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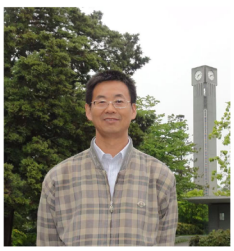
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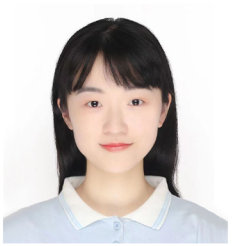
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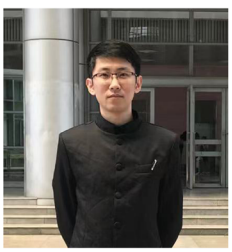
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[Special Contributions]

China Promotes Multilateralism for World Peace and Shared Development

Yoro Diallo

Zhejiang Normal University, China

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Notes on the contributor: Yoro Diallo is a professor at the Institute of African Studies, a senior researcher, and director of the African Museum, as well as an executive director of the Center for Francophone Studies at Zhejiang Normal University. His email address is inadial@yahoo.com.

The People's Republic of China is a great country not only because of its geography (more than 9 million square kilometers), its population (1.4 billion), its rich culture and its multimillennial civilization. This country is also and above all great for its invaluable contributions to the progress of humanity, its initiatives for world peace, shared development, and its unwavering commitment to the cause of multilateralism. Since regaining its rightful seat in the UN Security Council in 1971, China has played a major role in international affairs. In 1980, she took her place at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), began to actively participate in international economic and trade cooperation, and cultivated friendship within the international community. By 2019, China had established diplomatic ties with over 180 countries around the world. Following the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2012, China proposed "a community with a shared future." In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping launched the Belt and Road Initiative, a platform for building a community of shared future, to promote world peace and global development. To date, this initiative has registered the support of more than 180 countries, regions, and international organizations, showing tangible results. These China's initiatives, which have won recognition from the international community and are enshrined in numerous UN resolutions, are pure products of Chinese wisdom that "China cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world, any more than the

world as a whole cannot maintain peace, development, prosperity and stability without China." Therefore, China places its development in the development of all humanity and links its future and its interests to those of the peoples of the world.

The extraordinary progress that China has made in just a few decades has changed the world and the situation in international relations. This progress, a true human miracle, has aroused among Westerners, especially the USA, more adversity than admiration, more hostility than understanding. The propensity of the USA to use force, to sow death and desolation without bitterness, builds on the threat that this country poses to peace in the world. Since 1950, the United States of America has carried out around thirty wars, military interventions and bombings around the world: the Korean and China War in 1950 and 1953; Guatemala in 1954, 1960, 1967 and 1969; Indonesia in 1958; Cuba in 1959–1961; Congo (central Africa) on 1964; Laos on 1964 and 1973; Vietnam on 1961–1973; Cambodia on 1969–1970; Salvador on 1980; Nicaragua on 1980; Granada on 1983; Lebanon and Syria on 1983–1984; Libya on 1986; Iran on 1987; Panama on 1989; Iraq (the Gulf War) on 1991; Iraq (jointly with the British army) on 1991 and 2003; Kuwait on 1991; Somalia on 1993; Bosnia on 1994–1995; Sudan in 1998; Yugoslavia on 1999; Lebanon and Yemen on 2002; Iraq on 2001 and 2015; Afghanistan on 2001 and 2015; Somalia on 2007, 2008 and 2011; Yemen on 2009 and 2011; Libya on 2011 and 2015; Syria on 2014 and 2015. In its paranoid vision, the United States designates China as a dangerous competitor, going so far as to destroy a meteorological research balloon with a warplane. In fact, what do Westerners know about China, about the Chinese civilization so ancient and already so advanced when Europe was only in its infancy when the USA did not exist on the map of the world? Through its science and wisdom, Chinese civilization has marked the progress of mankind. For centuries, Chinese and European civilizations have evolved on their own without having real close contact. In the 16th century, diplomatic exchanges concerned a very restricted elite on both sides. Two ways of thinking and two philosophies of the world coexisted before colliding through colonization and the opium wars. Since its founding in 1949, the New China has never provoked war or conflict, nor engaged forces in a foreign land. In this 21st century, the rise of China has caused a paradigm shift that should teach Westerners to go beyond the clichés with regard to this country, to depart from the spirit of the cold war and unhealthy competition to be in phase with the march of history. Westerners, especially the USA, must abandon their poor binary "friends/ enemies" thinking to open up to other ways of thinking that are very different but not opposed to their own.

In this world in crisis, while the actions of Western leaders call into question multilateralism, China holds high the banner of this instrument of peace and development for the construction of a community of destiny for humanity. Unilateralism, hegemonism, protectionism and the politics of confrontation are factors that affect the world peace, development, and stability so desired by the people who aspire to live a better life in a world of lasting peace, security and shared development. The threat to this aspiration is a source of instability and uncertainty. In this context, in 2012, China proposed "A Community of Shared Future". In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping launched the Belt and Road Initiative, expressing China's deep commitment to

multilateralism, harmony within the international community and development for all. China's initiatives call for cooperative measures contributing to global development, peace and people's well-being. Since then, China has been working in all the major international economic and financial organizations and multilateral economic mechanisms, contributing enormously to the development of trade in infrastructure and connectivity between countries. China's deep commitment to multilateralism was marked in the 1950s by the proposal made jointly by China, India and Myanmar on the five principles of peaceful coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful coexistence. Since then, these principles have become the norms that govern international relations and the fundamental principles of international law. Over the past ten years, China has proposed several important initiatives, including: "The Belt and Road Initiative; a community with a common future; a New Model of International Relations; the principle of the defense of the common good and the pursuit of common interests; a common, global, cooperative and sustainable security vision; the principles of full consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits in global governance and the principles of equality, dialogue, etc." These initiatives have brought Chinese science and wisdom to the promotion of world peace and common prosperity. China has signed more than 20 multilateral treaties, including those on disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is the second-largest contributor to the UN peacekeeping operations budget and the largest troop contributor among the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

As part of promoting multilateral cooperation, China has established a number of multilateral platforms, including the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation; China International Import Expo; Hongqiao International Economic Forum; Forum on China-Africa Cooperation; Sino-Arab Cooperation Forum; China-CELAC Forum; Boao Forum for Asia; China-ASEAN Expo; Exhibition of Arab States in China; China-Africa Economic and Trade Expo; Conference on the Dialogue of Asian Civilizations, and the World Conference on the Internet. China's past and culture teach that this country has never sought hegemony and will never seek hegemony or any other form of domination over others. From China's history and culture of light and wisdom, we also learn that "the powerful should not oppress the weak, and the rich should not abuse the poor" and "don't do to others what you don't want others to do to you." Building a community with a shared future is a proposal that promotes mutual respect and consultation on an equal footing. Its ultimate goal remains equity and justice, mutual respect and mutually beneficial cooperation. A country that withdraws from international organizations denounces international treaties according to its interests and builds border walls undermines peace and global development. Therefore, China defends the international system based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, taking into account the general interest. This is why China intends to remain attached to multilateralism, to defend equity and international justice. China respects the right of peoples to choose their own path of development and their own social system, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and opposes interference in the internal affairs of others. On September 21, 2021, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly, Chinese President Xi Jinping assured the world of his country's peaceful intentions: "China is

and will remain a global peacemaker… One country's success does not necessarily mean another country must fail. The world can fully accept the simultaneous success and growth of each country. We need to persevere in dialogue and not in confrontation, to embrace and not exclude, to build and respect each other in equity and justice, to nurture international relations based on cooperation for the common benefit, to expand our points of convergence, to draw the largest circle possible".

Africa remains at the heart of all of China's initiatives. Both sides support a fair, open and inclusive global economy and multilateral trading system. China-Africa Cooperation has become a model of South-South cooperation that makes a remarkable contribution to building a community with a shared future for mankind. At the opening ceremony of the 8th Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in Dakar, Senegal, on November 29, 2021, President Xi Jinping noted, "Over the past 65 years, China and Africa have forged unfailing brotherhood in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, blazed a path of exceptional cooperation in the pursuit of development and recovery and wrote a splendid chapter of solidarity in the face of complex changes". Peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom are common human values and aspirations that China and Africa tirelessly pursue together. The Global Development Initiative proposed at the 76th session of the United Nations General Assembly converges with the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In 2013, 10 years ago, President Xi Jinping launched the principles of "sincerity, effective results, friendship and good faith and seeking the greater good and shared interests in China-Africa relations." The Sino-African Cooperation thus began "the new era of building a high-level China-Africa community with a shared future." China and Africa are working together to "implement several cooperation programs" adopted by the two sides. China is the first country to support Africa Union membership to the G20 and intends to encourage the G20 to take strong actions to support an increased role of the Africa Union and African countries in the global governance system. China is also the first country to support Africa for a seat on the United Nations Security Council. Loyalty to its commitments on the international scene makes China a leading promoter of multilateralism for world peace and shared development.

(Editors: Bonnie WANG & Joe ZHANG)

Transcending Language Barriers and Seeing Chinese Literature "Going Global" from Another Perspective: "Chinese Literature in Translation"

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跨越語言藩籬,從另一視角看中國文學「走出去」

——「翻譯中的中國文學」

高層論壇暨《他山之石》《中學西漸》新書發佈會舉行

進入新世紀以來,中國文學以更為積極和多元的姿態融入世界文學的廣闊疆域,披上異域他鄉的外衣上演中外文心相通的精彩華章。翻譯中的中國文學在不同文化和社會背景下每每引發審美的愉悅和情感的共鳴,吸引中外學者追索文學跨文化傳播所產生的種種微妙與關鍵。翻譯與文學已然跨越語言的藩籬,進入五色迷離的視聲世界。翻譯中的中國文學沉潛于世界文學之內,預示著世界文學大潮的起伏與轉向。

為推動中國文學的海外譯介與國際傳播,促進中外學界在中國文學譯介研究領域的學術交流,為文明互鑒和文化多樣性作貢獻,由上海師範大學比較文學與世界文學國家重點學科、上海市世界文學多樣性與文明互鑒創新團隊、上海市外國文學學會翻譯研究委員會聯合主辦的「翻譯中的中國文學」中國文學國際傳播高層論壇暨《他山之石》與《中學西漸》新書發佈會於 11 月 26 日在上海師範大學舉行。

一、為中國文化「走出去」提供理論依據

《他山之石》與《中學西漸》是上海師範大學外國文學研究中心主任、比較文學與世界文學國家重點學科

負責人朱振武教授「漢學家研究三部曲」中的兩部(另一部《歸異平衡》也即將出版),三部曲結合漢學家們的翻譯實踐、譯介策略和經驗教訓,對中國文學「走出去」的成功經驗和存在的問題進行歸納總結,從學理高度對中國文學「走出去」的方法和病症進行望聞問切似的診脈,對其合理內核及可行性進行現實意義上的闡發。其中,《他山之石》主要研究中國現當代文學重要作家作品在英語世界的有效傳播,對從事中國現當代文學研究和譯介活動的 21 位英語世界的漢學家進行全方位考察;《中學西漸》主要研究中國古代的詩文、短篇小說、章回小說、史傳文學、戲劇及說唱文學在英語世界的有效傳播,對從事中國古代文學研究和譯介活動的 25 位英語世界的漢學家進行全方位考察。兩本書跟蹤和研究這些漢學家的成長背景、漢學生涯、英譯歷程、迻譯理念、價值認同、相關影響及存在問題,為跨文化跨學科背景下的翻譯研究和翻譯學科的建立提供理論參照和實踐樣例。

上海師範大學副校長陳恒在致辭中指出,研究中國文化外譯,是通過另一隻眼睛,從另一個視角對中國文學「走出去」進行反思與總結,可以豐富我國的翻譯理論、文化傳播理論和跨文化交際理論,也可以為我國文化「走出去」提供理論依據。這正是「漢學家研究三部曲」的價值所在。這樣的研究,對於文明互鑒理論和文明新形態的形成具有參考價值,對於我國制定文化「走出去」政策,充實世界文化多樣性具有參考意義。

二、在時間與空間中拓展思想之力量

浙江大學文科資深教授、中華譯學館館長許鈞說他在朱振武教授的身上看到了四點:首先是他的學術目光。他的學術目標是拓展性的,也是雙向性的。一方面使中國文學、中國文化走向世界,一方面在世界的其他地域,他在不斷地構建自我與他者,中國與世界的關係,這種構建是一種雙向的眼光,這既有拓展性,也有構建性。第二,是朱教授具有學術的堅守。這麼多年來,很少看到一個學者如此不遺餘力,如此幹勁十足,不斷積累,不斷堅持,不斷拓展國家重大專案。同時,朱教授及其團隊也在不斷進步、發展。第三,朱教授一直在堅持實踐的優良傳統。他把鄭克魯先生留下的學術遺產不斷擴大、發揚,他也不斷擴大上海師範大學比較文學與世界文學國家重點學科的學術影響力。第四,朱教授的學術研究,凸顯了他的學術引領力。這種卓越的學術追求、深刻的理論思考和踏實的實踐探索相結合的學風將進一步得到發揚。

許鈞認為,如果說,翻譯是一種文化構建力量,是一種思想領域的拓展力量的話,那麼它構建的分析就是在空間中展開,在時間上推移。而《他山之石》和《中學西漸》,非常明確地展現了朱教授在時間與空間兩個維度的不斷探索。

三、中國文化海外傳播需要把握的幾大關係

蘇州大學教授、國家社科基金重大專案首席專家季進表示,「漢學家研究三部曲」是朱振武教授這些年深耕中國文化海外傳播的一個集大成式的呈現,它們的討論物件從中國古代文學到中國近代文學的英譯,從具體篇目來看,幾乎囊括了英語世界中國文學譯介全部的重要譯者和重要譯本。朱教授在著作中談及追蹤和研究漢學家的英譯歷程和翻譯理念,也思考其中的一些翻譯機制和文化秩序。

季進覺得,無論是譯介層面還是研究層面,探索中國文學海外傳播,其實無非是在尋找中國文學在跨文化傳播過程當中,源和流的歷史邏輯、成和變的審美歸屬,以及內與外的資源與動力,從而做出一個比較科學的評估,也為中國文學的「走出去」提供一些決策的依據。從研究實踐來講,中國文學海外傳播是一個非常複雜、多時段、多面向的歷史實踐,要對這樣一個非常複雜的研究對象進行一種總體性的論述,挑戰非常大,需要以一種全球化的文化整體觀來加以看待。比如中國的海外傳播之于中國文學研究的關係,之于海外漢學的關係,之於譯介學的關係,之于世界文學的關係……相互之間的關係都很複雜。只有辨析清楚這些關係,才有可能在真正的世界文學下面來闡釋中西不同的文化制度、審美標準等差異所帶來的挑戰,來反思中國文學到底在什麼意義上可以成為世界文學的一部分,從而尋求中國文學與世界文學對話融合的可能性。在這樣一種對話和融合當中,建構起既蘊含本土經驗,又符合世界潮流的中國文學。所以從這個角度來講,朱教授三部曲的出版可以帶來新的啟示。

在此次論壇上,專家學者們還就「漢學家與中國文學的海外傳播」「翻譯研究的話語建構和批評自覺」「中國文學的海外受眾與文明互鑒」「社交媒體與中國文學的國際傳播」「世界文學中的中國元素」「數位人文技術與中國文學的對外譯介」等議題進行了研討。

(Editors: Bonnie WANG & Joe ZHANG)

[Studies in Linguistics]

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Tokyo Olympics Reports by the Chinese Media and American Media

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Abstract: Taking Fairclough's three-dimensional model as a theoretical framework, the present study aims to make a contrastive analysis both qualitatively and quantitatively of the reports of the Tokyo Olympics Reports by China Daily and The New York Times. The study finds that the two media show some similarities on the textual level, which conform to the characteristics of news coverage. But the two media display different focus on description and lexical classification, which indicate China's and America's variance in ideological stances. On the discourse-practice level, different use of news sources and reporting modes demonstrate the inclination of the two countries. China Daily focuses on the global expectation and effective measures taken by organizers with specific linguistic techniques, demonstrating the Chinese pursuit of cooperation, inclusiveness, and openness with a positive attitude towards the Olympic Games. By contrast, The New York Times emphasizes the negative aspects of this meeting and expresses a disapproving attitude, showing America's individualism and pursuit of profit.

