

Public discourse as the mirror of ideological change: a keyword study of editorials in *People's Daily*

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1. Overview

China, in its 50 years of communist rule since liberation, has experienced cultural and ideological change on a massive scale. The editorials from the *People's Daily*, the typical public discourse representing the Communist ideology of China, encoded these ideological changes in its formulations. This study will present the meaning changes of some political-social keywords in editorials over the years and try to interpret the changing content of ideology by virtue of these semantic findings.

While many communication studies have investigated the change reflected in news and media, noting its functions in Communist party-state (Liu, 1971, 1981; Bishop, 1989; He and Chen, 1998; Chang, Wang, and Chen, 1994; Lee, 2000; Zhao, 1998; He, 2000), or have concentrated on the politics of information flow from the party-state center to the mass media (Wu, 1994), few have devoted themselves to the semantic study of typical public discourse regarding China's cultural and ideological transformation over its history.

This study will examine editorials from the *People's Daily* ("PD" hereafter) since 1949 – the year the Chinese nation was officially "stood up" by the Communist Party, to 1995, the year in which the Party celebrated its 46 years of leadership over the state.

Taking the notion that discourse is language in use (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), the current study will apply and develop the social theories concerning discourse and social change. Analysis will be conducted at two levels. At the lexical level, it will draw on contextual meaning theory to examine the meanings of keywords by observing the collocations occurring in 9-word span. At the textual level, a text analysis will be introduced to describe the meaning of keywords under particular practical discursive environment. At both levels, meaning analysis will be processed regarding the words immediate context (particular editorial text in which particular keyword occurs) and the far-reaching context (the changing social process viewed from an ideological perspective).

This keywords study will put emphasis on the semantic field of ideology study. The ideological implications of the keywords concerned have undergone great transformation in Chinese official media discourse along the years. Focusing on the ideological significance that discourse and the lexicon encoded, this analysis aims to be a bridge linking our understanding of particular words and the ideological changes that China has experienced along its social development.

This study will argue that, for the aim of critical discourse analysis, instead of merely taking social ideological change for granted, detailed analysis on keywords is helpful in understanding the content of the changing ideology.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The concept of ideology

Among numerous scholars (de Tracy, [1796]; Marx and Engels, 1974[1845]; Lenin, 1970[1905]; Lukacs, 1971; Mannheim, 1960[1933]) contributing to ideology studies, Marx and Engels stand out significantly for they tried to construct a complete conceptual system of ideology. Their concept of ideology is pejorative in essence and different from previous studies (e.g., Napoleon's negative concept of ideology) in that they input Hegel's dialectics into their philosophy as well their theory of ideology. Marx and Engels constructed ideological theory from the perspective of economic stratification together with class domination and defined the term "ideology" as systemized ideas originating from interests of the dominant class.

Ideology, as the old-fashioned, controversial term, is caught within even more debates in contemporary studies (Geertz, 1964; Althusser, 1965; Shils, 1968; Foucault, 1972; Pêcheux, 1982; Harbermas, 1988; Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Gee, 1990). Among these debates, the Marxian two-dimensional stance in understanding ideology has been a prominent influential one upon recent language-related ideological studies (van Dijk, 1998; Hodge and Kress, 1993). Hodge and Kress's (1993) work is an example of some linguistic studies trying to avoid one-dimensional surface understanding of ideology and attempting to investigate ideology in a dialectic way.

With Marx and Engels' ideology theory as the basic framework, some of the contemporary studies offer this old-fashioned, controversial term some reasonable definitions (Hodge and Kress, 1993;

Fairclough, 1995b; van Dijk, 1998). But due to the more or less different perspectives and goals, it is still difficult to say one is more correct than others. Unlike those studies which thoroughly adopted Marx's ideological theory as their basis, this study will add its own "strategy" in defining ideology: to define the concept by revealing its relations with discourse.

2.2. Discourse and ideology

The necessity to define the concept of ideology in relation to discourse resides in the knowledge that the relation between signifiers and their meaning cannot be easily interpreted and controlled without considering the relation between discourse and ideology. As stated by Stalin, language is not in itself ideological, discourse is (Stalin, 1951).

