey cannot escape its clutches, and this is

Table 3

Use of offensive metaphors for the U.S. and its allies.

indicative of the powerful strength of the U.S. However, Mao created the expression *paper tiger* and asserted that “all imperialists and reactionaries are *paper tigers*” (Mao 1958: 15) in an attempt to weaken the threat. The other two wild animals mentioned above were often used to refer to America’s allies, particularly those who needed support from the U.S. In comparison, pets such as dog (*gou* 狗) or farm animals have connotations of ownership, control, domestication and subjugation (Rodríguez 2009). In example 1 below, the U.S. was called a ‘*paper tiger*’, which involved the mappings of the strength of the *tiger* to ‘prey’, and the fragility of *paper* to ‘be destroyed’, and thus the U.S. was constructed as a powerful country, but one which was vincible because of its many flaws. The *running dogs* which accompany the *tiger* referred to the American allies, who were described as being obedient and giving assistance to the U.S. to bully and ravage other countries.

(1) 美帝国主义企图用加强武装干涉、军事挑衅和拖几条走狗参战,来挽救它在南越的败局,这完全是痴心妄想。在革命的人民看来,不论美帝国主义怎样张牙舞爪,也只不过是只纸老虎而已。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1965年第2号p.27)

American imperialism attempts to stave off a defeat in South Vietnam by intensifying armed intervention, military provocation and dragging several of its *running dogs* into the war. It is completely delusional. In the eyes of the revolutionary people, no matter how American imperialism ostensibly shows its teeth and claws, it is only a paper tiger. (No. 2 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1965, p.27)

Metaphors relating to the physical characteristics of animals and their living habits can add further demeaning effects. In the texts, the majority of these metaphors were in the form of four-character idioms and indicated historical Chinese allusions, such as *Guizhou donkey exhausts its skills and waits for death* (*qianlvjiqiong* 黔驴技穷, ‘to come to one’s wit’s end’), *a cornered dog will leap over a wall* (*goujitiaoliang* 狗急跳墙, ‘even a worm will turn’), and *wolf and jackal gang up to attack livestock* (*langbeijiejian* 狼狐为奸, ‘to commit a crime together’). Taking *wolf and jackal gang up to attack livestock* as an example, it is said that a wolf and jackal physically resemble each other. The only difference is that the wolf has long forelegs and short hind legs, and the opposite is true of the jackal. Each time they hunt for prey, the wolf climbs on to the jackal’s shoulder to catch livestock in its mouth. They successfully combine each of their own strengths when cooperating in catching prey. In example 2, this collaborative relationship between a wolf

and a jackal was mapped onto Japanese ‘reactionaries’ and American ‘imperialism’, both of which shared similar political ambitions and, as a result, were deemed to be in collusion.

(2) 这个条约(《韩日基本条约》)的批准,意味着日本反动派和美帝国主义狼狈为奸,决心把日本人民再次推向罪恶的侵略战争的深渊。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1965年第14号p.241)

The ratification of the Treaty (Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea) means that Japanese reactionaries and American imperialism are wolf and jackal, who are determined to push Japanese people back into the abyss of the evil aggressive war again. (No. 14 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1965, p.241)

Furthermore, the relationship between humans and animals is often used when referring to the hierarchy between the U.S. and its allies. The metaphors *feed* (*huanyang* 豢养), *be led by the nose* (*qianzhe bizi zou* 牵着鼻子走) and *ride on the head of...* (*qi zai...de toudang* 骑在...的头上) relate to farm animals and the farmers who own them, which imply that a power imbalance exists between the two entities. In example 3, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was not officially recognized by the United Nations. The American ally was mapped with ‘fed’, which implied that it got help from the powerful U.S. and was at the mercy of any demands to obstruct the recognition of the PRC and, as a consequence, risked being exploited and controlled in a similar way to how animals are treated by their owners.