Keywords: ideology; critical contrastive analysis; Tokyo Olympics-related news

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東京奧運會中美新聞報導的批評話語分析

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摘 要:本文以費爾克勞夫話語分析三維模型為理論框架,從定量和定性相結合的角度,探究《中國日報》和《紐約時報》對東京奧運會報導的異同之處。研究發現,在文本層面,兩種報紙均體現出較強的新聞特徵,而文字描述以及詞彙選擇則展現了中美不同的意識形態。在話語實踐層面,對於消息來源和轉述引語的不同應用表現出中美兩國不同的傾向。《中國日報》較多關注世界人民對奧運會的期盼及主辦方所採取的積極措施,表達了對舉辦奧運會的積極態度,體現了中國的合作包容與開放精神。而《紐約時報》強調疫情及其他負面因素給奧運會帶來的不良影響,表達了對奧運會的消極態度,體現了美國的個人主義及利益至上主張。

關鍵詞:意識形態;批評話語分析;東京奧運會相關報導

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引言

2021 年疫情期間,日本舉辦的東京奧運會得到了世人的高度關注,多家媒體予以報導。這些新聞報導向人們傳遞奧運會的相關內容,同時也憑藉其話語權影響著人們對特定資訊的獲取與認知。以《中國日報》和《紐約時報》為代表的主流媒體掌握著重要的話語權,其自身的態度及背後的意識形態影響著公眾對疫情期間東京奧運會的態度與認知。

學界對於奧運會的研究多從運動研究、奧運會對人們生活的影響以及傳媒等角度進行,很少從批評話語分析的視角展開,揭示其背後隱藏的意識形態。我們在中國知網資料庫(CNKI)輸入「奧運會」得到近五年的相關文獻,然後利用 CiteSpace 軟體進行統計而生成國內奧運會研究的關鍵字共現圖譜,詳見圖 1。從圖 1 可見,國內奧運會的研究熱點是競技體育、國家形象、體育文化、體育管理、奧運遺產、奧運備戰、體育新聞等。如崔瓔楠對 2020 東京奧運會體育文化傳播的特點以及啟示進行研究,彰顯體育文化的傳播功能[①]。張月霖等人從競技、人文、傳播的角度對 2020 東京奧運會的七個熱點事件進行解讀,認為奧運會是集文化、藝術、商業等元素於一身的「全球景觀」[②]。楊國慶圍繞東京奧運會延期舉辦的影響以及應對策略進行了剖析[③]。圖 2 為在 Web of Science 資料庫內對近五年的與「Olympics」相關的研究進行統計,得到的國外奧運會研究的關鍵字共現圖譜。如圖 2 所示,國外奧運會研究的主要關注點為健康醫療、污染、運動損傷、風險、運動員、城市等等。安達(Adachi)等人揭示了 2020 年東京奧運村診斷中影像學檢測到的骨應力損傷案例,說

明早期磁共振成像檢查的用途[④]。比斯爾(Bissell)等人對比了奧運會和殘奧會的體育比賽,測試了其他潛在因素,如與殘疾人的個人經歷、特質和狀態共情、對殘疾的態度等,探究了殘奧會媒體對觀眾的影響[⑤]。馬勒(Muller)等人比較了 1964 年至 2018 年奧運會和世界盃的收入和成本[⑥]。

圖 1　國內關於奧運會研究的關鍵字共現圖譜(2016—2021)

總的來講,目前奧運新聞的研究聚焦於公眾健身、運動心理、奧運遺產、奧運會對生活的影響如城市建設、污染、文化自信等等熱點,針對奧運新聞的批評話語分析研究並不多見。奧運新聞看似不偏不倚,實則代表了某些媒體的某種意識形態。為此本文將從中美報紙中挑選東京奧運會相關新聞報導,建成小型語料庫並展開對比分析,旨在探討中美報導在文本層面和話語實踐層面的差異及這些差異背後隱藏的不同意識形態。

一、批評話語分析與費爾克勞夫三維模型

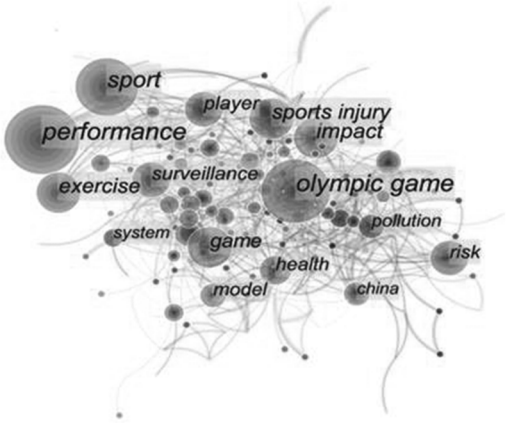

圖 2　國外關於奧運會研究的關鍵字共現圖譜(2016—2021)

批評話語分析(critical discourse analysis, CDA)廣泛應用於新聞話語、政治話語、女性話語等各類語篇分析,它不僅注重「批評」社會現實,也關注話語與權力之間的相互建構。在批評話語分析中,「批評」不是指對事件做出負面評價,而是有著與其他學科聯繫的特定含義[⑦]。「批評」要求能夠辯證地看待事件的發展並挖掘事件背後的原因,而不是對事件的挑剔打量。「話語」不僅是文本本身,更是包含了話語實踐和社會實踐

的一個事件[8]。換言之,話語分析意味著去探索文本、話語和社會因素之間的互動關係即隱藏在語言背後的意識形態,去揭曉意識形態是怎麼形成以及它是怎麼影響人們選擇表達。批評話語分析的目的是去探索語言、權力和意識形態之間的關係,並協助改變現狀、解決社會問題。費爾克勞夫將意識形態定義為對建立和維持權力、統治和剝削關係的世界方面的表現[9]。意識形態是由某種道德觀構成的,影響著人對事物的理解和認識,與政治、經濟、文化等社會因素相互作用。批評話語分析中另外一個重要概念「權力」並不是指擁有做某事的權利,而是指由於貧困、弱勢、性別歧視等原因引起的話語主體之間的不平等。

費爾克勞夫的三維話語理論整合了語言學理論和社會學理論,強調話語與實踐的關係。這一模型包括三個層面,即語篇層面、話語實踐層面和社會實踐層面。語篇層面主要針對於表層特徵,比如措辭、語法、語篇銜接和語篇結構等等。在話語實踐層面,主要研究語篇如何產生、如何被感知以及使用這些語篇的目的。最後,社會實踐層面更加關注語篇產生背後的深層原因,如經濟、政治、文化等方面的原因。在這種三維模式的基礎上,費爾克勞夫提出了批評話語分析的三個步驟:描述、闡釋和解釋。這三個步驟可以揭示社會實踐對話語的強大影響[10]。費爾克勞夫的三維模型[11]可以表示為下圖:

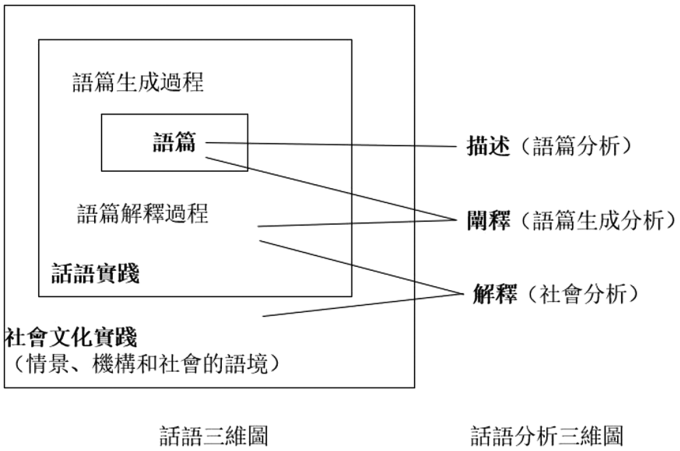

圖 3 批評話語分析的框架

二、研究方法

(一) 語料選取

我們在《中國日報》和《紐約時報》官網,分別輸入關鍵字「奧運會」和「Olympics」進行檢索,共賽選出 20 篇有關 2020 年東京奧運會的新聞報導,建成小型語料庫,展開對比分析。其中包括 4 篇涉及開幕前準備工作的報導、12 篇賽事舉辦期間的報導以及 4 篇賽事閉幕後的評價報導。

(二) 研究工具

論文以費爾克勞夫三維模型為框架,以韓禮德系統功能語法為主要研究方法,從文本層面和話語實踐層面展開系統分析。在文本層面,借助語料分析軟體 UAM Corpus Tool 來進行文本分析。話語實踐層面,從

消息來源和轉述引語兩方面,採用人工標注輔助軟體進行分析。在採用定量分析的同時,本研究同時從定性分析的角度探究語言背後隱藏的意識形態。

三、中美媒體關於 2020 年東京奧運會報導的批評話語分析

(一) 文本分析

1. 及物性系統

韓禮德開創了系統功能語法,使之成為有效分析各種文體的工具,並指出語言具有包括人際功能、概念功能、語篇功能在內的三種元語言功能。其中概念功能包括邏輯功能和經驗功能。經驗功能是表示人在現實世界中使用語言來進行的各種自身經歷表達,即行動者主體和相關客體以及地點、時間等環境因素之間的關係[12],而這一功能則主要是通過及物性系統得以實現的。韓禮德認為及物性系統是表達概念的系統[13],及物性系統是指人們如何用參與者、環境與過程這三種成分來組織和理解句子。這些過程主要包括物質過程、心理過程、關係過程、言語過程和存在過程。兩份報紙中不同過程的出現情況如表 1 所示。

類型 / 來源	物質過程	言語過程	關係過程	心理過程	存在過程	總計
《中國日報》	475 (75.87%)	44 (7.03%)	44 (7.03%)	51 (8.15%)	12 (1.92%)	626 (100%)
《紐約時報》	859 (69.95%)	114 (9.28%)	115 (9.36%)	118 (9.61%)	22 (1.79%)	1228 (100%)

表 1　兩家報紙語料中的及物性過程分佈情況統計

由表 1 可見物質過程在兩份報紙中都是使用頻率最高的,在《中國日報》和《紐約時報》相關報導中占比分別為 75.87%和 69.95%。其次是心理過程,分別占比 8.15%和 9.61%。言語過程和關係過程在《中國日報》中占比相同,為 7.03%;它們在《紐約時報》中使用頻率也相差不大,分別為 9.28%和 9.36%。存在過程在兩份報紙中均使用不多。因此本研究對占比較高的 4 個過程進行分析。

物質過程是做某件事的過程,經常用來描寫動作或者發生的事情。新聞報導的首要目的是傳播客觀事實,奧運會相關報導就主要報導運動賽事安排以及期間的體育新聞。因此,物質過程被廣泛用於體育賽事報導,以避免主觀因素。然而,對動作者和過程的選擇仍可以展示報導背後隱藏的意識形態。

例 1: Yet, against all odds, a virtual seed under the ground of the Olympic Stadium sprouted out of the ground after intensive struggles. (《中國日報》)

例 2: Government leaders have danced around questions about what benefits the Olympics have conferred, providing bromides about how the athletes' success in the face of adversity will set an example for a world struggling with the pandemic. (《紐約時報》)

《中國日報》認為,奧運會主辦方在盡力保證奧運會的正常發展,日本公民和世界各地的人們都期待著能夠聚在一起觀看甚至參加奧運會,且東京奧運會符合正常舉辦的基本要求。例 1 中的動作者是 a virtual seed(一顆虛擬的種子),動詞是 sprouted(抽芽)。當植物或種子抽芽時,通常意味著它開始生長並大量湧

現。此外,「抽芽」常與植物在春天發芽、萬物重生聯繫在一起。除此之外,《中國日報》選取大量奧運會組織方為動作者,展現了人們對舉辦奧運會的決心和信心。在《中國日報》得知,2020 年東京奧運會標誌著世界已經從新冠肺炎大流行中恢復過來,將是一次鼓舞世界人民的成功。相比之下,《紐約時報》認為舉辦東京奧運會弊大於利。例 2 中,記者通過動詞 dance(跳舞),用隱喻的方法表示官員們跳過了所有詢問奧運會帶來的實際好處的問題,暗示著奧運會沒有給日本政府帶來多少利益,反而增加了日本政府在防疫方面的壓力。《紐約時報》多選取各方行為作為物質過程的描寫物件,側重展示了人們對是否應該舉辦奧運會的輿論以及質疑。

心理過程是指人類的大腦可以做的行為過程,或者心理活動是如何發生和發展的,比如認知、感知、記憶、思考、情感和意志等,包括知覺、情感和認知三大類[14]。心理過程也由感知、過程和現象三個單元組成。除了物質過程,心理過程也被大量採用來表達某些群體對於舉辦奧運會的想法。通過分析心理過程,得以窺見作者的意識傾向。

例 3:FINA believed the delayed 2020 Olympic Games "will be a huge success" for the sport of aquatics. (《中國日報》)

例 4:Many in Japan would have preferred the Games had not opened at all. (《紐約時報》)

例 3 中,《中國日報》的記者用 believed(相信)來解讀國際泳聯對 2020 年奧運會的看法,體現了該組織對舉辦奧運會的堅定信心,也表達了中國對奧運會的祝福和期待。例 4 中,《紐約時報》用 prefer(更喜歡)來強調日本民眾對奧運會的負面態度。所以,從心理過程的運用來看,《中國日報》和《紐約時報》對舉辦奧運會的看法是相對的,分別持支持和反對態度。

關係過程是「是」(being)的過程,是指某個實體被賦予某種屬性或品質,或是表示某物被指定某種身份,是對這個世界所持有的抽象經驗的表達[15]。這個過程通常是靜態的,或將動作描繪成狀態。關係過程可以分為內包式、環境式和所有式,也可以分成歸屬類和識別類,前者包括一個參與者即載體,載體和屬性的關係是單向的,後者包括兩個參與者即識別者和被識別者,這兩個參與者可以互換位置。關係過程也是記者表達傾向的重要方式。

從表 2 可以看出,《中國日報》運用了許多關係過程來凸顯奧運會的重要意義。而《紐約時報》傾向於誇大奧運會的無用和人們對它的負面看法。言語過程是交際的過程。它通常由 say、tell、speak、ask 等動詞引導。說話人、受話人和話語內容組成了這個過程。報導選擇的說話人和話語內容能夠體現記者的立場。

	載體	歸屬類關係過程	屬性
《中國日報》	The value of Tokyo 2020	is	still exciting
	Life	can be	normal again
《紐約時報》	Finding those scenes and moments	will be	much more difficult
	Anxiety over the Games	was	already high
	被識別者	**識別類關係過程**	**識別者**
《中國日報》	23-year-old Zhang and the US's Hali Flickinger	are	one and two in the world rankings
	It (Tokyo Olympics)	will be	a celebration of resilience, of solidarity, and of our shared humanity

续表

《紐約時報》	These	were	only the latest scandals in a long line of setbacks
	the biggest legacy of the Tokyo Games	was	how it underscored the costs of hosting an Olympics

表 2　兩家報紙語料中的關係過程

例 5：Bach said, "The pandemic forced us to be apart. To keep our distance from each other. To stay away even from our loved ones. This separation made this tunnel so dark. But today, wherever in the world you may be, we are united in sharing this moment together. The Olympic flame makes this light shine brighter for all of us."（《中國日報》）

例 6：Thomas Bach, the president of the I. O. C., has said that postponing the Games again is not an option.（《紐約時報》）

兩家媒體都採用了許多奧運組織者的話語。例 5 中，國際奧會主席巴赫希望奧運會能夠終結疫情的黑暗隧道，照亮人們的生活。由此可見，在《中國日報》中，官員們高度重視東京奧運會的舉辦。而《紐約時報》則選擇了有關奧運會的不確定性更強言論。例 6 中，巴赫表示「不能再推遲奧運會」，這意味著如果疫情得不到控制，奧運會將立即取消。《紐約時報》沒有選擇巴赫其他的關於東京奧運會的積極和鼓舞人心的話語，而是引用了這些簡短的中性話語。兩家報紙的意識形態顯而易見。

2. 詞彙選擇

詞彙是構成句子的基本單位，相同的內容可以通過很多種詞彙選擇去表達。用詞表達了作者一定的意識形態立場，詞彙分類的分析對於批評性話語分析和揭示兩家報紙的意識形態至關重要。