On this issue, the scope and sophistication of the thought of contemporary French thinkers, like Althusser (1970), Bourdieu (1980) and Foucault (1979, 1980a, 1980b), are imposing.

Drawing on Malrieu's (1999) definition of discourse, and adopting Marx and Engels' two dimensional stance in defining ideology, this study defines *ideology* as *a set of values and ideas advocated by the social dominant groups that guide actions and regulate the relationship of power and are expressed in a conventional discourse*. In other words, ideology is a system that consists of three essential components: (1) a set of values and ideas advocated by the dominators according to their interests; (2) the guiding function of those values and ideas on actions and the structure of power they endorse; and (3) a discursive convention that expresses, perpetuates and determines the contents of the ideology.

2.3. Keyword studies

Some scholars have tried to interpret culture through keywords. Researchers whose names should not be unmentioned in the literature of keywords study include Firth (1935), Williams (1961, 1983), Said (1978), Fairclough (1990, 1992), Wierzbicka (1992, 1997) and Stubbs (1996).

3. Hypothesis and research questions

This study treats the past of PRC as a history composed of three social periods, i.e. 1949-1965; 1966-1978 and 1979-1995. This is called the "three-fold-division method". The "three-fold-division method" is based on the following assumptions: 1966 is the year in which the Cultural Revolution was initiated. The abnormal social situation in China caused by the Cultural Revolution didn't finish until early 1979, when the reform strategies indicated in the Eleventh Party Congress of the CCP (held in 1978, 18/12-22/12) began to be implemented in reality. The period between 1949-1965 represents the time during which Communist China built its national integration (Liu, 1971), and 1979-1995 is the period in which China resurrected its economy by practising a market-oriented open-door policy. The three periods are comparable in terms of the time span and how each represents a radical change.

In the study, the following research questions will be addressed:

- a) Are there any semantic changes in particular keywords in editorials?
- b) What explanations can be offered for the meaning change or stability of particular keywords?
- c) How can we understand the changing content of ideology through comparing the meanings of keywords in each period?

4. Methodology

4.1. Data collection and analysis

The data corpus was built up with editorials from the People's Daily since January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1995. The total number of PD editorials in this period was 6812. After eliminating those outside the fields of politics and economics, articles under research will number 6064.

Analysis with editorials as target data offers a reasonable approach in understanding the function of apparatus discourse in the changing context of ideology. As a typical kind of "discourse of apparatus", the editorial from People's Daily represents to a large degree what He (2000) labels as "discursive conventions". Besides, as argued by van Dijk (1988) and Hodge and Kress (1993), the editorial, as the most preferred formulation place for a newspaper to express its political and ideological attitudes, most clearly reflects the real standpoint and perspective of the opinion of the newspaper holders. It is therefore reasonable for the current study to take a semantic approach to interpret the ideological sense encoded in particular keywords.

I will argue that, in terms of the transmission medium and the audience, basically, there are two kinds of public ideological discourse in China, i.e. *theoretico-ideological discourse* and *practico-ideological discourse* (or *pure ideological discourse* and *applied ideological discourse*). Ideology is expressed explicitly in the former kind, in the form of official party documents of Communist China; and is strategically manipulated to convince people in the form of the latter kind, which are those

appearing in media forms. Ideological keywords should be located within theoretico-ideological discourse and be understood in their practico-ideological discursive context.

In this study, the meanings of some 30 ideological keywords, which are drawn from the political reports of Communist China Party Congresses (hereafter CCPC), will be investigated under their practical discursive environment, i.e. the editorials from the “PD”. By observing the collocations occurring in 9-word span, meaning analysis will be processed regarding the words immediate context (particular editorial text in which particular keyword occurs) and the far-reaching context (the changing social process viewed from an ideological perspective). Discourse analysis here aims to be the bridge linking our understanding of particular word usage and the social progress.