(3) 联合国在美国操纵下硬把美国豢养的一小撮蒋介石分子当做中国的代表,让他们占据着中国的席位,这是中华人民共和国至今未能在联合国回复它应有的地位的根本原因。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1961年第9号p.178)

The important reason why the People’s Republic of China has so far failed to regain its rightful position in the United Nations is that the UN, under control of the United States, has taken the group of Chiang Kai-shek-leading rebels as representative of China. They are fed by the U.S. and occupy the seat in the UN. (No. 9 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1961, p.178)

PERSON illustrates more clearly the hierarchical and power-driven political properties of Chinese diplomatic discourse. Three main types of person were conceptualized, namely (1) villain, (2) trader and (3) master-servant/employer-employee. Villain is often connected with corrupt behavior such as murder and robbery; trader values profit and is calculating, aiming to maximize benefits at all costs; while master-servant/employer-employee denotes a

historical/contemporary hierarchical employment relationship in China. Although mapped with the same person types, the U.S. and its allies were ascribed differently. The U.S. always took a leading role, such as *bandit chieftain* (*qiangdao touzi* 强盗头子), *retired emperor* (*taishanghuang* 太上皇), *master* (*zhuzi* 主子) and *backstage boss* (*houtai laoban* 后台老板). All these roles are entitled to give orders and enjoy the fruits of other people's labor, which conceptualized the U.S. with hegemonic features. In contrast, the allies served as the U.S.'s *accomplice* (*bangxiong* 帮凶), *slave* (*nucai* 奴才), *servant* (*pucong* 仆从) and *pawn* (*zouzu* 走卒), who were requested to perform the given tasks. Besides, a hierarchy also existed among the American allies. In examples 4 and 5, Park Chung-hee's group and the U.K. government were described as being allies of the U.S. and both of them supported the Vietnam War. However, the lower-class role of a *servant* was attributed to the former, and the role of an *accomplice* who had similar political power to the U.S. was attributed to the latter, and therefore the U.K. was not obliged to take orders from the U.S.

(4) 中国人民坚决支持越南人民把抗美援朝的英勇斗争进行到底。不论美帝国主义亲自出马也好,驱使更多的仆从上阵也好,都不能挽救它必然失败的命运。朴正熙集团死心塌地为它的主子卖命,到头来只能加速它自己的死亡。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1966年第3号p.52)

The Chinese firmly support the Vietnamese in carrying out their heroic struggle to fight against the United States and save the country. No matter whether American imperialism comes out to fight in person or drives more *servants* to the battlefield, it cannot avoid the fate of failure. Park Chung-hee's group is dedicated to risking life for the *master*, but in the end this group can only accelerate its own death. (No. 3 State Council Gazette of the People's Republic of China in 1966, p.52)

(5) 每当美帝国主义采取一个新的侵略步骤,英国政府总是积极配合和策应,扮演着帮凶的角色。美帝国主义把侵略越南南方的战火扩大到越南北方,英国政府就赶快摇旗呐喊,说什么轰炸越南北方是“必要”的。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1965年第9号p.154)

Whenever American imperialism takes a new step of aggression, the British government actively cooperates and responds, playing the role of *accomplice*. The United States expanded the war of aggression against South Vietnam to North Vietnam, and the British government quickly echoed and shouted that it was 'necessary' to bomb North Vietnam. (No. 9 State Council Gazette of the People's Republic of China in 1965, p.154)

PERFORMANCE refers to metaphors involving (1) staff member, (2) stage property, and (3) nature of the performance (i.e. style - comedy, tragedy; form - drama, singing; performing - skill, on/off the stage). The U.S. was constructed as being either a performer proficient in *tricks* (*baxi* 把戏) or a *director* (*daoyan* 导演) who called on *actors* (*yanyuan* 演员) to organize a performance. The metaphorical use of *actors* implied the American allies. Other metaphors ascribing them were related to stage property and performance style, such as *microphone* (*chuanshengtong* 传声筒), *mask* (*mianju* 面具), *puppet* (*kuilei* 傀儡) and *farce* (*naoju* 闹剧). In example 6, the allies were described by using two metaphors, *puppet* and *having no good end* (*meiyou haoxiachang* 没有好下场). With regard to the first metaphor, the act of facilitating a performance and being controlled by others was mapped onto the allies, who were objectified as giving assistance to the U.S. and never resisting the requests made of them. The other metaphor complied with the principle of sarcasm. The default setting of a performance is a good end. However, the use of *having no good end* was sarcastic in nature and demonstrated that, from the Chinese perspective, the allies' voluntary collusion with the U.S. would lead to an unsatisfactory result.