	關鍵字：奧運會	修飾語
《中國日報》	the events, a huge success, an opportunity, a celebration, the Games, the spectacle, a light at the end of this tunnel, culmination, the ritual, the pinnacle of sport	unpredictable, exciting, challenging, successful, inspiring, different, strict, peaceful, much-anticipated, incredible, thrilling, unprecedented, mandatory, unique, brilliant, important, exhilarating, engrossing, engaging
《紐約時報》	a global celebration, the Games, a great situation for a reporter, the multicolor spectacle, a public health disaster, a money-pit for cities, a wonderful thing for their industry, a mega-event that has demanded much but provided little in return, an unacceptable risk to public health, an opportunity to show the world a Japan that had shaken off decades of economic stagnation and the devastation of the 2011 earthquake and tsunami that touched off the Fukushima nuclear disaster, the pinnacle for most of them, something dreamed about for years, a feat of organizational planning and execution, an oyster shell without a pearl, an athletic reality show	uncertain, difficult, mandated, limited, disappointing, hampered, important, bleak, convoluted, electric, exhausted, unusual, worried, profound, burdened, stripped-down, extraordinary, paradoxical, uncanny, hard, retrograde, absurd, estranging, eerie, empty, punishing, terrified, strangest, lukewarm, extreme

表 3　兩家報紙語料中的詞彙選擇

如上表所示，《中國日報》採用了更多褒義詞來代指東京奧運會，如 a huge success（巨大的成功）、

celebration(慶祝)等等。報紙還採用了 engrossing(引人入勝的)、incredible(極好的)、inspiring(鼓舞人心的)等修飾詞來形容本屆奧運會。《中國日報》認為,雖然奧運會不可預測,籌備工作具有挑戰性,但它將是一次獨特而令人振奮的盛事。而《紐約時報》對東京奧運會的描述要複雜得多。一方面,它通過 spectacle(奇觀)、opportunity(機會)、pinnacle(巔峰)等詞承認奧運會的重要性;另一方面,它也選擇了更多帶有貶義的詞彙來表達其負面觀點,如 uncertain(不確定)、strangest(最奇怪的)、absurd(荒謬的)等等。與東京奧運會的管控措施和開幕式時的空禮堂相關的報導中,《中國日報》採用了 strict(嚴格)、mandatory(強制)等中性詞彙來報導客觀事實;而《紐約時報》則用 absurd(荒唐)、estranging(疏離)、eerie(怪異)等詞營造一種古怪的氛圍,誇大正常防控措施帶來的嚴重後果。因此,相比於《紐約時報》,《中國日報》對東京奧運會持更加積極的態度。

(二)話語實踐分析

1. 消息來源

消息來源指新聞話語的來源,來自參與到一定活動中的人們,是新聞報導的重要組成部分。張健根據不同的交代消息來歷的方式,將消息來源分為三類:具體來源、半具體來源和不明來源[16]。不同類型的新聞來源可以體現新聞的客觀性和真實性,通過分析作者對於消息來源的選擇,可以進一步揭示作者的立場和意識形態。

	具體來源	半具體來源	不明來源	總計
《中國日報》	31(88.57%)	4(11.43%)	0	35(100%)
《紐約時報》	80(78.43%)	22(21.57%)	0	102(100%)

表 4　兩家報紙語料中消息來源的分佈

從上表可以看出,具體來源在《中國日報》和《紐約時報》中都佔據了最大比例,分別為 88.57% 和 78.43%,體現了新聞話語的客觀性。兩份報紙的樣本中都沒有不明來源。《中國日報》的具體來源比例高於《紐約時報》,證明其新聞報導的真實性更強。下表顯示了兩家報紙使用的從另一角度進行分類的新聞來源類型。

	消息來源類型	數量(百分比)	總計
《中國日報》	奧運會主辦方	18(48.39%)	35
	運動員	4(9.68%)	
	各界人士	13(41.94%)	
《紐約時報》	奧運會主辦方	20(19.61%)	102
	運動員	16(15.69%)	
	各界人士	66(64.71%)	

表 5　兩家報紙語料中消息來源的類型

在兩家報紙的語料中,消息來源可以分成三類:主辦方(如國際奧林匹克委員會、國際泳聯、政府等)、運動員和各界人士。據上表所示,《中國日報》採取主辦方和公眾為主要消息來源,分別占 48.39% 和 41.94%;而《紐約時報》的消息來源則以各界人士為主,占比 64.71%。

例 7：IOC president Thomas Bach said earlier at a press conference that the Olympic Games is capable of "getting the entire world together in one peaceful competition, to have athletes in one country, in one city, in one Olympic village, competing against each other but living together because they are under the same rules." (《中國日報》)

例 8：A local citizen named Akemi Usami, who is in her 70s and had a vivid memory of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, told China Daily that despite the many problems faced by this year's Games, "the athleticism will be thrilling". (《中國日報》)

例 9："I feel a little scared to wear this because maybe an anti-Olympic person would attack me", Kosaka said. (《紐約時報》)

例 10："I can't really think of any meaning or significance of why we are doing all this," said Kaori Hayashi, a professor of sociology and media studies at the University of Tokyo. "We kind of started with the recovery of Fukushima, but that's completely forgotten. And now we want to show the world that we have overcome Covid-19, but we haven't overcome it at all yet." (《紐約時報》)

如例 7、例 8,《中國日報》強調了主辦方的信心和公眾的支持與期待。而在《紐約時報》的新聞來源中,大多數公眾的聲音是負面的、不贊成的,如例 9 和例 10。因此,分析消息來源對揭示隱性的意識形態立場具有重要意義。

2. 轉述引語

轉述形式指作者表達他人話語的方式,可以分為直接引語和間接引語。通過直接引語,作者完全展示他人原話;通過間接引語,作者對其他人所說的內容進行加工並以自己的文字和表達方式呈現出來。對轉述引語的分析有利於揭示話語中隱藏的意識形態。

	直接引語	間接引語	總計
《中國日報》	39(70.91%)	16(29.09%)	55
《紐約時報》	80(68.38%)	37(31.62%)	117

表 6　兩家報紙語料中轉述引語的分佈

如表所示,《中國日報》的直接引語占比與《紐約時報》相差不大,分別為 70.91%和 68.38%,這說明兩份報紙的報導都較真實客觀。

例 11："We are doing the best so that everyone can enjoy the Games," Tokyo 2020 President Seiko Hashimoto told a press conference here on Thursday. (《中國日報》)

例 12：A local citizen named Akemi Usami, who is in her 70s and had a vivid memory of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, told China Daily that despite the many problems faced by this year's Games, "the athleticism will be thrilling". (《中國日報》)

例 13："There is nothing you can really do about the Olympic Games or the coronavirus, but I'm worried," she said. (《紐約時報》)

例 14：Organizers insist the games themselves aren't responsible for Tokyo's accelerating infection rates,

citing intense testing around the venues.（《紐約時報》）

例 11 中,《中國日報》直接引用東京奧組委主席橋本聖子的話,強調了主辦方採取的有效措施,體現了對奧運會的積極態度。與例 11 相似,例 12 使用的日本當地居民的間接引語也表達了人們對奧運會的希望和期盼。相比之下,《紐約時報》通過例 13 的直接引語,表達了對奧運會及其應對新冠病毒措施的不滿和悲觀的態度。在例 14 的間接引語中,作者對原話內容進行修改幹預,刻畫組織者不負責任的印象,引來公眾對奧運會的負面關注。

（三）社會實踐分析

根據批評性話語分析理論,話語與社會語境是相互關聯的。CDA 除了在文本和話語層面進行分析外,社會實踐分析也是必要的。

2020 年東京奧運會是日本在遭受近年來的嚴重地震、海嘯和福島核災難後舉辦的第一屆奧運會。日本政府希望借奧運會向世界表明日本已經從不幸的災難中恢復過來,展示自信的面孔和良好的民族精神。安倍晉三意在全力支持東京奧運會的舉辦,完成其外祖父岸信介舉辦奧運會的願望,作為在任期間的圓滿結束。此外,相比於取消奧運會帶來的巨大的經濟損失,舉辦奧運會對日本來說就成為了一個更好的選擇。「損失規避」的心理使人們在面對虧損時,往往會強烈傾向於規避損失,從而進行具有風險的選擇[17]。據統計,日本已經為東京奧運會投入了超過 250 億美元,而如果繼續延期舉辦,必將會投入更多預算,不如規避這項虧損[18]。對美國來講,新冠肺炎疫情給美國經濟帶來了巨大損失。美國內部產生了眾多難以解決的社會問題,如工人失業、經濟失衡等。而西方文化強調個人主義和自由、個人利益至上。美國政府更樂於看到現有全球格局的維持,而不是亞洲的崛起。在這種情況下,向國外轉移矛盾成為美國政府的首選[19]。因此,《紐約時報》傾向於報導東京奧運會的負面評論,向世界表明東京奧運會不應該舉辦,引發爭議,向主辦方施加輿論壓力,來維護自己的利益。而中國作為日本的亞洲鄰國,一貫宣導團結合作的精神。儒家思想是中華文化的主流,歷史悠久,崇尚權威和集體主義。中國把東京奧運會看作中國運動員在世界舞臺上展示自我的機會。《中國日報》傾向於報導人們對東京奧運會的期待和支持以及疫情防控的客觀事實,緩解人們的擔憂。

舉辦 2020 年東京奧運會的最大障礙是新冠肺炎疫情。疫情發生時,美國作為世界超級大國,防控措施不力,新冠肺炎確診病例大幅增加。美國長期居於世界霸主地位,推崇自身體系和防控機制,懷疑其他國家是否有能力控制疫情。從《紐約時報》的報導可以看出,他們擔心奧運會可能會導致一場公共衛生災難。其次,由於防控措施不到位,很多美國運動員可能已經感染了新冠病毒從而被禁賽,而這將威脅美國作為奧運體育強國的地位。再者,舉辦東京奧運會意味著日本將獲得財政援助,並從有限的全球資源中攫取各國急需的醫療資源。最後,受福島核洩漏的影響,日本生產的各種食品能否食用也成了人們擔憂的一大問題。因此,《紐約時報》將本國利益放在首位,援引了許多著名運動員和官員對東京奧運會的負面評論,利用他們的影響力來影響公眾輿論。此外,《紐約時報》還引用了許多來自各界人士的不同意見,強調奧運會籌備工作的混亂局面,並引發了關於奧運會是否有必要舉行的辯論。相比而言,中國一直高度重視疫情防控工作,團結一致。《中國日報》認為,東京奧運會將點亮受疫情影響的人們的生活,也將是中國運動員展示訓練成果和運動能力的好機會。在《中國日報》的報導中,主辦方的話語顯示了他們舉辦奧運會的決心和信心,公眾的期望顯示了奧運會的重要性,展示了中國開放與合作的精神。

結語

本研究以費爾克勞夫的三維理論為框架,以系統功能語法為研究方法,借助兩個小型自建語料庫,對摘取自《中國日報》和《紐約時報》的 20 篇與 2020 年東京奧運會相關的新聞進行了批評性話語對比分析,旨在探討中美報導在文本層面和話語實踐層面的差異及其產生這些差異的原因。本研究主要探討語言、現實和意識形態之間的關係,揭示了《中國日報》和《紐約時報》在 2020 年東京奧運會相關新聞報導背後隱藏的意識形態,將批評話語分析應用於體育新聞語篇分析,拓寬了批評話語分析的範圍。然而,意識形態與社會因素之間的關係過於複雜,難以解釋。語料和例句的選擇以及解釋的過程也不能做到完全客觀。此外,本研究主要基於 Fairclough 的批評話語理論框架,有一定的理論局限性。研究資料僅限於兩個媒體,不能代表全球所有的新聞媒體,仍需建立一個更大的語料庫來進行更全面的研究。

注釋

① 崔瓔楠:《2020 年東京奧運會體育文化傳播實踐及啟示》,《體育文化導刊》2021 年第 9 期,頁 35-40。

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③ 楊國慶:《中國應對第 32 屆夏季奧運會延期舉辦的備戰方略研究》,《中國體育科技》2020 年第 7 期,頁 24-30+55。

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⑨ Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Text Analysis for Social Research*. p. 218. London: Routledge.

⑩ 紀衛甯,辛斌:《費爾克勞夫的批評話語分析思想論略》,《外國語文》2009 年第 6 期,頁 21-25。

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⑫ 胡壯麟,朱永生,張德祿等:《系統功能語言學概論》,北京:北京大學出版社 2005 年版。

⑬⑭⑮ Halliday, M. A. K. (2000). *An introduction to functional grammar*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching Research Press.

⑯ 張健:《新聞英語文體與範文評析》,上海:上海外語教育出版社 1994 年版,頁 85。

⑰ 劉歡,梁竹苑,李紓:行為經濟學中的損失規避,《心理科學進展》2009 年第 4 期,頁 788-794。

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Critical Metonymy Study on Institutional Identity Construction: WHO Speeches on COVID-19

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Abstract: Our world has been plagued by COVID-19 since 2020. The World Health Organization (WHO) has been active in fighting this pandemic and its global identity constructed by discourse is a key to victory. With the help of the metonymy theory by Mendoza and Ottal, this paper analyses speeches on COVID-19 by Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, secretary-general of WHO, and tries to describe and explain what kind of institutional identity he constructed for WHO and how he succeeded. The result shows that the secretary-general used both High-level metonymy and low-level metonymy in his speeches, constructing various significant identities for WHO, such as "the backbone," "the pioneer," "the leading goat," "the safeguard" and "the glue." This paper proves a wider use of the theories of critical metonymy analysis and shows a successful example of constructing an identity for Chinese medical institutions.

Keywords: institutional identity; critical metonymy analysis; World Health Organization; COVID-19 speeches

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機構身份構建的批評轉喻分析
——以世界衛生組織的新冠話語為例

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摘　要:2020 年以來,新冠病毒肆虐全球,世界衛生組織的身份對疫情防控至關重要,而話語是其構建身份的重要手段。本文基於 Mendoza 和 Otal 的轉喻理論對現任 WHO 總幹事譚德塞的新冠疫情話語進行分析,探討其如何構建以及構建了何種機構身份。研究發現,譚德塞交替使用低層次與高層次轉喻,構建了 WHO 在全球疫情防控中的主心骨、先鋒隊、領頭羊、守護者和凝聚劑等身份。本研究有助於豐富批評轉喻分析實踐,驗證其解釋力,也能為我國醫療衛生組織身份構建提供參考。

關鍵詞:機構身份;批評轉喻分析;世界衛生組織;新冠話語

一、引言

身份指人自身所處的地位、表現出某種身份的姿態或受人尊重的程度。從語言學角度出發,身份是一種語言表徵,具有概念元功能;身份又是社交話語中的位置,具有人際元功能;身份還是語言的一種表達維度,可以表達特定的政治和評價資訊(Benwell & Stokoe,2006)。同時,身份又具有多重性和動態性(Ainsworth & Hardy,2004)。與人的身份類似,機構身份是機構自我定義和自我呈現的方式,主要通過機構話語進行構建。在機構話語研究當中,機構身份影響成員理解該機構及在處理與該機構相關的事務時採取的行動方式(劉辰、鄭玉琪,2016)。

2020 年初新冠病毒爆發以來,全球已累計 5.3 億人確診,超過 630 萬人殞命。世界衛生組織(World Health Organization,以下簡稱 WHO)是全球最大的政府間國際衛生組織,在全球疫情防控中發揮著關鍵作用。本文以 WHO 現任總幹事譚德塞(Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus)於 2022 年 2 月至 4 月期間關於新冠疫情的 15 篇英語演講為例,通過識別、描述和解釋其中的轉喻,探討譚德塞如何通過轉喻構建 WHO 的身份,以及構建了何種身份。

二、理論基礎

批評話語分析(CDA)最早出自著作《語言與控制》(Fowler,Hodge,Kress & Trew,1979),主要從社會和認知兩方面去理解語言、權力和意識形態的關係,所以必須借助社會批評的理論和方法,又必須借助心理學和認知語言學的研究成果(辛斌,2007)。Van Dijk(1998)最早提出了批評話語分析的認知轉向,隨後批評認知話語分析的研究熱點主要集中於隱喻、範疇化、心理空間和概念整合理論等方面(Charteris-Black,2004;Hart,2008;Hart & Lukeš,2009;張輝、江龍,2008;張輝、張天偉,2012;曾蕊蕊,2019)。近年來,轉喻研究也日

益吸引著研究興趣。批評轉喻分析通過解讀話語中的轉喻現象,揭示隱含的意識形態和權力關係,逐漸成為批評認知話語分析的重要分支。

(一) 認知轉喻

長久以來,轉喻和隱喻均被看作修辭手法,直到 20 世紀 80 年代 Lakoff 和 Johnson 將它們看作構建人類語言、思維、態度和行為的涉身認知過程(Lakoff & Johnson,1980)。Langacker(1993)認為,轉喻是一種「認知參照點」,在轉喻操作中,概念化者啟動一個認知參照點並利用這個參照點為目標建立一個心理通道。Radden 和 Kovecses(1999)認為,轉喻又是一個概念現象和認知過程,在這一過程中某個概念實體或載體在同一「理想認知模型」內向另一概念實體或「目標」提供心理可及性。Alac 和 Coulson(2004)認為不同轉喻由「相對凸顯」的認知原則提供理據,中心的和高度凸顯的事物作為認知參照點喚起其他不那麼凸顯的事物。Denroche(2014)提出轉喻學,他認為轉喻指的是事物之間、詞語之間以及概念之間的部分與整體關係。他還建立了轉喻學研究體系,闡釋了轉喻研究的意義。結合體驗哲學,魏在江(2016)認為概念轉喻具有體認性,來自人們對客觀世界的體驗和認知,同時又通過認知反作用於客觀世界。