Analysis will consist of four stages:

Stage 1: Locating Chinese basic ideological keywords on the basis of *theoretico-ideological discourse*: the political reports of Chinese Communist Party Congress (CCPC).

Scholars have set out certain academic definitions for keywords (Williams, 1961; Wierzbicka, 1997), which will be taken as the basic criteria for locating keyword. With somehow different perspectives, there are various categories of keywords which are all revealing in ideology studies, for example: the keywords appeared in all social periods, the ideologically expressive words once prevalent for certain period but later disappeared, and words coined as new ideological expression for new social periods. This study will focus on the basic ideological keywords, i.e., the ideological keywords being used in all political reports of CCPC (from the 8th CCPC in 1956 to the 15th CCPC in 1997) during the social periods concerned (Murata, 1998, see Table.1 for examples of basic ideological keywords).

Stage 2: Locating keywords in the practico-ideological discourse, i.e., the editorials.

Based on the results of stage 1, some 30 ideological keywords will be chosen for further analysis. These keywords will be located and investigated considering their usage in the editorials from the “PD”.

Stage 3: Observing the collocation lists of the keywords, determining the meaning components of the keywords according to their collocation lists.¹

To identify the meaning of particular keywords, rather than merely depending on the intuition of native speakers, the keywords will be investigated in its context. By context, we mean 9-word collocation span (Firth, 1935, Stubbs, 1996), 80-character context (Scott, 1991) as well as the text as a whole. One need to decide the scale of the context considering the purpose of the particular study. This study will observe the keywords in a context adopted in Firth’s (1935) and Stubbs’ (1996) key words studies, that is the 9-word collocation span (four words to left and right).

In this study, data of the three social periods, which will be called sub-corpora for the convenience of describing, will be processed respectively (for the basis of division, see section 4.). In each sub-corpus, collocations of certain keywords will be listed and categorized according to the fields (what is going on, what is that collocation for?) of the collocations. The fields list thus developed is the meaning components list of the keywords. For example, in the collocations list of keyword “revolution”, while some collocations such as “worker” “Chairman Mao” “proletarian” are used accompanying revolution to illustrate the participants of revolutionary activity, some other collocations like “improve” “maintain” are used to describe the expectation that the editorials producers hold towards revolution. In that case, “participant” and “expectation” are the fields that the collocations stand for, and therefore are two of the meaning components of the word “revolution” (see Table S-1 in Sample Analysis below).

With computer-aided work, collocations under each meaning components will be sorted according to the frequency of occurrences. Different collocations with the same or co-relative meaning will be grouped together and considered as a unit while sorting the frequencies of collocations of particular meaning. Collocations (or collocation units) ranked higher in the list will be regarded as the closer contextual meanings of the words in that particular social period.

Stage 4: Analysing the collocations (with focus on frequency, reference) and interpreting the use of key words through the observation on collocations of each components. Comparing the meaning components of keywords across different social periods on the basis of the results from collocation analysis. Interpreting the keywords meaning variation regarding the social-context change (See section of findings and discussions in Sample Analysis attached).

Through analysis of the collocation, the main uses of the keywords, under each meaning components, can be listed in a meaning table (see Table S-2 in the Sample Analysis attached).

4.2. Quantitative analysis

In order to study keywords collocations across large corpus, this research requires a method to summarize collocation data and to calculate the frequency and the likelihood of association between

¹ During the three stages of analysis, I referred to the Modern Chinese-English Dictionary (Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 1991) when translating the keywords and collocations from Chinese to English.

collocations. Work with quantitative method includes:

- a) Identifying in the corpus all occurrences of keywords and their frequency;
- b) Keeping a record of collocations of the keywords with occur in a window of defined size (e.g. four words to left and right);
- c) Counting the frequency of each collocation in the whole corpus and in each sub-corpus;
- d) Sorting the collocations (and the collocation units, in which the collocations share the same or co-relative meaning) under each meaning components according to the frequencies in each sub-corpus.

4.3. Qualitative analysis

Qualitative method will be employed to interpret the results drawn from quantitative research on collocations regarding the social and ideological context of China.