(6) 死心塌地充当美国的傀儡的,只是一小撮人,他们决不会有好下场。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1964年第5号p.89)

It is only a handful of people who are determined to be the *puppets* of the United States, and surely they will never come to a *good end*. (No. 5 State Council Gazette of the People's Republic of China in 1964, p.89)

Singing is the most frequently mentioned form of performance. The use of the metaphor *anti-China chorus* (*fanhua dahechang* 反华大合唱) draws on the understanding that a chorus requires a number of participants, each of whom is responsible for a particular voice, in order to represent the U.S. as aligning with its allies in a collective effort to prevent China from obtaining legally recognized international status. The U.S. was primarily mapped with *highest note* (*zuigaoyin* 最高音), and was ascribed as taking the greatest opposition to China of all the Western powers. On the other hand, the allies took on the metaphorical description of *echoing* (*bangqiang* 帮腔), *accompaniment* (*banzou* 伴奏) and *prelude* (*qianzou* 前奏). These are all complementary to a performance, and thus the allies were constructed as being auxiliaries to the U.S. In example 7, the use of *anti-China chorus* expressed irony to those countries who were hostile to China. After comparing the basic meaning (teamwork for singing) and the contextual meaning (teamwork for objecting to communism and China), this metaphor could be understood and presupposed in an opposing utterance - the activity of being against China gathered together many such countries. Therefore, it was ironic to the new 'performer', the Indonesian 'reactionary', as well as the previous 'performers' who had worked together under the leadership of the U.S.

(7) 印度尼西亚右派反动势力已经完全同以美国为首的帝国主义及其帮凶们站在一起,参加了国际反共、反华、反人民的合唱。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1966年第4号p.82)

The right-wing reactionary forces in Indonesia have fully stood with the imperialism led by the United States and its accomplices, participating in the internationally anti-communism, anti-China and anti-people *chorus*. (No. 4 State Council Gazette of the People's Republic of China in 1966, p.82)

5.2. The most frequently used source domains for India

Of the three most frequently used source domains for India, two of them, namely PERSON and PERFORMANCE, are the same domains used for the U.S. and its allies. However, drawing on the same source domain does not guarantee that the same aspects of an issue will be foregrounded (Atanasova 2018). As for PERSON metaphors, no leading role was attributed to India, only a role of lower status, indicating that it committed shameful political acts or works for other countries. In example 8, India was linked to *robber*. The property of stealing another person's belongings was mapped, and represented the Indian government as a wrongdoer who arrested Chinese people without the authorization of the Chinese government, and distorted the fact.

(8) 强盗终归是强盗,印军越境抢人的事实,不是任何谎言抵赖得了的。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1965年第10号p.172)

A *robber* is a *robber*. The fact that the Indian army crossed the border and robbed Chinese people cannot be denied by any lies. (No. 10 State Council Gazette of the People's Republic of China in 1965, p.172)

The same applies to the source domain PERFORMANCE. Compared to its use for the U.S. and its allies, different features were mapped onto India. This country was always described as a supporting actor or stage property. By transferring the feature of helping a protagonist to complete a performance, this metaphor illustrated the assistance given by India to the U.S. Example 9 draws on the metaphor of a *microphone* (*chuanshengtong* 传声筒), and in particular its perceived function in delivering a speaker's words and amplifying their volume, to construct India as a country

which follows the U.S. The sarcasm being directed at the Indian government was suggested by the contrast between its political leaning towards the U.S. and its assertion of non-alignment in diplomacy.

(9) 印度政府在来照中为美帝国主义帮腔,说什么东南亚条约是为了“遏制中国在东南亚的扩张主义”。这里,印度政府已公然成为美帝国主义的辩护士和传声筒了。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1963年第7号p.141)

The Indian government echoed American imperialism in the last diplomatic note, saying that the Southeast Asia Treaty was to “curb China’s expansionism in Southeast Asia”. Up to now, India has overtly become an advocate and microphone of American imperialism. (No. 7 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1963, p.141)

Another significant source domain for India is PERSONIFICATION, which is an effective way to realize the evaluative and persuasive functions of a metaphor (Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic 2016). In our study, it maps (1) body parts and (2) human acts. The metaphorical use of criminal acts can reflect the severity of political issues and the different features of national identity: *commit murder and robbery* (*sharenjiehuo* 杀人劫货) - killing local people and assuming sovereignty, *sit down and share the spoils without participating personally in the robbery* (*zuodifenzang* 坐地分赃) - sharing political profits by encouraging others to seize them, and *a thief cries ‘Stop thief!’* (*zeihanzhuozei* 贼喊捉贼) - attempting to escape and accuse other countries after wrongdoings are committed. These metaphorical expressions are integrated in Chinese four-character idioms and are familiar to Chinese people, thus it was easy for the public to understand the corresponding political meaning. There are also a couple of metaphors which imply danger or damage by mapping certain unexpected human acts. In example 10, the metaphorical expression to *lift a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet* (*banqi shitou za zijide jiao* 搬起石头砸自己的脚) is a traditional Chinese proverb. It highlighted the unexpected result of lifting an object, the latter being a common occurrence in daily life. However, the default setting of successfully lifting and throwing an object at the target was violated, and implied that one could hurt oneself by one’s own doing. The anti-China efforts of the Indian government were described as vain and liable to hurt India itself. Besides, the offensive effects of threat and sarcasm were realized by the Chinese warnings about precarious outcomes and violating the default act of maintaining harmony between India and China.