抽象性是轉喻研究中的重要維度,Kövecses 和 Radden(1998)指出有必要根據不同的抽象程度對轉喻劃分層次。Mendoza 和 Otal(2002)將轉喻劃分為高層次轉喻與低層次轉喻,並將兩者細分為命題轉喻和情境轉喻。低層次轉喻指那些在語義啟動中利用非類屬理想認知模型(non-generic ICM)的轉喻,高層次轉喻是直接利用類屬理想化認知模型(generic ICM)進行的轉喻操作,類屬理想化認知模型是對許多非類屬理想化認知模型的概括。類屬的特殊性使得它們能在非辭彙層面上進行操作,從而對語法現象做出恰當的解釋(劉辰、鄭玉琪,2016:28)。低層次命題轉喻也稱為指稱轉喻(referential metonymy),指一個認知域內部關係中的一個概念代表另一個概念,如「身體部位」代表「人」;低層次情境轉喻指某一個具體情境中高度凸顯的成分代表整個事件,如「夾著尾巴的狗」代表狗犯錯被罰的事件;高層次命題轉喻是語法轉喻,如英語名詞充當動詞;高層次情境轉喻為言外轉喻,常被用於間接言語行為,以言語行為的一部分代表整個場景,如「Can you close the window? 」以詢問代表要求。

(二) 批評轉喻分析與機構身份構建

批評認知語言學是批評話語分析與認知語言學交叉的產物,而批評轉喻分析是批評認知語言學的研究範式。批評轉喻分析旨在通過話語中的轉喻揭示其背後隱含的意識形態和權力關係。近年來,大量學者對批評轉喻分析進行了研究。在理論構建方面,基於 Charteris-Black(2004:17-19)提出的批評隱喻分析「三步走」模式,李克(2011)結合西方修辭學研究成果,提出了批評轉喻分析模式:(1)轉喻描寫;(2)轉喻解釋;(3)轉喻評價。劉辰、鄭玉琪(2016)分別從語言、話語和社會層面提出新的批評轉喻分析模式:(1)語言層面的轉喻識別、標注與檢索;(2)話語層面的情境分析與轉喻解讀;(3)社會層面的轉喻評價與修辭功能解釋。在理論運用方面,研究領域主要集中在社會語言學、認知語言學和修辭學,研究對象包括公共教育、公眾概念化、機構身份、辭屏和修辭情境等,語料源自新聞報導、網路公告、政治演講和政府工作報告(Catalano & Waugh,2013;McLachlan,2021;李克、李淑康,2012;李淑康、李克,2014;劉辰、鄭玉琪,2016;餘立祥、楊洋,2016;崔玉瑩,2018;郭煥平、孟宏,2020)。這些研究多方位多角度地驗證了批評轉喻分析的解釋力,擴大了批評轉喻分析的適用範圍。

批評話語分析認為,國家身份、機構身份、社團身份等群體身份形成於話語建構的「心理空間」,而隱喻和轉喻正是構建這種心理空間的話語策略(Wodak,2006)。不少學者對機構身份構建進行了批評話語分

析,研究對象涵蓋大學、企業和國際機構,研究內容囊括政治演講、商務談判、學校格言以及新聞採訪,研究方法可分為紮根理論研究法、語篇—歷史研究法、話語策略分析法、批評隱喻分析、批評轉喻分析和及物性分析,驗證了批評話語分析對機構身份構建的解釋力(Zohrabi & Radkhah,2017;Osei Yaw Akoto,2018;陳婧,2014;劉辰、鄭玉琪,2016;陳建平,2017;章柏成,2017;烏楠、張敬源,2019;李依、徐學平,2021)。然而,鮮有關於 WHO 機構身份的話語分析。在新冠疫情流行的大環境下,WHO 的機構身份構建對全球疫情防控至關重要,對其進行批評話語分析能夠加強人們對其認同感和信心,同時為我國醫療衛生機構身份構建提供參考,有助於我國以及全球疫情防控。

三、語料分析與討論

本研究選取現任 WHO 總幹事譚德塞關於新冠疫情的 15 篇英語演講為語料,採用劉辰和鄭玉琪(2016)提出的批評轉喻分析方法,結合 Mendoza 和 Otal(2002)的轉喻模型,分析譚德塞如何利用轉喻構建 WHO 的機構身份,以及構建了何種機構身份。研究發現,譚德塞在話語中對轉喻的使用呈現出顯著的傾向性,高層次命題轉喻的使用次數高達 36 次。另外,低層次命題轉喻使用 6 次,低層次情境轉喻 7 次,高層次情境轉喻 6 次。

(一) 低層次命題轉喻

低層次命題轉喻(或指稱轉喻)指一個認知語內部關係中的一個概念代表另一個概念,常見的有身體部位指代人。在譚德塞總幹事的演講中,低層次命題轉喻使用頻次為 6 次,其中「head」轉喻 4 次,「voice」轉喻 2 次。例如:

例 1.

WHO also supports the recommendation for a **head** of state council, to provide high-level political leadership for rapid and coordinated action. (譚德賽在慕尼克安全會議的發言)

例 2.

And I offer my deep commitment that WHO will continue to support you in any way we can, through our country office in Bangkok, our regional office in Manila, and from **headquarters** here in Geneva. (譚德賽在 2022 泰國國際健康博覽會的主旨發言)

在例 1、例 2 中,因為頭部在人體器官中的領導機能與所指職位和職能部門在該職能體系中的領導功能相似,所以「head」的意思從「頭部」轉指「領導」,再根據特定語境細化為「領導人」或「領導部門」。WHO 作為國際上最大的政府間衛生組織,理應在世界衛生系統中處於領導地位,但是部分國家誤判疫情,罔顧 WHO 的防疫建議,擅自放鬆防疫措施,加速了疫情蔓延,造成更大的生命財產損失。譚德塞總幹事在公開演講中多次使用「head」和「headquarter」等轉喻,目的在於奉勸世界各國在疫情防控中服從 WHO 的領導,聽取其專業建議,彰顯 WHO 的領導性和權威性,打造其疫情防控主心骨的身份。又如:

例 3.

Everyone has been affected by this pandemic and every **voice** matters. There will be further opportunities to engage in the process throughout the year.（譚德賽在世界衛生組織媒體通報會的開場發言）

在例 3 中，基於人的思維、口部與聲音的鄰近性，「voice」的意思從「聲音」轉指「人」，「每一把聲音」代表「每一個人」。大多數發展中國家，尤其是非洲的發展中國家因受到自身經濟科技水準和國際話語權的限制而面臨防疫物資短缺的困境，只有約 17.3%的非洲人口完成兩劑新冠疫苗接種，導致新冠病毒在非洲肆虐，造成了超過 1223 萬人感染，23 萬人死亡。鑒於大部分發展中國家嚴峻的防疫形勢，WHO 必須加大對口幫扶力度，增強當地人民抗疫信心。譚德塞總幹事在演講中對「voice」轉喻的運用體現出 WHO 在疫情防控工作中平等對待全世界人民的生命，不落下任何一個國家和任何一個人，打造 WHO 公平正義的守護者身份。

（二）低層次情境轉喻

低層次情境轉喻指的是某一個具體的情境中高度突顯的成分用來代表整個事件。譚德塞總幹事在演講中共使用低層次情境轉喻 7 次，分別從工作態度、工作情況、工作經驗等方面的突出成分來構建 WHO 的機構身份。例如：

例 4.

WHO and our ACT Accelerator partners are **working night and day** to **address the bottlenecks** that remain, in partnership with countries, AVAT, the Africa CDC, funders, manufacturers and civil society.（譚德賽在「Ports to Arms」防疫工作會議的發言）

在例 4 中，譚德塞總幹事使用了 2 個低層次情境轉喻，其中「night and day」轉喻在所選語料中共出現 3 次。疫情持續將近兩年半，全球進入「後疫情時代」——疫情防控常態化的時代，世界各國政府和人民對待疫情的態度發生了重大轉變，從最初的不知所措，到後來的有條不紊，再到現在的見怪不怪。目前，個別國家和地區的疫情防控工作出現疲勞和懈怠的情況，對人民的生命安全造成重大隱患。因此譚德塞總幹事通過「working night and day」和「address the bottleneck」轉喻以「日以繼夜」和爭取突破「瓶頸」的凸顯情境來指代 WHO 全體同人攻堅克難、堅韌不拔的工作和科研狀態，為各國人民做榜樣，引起人們共情，號召人們與 WHO 一同積極應對，力爭早日結束疫情。又如：

例 5.

But even as we work to end this pandemic, we owe it to those who have died, and those who have been affected, to **learn the painful lessons** the pandemic is teaching us, and make the changes we must make to make sure the world is better prepared for the next pandemic.（譚德賽在建立新的疫情預防及應對國際機制公共聽證會上的開場發言）

在例 5 中，鑒於各國衛生體系的不完善以及部分西方國家在疫情初期的鬆懈導致新冠病毒大流行，造成重大生命財產損失，譚德塞總幹事使用了「learn the painful lessons」轉喻，以「吸取教訓」指代 WHO 深刻反省，善於總結的特點，指出全球防疫工作必須以史為鑒，端正態度，完善各國醫療衛生體系，加緊開發疫情防控技術，爭取讓人類早日結束新冠疫情，避免新的疫情發生。再如：

例 6.

Thank you all for your commitment. Actions speak louder than words－so let's get to work, to get vaccines **from ports to arms**, and end COVID-19 as a global health emergency.（譚德賽在建立新的疫情預防及應對國際機制公共聽證會上的開場發言）

在例 6 中，考慮到全球新冠疫苗的生產和分配的不平等，部分西方發達國家獨佔新冠疫苗開發技術，借助新冠疫苗獲利，廣大發展中國家出現「疫苗荒」，人民的生命安全受到嚴重威脅，譚德塞總幹事使用了「from ports to arms」轉喻，以「港口」轉指疫苗的運輸，以「手臂」轉指疫苗的注射，以「從港口到手臂」指代防疫物資的生產和配置的落實，強調 WHO 要帶頭改善全球疫苗生產、分配和接種的秩序，確保全球人民能夠平等高效地接種疫苗，共渡難關。

通過低層次情境轉喻，譚德塞總幹事構建了 WHO 在疫情防控工作中衝鋒在前、恪盡職守和善於總結的防疫先鋒隊身份。

（三）高層次命題轉喻

高層次命題轉喻是語法轉喻。譚德塞總幹事在演講中共使用高層次命題轉喻 36 次，多為名詞指代動詞，還有名詞指代動詞短語（動-品型複合名詞），定冠詞加形容詞指代名詞。例如：

例 7.

The virus continues to evolve, and we continue to **face** major obstacles in distributing vaccines, tests and treatments everywhere they are needed.（譚德賽在 2022 泰國國際健康博覽會的主旨發言）

例 8.

Through COVAX, we are now overcoming many of the supply and delivery constraints we **faced** last year, with almost 1. 2 billion doses of vaccine delivered, and the supply outlook for this year is positive.（譚德賽在建立新的疫情預防及應對國際機制公共聽證會上的發言）

例 7 和例 8 中，名詞「face」由名詞「面部」轉指動詞「面對」。在全部語料中，「face」轉喻的使用頻次高達 15 次。上文提到，部分國家錯誤判斷疫情，導致疫情防控工作出現懈怠，造成了嚴重的生命財產損失，為了保障世界人民的生命安全，WHO 必須讓人們重新認識到疫情防控的必要性和緊迫性。因此，譚德塞總幹事通過「face」轉喻呈現了新冠病毒近在咫尺，迫在眉睫的窘境，警醒各國政府必須立即行動。又如：

例 9.

To improve mutual accountability, solidarity and cooperation between countries, we're **piloting** the Universal Health and Preparedness Review, a new peer-review mechanism for enhancing national preparedness, based on gaps identified to improve and strengthen national capacity.（譚德賽在哈佛大學甘迺迪學院羅伯特・麥克納瑪拉戰爭與和平演講上發言）

例 9 中,「pilot」由名詞「領航員」轉指動詞「領航」,該轉喻在語料庫中共出現 4 次,同類轉喻還有「ship」、「monitor」、「highlight」、「chart」、「matter」、「bridge」等,這些轉喻描述了 WHO 在疫情防控工作中的種種細節,包括在建立和完善防疫機制中統籌大局,在預防和評估工作中精確預警,在疫苗運輸、配送和接種工作中維護公平等等,拉近人們與 WHO 的距離,增強人們認同感,體現了 WHO 在工作中專業細緻的形象。再如:

例 10.

It's important to understand that WHO does not have a mandate to investigate **outbreaks** on its own. Our role is to conduct joint studies with affected countries, at their invitation. Especially with the negotiations of the Member States, I hope this will improve and we will have a mandate to investigate. (譚德賽在哈佛大學甘迺迪學院羅伯特・麥克納瑪拉戰爭與和平演講上發言)

例 10 中,動詞短語「break out」轉指動-品型複合名詞「outbreak」,意思是「爆發」(董曉明、林正軍等,2021)。譚德塞總幹事對「outbreak」轉喻的使用,突顯了新冠疫情發展的迅猛、人們猝不及防的窘迫以及 WHO 病毒溯源舉步維艱的無奈,強調病毒溯源工作重要性和必要性,呼籲各國以防疫大局為重,配合 WHO 調查,同時保持警惕,儘快完善公共衛生系統以防疫情反彈。再如:

例 11.

This virus has over time become more transmissible and it remains deadly – especially for **the unprotected and unvaccinated** that don't have access to health care and antivirals. (譚德賽在世界衛生組織成員國防疫資訊通報會上的開場發言)

例 12.

Continue wearing masks – especially in crowded indoor spaces. And for **the indoors**, keep the air fresh by opening windows and doors, and invest in good ventilation. (譚德賽在世界衛生組織媒體通報會上的開場發言)

例 11 和例 12 中,定冠詞+形容詞轉指具有該形容詞屬性的人群,「the unprotected and unvaccinated」轉指未採取防護措施和未接種疫苗的人群;「the indoors」轉指處於室內的人。鑒於防疫物資分配和疫苗接種的不平衡性,很多人被置於高風險環境中。然而,部分西方國家人民以自由和民主為理由,違反政府防疫規定,在公共場合聚會,造成了大規模社區傳播,因此譚德塞總幹事使用的這兩個轉喻旨在強調防疫設施和新冠疫苗接種在疫情防控中的關鍵作用,呼籲人們遵守防疫規定,減少聚集,佩戴口罩,保持室內通風,減少病毒傳播風險。

以上高層次命題轉喻共同體現了 WHO 在疫情監測、疫苗接種、防疫指南制定、防疫措施監督和成員國溝通等方面起著不可或缺的領導作用,構建了 WHO 防疫「領頭羊」的身份。

(四) 高層次情境轉喻

高層次情境轉喻指的是言外轉喻,一般用間接語言行為來代表整個場景。譚德塞總幹事在演講中共使

用 6 次高層次情境轉喻。例如：

例 13.

Although several countries have lifted restrictions, the pandemic is **far from over** – and **it will not be over anywhere until it's over everywhere**.（譚德賽在 2022 泰國國際健康博覽會的主旨發言）

例 14.

My friends, **shared threats demand a shared response**. Or as the title of the World Health Assembly decision says, "A World Together."（譚德賽在建立新的疫情預防及應對國際機制公共聽證會上的開場發言）

例 15.

Let me return to the question I asked at the beginning. When will the pandemic end? **It will end when we choose to end it**. Because ultimately, **it's not a matter of chance, it's a matter of choice**.（譚德賽在慕尼克安全會議的發言）

例 16.