Sample analysis:

The change in the meaning of “革命” (*ge ming*, revolution) in China from 1976 to 1980

1. Overview

This analysis examines the meaning change of the keyword “革命” (*ge ming*, revolution) appeared in editorials of “PD” during the period 1978-1980. Findings for this purpose are presented in form of collocations lists according to the meaning components of “革命” (*ge ming*, revolution). Another aim of this study is to interpret the meaning change regarding to the ideological changes that China has experienced during this 4 years.

The main theory referred is the contextual meaning theory, which believes that words meaning is embodied in the usage, and the semantic study on words should take context into careful consideration. The main concept is that words occur in characteristic collocations, which show the associations and connotations they have, and as well the assumptions that they embody. It is also assumed that collocations of particular word encode the “meaning components” of that word (Wierzbicka, 1984). By identifying the collocations of the word “革命” in different periods of history, one can trace the meaning change occurring in this word over years.

2. Data collection and procession

Considering the historical significance of the year 1978, in which China released the reform strategies (in the Eleventh Party Congress of the CCP, held in 1978, 18/12- 22/12), this analysis will take data two years to the forth and after 1978, i.e. from Jan 1, 1976 to Jan 1, 1980. Data will be processed concerning the two “ turning points” of China in the 4 years: the downfall of The Gang of Four (in Oct, 1976) and the official appeal of “ focusing on economy” (at the end of 1978). Corresponding editorials for the two points are respectively on Jul 10, 1976, and Jan 01, 1979. The 44 editorials therefore will be categorized to three groups according to the two points, and the comparison of the collocations will be held within this three-division frame.

3. Findings

Table S-1 attached shows part of the collocation table of “革命” (*ge ming*, revolution) in editorials of the category “national politics” (Jan. 1, 1976-Jan. 1, 1980.). Categories (except the “ fixed phrases”) in the left-most column are defined on the basis of the functions or referents of collocations in contributing to the usage of “革命”, and therefore can be regarded as meaning components of this word (definitions are given in the brackets following each category). Figures in square brackets show the collocation frequency of each component in different social periods. While figures in brackets of first row show the number of editorials observed for each social periods, those in brackets following each collocation show the total times of that occurrence in that particular data scope.

We will analyze the collocations regarding each meaning component.

Fields:

- a) During the Cultural Revolution, main fields of revolutionary activity are social institutions, such as education, public health, art and science and technology. Revolution in these institutions means to politically change the minds of the people engaged in these careers and to destroy the traditional working principles of these institutions. The “institutions” meaning occurred in 22.9 per cent (11/48) of fields in Cultural Revolution.
- b) After the Cultural Revolution and before the late 1978, the “ institutions” meaning occurrence dropped to 11.3 percent (5/44). The main field became the construction in social economy, including socialist construction (17/44: 38.6%), ownership (2), economy (1), and manufacture industry (1), which together occurred in 47.7 per cent (21/44) of collocations.
- c) Since late 1978, the “institutions” meaning disappeared from the fields of revolution. Main field is

about the ownership (5), which ranked 1st in the collocations list. Other collocations (e.g. the attribute (2), rule (2), theory (2), cognition(1), general truth (1), reason (1) indicate that the CCP began to reflect on the revolution theoretically. Revolution became a object requiring study, rather than a unquestionable spirit or claim. Besides, the juxtaposition of revolution and construction indicates that revolution is considered as a process, which aim is to liberate the productivity, in order to clear the way for social construction. Social construction now began to take place of revolution in terms of the important role it plays in Chinese society.