(10) 利用中巴谈判来煽起反华情绪最终只能是搬起石头打自己的脚。中国政府希望印度政府冷静地考虑一下,与其枉费心机,进行这种无益的争论为什么不认真地做一点努力来谋求中印边界问题的和平解决呢?(中华人民共和国国务院公报1962年第7号p.131)

Using the Sino-Pakistani negotiations to stir up anti-China sentiment can only lead to hitting one’s own feet by lifting a stone and targeting others. The Chinese government suggests that India should calmly think about why they should make efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the Sino-Indian border issue, rather than asserting such a futile argument. (No. 7 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1962, p.131)

5.3. The most frequently used source domains for the Soviet Union

The source domain BUSINESS was representative of how the Soviet Union’s national identity and its relationship with other countries, particularly the U.S., was portrayed. Business is an activity that involves a number of participants, such as the seller, buyer and partner. To maximize profit, betrayal and deception are not uncommon, and this is abhorrent to business partners and people of integrity. Therefore, (1) nature of the business and (2) the

involved parties were mapped. In the diplomatic context, this source domain implies that the country deals with diplomatic relationships by using the rules of business and strives to achieve its own political interests as far as possible. It constructs the country as being calculating, selfish and profit-oriented. In the following example 11, the CPC released a high authority, national-level statement to severely criticize the Soviet Union for not adhering to the ideals of socialism, but instead collaborating with the leaders of imperialism.

(11) 中国政府声明严正地指出,苏联领导人作了一百八十度大转弯,背叛了自己,出卖了苏联人民和世界人民的利益。……苏联领导人却同美帝国主义一条心,合伙行骗,要世界人民相信美帝国主义是“和平战士”,麻痹世界人民的斗争意志,破坏世界和平事业。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1963年第14号p.249)

This statement of the Chinese government seriously points out that the leaders of the Soviet Union have done a U-turn in attitude. They betrayed themselves, and sold out the interests of the Soviet people and world people. The leaders, however, united with American imperialism and cheated in partnership, in order to convince the world’s people that American imperialism is a ‘peace fighter’, to paralyze the will of the people to fight, and to undermine the cause of world peace. (No. 14 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1963, p.249)

The source domains PERSON and PERSONIFICATION that were employed for the Soviet Union were also frequently used in the other two groups, but the metaphors were different and carried a less offensive meaning. For example, the U.S. was portrayed as the leader of *villains* and India as *lifting a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet*, while the Soviet Union was constructed as an *accomplice* and *having a larger appetite* (*weikou yuelaiyue da* 胃口越来越大). Another PERSONIFICATION metaphor is *weidao* 味道, which literally means a sense of *smell* (the nose) or *taste* (the mouth). After eating, people can still perceive the *smell* or *taste* of food, which can be conceptualized as a sense of emotional warmth in an interpersonal relationship. When ending a relationship (i.e. friendship, love, employment, etc.), both sides should not become totally heartless, but instead let the other person feel some of the emotional warmth that they experienced together. Example (12) portrayed sarcasm towards the Soviet Union, since it violated the default setting of maintaining emotional warmth after the Sino-Soviet split. The indifferent attitude delivered in the sentences implied that, although a good Sino-Soviet friendship had existed before the late 1950 s, the common interests of these two socialist countries were ignored by the Soviet Union after the split. In addition, two BUILDING metaphors *dig the corner* (*wa qiangjiao* 挖墙脚) and *make...collapse* (*zhengkua* 整垮) were used in this example. Both mean to deconstruct a building, but the latter is much more severe and conceptualizes a total failure. The Soviet Union was constructed as a country that treated its former *brother* more harshly than the capitalist U.S. treated its allies, and thus a cold-blooded trait was attributed to the Soviet Union.