But even as we work to end this pandemic, we owe it to those who have died, and those who have been affected, to learn the painful lessons the pandemic is teaching us, and **make the changes we must make** to make sure the world is better prepared for the next pandemic.（譚德賽在建立新的疫情預防及應對國際機制公共聽證會上的開場發言）

例 13、例 14、例 15、例 16 中，鑒於個別國家不顧全球疫情，擅自宣佈疫情結束，放鬆防疫政策，導致疫情死灰復燃，病毒變體捲土重來，譚德塞總幹事基於人類命運共同體的理念，運用高層次情境轉喻，警告各國全人類只有一個地球，而新冠疫情是全球危機，沒有任何一個國家可以獨善其身。但是在新冠疫情面前人類不再手足無措，目前人類掌握了結束疫情的方法，而措施能否落實，疫情能否結束仍取決於各國的意願和態度。因此，他呼籲全世界以人類生存大局為重，眾志成城，端正態度，以 WHO 為首共同制定防疫政策，及時採取切實可行的防疫措施，抗擊疫情。通過高層次情境轉喻，譚德塞總幹事構建了 WHO 作為各成員國的「凝聚劑」身份。

四、結語

機構話語隱含機構意識形態，WHO 總幹事譚德塞在涉及新冠疫情的英語演講中交替使用高層次轉喻和低層次轉喻，構建出 WHO 在全球疫情防控中的主心骨、先鋒隊、領頭羊、守護者和凝聚劑等機構身份。譚德塞總幹事借助轉喻對 WHO 機構身份的構建值得我國醫療衛生組織借鑒與學習，構建起負責任、敢擔當的機構身份能夠減少工作阻礙、提高工作效率，從無情的新冠「死神」手中挽回更多寶貴的生命。此外，本研究有助於增強批評轉喻分析的解釋力，擴大 Mendoza 與 Otal（2002）的轉喻理論適用範圍。

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(Editors: Joe ZHANG & LENG Xueyuan)

[Studies in Literature]

Transnational Trauma and Politics in Phil Klay's Post-9/11 War Novel *Redeployment*

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Abstract: Phil Klay's short story collection *Redeployment* is considered a quintessential literary text for the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and won the 2014 National Book Award for fiction. This study argues that it gestures beyond the narrow American war frame to show both the physical and cultural trauma of nonwhite Other in wars during the post-9/11 era; meanwhile, Klay subverts and deconstructs the myth of trauma hero, truly representing soldiers' anxiety and trauma about their relationships with enemies, wars, and national power. In Klay's view, the disillusionment of the American myth of "city upon a hill" projects intense political crises and social contradictions, including the civilian-military divide, racial conflicts, and the loss of national faith and security. And America's way of democracy reconstruction in the Middle East is colored by ethnocentrism and cultural imperialism, thus further questioning the rationality and justice of the U.S. global counter-terrorism strategies.

Keywords: Phil Klay; *Redeployment*; transnational trauma; post-9/11; politics

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克萊「後 9・11」戰爭小說《重新派遣》中的跨國創傷與政治

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摘　要：當代美國作家菲爾・克萊的短篇小說集《重新派遣》獲得 2014 年美國國家圖書獎，被認為是反映美國伊拉克和阿富汗戰爭的「標杆式作品」。本文認為，小說突破了以往美國戰爭文學中的單邊創傷敘事框架，展現出「後 9・11」時代伊拉克平民遭受的跨國的戰爭和文化創傷。同時，小說顛覆和解構了傳統的創傷英雄神話，表現出跨國戰爭中美軍士兵遭受自我與敵人、戰爭和國家權力關係的焦慮與創傷。在克萊看來，「後 9・11」時代，「山巔之城」神話的隕落投射出美國國內愈演愈烈的軍民分隔、種族矛盾與國家信仰和安全感喪失的政治危機，並且，美國對中東地區實施的「民主解放與改造」帶有明顯的民族優越感和文化帝國主義色彩，進一步質疑了反恐戰爭的合理性和正義性。

關鍵詞：菲爾・克萊；《重新派遣》；創傷政治；「後 9・11」

引言

新世紀伊始，「9・11」恐怖襲擊事件震驚世界，美國國內對此旋即開展了積極的文學回應和文化批評，「創傷」逐漸構成美國當代情感結構的決定因素之一。2001 年，美國政府以「9・11 事件」為契機入侵阿富汗和伊拉克等地區，跨入漫長的反恐戰爭歷程。然而，伊拉克和阿富汗戰爭文學的「黃金時代」卻姍姍來遲[①]。原因主要有兩點。其一是反恐戰爭自身的性質和時間的不確定性。它沒有可預見的結局，也「難以勾勒其敘事輪廓或形成具象表徵」[②]，進而難以觸發任何持續的文化反思的可能。其二是戰爭敘事的審美再現與倫理困境。一方面，相較於過往帝國主義式連貫歷史敘事，當代美國戰爭文化難以協調「戰爭話語的文化權威」與「國內暴力表徵的平庸化及其對伊拉克和阿富汗衝突的高度不平衡式再現」之間的矛盾[③]。另一方面，當代戰爭文學敘事面臨忠實地「見證和記錄」與「再現創傷暴力的不可能性」之間的挑戰[④]。面對上述戰爭創傷的難以言說性與倫理訴求的困境，柏林格（Levi Bollinger）堅信我們仍需要持續不斷地創作，尤其鼓勵文學作品使讀者「直面戰爭對立面的伊拉克」[⑤]。

2014 年，當代美國作家菲爾・克萊（Phil Klay）憑藉短篇小說集《重新派遣》（*Redeployment*）獲得美國國家圖書獎，小說集共十二個短篇，採用了巴赫金式的複調敘事結構展現了反恐戰爭期間及戰後美軍士兵與伊拉克平民生活的真實場景，繪製出當代美國在中東地區戰爭衝突的微觀全景圖。評論界普遍認為《重新派遣》是反映美國伊拉克和阿富汗戰爭的「標杆式作品」。安東尼・沙利文（Antony T. Sullivan）評論該小說敏銳地關注到了伊拉克戰爭的跨國特徵，它直面「兩個世界之間的不可理解性與不相容性」[⑥]。迪爾從敘事學角度出發，指出小說「充滿了灰暗諷刺，並伴隨著以自私自利的諷刺邏輯為特徵的康拉德式審問。」[⑦]中國學界也不乏對小說進行相關研究論述，從戰爭審美角度探究當代美國戰爭文化的新表徵和特點[⑧]。從文學

倫理學批評維度觀照作品如何「尋求戰爭經驗和日常生活交流潛能與道德對話」[9]。景觀美學則認為,當代美國戰爭小說中以「視覺政治」為主導的「主體性景觀」成為一種消費符號及權力和意識形態的直接表徵[10]。然而,鮮有學者進一步探究小說如何還原戰爭創傷的異質性和交互性本質?如何展演滲透在反恐戰爭框架中的「美國意識」及政治現實?本文借助文學創傷理論對上述問題進行分析,認為克萊在《重新派遣》中重新審視了「後 9・11」時代美國軍事介入中東地區所造成的跨國與跨文化的戰爭創傷。在他看來,「後 9・11」時代,「山巔之城」神話的隕落投射出美國國內愈演愈烈的軍民分隔、種族矛盾與國家信仰和安全感喪失的政治危機,並且,美國對中東地區實施的「民主解放與改造」帶有明顯的民族優越感和文化帝國主義色彩,進一步質疑了反恐戰爭的合理性和正義性。

一、跨越疆界:伊拉克平民的戰爭與文化創傷

20 世紀 90 年代興起的創傷研究已經逐漸成為理解當代文化及文學敘事最普遍、最有效的認知框架之一。正如盧克赫斯特(Roger Luckhurst)認為,「9・11 事件」之後,所有奇異的、空前的語言都驚人地易於在創傷範式下敘事[11],揭示出創傷成為美國社會文化的「能指」。然而,女性主義心理學家勞拉・布朗(Laura S. Brown)卻指出其局限性,它將「人類的經驗範圍變成了統治階級男性生活中正常和普遍的範圍;即白人、年輕、身體健康、受過教育、中產階級、基督徒男性。因此,創傷是擾亂這些特定人生的東西,而不是其他。」[12]同樣,在對虛構類文學作品的研究中,杜瓦爾和馬爾澤克(Duvall & Marzec)也撰文總結災難發生後十年的大部分美國「9・11」小說主要聚焦於美國國內享有特權的紐約白人如何通過對他們的人際關係如婚姻、親情等進行自我反思和道德救贖,並得出結論「『9・11』最終只是一個促使我們努力改善人際關係的事件」[13]。學者們轉而質疑作家這種匱乏的文學想像力或致使對災難性公共事件的文學反應落入西方中心主義式創傷敘事的窠臼,「那些在西方被歸類為「他者」的、被壓迫的主體的痛苦,往往難以通過創傷理論來解決」[14]。由此,「後 9・11」小說的創傷書寫也面臨亟需一種新的文學範式與認知框架的挑戰,進而生成新的「後 9・11」文學生命形式。

如何走向一種「解域化」(deterritorialization)的他者創傷寫作?如何擺脫中產階級家庭生活中的西方中心主義短視?格雷(Richard Gray)肯定了作為一種批判性多元文化主義的美國族裔文學寫作經驗,認為「後 9・11」文學應效仿觸及非美國的「他者性」(otherness),力圖開拓並融匯美國多元文化的內部差異,從而「重新裝配語言、美國文學的主題與修辭」[15]。邁克爾・羅斯伯格(Michael Rothberg)則走的更遠,他希望能看到一種離心式的、注重「國際關係及域外公民身份」的「後 9・11」小說,從而超越民族國家的界限來繪製美國的「域外認知地圖」,重新修復美國與世界其他地區的接觸與聯繫[16]。克萊在《重新派遣》中採用了「解域化」的寫作方式回應了上述多元文化和世界主義敘事的呼籲,通過呈現國族、宗教或文化意義上的「非西方」他者的創傷,不僅拒絕美國官方及主流媒體常見的反恐戰爭二元論:西方和東方,基督教和伊斯蘭教,我們和他們;而且避免了「後 9・11」創傷審美易落入去政治化、去歷史化的窠臼,或是習慣性的民族主義自戀陷阱,進而引導讀者思考「作用於二十一世紀人類主體性構成中的更大的全球力量」[17]。

人類學家維托維克(Steven Vertovec)認為,跨國主義(Transnationalism)泛指「將人們或者機構跨越國界地聯繫在一起的紐帶和互動關係」[18],這種跨越國界的網路具有一定的規律性和持續性,並由此產生各種互動或交換關係。筆者認為,伊拉克和阿富汗戰爭本質上屬於一種跨國的軍事實踐,其間,美國與中東地區形成政治、軍事、經濟和意識形態等多重跨國網路與空間,深刻改變了中東的地緣政治格局。正如印度作家阿蘭達蒂・羅伊(Arundhati Roy)在小說《極樂之邦》(*The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, 2017)中提到「9・11」

帶來的地緣政治事件:「雙子塔倒塌後,舊德裏充斥著逃離戰機的阿富汗家庭,戰機在他們的天空中像不合時宜的蚊子一樣歌唱,炸彈像鋼雨一樣落下。」[19]在《重新派遣》中,克萊也逃逸於美國傳統的以白人男性士兵為中心的敘事框架,重疊交織出美國軍事入侵給伊拉克或阿富汗平民帶來的戰爭創傷,還原創傷的異質性與交互性本質。在短篇《火窯中的祈禱》中,敘述者轉述了一位伊拉克平民的遭遇,後者因美國入侵造成的動亂而痛失幼子,他在巴格達的親戚也被美軍活活折磨致死,「有一天他和妻子看電視時,一群美國人踢開他的門,抓著他妻子的頭髮將她拖出去,在他自己的客廳裏毆打他。他們用步槍戳他的臉,踢他的肋部,用他無法理解的語言向他大吼。他無法回答他們的問題,他們便打他。」[20]克萊以伊拉克平民的視角「解域化」地呈現出戰爭中「他者」的生理創傷。直觀的駭人場景凸顯了無辜平民在非人的戰場上的脆弱與無助。他們的意外傷亡被美軍視為反恐行動中不可避免的「附帶損害」(collateral damage)或是衝突的「副產品」(byproducts)[21],這嚴重侵犯了伊拉克人民的生命權和生存權。據美國布朗大學沃森研究所「戰爭成本」(Cost of War)專案統計,美國在反恐戰爭中至少造成了 31 萬到 33 萬無辜平民死亡。哈米德也曾在《拉合爾茶館的陌生人》(*The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, 2007)中描述美國對阿富汗的瘋狂轟炸「新聞畫面裏,擁有二十一世紀最先進武器的美國轟炸機和地面上裝備簡陋、食不果腹的阿富汗部落男子形成了近乎荒誕的對比。」[22]並且,戰爭暴力還造成難以治癒的心理創傷。赫爾曼(Judith Herman)認為「心理創傷的痛苦源於無力感。在受創當時,受害者籠罩在無法抵抗的力量下而感到無助……破壞了普通人對生活的適應」[23]。故事中的這位伊拉克平民在美軍入侵時,無力挽救妻兒免受暴力毆打或生命威脅,強烈的無助感演變為心理創傷,「現在他上街時提心吊膽,害怕無緣無故喪命」[24],對周遭的環境異常警覺。戰爭暴力的不可預知性與不可控性充斥著無辜平民的日常生活,模糊了「戰時狀態」與「平時狀態」的時空界限,致使他們患上「焦慮」、「麻木」和「震驚」等創傷後應激障礙(PTSD)[25],難以恢復正常的生活秩序。

其次,克萊並未囿於卡魯斯和赫爾曼等人去政治化、去歷史化的創傷本體論思維,而是將伊拉克平民的戰爭創傷進一步語境化,探尋其背後的政治壓迫與經濟控制等社會誘因。在第六個短篇《金錢作為一種武器系統》中,克萊借敘述者之口講述了美國如何摧毀伊拉克原有的政治和經濟體系,全面破壞當地的經濟、農業和工業等各個領域:美國在戰爭伊始就極力將政權拆分到多個政黨手中,並默許各派別驅逐主張阿拉伯民族主義的舊技術官僚,擁護黨派傀儡瓜分伊拉克。在經濟上,美國廢棄了伊拉克原有的國營工業,採用市場經濟原理改造農業部,結果導致整個經濟系統的崩潰,「市場那只看不見的手開始四處埋炸彈。」故事中,當地的翻譯員指責美國人「搞垮了」自己的國家:「你們把伊拉克烤成了蛋糕,然後送到伊朗嘴邊」。診所社工娜吉達坦言:「我是伊拉克人,我習慣了善意但無法兌現的承諾。」[26]克萊試圖將伊拉克人的集體記憶帶到讀者面前,去客觀地還原一段美國疆域及文學視野之外的戰爭歷史,使讀者得以窺見「9・11」與反恐戰爭從作為因果關係的「事件」[27]轉變為影響東方與西方的社會、政治和經濟關係的禍源。

再者,克萊還批評了美軍的種族主義與文化殖民給伊拉克人民帶去的文化創傷。傑弗裏・亞曆山大(Jeffrey C. Alexander)從集體的文化記憶出發提出「當一個集體的成員感到他們遭受了一個可怕的事件,在他們的群體意識中留下了不可磨滅的印記,永遠地銘刻在他們的記憶中,根本且無可逆轉地改變了他們未來的身份時,文化創傷就發生了」[28]。事實上,以美國為代表的西方人不僅把伊拉克或阿富汗等地當作市場與地緣政治的棋盤,還將其劃為意識形態的轄域,企圖繼續他們在精神與思想上的統治。小說中,美國士兵用穆斯林尊稱或阿拉伯語貶損辱罵伊拉克民族與宗教文化,無辜平民被統稱為這個「混賬國家中最愚蠢的笨蛋哈吉[29]」。專業心理戰軍士策略性挑選「鞋」、「包皮」等阿拉伯語中最具侮辱性辭彙挑釁當地的原教旨主義者。負責資助美軍的吉恩・古德溫老闆寫郵件提議在伊拉克推廣美國的棒球文化以改造伊拉克的國民精神:「伊拉克人民渴望民主,但民主無法紮根。為什麼? 因為他們沒有必要的機構作為支持。在腐爛的

地基上你什麼也建不了。而伊拉克文化,我敢肯定,已經不能更腐爛了。你必須從改變文化入手。還有什麼比棒球更能代表美國呢?」[30]克萊在此諷喻將伊拉克民族的「落後」歸咎於文化腐朽是一種典型的西方啟蒙式民族主義偏見,它塑造了美國人強烈的民族優越感,極大地遮蔽了公眾對於他人尤其是被入侵國家受害者所受苦難的認識;另一方面,在民主與野蠻、先進與落後、西方與東方的文明優劣論中還暗含著一種更為隱蔽的文化帝國主義野心,它作為美國官方言論之下的「隱性進程」,企圖借助培植民主機構與傳播西方的民主價值觀以改造伊拉克人民的公眾意識,實現強勢文明對弱勢文明的「文化殖民」,造成了伊拉克人民集體的文化創傷。