Participants and Opposites:

- a) Categorization: During the Cultural Revolution, subjects are categorized from the perspective of social classes, as we can see from the distinction between proletarian (the people, cadre, mass), capitalist. After the Cultural Revolution, the categorization turns to take basis on social groups, e.g. the worker, cadre, mass, peasantry, PLA, criminals. A fact needs to be noticed that the opposites of revolution in this period were criminals, which were opposite to the social orders and security, but no longer the Capitalist during the Cultural Revolution, according to the classic points of view.
- b) Alliance: Rather than make distinctions among the participants, discourse after the Cultural Revolution began to introduce the notion of alliance into the participants of revolution. This explains why words like “工農聯盟” (worker-peasantry alliance), “基礎” (foundation), “民族” (nation) and “大軍” (main force) enter into collocations of the second period. Editorials producers try to unite people from various social resources in order to strengthen the forces for social construction.
- c) Mao Zedong was no longer mentioned as “毛主席” (Chairman Mao) after the Cultural Revolution. Since late 1978, producers use “毛澤東同志” (Comrade Mao) instead. This is not only a result of abandoning the “personal cult”, but also, by rejecting the symbol of traditional revolutionary time, an indicator of detaching oneself from the old revolutionary thoughts appealed in Mao’s Era.
- d) Solidarity and power semantics: as a pronoun indicating ‘others’, the term “他們” (they) was used to refer to the opposites of the revolution during and after the cultural revolution (in 01/01/76 - 19/10/76, one for anti-revolutionist; in 25/10/76 - 18/11/78, six referring to anti-revolutionary, one referring to members of Left Wing or people engaging political mistakes). This is significantly contrary to the situation in the Cultural Revolution, in which “他們” (they) also has ‘ participants of revolution ‘ as its reference for three times.
- e) After the Cultural Revolution, “他們” (they) was no longer used to refer to the people or the mass. Instead of “他們” (they), editorial producers began to use “我們” (we) (one and one for each period) to refer the readers (audiences) and the people as well. Also, with the pronoun “我們” (we), the readers and the producers were mentioned together, which are both regarded as the participants of revolution. This semantic change indicated that the top leaders of China try to establish the solidarity rather than power relationship between the CCP and the mass. They try to make up the distance between the leaders and the mass, and to have the power less explicit.
- f) After the Cultural Revolution, the word “大軍” (main forces) was used metaphorically to refer to the massive people participating in the process of social construction of China. The ‘ main forces’, which was historically portrayed as brave, patriotic, was considered as prototype of revolutionary spirit in China. Chinese leaders try to use a revolutionary discourse to match the values of Chinese mass, in order to encourage their devotion to the social construction.

Internal relationship between participants:

Verbs encoding meaning of ‘leading’ ‘following’, e.g. “執行” (carry out), “沿著” (along with), “使” (cause), “按照” (according to), “引導” (direct), “貫徹” (implement), “指引” (guide), “激勵” (encourage), “追隨” (follow), “指示” (instruct), “學習” (learn), occurred with rapid decrease over the three periods. During the Cultural Revolution, words with “leading” meaning occurred in 82.3 per cent (14/17) of relationship verbs. These verbs imply the relationship between participants: the producers, as representative of the top leaders of china, is higher, brighter than mass people, the people need to be educated to know how to justify and participate in the revolution. Considering the semantic choices of pronouns when referring to the mass, there is also an undermined indication: at that time, although the top leader often claimed that people are the owners of the country, they are actually considered as “others”. With semantic choice of pronouns like “他們” (they), the producers make a clear distinction between the mass people and themselves, i.e. the members representing the power centre of China politics. Mass people are positioned at a ‘lower’ or ‘remote’ place, and actually excluded from the power centre. They have no power of speaking, judging, and deciding. The only approved and encouraged participation in this revolution process is very simple: to

follow the leaders.

Expectation:

a) During the Cultural Revolution, the use of collocation verbs like “要” (require), “搞” (do), “干” (engage), indicate that “revolution” is mainly considered as stative situation. Collocations with the meaning of ‘maintaining’, ‘consolidating’ occurred in 43.9 per cent (29/66) in this period. The figure kept nearly at the same level (42 percent by 11/26) during period 25/10/76 - 18/11/78. However, since late 1978, collocations with meaning of “ maintaining” disappeared. Instead, collocates describing revolution as dynamic process appeared (shift, resurrect, speed up). These collocates, which indicate the meaning of “ transformation”, occurred totally in 61 per cent (8/13),

The changes indicate that people began to view revolution through an empirical and dynamic perspective. Contrary to the expectation during the Cultural Revolution, in which revolution was considered a mature cause to be maintained, peoples require more transformation and innovation on it. Revolution is no longer regarded as a pre-determined concept or an undoubted slogan but rather a process, people began to add something substantial in it and hope they can really get or gain something from it. “ Revolution”, in this period actually became a metaphor to indicate the reformation that China will take in all social areas, which includes politics, thoughts and economy.