(12) 美帝国主义,在挖它的盟国墙角的同时,还不能完全不照顾一点各国资产阶级的共同利益;而苏联领导人,却一心一意想把自己的阶级兄弟整垮,连一点无产阶级国际主义的味道也没有。(中华人民共和国国务院公报1963年第16号p.295)

While digging its allies’ corner, American imperialism cannot completely ignore the common interests shared by all capitalist countries. However, the leaders of the Soviet Union are wholeheartedly trying to make their class brother collapse, without a slight taste of proletarian internationalism. (No. 16 State Council Gazette of the People’s Republic of China in 1963, p.295)

The source domain DISEASE/DISABILITY was almost always used for the Soviet Union (4 of the 5 occurrences in the data related to the Soviet Union). It mainly involved the mapping of the disor-

dered or incomplete functions of organs in need of curing or improving (Deignan 2010). The use of metaphors such as *mental disorder* (*fengzhi*疯子), *amnesia* (*jianwang*健忘) or *blind* (*xiazi*瞎子) in the diplomatic context draws on an understanding of the difference between a healthy and/or able-bodied person and an ill or disabled person, with the aim of criticising the abnormal political acts of certain countries and highlighting the need for some adjustments. China and the Soviet Union once shared the common goal of achieving socialism and, therefore, the CPC regarded the Soviet Union to be a friend and a good model, although they experienced many disputes along the way. Example 13 delivers the information that Soviet politicians turned their backs on socialism, and instead leaned towards capitalist countries. The use of *blind* picks up on the literal meaning of 'see' to sarcastically emphasize that the Soviet Union could be expected to see (in a figurative sense of 'understand') the situation. This metaphor implied that the Soviet government was aware of the way in which imperialist countries treated their people, but chose to ignore the truth.

(13) 苏联领导人的上述观点,完全背叛了马克思列宁主义,也完全违背了第二次世界大战结束以来的历史事实...只要不是瞎子都看得见,核武器出现以后,帝国主义仍然把反革命战争当作它们推行压迫和奴役各国人民的手段... (中华人民共和国国务院公报1963年第14号p. 249)

The above views of the Soviet leaders have completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and violated the historical facts since the end of World War II... If not *blind*, everyone can see clearly that after the emergence of nuclear weapons, imperialists still regards counter-revolutionary war as the means of pursuing their policy of oppressing and enslaving all peoples... (No. 14 State Council Gazette of the People's Republic of China in 1963, p.249)

6. Summary

By examining the three most frequently used source domains for the U.S. and its allies, India and the Soviet Union respectively, we find similarities between them, but the national identities that were constructed differ in each case because of the various metaphors and, hence, offensive meanings that were conveyed. PERSON and PERFORMANCE were used for both the U.S. and its allies and India, and showed a hierarchical relationship with the U.S. being the leader and India its assistant. ANIMAL was the most offensive source domain and only appeared in texts related to the U.S. and its allies, highlighting the U.S.'s unparalleled power and control. PERSONIFICATION dominated the depiction of the irrational characteristics of India, and described it vividly by using dangerous human acts. The identity of the Soviet Union was ascribed by the use of metaphors with a less offensive meaning, and was mapped with features such as calculating in BUSINESS and suffering from a DISEASE/DISABILITY.

In the case of their national identities, a leading role was always attributed to the U.S., depicting it as a country who gives orders to others, and was thus constructed as a tough political exploiter. The identities that were attributed to India and the American allies depended on their relationship with the U.S. For example, a relatively equal status was attributed to the U.K., which was seen as a capable *accomplice* of the U.S. to help achieve certain political goals. Metaphors implying a lower status were used in relation to countries such as India, South Korea and South Vietnam, in which they were represented by *dog*, *servant*, *puppet*, etc. Thus, India and the American allies were constructed as obedient assistants who helped satisfy the U.S.'s political demands. The Soviet Union's identity was constructed in a less offensive way. From the perspective of the CPC, there was much regret about the deteriorating state of Sino-Soviet relations. Being mapped with metaphors such as *sell out the interests of*... and *mental disorder*, it was

constructed as a former friend of China who was now heartless and in need of a cure.

7. Discussion and conclusion

This study has explored the role of metaphors in conveying offensive meanings and constructing the national identities of the U.S. and its allies, India and the Soviet Union in 1954–1966 Chinese diplomatic discourses, a topic which has been rather neglected in previous research. We have examined the main historical Chinese source domains, some of which would appear to be outdated when compared with present-day Chinese political discourse. This phenomenon reflects developments in the global political situation and Chinese diplomatic language over the last number of decades. We have also investigated how the frequency of usage and the type of source domain have differed across the target countries.