二、「反創傷英雄神話」:美軍士兵的道德焦慮與身份危機

「創傷英雄神話」(myth of trauma hero)是美國戰爭文學中常見的敘事原型:年輕的白人男性士兵懷揣對榮耀、勇氣和犧牲的浪漫幻想奔赴戰場;在殊死戰鬥中喪失天真,遭受生離死別;帶著難以言說的戰爭經驗和不被理解的心理創傷離開或被困於戰場,永遠與和平世界隔絕[31]。從克萊恩的內戰小說《紅色英勇勳章》(*The Red Badge of Courage*)到海明威的一戰小說《永別了,武器》(*A Farewell to Arms*),再到奧布萊恩的越戰小說《士兵的重負》(*The Things They Carried*),無數以此為原型的經典戰爭小說烙印在一代代美國人的集體記憶之中,影響並塑造著美國的戰爭意識與文學視野。斯克蘭頓尖銳地批評了這類神話的自戀現象,它將戰爭文學從作為「理解現實的框架」轉變為只反映美國人「個人期望的鏡像」[32]。有學者也擔憂這種「士兵的意識即是戰場」的自滿模式或招致恐怖主義戰爭的爆發[33]。克萊在小說中力圖顛覆和解構這種創傷英雄敘事框架,呈現出士兵在反恐戰場上的倫理困境:現代戰爭的暴力性和肉體的脆弱性使美軍陷入一種既對「他者」進行支配地、暴力地凝視,又對「他者」的創傷產生移情認同的倫理困境,進而造成了其對自我與敵人、戰爭和國家權力關係的不安,折射出美軍士兵深重的道德焦慮與身份危機。

這種內心強烈的道德衝突在《行動報告》這個短篇中表現得最為直接和有力。美軍士兵提姆赫德在汽車爆炸的慌亂中失手射殺了當地一個十三四歲的伊拉克兒童:孩子「汩汩地流著血……孩子的母親沖出來想把他拉回房裏。她卻正好目睹兒子的血肉從他肩後飛濺而出。」[34]小說此處以一種完全聚焦的攝影式敘述呈現出一具垂死的肉身,凸顯肉體的脆弱性和易受暴力傷害的特質。戰鬥結束後,提姆赫德多次否認誤殺行為,並向隊友吐露內心的道德折磨:「我受不了的是,他的家裏人都在場。就在眼前。他的兄弟姐妹都趴在窗戶上。他們看見了我,其中有個小女孩,大概九歲。我也有個小妹妹。」[35]提姆赫德的背景故事講述將男孩置於家庭敘事的軌跡中,成為親情的聯結體。無疑,他將伊拉克男孩視為一種自我身份的投射,展現出他對於敵我關係的焦慮與內疚。在列維納斯看來,「自我無法獨自生存,自我無法從孑然一身的在世存在(being-in-the-world)中獲得意義。」[36]克萊擺脫了美國剛愎自用的防禦性敘事視角,主動呈現出「他者」的生命活動與主體所產生的意義聯結與道德焦慮,「面孔」(le visage)的脆弱性成為血肉之軀互相殘殺的轉捩點,召喚著主體對「他者」承擔倫理責任,展現出作者強烈的文學倫理關照。

小說還表徵了「創傷英雄」敘事框架對美國戰爭小說中頑固的民族主義傾向和支配性男性氣質的強化,從政治視角揭示出美國戰爭知識體系背後的國家權力和利害關係。在《戰爭論》(*On War*)中,軍事理論家克勞塞維茨(Karl von Clausewitz)曾提出著名的命題「戰爭是政治通過另一種手段的延續」[37]。換言之,國家權力和意識形態正是以促進「戰爭框架」(frame of wars)的方式實現其政治目的[38],而創傷理論則提供了「絕妙的契機」。正如以賽亞·伯林(Isaiah Berlin)所言,民族主義「常常是創傷的產物」[39]。小說《重新派遣》中多次描寫到美軍將「勳章」、「國旗」、「軍服」和「葬禮」等意象與榮耀、犧牲等愛國主義價值觀相聯系,作為想

像的符號產生規訓力量。在新兵訓練營裏,教官會一遍又一遍地重複榮譽勳章獲得者的英勇事蹟,直到後勤兵也深受鼓舞。追悼會上,軍士長在士兵的遺像前舉行點名儀式,「待悲壯的氣氛感染每一個人,然後才演奏葬禮進行曲。」[40]在這些以符號和儀式為特徵的戰爭框架背後滲透著國家權力的運行和文化實踐,表明「國家的時空界限與所有其他表徵領域之間有一種親密的對應關係(seamless correspondence)」[41],為作為「想像的共同體」(imagined communities)的民族國家提供了被不斷生產和複製的基礎。同時,士兵形象也頗具個人英雄主義特徵,往往擁有無可比擬的專業技能,快速精確、謙遜陽剛、自我犧牲,隨時準備在世界任何地方製造致命的暴力,「他們代表了一種強大的身體武裝,以對抗敵人的暴力威脅及戰鬥創傷」[42]。

再者,美國國家權力與創傷理論的合謀也有意識地控制著戰爭框架,使之成為國家暴力得以施展的隱秘工具。巴特勒指出,戰爭框架可以是「非物質意義上的思維具現」,凸顯出霸權意圖框定、排除、篩選、闡釋的「現實」。它可以「解釋誰的生命是生命,誰的生命只能淪為工具、目標、數字」[43]。長期以來,美國的戰爭框架佈滿了白人男性士兵的創傷記憶,讀者難以從其他視度來建構或回憶戰爭,形成「一種刺眼的缺席」[44]。進入新世紀,主流的反恐話語與戰爭策略一直試圖從公眾視野中抹除或淡化「他者」的可理解性(intelligibility)或脆弱性(vulnerability),「不在場」的伊拉克民族淪為非人化的神秘「他者」。小說中,美軍士兵將拉馬迪稱為邪惡之城,將伊拉克叛軍簡化為衝突交火排行榜上的一道道計數紅杠;或是「史酷比行動」中的狗;甚至換算為「零點七幾個人」,大概等於「一個軀幹加一顆頭,或者一條腿。」[45]心理學家阿爾伯特·班杜拉(Albert Bandura)指出「當與那些被剝奪了人性的人交往時,人們很少譴責懲罰行為,甚至還會為它辯護」[46]。循此邏輯,美國在軍事、政治、文學等多個話語場域的公共空間內選擇性地呈現生命及其形態,媒體的敘事框架淪為霸權戰爭機器的忠實附庸,不斷強化美國的受害者身份,擴大敵我關係的劃定範圍,讓大眾心安理得地接受美國對其他國家實施的戰爭暴行。

然而,克萊卻從嚴絲合縫的戰爭框架中開闢出異議的空間,借不同的敘述者之口揭示國家權力表徵的現實局限,進一步質疑創傷英雄神話的缺陷及矛盾。魯斯·拉赫迪(Ruth Lahti)指出「跨國戰爭象徵著一種環境閾限,在該環境中'民族國家'的邊界被最激烈地再現,也最模糊危險」[47]。換言之,在伊拉克戰場上,隱藏著國家權力和利害關係的戰爭知識體系與美軍士兵的真實體驗相悖,導致士兵對於戰爭和國家權力產生道德焦慮與信仰危機。短篇《火窯中的祈禱》中美國士兵羅德裏格斯在執行上級軍官的命令時瀕臨崩潰道:「我再也不相信這場戰爭了……我不知道究竟是什麼決定一個人會被殺,又是什麼讓他活著。有時候你搞得一團糟卻安然無恙,有時候你做了正確的事卻有人死去。」「這是一個讓你的良心飽受煎熬的戰場。」[48]「煎熬」源於權力框架遮蔽了士兵對於戰爭現實的真實感知,「正義」、「意義」和「崇高」等愛國主義敘事在戰場上頻繁遭受拷問或質疑,正如隨軍牧師在日記裏寫道:我以為戰爭中至少會湧現高尚。我確信它的存在。但我看到的大多是平凡的人,想要行善,卻無情地被現實擊潰……他們渴望變得比環境更強硬,因此也更為殘忍[49]。

克萊力圖解構宏大的「戰爭英雄神話」,從小人物的視角尖銳地刺入士兵們複雜的內心世界。反恐戰爭並未賦予戰士們充分的勇氣與正義感,而是迫使其服務於美國這部「戰爭機器」對外輸出暴力以維護自身霸權的野心,正如作者借敘述者紮拉之口表明「誰在乎士兵們相信什麼?根本沒人在乎棋盤上的卒子認為某步棋下得怎麼樣或是為什麼要那麼下。」[50]換言之,美國的普通士兵們面臨既是戰爭創傷的「受害者」(the traumatized),也是戰爭暴力的「施害者」(the traumatizing)的身份危機。小說的最後,許多歸國老兵難以擺脫愧疚、恐懼、無助和焦慮等負面情緒,患有嚴重的 PTSD,踏上酗酒、涉毒、自殺或犯罪的「不歸路」;並且,美國政府所謂伊拉克藏有大規模殺傷性武器的指控最終被證明是無端干涉他國內政,蓄意傷害他國人民的藉口,這嚴重破壞了伊拉克戰爭的合法性,導致美國民間反戰情緒高漲,軍民分隔(the civilian-military divide)

日益嚴重,老兵們逐漸被排擠為美國社會的邊緣人群。

三、「山巔之城」的隕落:美國「後 9·11」時代的政治危機

透過伊拉克這個窗口,克萊既從多個維度勾勒了 21 世紀初美國歷史上最漫長的跨國戰爭的創傷圖景,同時其筆端也指向了更嚴肅的時代之思,即在對「他者」創傷的異質性與交互性的再現中反審美國在「後 9·11 」時代的全球政治角色與危機。「山巔之城」(「city upon a hill」)的意象嬗變是一條貫穿美國歷史的紅線,含納美國人幾乎所有的民族精神起源與自我認知。美國思想史學家羅傑斯(Daniel Rodgers)在《山巔之城:美國歷史上最著名的俗人佈道》(*As a City on a Hill: The Story of America's Most Famous Lay Sermon*)一書中認為「山巔之城」共經歷了「創生—挪用—再敘述」三個歷史階段:新英格蘭殖民時期,移民領導人約翰·溫斯羅普(John Winthrop)在其著名的佈道中引用聖經典故,提出「山巔之城」的偉大構想,賦予踏上未知大陸的新移民至高的宗教使命感與憂患意識。18 至 19 世紀,民族主義與愛國精神席捲大西洋兩岸,沉寂已久的「山巔之城」文本意蘊被挪用為國族構建和帝國征服與教化的神聖歷史隱喻與標準敘事。在冷戰背景下,雷根在總統任期內將其重塑為「一個渴望確保其實力和偉大性的國家的奠基性文本(a foundational text)」[51],賦予古老神話在現代兩極格局中新的自由主義政治內涵。羅傑斯借鏡霍布斯鮑姆的歷史觀,指明「山巔之城」意象的形塑實則是一種「被發明的傳統」(the invented traditions),它用「過多想像的連續性將當代美利堅民族與某一歷史片段相勾連」[52],形成一種連貫自足、靜態單一的元敘事(meta narration),由此成為「美國例外論」的濫觴,即以「世界的守護者」自居,規範其他國家的行為,代表世界最後與最好的救贖機會[53]。

這種例外主義對美國社會產生了深遠的影響,一方面它塑造了美利堅民族無意識之中的開拓創新精神、道德優越感與救世主情結,服務於美國國家認同的需要。另一方面,美國人對外在世界的無知也被政治利用,為美國的干涉主義張目,引發非理性的災難。「9·11」事件發生後,美國對伊拉克的軍事入侵與民主重建即是基於這樣一種偏狹自傲的邏輯:恐怖分子對美國的攻擊是試圖摧毀世界上最明亮的自由民主燈塔,只有反恐戰爭才能推翻薩達姆政權,拯救苦難深重的伊拉克人民,只有美式民主才能調和伊拉克的民族創傷。然而,正如哈米德筆下的主人公昌蓋茲指摘美國:「您的國家對於別國的事務總是喜歡插手干涉,這是令人無法忍受的。越南、朝鮮、中東,再加上現在的阿富汗:在我出生和生長的亞洲大陸上所發生的主要衝突和對峙中,美國都扮演了中心角色。」[54]克萊在小說中也通過聚焦美國在伊拉克戰後區域重建工作,借由不同人物的主觀感發實現對「山巔之城」民主敘事的拆解。根據研究報告,由於多年的制裁和戰亂,伊拉克遭受了巨大損失,電力、水利、排汙、道路等基礎設施以及醫療、教育和公共運輸系統都亟需維護或重建。因此,美國留下一支 1.6 萬名由前戰鬥人員、軍事人員和公司承包商組成的文職部隊繼續完成重建任務[55]。在短篇《金錢作為一種武器系統》中,美國政府和地方議會忽視伊拉克的現實情況,照搬西方的民主發展模式制定了一套「在伊工作方針」:「改善經濟」、「賦予婦女權利」和「救助弱勢群體」。然而,美國重建人員在具體的實施過程中卻偏離原意,使「民主改造」面臨巨大的浪費與失控。首先,美軍重建隊伍的素質參差不齊,大多數成員缺乏專業的訓練。外事官員內森擁有的全部工作經驗僅限於幾個暑期實習;婦女扶助計畫的顧問辛迪使用穀歌搜索開展日常工作;老兵鮑勃對於伊拉克戰爭則持一種存在主義的觀點。克萊以「黑色幽默」的方式尖銳地諷刺了大多數美國人為追求豐厚的年薪、漫長的休假或推進職業生涯來到伊拉克工作,與上述民主燈塔的使命觀大相徑庭。其次,他還揭露了民主改造中形式主義和官僚主義盛行。戰後的伊拉克平民亟需婦女健康診所、清潔的水源以及灌溉系統等基礎設施建設,然而,受美國操縱的地方議會卻要求組

建婦女商業協會、推廣伊拉克寡婦養蜂專案以及舉辦青少年棒球聯賽,以滿足美國國會對伊拉克民主建設立竿見影的效果要求。鮑勃坦言:「[美國]大使館喜歡那些能支持政府'在伊工作方針'的完整專案……寡婦專案就像金子一樣。加上地方議會的支持,我們可以說這是伊拉克人的自主專案。花費不超過兩萬五千美元,可以輕鬆通過審批。」[56]小說中美國在伊拉克移植「美式民主」時嚴重脫離當地實情,造成原有秩序崩壞、社會分裂嚴重、經濟發展停滯,重建工作最終淪為一場鬧劇,民主願景在推諉責任、貪污納賄、鋪張浪費的沙地裏流失耗盡,充滿了腐敗的「西方殖民主義」色彩。

再者,克萊敏銳地覺察到美國國內「山巔之城」神話的隕落,借助軍民分隔現象喻指更嚴重的戰爭文化危機。正如他在接受採訪時指出「在伊拉克和阿富汗戰爭中,美國軍隊和平民之間出現嚴重脫節」,小說中的美國民眾對於反恐戰爭也持有不同的認識與態度。其中一部分不容異見的公共利益維護者們痛恨戰爭,他們「不明白為什麼有人會參軍,不明白為什麼有人想擁有一支槍,更別說扣響扳機。」排名前五的紐約大學法學院高材生們有很好的教育背景,卻不知道海軍陸戰隊是幹什麼的,「很少有人關注戰爭的進展,大多數人的想法停留在'那是個可怕的亂攤子,所以就別想那麼多了'。」[57]克萊在小說中凸顯了美國當代戰爭文化權威的雙重困境。一方面,隨著越戰後強制徵兵和抽籤制度(selective service and draft lottery)結束極大地改變了美國戰爭文化的道德景觀,訓練有素的職業軍人成為反恐戰爭的主力軍,他們參軍入伍更多的是為了享受更好的教育機會和薪酬補貼,由此,戰爭的理想主義和英雄主義外殼被進一步剝離。另一方面,與二戰和冷戰時期的「全面戰爭」(total war)文化所投射出的全景視域不同的是,當代美國戰爭文化旨在使公民和消費者習慣於視伊戰為由志願軍在遠離大多數美國人的地方發動的戰爭。這種庸常邏輯會深化一種「社會結構瓦解下的原子化主體性」意識[58],它阻礙了美國公眾的日常思考與道德批判,使其背離公民責任以及美國發動戰爭帶來的政治和經濟後果,折射出美國國內社會出現的巨大撕裂。