Attitude:

For all periods, the semantic prosody of revolution is very positive. The word “革命” (revolution) was used in connection with positive words like continue, inherit, develop, go ahead, deepen, enhance and so on. This shows the positive attitude towards this word. The difference across different periods is, after the Cultural Revolution, collocations indicating this positive attitude decreased. In particular for period since late 1978, only one collocation of that use occurred. One possible explanation for this is that people’s use of the word “ revolution” decreased. Also, they gradually lose interest in expressing their attitudes towards “ revolution” .

Requirement:

The valued characters of revolution have changed over the years. Contrary to that in the Cultural Revolution, in which people are required to have characters like consciousness (desire to do something from the drive inside), and to follow the directions from the top, since late 1978, people are encouraged to do something creative, i.e. to “敢想” (dare to think), “敢說” (dare to say).

4. Discussion

1976 and 1978 were significant years for China. Top leaders, including Premier Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong and Zhu De died consequently in 1976. The Gang of Four was smashed in the October. The whole nation was left not only with no clearly recognized leader but also with no clear ideological and policy direction. People began to be doubted about the belief they have been insisted on during the Cultural Revolution.

The vacuum between the downfall of The Gang of Four and the release of reform policy (1978) was a period in which people reflect on the horrors and violence of that decade. Also in this period CCP leaders like Deng Xiaoping, who was reinstated in late 1978, kept trying to set a new ideology for the whole nation. It is very clear to Deng and his reform-allies that the ideological influence of Mao Zedong would not allow for radical social reforms. But the task of uniting the whole nation on the basis of the new ideology in order to make social shift from class struggle to economic reform is urgent. To solve this contradiction, one of Deng’s strategies is to gradually change the public political discourse for the sake of social reform in productivity and social relationship. The change reflected in the use of the keyword “革命” (revolution) is a typical evidence of such manipulation on discourse as well as ideological perception. To certain degree, the these changes can be generalized as:

- a) The frequency of revolution decreased along the four years. People gradually lose interest in choosing the word. This indicates that the need for the use of this word decreased.
- b) The use of FP increased along the years. FP was used to serve the aim to change the traditional notions of revolution, to encourage people’s acceptance of the new notions of “革命” (revolution). Because “革命” (revolution), as an old key word in Chinese political discourse, cannot simply be “kicked out” of people’s habitual lexicon, the CCP try to change the meaning of this word by means of the frequent usage of FP.
- c) Viewed from the meaning components, the meaning changes can be represented as Table S-2.
- d) The word “革命” (revolution) continues to be used in Chinese public discourse after the Cultural Revolution while the meanings have changed a lot. Besides, this word is used mainly as an integral part of fixed phrases. As for those used separately outside the FP, Deng took advantage of this term to introduce his own strategy of reform and socialist construction. Rather than simply rejecting this term, whose meaning was deeply rooted in the political context of Mao’s era, Deng infused new

notions relating to social reform into the old key word, and appealed new social values in the process of referring back to and reflecting on the traditional values of China.

Considering the relatively small amount of work, the coding work in this analysis was done by hand. As for the main corpus, this coding work will be processed with the help of “Winmax” software – software specifically designed for text coding and organizing.