Being offensive in nature, a variety of source domains were employed to construct national identities for different countries, namely PERSONIFICATION, PERSON, ANIMAL and PERFORMANCE. The ascribed identities of the U.S. and its allies and India shared many common attributes, but a hierarchical relationship existed between them. The Soviet Union was constructed as having a different role and discussed using less offensive metaphors. The examination of the most frequently used source domains and historical political events helped explain the importance of content and context in the use of metaphors, and demonstrated the ways in which traditional Chinese idioms and proverbs deliver offensive meaning. It has been shown that during the period 1962–1966 the use of metaphors became much more influential in diplomatic texts.

This study has made two main contributions. First, it presents the complex socio-political contexts of 1954–1966 and their influence on the pragmatic use of metaphors for delivering offence. Pragmatics relates to the intended meaning, and context is the central factor (Fraser 1993: 331). The turbulent political situation that existed during this period, as a result of the Cold War, civil war, and territorial issues, hindered China from developing diplomatic relations, and thus provided a suitable socio-political context for the offence that was embedded in diplomatic texts. Pragmatics is more concerned with the use of metaphors, as it enables the investigation of how indirectness is understood by the addressees, and particularly how they "construct an interpretation of the communicator's meaning" (Wilson and Carston 2006: 404). In the collected texts, the offences of irony and sarcasm best illustrate the pragmatic use of metaphors. Taking the combination of metaphor and irony as an example, due to the presupposition of an opposing, preceding utterance (Musolff 2017), it flouts the maxim of quality and generates implicatures (Grice 1989). The metaphor of *highest note* (*zui-gaoyin* 最高音) highlights the feature of an impressive voice. When embedded in the context, it implied the most opposing form of act or attitude towards China. The principle of truth was not provided for in the sentence. Sarcasm mainly depends on contradicting the default version of the metaphor (Musolff 2017). A typical example is the use of DISEASE/DISABILITY for the Soviet Union. It violates the default setting of 'a healthy body', and ensures that the resulting effect of the face-attack is more explicit, by using metaphors such as *mental disorder* (*fengzhi*疯子) and *amnesia* (*jianwang*健忘). This is similar to the use of metaphors such as *no good end* (*-meiyouhaoxiachang*没有好下场) and *lift a rock only to drop it on one's own feet* (*banqi shitou za zijide jiao*搬起石头砸自己的脚) for the U.S. and India respectively, which do not follow the default versions, namely 'a good end' and 'throw at the target'.

Second, the study highlights the cultural characteristics within Chinese metaphors and demonstrates their use in political discourse for persuading the Chinese public. In Musolff's (2016b: 126) study of the use of NATION as a PERSON in a number of cul-

tural backgrounds, this source domain was found to be favored by the Chinese and included character traits or activities of different types of people which, in the main, described the nation as a *mother* or *beautiful woman*. This tendency complies with our findings – PERSON is the second most preferred source domain in the texts, and different characters were attributed to the countries according to their corresponding political acts. We are not saying that metaphors which are frequently used in daily life will also be the preferred choice in political contexts, but the Chinese have their own favored source domains and particular means of expression. In political contexts, a number of studies have shown that ‘persuasion’ is the main function of metaphors (Musolff 2016a, Abbood and Mustafa 2014), and the choice of metaphor influences the realization of persuasion (Charteris-Black 2011: 2). As the Chinese people are familiar with these offensive metaphors, their frequent use can very effectively provoke an emotional response from the public and realize political purposes. However, in relation to these same metaphors, there is no complete match between their interpretations with regard to specific linguistic/cultural groups (Musolff 2016b: 122). The current study provides an explanation for the use of metaphors from a Chinese perspective, and thus aids a better understanding of the developments that have been witnessed in Chinese diplomacy.

There are also some limitations to this study and suggestions for future research. The identified offences of threat, humiliation, sarcasm and irony were analyzed together, rather than individually. A clearer picture of political attitudes would be obtained if each type of offence was examined separately. In addition, due to word limitations, a comparison of the 1954–1966 diplomatic texts and current diplomatic texts could not be undertaken. It is our hope that further research will be conducted in this area to demonstrate how, during various periods of time, the unique use of metaphors to evoke offence is influenced by different external contexts.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2020.100418>.

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