最後,克萊還在小說中指涉美國「後9·11」時代愈演愈烈的種族矛盾和國家安全與信仰危機。短篇《心理戰》的主人公瓦吉赫是埃及科普特移民,信奉基督教,但因長相酷似穆斯林,從小在學校裏格格不入,被侮辱為「沙漠黑鬼」,飽受歧視。「9·11」爆發後,美國社會的「恐伊症」(Islamophobia)加劇,瓦吉赫全家被當作潛在的恐怖分子,日常生活受到嚴密地審查監視。在機場安檢時,他們被拉到一旁從上到下搜身;入伍時,瓦吉赫被迫接受更為嚴格細緻的身份盤查。他的戰友特拉維斯的叔叔是一位建築師,為支持侄子參軍,他開始拒絕和穆斯林電工合作。克萊真實地再現了美國國內緊張的族裔關係與艱難的種族生存環境,鋒鏑直指恐怖襲擊之後美國頒佈的《美國愛國者法案》(USA Patriot Act)和針對阿拉伯/穆斯林國家男性的「特別登記制度」(special registration),這些法律賦予政府過量的執法特權,嚴重侵蝕了普通公民的自由與隱私,使阿拉伯裔和穆斯林美國人直接淪為種族歧視與創傷的受害者,最終都破壞了「山巔之城」民主平等的多元價值觀。值得一提的是,在短篇《除非在該死的胸口》中,朋友保羅向敘述者講述了在美國中學公益任教時親眼目睹學生在校園持刀行兇的經歷,坦言「美國沒救了,兄弟,相信我,你不願當那個從下沉的船裏往外舀水的人。」小說描繪保羅所居住的公寓「散發著精神分裂者的氣質,牆上貼著'討伐體制樂隊'的舊海報、加框的《紐約客》封面以及中國西藏的經幡。」[59]這三種文化符號分別代表著左翼政治文化、無黨派和自由派傾向以及藏傳佛教信仰,象徵美國國內上帝和國家信仰的衰落。克萊在此解構了主導的美利堅例外論觀念,從底層視角重新審視美國昔日的建國精神基礎,透露出「山巔之城」民主神話的危機。

結語

克萊在一次訪談中表示:「我們傾向於想像戰爭是某種神秘之物,而這種闡述其實破壞了這種經歷——

通過借助不同的視角,我想為讀者打開一個空間,讓他們去比較,去判斷,去參與。」正是通過《重新派遣》一書,克萊重繪了反恐戰爭複雜的跨國創傷圖景,解域化地創造出新的文學公共空間,用於表達和敘述未被美國官方認可的「後 9・11」伊戰敘事,即沉默或邊緣化的他者的創傷經歷,反映出長期以來中東地區飽受以美國為首的西方世界在政治、經濟、軍事和文化上的帝國主義式滲透和侵略,並自反性地揭櫫美國「山巔之城」神話隕落背後深重的社會矛盾與政治危機,召喚讀者重新審視美國發動反恐戰爭與實施中東民主重建的合理性與正義性,表達了作家強烈的反戰思想以及對人類命運共同體的希冀。

注釋

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The Metaverse of History and Spirit:
On the Metaverse Schema of Literature in the New Era

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The present study entitled "The Metaverse of History and Spirit: On the Metaverse Schema of Literature in the New Era" is supported by the Foundation of Star of Innovation by the Gansu Provincial Department of Education.

Abstract: The Metaverse and literary creation have formed a distinct identity and connection at the level of overall ethics, both of which are based on human's true perception of the world and explore and present the essence of the world and life. In Chinese literature of the new era, the creative practice of Mo Yan, Yan Lianke, and other writers has shown the pattern of the Metaverse. Mo Yan and other writers have constructed a deconstructive historical model with the elements of desire, life, and unconsciousness as the core, highlighting the disordered and nihilistic nature of history, while Yan Lianke and other writers have created the morbid and alienated picture of the human spiritual world with the two narrative models of "prison" and "dream." Because the works of the above-mentioned writers often show the characteristics of serialization, intertextuality, large volume, and multi-direction, they have formed the historical Metaverse and the spiritual Metaverse of literature in the new era, which is full of allegorical criticism and reflection on reality and expresses the writers' deep anxiety and infinite compassion for the current situation.

Keywords: literature in the new era; metaverse; historical metaverse; spiritual metaverse

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歷史與精神的元宇宙：
論新時期文學的元宇宙圖式

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摘　要：元宇宙與文學創作在總體倫理的層面形成了鮮明的同一與聯結，二者均為以人類對世界的真實觀感為核心，對世界與人生的本質進行發掘與呈現。在中國新時期文學中，莫言、閻連科等作家的創作實踐已經顯現出了元宇宙的圖式。莫言等作家以欲望、生命、無意識等元素為核心建構了一個解構性的歷史模型，凸顯了歷史的無序、虛無的本質，而閻連科等作家則以「獄」與「夢」兩種敘事範型塑造了人類精神世界的病態、異化的圖景。由於上述作家的作品往往呈現出系列化、互文性、大體量、多向度的特徵，因此分別形成了新時期文學的歷史元宇宙與精神元宇宙，其中充滿了對現實的寓言化批判與反思，寄予了作家對於現狀的深刻焦慮與無限悲憫。

關鍵詞：新時期文學；元宇宙；歷史元宇宙；精神元宇宙

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引言

作為一個火熱的新興概念，關於元宇宙的研究成果層出不窮，僅 2022 年上半年便有 1898 篇相關論文在中國知網問世。然而，以「元宇宙與文學」為主題的文章只有 65 篇，而且沒有出現元宇宙與中國新時期文學直接性的結合。正如雷馬克所言，「人人都想建牆築壁，卻無人欲在牆上加蓋屋頂。」[①]既然元宇宙具備「跨界」的多元性，那麼其也可以與中國新時期文學發生關聯，進而在「文學之死」的當下為中國新時期文學乃至世界文學創造新的未來發展點。

縱觀新時期文學的發展，以莫言和閻連科為代表的一批作家已經在創作實踐中展現了元宇宙的圖式。這些作品不僅在形式上比附了元宇宙，其內容同元宇宙的概念與理論意圖也較為類似，莫言、閻連科等人的創作體現了一種超越了現實表徵束縛的本源性書寫，以某些極富隱喻意義的個體作為書寫載體，從「個體性是普遍的實在性」[②]出發直指本民族乃至全人類生活中隱秘的本質元素，如元宇宙一般在瑪律庫塞意義上的「新感性」的觀照下重構現實世界的邏輯與秩序。因此，文學批評可以憑藉元宇宙現有的相關闡釋分析新時期文學的實踐，令其元宇宙圖式初步浮出歷史地表。

一、何為新時期文學元宇宙

在英文中，元宇宙被稱為「Metaverse」，而其核心則在於「Meta」，即「元」。「元」對於元宇宙而言至關重要，它既是元宇宙的存在形式，也是元宇宙的意圖或理想之所在，更是其深層的邏輯與理據根源。在中文的

「在地化」語境中,產生于殷商時期並表現為一個頭部突出的人的形象的「元」具備「源頭」與「本質」的雙重語義。隨著漢語的發展,「元」的語義開始指向「本質」或「核心」,進而引申出「本源」的意涵。在英語語境中,「Meta」具備著類似的意思,同時還指涉著「自我超越」,強調一種超越現象表徵而直達本質的過程。故此,「元宇宙」這一概念在中文語境中曾被直譯為「超越宇宙」,但很快便被修正為「元宇宙」,從而獲得了超越現存宇宙和世界表像而直達其抽象性本質和根源的內涵。

由此可見,作為一個存在于超越宇宙的上位概念的整體宇宙,元宇宙運行的根本倫理在於試圖通過技術手段打破時間與空間、現實與虛構、物質與意識的邊界與閾限,實現一種人類世界的深度媒介化,「它不是平行于現實世界的一種存在,而是既超越現實世界又與現實世界相融相生的『混合現實』」[③],可以令一切曾經或正在出現於人類社會中的事物能夠共時、共在地複現,從而在一種審美靈境中充分發展、延伸人類的精神與心靈世界,在虛實相生的情境中建構全新的現實時空,進而推動並實現人在物理與精神層面的雙重解放。文學也是如此,其通過技術性寫作對現實進行了相對獨特的建構,通過複雜而巧妙的語言編碼將自身融入人們的社會生活中,在虛實互動中實現對人的審美救贖。因此,二者的總體倫理是具備鮮明的同一性的,我們將對此進行逐次的具體分析。

首先,元宇宙是一種平臺、一種方法,可以允許不同的專業、領域或行業借助元宇宙而實現自身的生產與傳播,而文學藝術也是一種平臺,其領域逐漸覆蓋並超越了現實世界。故「人類的文學藝術從誕生之日起,就自帶元宇宙屬性」[④],「當下社會正在「以一種『元宇宙』狀態的異托邦現實化了文學生產的烏托邦」[⑤],二者在形式論的層面達成了同一。其次,元宇宙的主要方法在於互文與對話,本身就是一個突破了時空、虛實限制的大型的對話結構,而文學也是如此。無論從讀者還是作者的角度出發,如果消弭單一文本的邊界,那麼由古今中外的文學作品所組成的「群文」結構便打破了各自時空的閾限而融為一體,形成廣泛的開放文本,進而在不斷的互文性運動中推動了超文字結構的誕生,所以文學與元宇宙在形態論的層面形成了同一。

再次,元宇宙所要表現的是人類宏大、複雜、瑰麗的感性「共同棲居」的世界,以此為基礎資料表現人對於世界的豐富體驗與想像,可以令人打破肉身等物理限制而實現意識的自主漫遊。文學也是對於人類精神與心靈觀像的表現,其通過各種複雜、抽象的語言技巧呈現了人對於世界的真實觀感,以某種寓言的方式並利用非理性的力量還原世界與人生的本質與根源。因此,文學與元宇宙在本質論的層面形成了同一。最後,元宇宙的終極目的是重塑現實面貌,它不是現實的逃避,而是一種對於現實的辯證揚棄。文學也恰好如此,其通過呈現「心靈的最高旨趣」[⑥]來影響與重構現實,在提供慰藉的同時啟發人們建構更新、更美好的現實生活與世界。從這個角度來說,文學與元宇宙在目的論的層面形成了同一。

從上述層面來看,文學與元宇宙在多個重要層面形成了鮮明的視域融合,因此二者的聯結具備充分的合法性。在感性學回歸的當下,文學與元宇宙試圖通過各種策略將人對世界的感性觀像完整而深刻地呈現出來,讓人們能夠尋覓到一種難得的「真實」,最終重構一種更為貼近人之本真的存在方式。

在中國現當代文學譜系中也存在著元宇宙的圖式,早在「五四」時期,魯迅就通過對紹興農村的虛實結合的在地化書寫和對狂人、阿Q、孔乙己等隱喻性形象展現了元宇宙的某些特徵,而上述內容富於抽象性、本源性與濃縮性,特別能夠表現當時「中國性」的本質與根源。新時期以來,文學的隱喻性、寓言性功能不斷增強,例如莫言的「高密東北鄉」書寫、閻連科的「耙耬-伏牛山」書寫、蘇童的「楓楊樹村」書寫等都將某一地域作為中國乃至全世界的隱喻而加以建構,令虛構與事實複雜糾纏、辯證互動,進而見微知著地發掘歷史、現實、社會與人性的隱秘的本質與核心。同時,這些作品大多呈現出系列化的形態,其體量龐大、意蘊豐富,各個文本間存在著或隱或顯的相互指涉、聯結與融合,進而形成了一個彼此指涉、交往、對話的大型結構,突破了時空閾限的共時、共在的開放文本體系,較為廣闊、深刻地展現了一個關乎「世界與人生」的全景化觀像。

在作品內部,作家們不約而同地採取了更為抽象、複雜也更為接近人感性世界圖景的現代主義路徑。在文本中充斥著大量幻覺、荒誕、狂歡與黑色幽默的修辭符碼,固有的現實被極大地誇張、扭曲、變形。這種混亂難言的做法看似消解了意義,實則是對意義的再度詢喚與凸顯——作品消解了日常化、自動化的意義生成,更能夠超越現象的表徵閾限而迫近世界與人生的本質與根源。

正是由於上述要點的存在,新時期文學不再只是文字代碼的集合,而是一個「紙面上的元宇宙」,一個充滿了沉浸式審美救贖的自在自為的世界。這個世界以感性為原則,打破過往的規約並對現實進行重新想像與言說,「打碎了那種欲圖左右我們感性的惡劣的機能主義」[7]並「成為現存現實中與現存現實相對的作品」[8]。元宇宙化的新時期文學正是以真相的赤裸顯露為手段懸置現實中無處不在的話語擬像,逆向地賦予人撫慰與啟示,引導著人重建、重述外界與自身。

在新時期文學元宇宙中,國族的歷史進程與人們的精神圖譜是兩個主要的基點,從而揭櫫了以莫言為代表的作家所建構的歷史元宇宙和以閻連科為代表的作家所建構的精神元宇宙。由於這些作品的元宇宙化圖式,它們形成了一種更加有意味的形式,而通過元宇宙視域下的分析與批評,又可以將這些作品的意義與價值更為鮮明地展現出來,進而在文學與元宇宙的交互共生中推動文學創作、閱讀與評價的新指向。

二、新歷史的呼喚:歷史元宇宙的建構

歷史作為人類文學書寫的永恆母題,自然得到了作家們的極大關注。在中國新時期文學的創作中,大量的新歷史書寫得以湧現,其以一種試驗化、遊戲化的姿態審視歷史發展變奏的譜系與脈絡,以個人、家族等「小歷史」路徑重構歷史敘事的範型,最終「運用一種挑戰的方式來解釋那些被人們見慣不驚而認為是非常正統的敘事,並從中得出驚人之論。」[9]歷史元宇宙呈現出了鮮明的抽象化、本源化、濃縮化、寓言化的特徵,莫言、格非、韓少功、蘇童、阿來等人都以各自獨特的範型參與其中,最終擴大了其外延、深化了其內涵。

(一)莫言的歷史元宇宙建構

在歷史元宇宙的範疇中,莫言的高密東北鄉系列作品幾乎完整涵蓋了中國近現代發展的歷程,其歷史書寫主要具備三種驅動形態:欲望驅動型、生命驅動型和混合型。三種形態具有各自不同的核心指向,極大地顛覆了以往作為正統的「革命歷史」敘事,重構了歷史的本質與根源。

在對欲望驅動型的書寫中,莫言所建構的是一種邪惡而令人絕望的歷史景觀,可以稱之為歷史的「惡本質」。人們的一切行動都聽憑一種無政府式的不受約束、沒有秩序的惡性欲求,例如《酒國》中的「吃人」和《四十一炮》中的「私權」及「權力-欲望」體系的生成。在兩部作品中,莫言以人的惡性、病態的欲望為核心為慣常的歷史敘事祛魅,揭示了隱匿於歷史之下的倫理深淵——欲望成為一種新型的倫理,歷史在欲望的裹挾與統攝下走向徹底失控、失範的無序狀態,而人們則失去了對於歷史與自身的把握與掌控。

與此同時,莫言反思了諸如正義力量、人文精神在極端欲望面前的潰敗,表現了一種混亂且缺乏歸根結底的真相的歷史過程,揭露了正義弱勢失語的現狀,同時表現了人文精神在欲望的病態與騷動前的邊緣特徵,凸顯了作者對知識份子的社會身份與歷史功能的鮮明質疑,顯示了欲望令知識份子所完成的吊詭的自我反諷。此外,莫言的小說還以一種暴力性的書寫呼應了「五四」時對「精神勝利法」的批判,展現了被「欲望-權力」體系剝奪了自主欲望的底層人物悲哀、絕望的生存境遇與荒原式的精神現象,也借此表達了作者對於歷史發展的擔憂與焦慮以及對「善」與「本真」的詢喚。

與欲望驅動型的歷史書寫相反,莫言的生命驅動型的書寫將歷史的另一重本質定義為尼采意義上的生

命意志,尤其凸顯了其「善本質」。在《紅高粱家族》中,「爺爺」余占鼇和「奶奶」戴鳳蓮的形象為莫言的生命驅動型書寫奠定了原型。二人以在絕境化的生存過程中迸發出強悍、狂熱的生命意志,展現了歷史發展進步的本質動力,而「姑姑」萬心和「母親」上官魯氏的形象則接續了這一點。《蛙》中的萬心是對戴鳳蓮形象較為直接的接續,其幾乎以一己之力推動了高密東北鄉的計劃生育進程,又憑藉著頑強的生命意志戰勝了自身內外的各種阻礙力量,體現了一種身體化、蒙昧化的震懾「群氓」的崇高品質和衝破了各種「虛假意識」的酒神精神。