Table. 1: Examples of basic ideological keywords

Category	Examples
Stable frequency	社会主义, 人民, 政治, 思想, 路线, 群众, 中央, 地方, 团结, 解放, 巩固, 工人, 毛泽东, 马克思, 马克思列宁主义, 共产主义, 军队, 台湾, 先进, 和平共处 Socialism, people, politics, ideology, line, mass, central, locality, unite, liberate, consolidate, worker, Mao Zedong, Marx, Marxism-Leninism, Communism, army, Taiwan, advanced, peaceful coexistence.
Frequency dropping obviously during Cultural revolution	经济, 发展, 建设, 民主, 民族, 干部, 提高, 合作, 和平, 统一, 科学, 技术, 利益, 生产力, 共同, 独立, 稳定, 文化, 理论 economy, development, construct, democracy, nationality, cadre, improvement, cooperate, peace, unify, science, technology, benefit, productivity, common, independence, stability, culture, theory,
Frequency dropping obviously since reform and open-door policy:	阶级, 革命, 斗争, 资产, 资本, 专政, 列宁, 破坏, 阶级斗争, 革命的, 战争 class, revolution, struggle, property, capital, dictatorship, Lenin, destroy, class struggle, revolutionary, war.

Table S-1: Collocations of “ 革命” (*ge ming*, revolution) in editorials of “ PD” during 1976-1980

	01/01/76 - 19/10/76 (7)	25/10/76 - 18/11/78 (15)	01/01/79 - 01/01/80 (22)
Fields (the fields that revolution is introduced, or what is referred when talking about revolution)	[48/318: 0.150] 无产阶级专政(8), 对象(4), 生产(4), 卫生(3), 文艺(3), 教育(3), 方针(3), 性质(3), 科技(2), 实践(2), 前途(2), 任务(2), 政策(1), 社会主义建设(1), 理论(1), 工作(1), 政党(1), , 清华大学大辩论(1) The proletarian dictatorship (8), production (4), practice(4), public health(3), art(3), education (3), object(4), guiding principle(3), nature(3), task(2), future(2), , socialist construction(1), theory(1), party(1), work(1), policy(1), tradition (1), the great debates in Qinghua University(1) ...	[44/292: 0.150] 社会主义建设 (17), 思想政治政策(2), 政治(1), 思想(1), 经济(1), 外交(1), 理论(1), 实践(1), 教育(1), 文艺(1), 卫生(1), 科技(1), 阶级斗争(1), 生产斗争(1), 科学实验(1), 私有制(1), 公有制(1), 机器大工业(1), 标准(1), 原则(1) Socialist construction (17), ideological policy (2), politics (1), thought (1), economy (1), diplomacy (1), theory (1), practice (1), education (1), art (1), public health (1), technology (1), class struggle (1), production competition (1), scientific experience (1), privacy ownership (1), public ownership (1), manufacturing industry (1), standard (1), principle (1)...	[21/160:0.131] 所有制(3), 特点(2), 规律(2), 理论(2), 现代化建设(1), 私有制(1), 公有制(1), 机器生产(1), 认识(1), 普遍真理(1), 运动(1), 道理(1), 方面(1), 中心(1), 生产关系(1), 物质条件(1) Ownership (3), attribution (2), rule(2), theory(2), modernization construction (1), privacy ownership (1), public ownership (1), machine building (1), recognition (1), general truth (1), movement (1), reason (1), aspect (1), center (1), production (1) relationship (1), material condition (1)...

Table S-2: The meaning change of “革命” (*ge ming*, revolution) since 1976-1980

	01/01/76 - 19/10/76	25/10/76 - 18/11/78	01/01/79 - 01/01/80
Fields	(Destroy the orders and principles of) social Institution, As a weapon	Social construction, As a weapon	Production ownership, economic construction As a theory
Participants and Opposites	Classes, Distinction, opposite	Social groups, Alliance	Social groups Alliance
Internal relationship between participants	Power semantic	Solidarity semantic	Solidarity semantic
Relationship between participants and opposites	Hostile	Hostile	Hostile
Expectation	Stative situation, to be maintained and consolidated As a concept or slogan	Stative situation, to be maintained As a concept and process	Dynamic process, to be transformed As a substantial process
Attitudes	Positive	Positive	Indifferent
Evaluation	Positive, eulogistic	Positive, eulogistic	Positive
Requirement	Consciousness, drive from inside	Zeal, bravery	Creativity

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