在《豐乳肥臀》中,上官魯氏的生命意志更加側重於對歷史完整穩定的維護。上官魯氏的七個女兒串聯了歷史中彼此矛盾的各個政治派系與社會階層,而其本人則在地維繫家庭的過程中展現出了鮮明的生命意志——「母親」則憑藉強大的生殖能力(肥臀)和極度彰顯的母愛情懷(豐乳)不斷地與絕境化的生存進行抗爭,令「豐乳肥臀」引申出了以「家族——國族」為路徑的奠定了整個民族生存與發展的可能性。

在欲望驅動與生命驅動書寫之外,還存在著一種混合型書寫,即同時存在著上述兩種範型。相比于前兩種範型,混合型歷史書寫更為鮮明地凸顯了「種的退化」的命題,暗藏著莫言對於歷史發展的隱憂。在《食草家族》中,莫言以飛蝗這一高度抽象化、本源化的意象來映射人類與人類歷史的本質。飛蝗既象徵著一種野蠻生長的生命力,也暗示了人性深處的卑劣與貪婪,於是生命驅動與欲望驅動就此混合,最終淪落入「種的退化」的命運。《生死疲勞》則另闢蹊徑,以一種狂歡化的姿態顛倒、模糊了人與獸的形態,剝落了啟蒙神話賦予人的光環並凸顯了「種的退化」的必然趨勢。兩部作品都在人與非人的辯證互動中重拾了「五四」文學對於劣根性的批判,呼應了「新啟蒙」的主題。

在莫言筆下的歷史元宇宙中,生命驅動與欲望驅動交替登場,各色人物相互碰撞、影響、搏殺,進而呈現出了一個具備自我生成能力的魔幻、瑰麗且充斥著悲劇性的歷史圖景,最終令高密東北鄉的歷史形成了一個相對獨立卻又不斷輻射外界的抽象性、本源性、濃縮性、寓言性的時空體系。另外,大量「我爺爺」「我姑姑」等稱謂的使用也令「世界——作者——作品——讀者」的結構真正形成了一個互文的整體,「打通了歷史和現實之間的牆壁,……深入到你的祖先的靈魂深處。」[10]從而進一步加固了深植于民族血脈基因中的歷史元宇宙。

(二)格非與其他作家的歷史元宇宙建構

格非在「江南三部曲」中將歷史本質定義為一種虛無的建構烏托邦的集體或文化的無意識,路秀米、譚功達和譚端午三代人都在此種無意識的影響下推動以「花家舍」為中心的烏托邦建設,但最終在烏托邦與反烏托邦的輪回中感受到了歷史根本性的虛妄與無意義。

《人面桃花》敘述了路秀米以革命為名建設「花家舍」的無意識行為,又以其毀滅揭示了這種烏托邦實踐的虛幻,隨後《山河入夢》令歷史發生了輪回,路秀米之子譚功達自詡烏托邦的花家舍公社中發現其表徵下隱藏著反烏托邦的狂暴與恐怖,最終他意識到了烏托邦的不可能性以及歷史發展的幻滅。在《春盡江南》中,譚功達之子譚端午在連續的失敗後徹底放棄了對烏托邦的建設和對歷史本質的追尋,在原本被厭棄的世俗生活中找到了精神出路。三部作品相互指涉纏繞,形成了一個元宇宙式的時空體。

在格非的歷史元宇宙中,烏托邦的濫觴與毀滅實則是對於歷史發展的修辭——歷史的本質就是一種無意識,充斥著虛無與幻滅,唯有在「去深度」的世俗生活中才能得到救贖。這不僅顯示了作者對於當代人精神出路的焦慮,同時揭示了一種歷史表像與歷史本質的根本性撕裂以及二者關係的顛倒。因此,格非的歷史元宇宙呈現出了一定的辯證法特色,重構了歷史的生成與觀察歷史的方式,以「向下超越」的方式完成了「一個新的開始」和「一個神聖的肯定」[11]。

除格非外,韓少功的《爸爸爸》令未老先衰卻老而不死的丙崽成為歷史的核心觀象,不僅體現了一種根本性的難言之「惡」,還聲明了「惡」的症候賴而不死的局面。故此,韓少功從文化反思出發為歷史祛魅,揭示了歷史的病態本質。

阿來則在《塵埃落定》中以「零度寫作」的形式將歷史的本質定義為一種無可規避的慘烈消亡,展現出了塵埃一般的「歷史邊緣人」在面對歷史變奏時歸根結底的無力感。阿來的歷史書寫中將個人命運與歷史發展建構為某種「絕對宿命」,因而體現了一種叔本華式的悲觀主義思想和試圖重構人與歷史關係的隱性訴求。

蘇童對於歷史本質的判斷則是高度隱喻的「逃亡」,著力描繪了一群渴望跳脫出歷史進程並試圖重構自身價值認同的人物,他們以「逃亡」作為跳出歷史發展、重新接納自我的方式,並以此尋覓一種人格尊嚴與自我救贖的努力,最終展現了逃亡背後所隱藏的人與歷史的緊張狀態和人在歷史張力中的異化與畸變。

(三)歷史元宇宙的終極圖景

作家們通過歷史書寫建構了一個時空廣闊、體量龐大、意蘊豐富的歷史元宇宙,諸多人物、意象與元素交融互動,具有濃厚的悲劇性與宿命感。作家們以欲望、退化與崩潰為形式展現了歷史「倫理本質的消亡」[12],曾經為我們所孜孜以求的事物正在變得缺乏意義,人們陷入了廣泛的虛無、困惑與焦慮的「自身異化了的精神世界」[13]之中,不知該如何面對歷史,也難以真誠地面對自身。

從上述角度來說,作家們的創作體現了兩個層面的啟迪與救贖意義:一、呼喚著生命意志的重燃,讓更多人能夠主宰歷史與自身的命運;二、呼籲反思和重構歷史,尋覓一種新的觀察、分析和評價歷史的路徑,找到歷史隱秘的癥結之所在,進而奠定一個更好的發展根基。最終,二者的融合體現了一種重建歷史價值與秩序和人類本質力量與生命形式的訴求。

三、「獄」與「夢」的糾纏:精神元宇宙的建構

與對歷史的書寫相類似,新時期文學對人類的精神結構的探尋達到了較高的程度,呈現出了元宇宙的特徵。精神元宇宙對於人類精神本質的書寫更為集約,其悲劇意識也更為鮮明,對現實的批判與對人的救贖也更為深刻,其既對表徵性的生活進行祛魅,也對人與時代和現實的關係進行重構。

精神元宇宙同樣深入到精神世界的核心與本質觀像之中,建構了「獄」與「夢」兩種範型。「獄」體現了人面對世界時由自我與他者共同誘發的精神困局,代表了世界的有限性與人精神自由延展之間的衝突,尤其體現為前者對後者的壓抑;「夢」則體現了人在面對世界時所感到的一種根本性的難以認知與無能為力,代表了「應然」的人的自由意志與「實然」的世界存在之間的撕裂與分離。不同的人物在「獄」與「夢」的糾纏中掙扎、碰撞,共同構成了一個大型的交往對話的元宇宙,啟示著人們「在某種特殊的『事實上的現成存在』的意義上領會自身的存在」[14]。

(一)閻連科的精神元宇宙建構

作為以書寫苦難而著稱的作家,閻連科筆下的苦難更多地表現為精神世界的苦難,即現實苦難的重壓所造成的人欲望與情感的多重衝突以及由此產生的精神困局,進而以「獄」範型的精神書寫對中國人的精神世界的本質與根源進行表,從煉獄一般的現實生存境遇出發展示苦難帶給人荒誕而疼痛的生命體驗。

閻連科首先將目光投向了鄉土性的精神之「獄」,指出鄉土社會中的權力體制與權力欲望是「獄」的主要

動因。在官本位的文化無意識、「土皇帝」的政治體系和絕境化的生存環境的共同作用下,任何微小的權力都會成為巨大的誘惑,於是導致了前在的權力體制與後來人的權力欲望激烈衝突,而後來人自身的權力欲望又與親情、愛情等情感範疇發生衝突,最終形成了難以逾越的精神之「獄」,只能被迫妥協。「獄」揭示了鄉土世界在數千年來形成的精神負擔與困境的重壓下的艱難命運和頑強抗爭,進而呈現了人類在面對外界無窮壓抑下荒誕而悲壯的行為,接續了海德格爾「向死而生」的哲學傳統。

在鄉土場域之外,閻連科還對都市人尤其是都市知識份子在追求總體性生存權力時的精神之「獄」進行了刻畫:理想與現實的張力結構令知識份子的價值感不斷失落直至缺場,其自我認同也在偏差與畸形中難以為繼。閻連科尤其以一種悖論的方式揭開了「理想」的悲劇性邏輯——不堪的現實固然是理想者精神之「獄」的主要組成部分,但理想者的軟弱令理想本身也參與了精神之「獄」的建構——理想不僅未能突破精神之「獄」,反而以壓抑、焦慮、絕望的形式強化了精神之「獄」。

閻連科以「獄」的形態建構了當下中國人乃至全人類的精神元宇宙,體現了一種深刻的悲劇性:一方面,現實的絕境化令人物的精神世界不斷趨於煉獄化,原本鮮活的生命力被壓制到了極點,只剩下單向度的極端欲望;另一方面,人物在反抗過程中所表現出的「善」反而消解了抗爭的力量,強化了「獄」的束縛。鄉土與城市合謀建構了一個廣闊的無物之陣,令所有人都陷入「獄」中而無法自拔,而「獄」並不是一種去具身化的零度空間,其指向了人物深切、沉重且不能忽視的生命體驗的凝結。

(二)余華的精神元宇宙建構

「清醒的說夢者」[15]揭示了余華「辯證悲劇」的精神書寫,即主要表現人在面對苦難與困境時所反映出來的迷茫與恍惚,而這同樣是現代人精神世界的本質性、根源性的觀像。「夢境構成了他小說中的超驗和象徵因素,同時又以夢幻和故事來抗拒現實的絕對性。」[16]在「夢」的內部還可以細分為「迷夢」與「夢魘」兩種類型,二者都由人與生活的撕裂所造成,前者側重於展現人的「迷茫」與「苦」,後者則著力凸顯「恐怖」與「痛」,而余華的精神元宇宙就在二者的交融與碰撞中形成。

《許三觀賣血記》與《兄弟》通過抽象的敘事策略講述著生活中的「迷夢」。在許三觀混亂的生活中,賣血是其掌控片刻生活的唯一形式,因此其只能成為永恆的「造血機器」。李光頭與宋鋼則分別完成了人兩個極端性的意義闡釋:李光頭試圖依靠一種永不滿足的浮士德之「夢」極力地向外拓展生活與自身的邊界;宋鋼則試圖以「平凡」之「夢」逃避和掩蓋生活的困境與壓抑。許三觀的命運由血與夢的二元對立構成,血意味著身體、生命以及掌控生活的可能性,夢則指向了對前者的壓榨,暗示著人在生活迷夢中成為「赤裸生命」的必然命運。與此同時,李光頭外強中乾的成功無法合法地消弭生活和自身的荒誕屬性,宋鋼的平凡之夢也無法阻擋生活對其的裹挾與淩駕。余華揭示了人類精神世界的「夢」本質——失控的生活無法為人提供庇護卻又對人進行了深刻掠奪。

《活著》《在細雨中呼喊》與《第七天》則表現出了鮮明的「夢魘」特徵。三者都利用「零度寫作」式的敘事語調來講述悲慘故事,故而在內容與形式之間產生了鮮明的張力,不斷產生的生命創傷溢出了人所能理解和掌控的邊界,令人失去了表達情緒、言說感受的能力,敘事的冷靜實則意指著一種人與生活相撕裂後自我言說的無力與精神世界的蒼白。三部作品都呈現出了一種夢的疊加與輪回:徐福貴將自我投射到了老牛身上,並為老牛編織夢境並以此麻痹自我;孫光林在雨夜中反復聽到難以名狀的呼喊,強化了夢魘的存在;《第七天》則利用反諷性的書寫顛倒了生與死的地位與價值,以「死無葬身之地」的快樂與幸福建構了一個「夢」的異度時空。三部作品建構了頗具哲學意蘊的「夢魘」,表達了對人類精神危機及其出路的深切焦慮與擔憂。

《文城》則余華「夢」書寫的系統性總結與新節點的開啟,敘述了人主動尋夢並得到救贖的過程。余華重新定義了「夢」的內涵,令其具備了「希望」「溫情」等符碼,顯示了一種突圍的意圖——從對迷茫與創傷的講述中突圍,以溫情的撫慰而非憤怒的揭露來重新實現文學對社會與人的引導與統合效果。

在余華建構的精神元宇宙中,人們如同許三觀等人一般在迷夢中的掙扎,或如同徐福貴等人一般夢魘中感受創傷,人與生活的撕裂令人愈發感到困惑、痛苦和無所適從。最終,林祥福背負著所有人的精神負擔與對未來的希冀走上了尋夢與造夢之旅,試圖重拾人在生活中的主體性,進而實現對自我的救贖。迷夢、夢魘和對美好夢境的追尋相互碰撞、對話,共同建構了精神元宇宙的廣闊而深刻的圖景,揭示了人類在愈發複雜變動的社會生活中的複雜境遇與感受。

(三)其他作家的精神元宇宙建構

在新寫實主義作家的筆下,人類精神的本質與根源體現為「獄」與「夢」的融合,其歸根結底是一種由生活窘境所造成的壓抑、煩惱、紊亂和茫然的精神狀態:理想與現實的落差令人物感到強烈的束縛感,人物本質力量的衰弱又進一步固化了其不良處境與負面感受,最終令「獄」與「夢」相輔相成,在「不可承受的生命之輕」中形成了「煩惱人生」與「一地雞毛」。

劉震雲擅長借助某些具備鮮明的體制性的社會結構來隱喻人類精神世界的框架與邊界,進而又通過人在體制中所形成的逆來順受的工具理性和煩悶情緒來象徵人類精神世界的內涵。小說中大量運用了黑色幽默的敘事手法,進而凸顯人物在生存過程中所產生的悲哀、荒誕的真實感觸。池莉則實現了對家庭的重構:家庭不僅是一個所謂的「港灣」,更呈現為一處充斥著鬥爭與妥協的場域,而「夢」與「獄」的生活感受也大多在家庭中得以生成,以此顯現人物不堪重負的生存狀態與時刻存在的精神自戕。方方則更進一步,借助逝者的敘事凸顯和批判了人在「獄」與「夢」的雙重規訓下的醜惡與變態心理。

作為「獄」與「夢」相融合的精神元宇宙建構,相比于閻連科與余華通過各種較為高級的敘事手段所營造出的人的精神世界,新寫實主義小說以相對平淡、自然的書寫呈現出了真實而深刻的生活詩學,揭示了人類生活的核心景觀和精神世界的本質與根源。

(四)精神元宇宙的終極圖景

在精神元宇宙中,「獄」與「夢」是一種一體兩面的存在。當人憑藉著生命意志與生活進行頑強搏鬥時,就會愈發感受到一種難以突破的規訓與束縛,而當人放棄鬥爭試圖與生活和解時,則會充分體驗到生活本身的不可理解與不可掌控。最終,當人選擇不再試圖反抗和思考並在不斷地妥協中隨波逐流時,人便陷入「獄」與「夢」的融合之中。三種狀態共時性存在又不斷相互轉換、排列組合,令人始終對生活、世界與命運感到茫然無措和無所適從。因此,新時期文學的精神元宇宙展現了一個充斥著病態與異化的絕望時空。

新時期文學的精神元宇宙揭示了人類的一種本質性症候——人與生活的根本矛盾和由此引發的各種衝突或撕裂,進而顛覆了人與生活的關係,瓦解了樂觀的人本主義思潮,將生活建構為具備本體論意義的統治結構,而將人置於一個被生產或解構的他者地位。新時期文學拋棄了人本主義意義上的人,基於對現狀的深刻憂慮和悲憫著力建構新人,進而塑造精神元宇宙所渴望塑造的未來圖景——人重新掌控和統治生活。

四、元宇宙與新的文學節點

由於作家對文學母題的熱切關注,於是導致了大量相關作品的生成,而西方現代派手法的傳入又令中

國新時期文學具備了更豐富的形態和更深刻的言說,作家們為民族的歷史演進與人的精神世界賦予不同的驅動或範型,並使它們相互交流碰撞、相互闡釋,最終建構了體量龐大、意蘊豐富、價值廣博的新時期文學元宇宙圖式,深刻地揭示了歷史與精神的本質性、根源性的症候,以感性的方式重構了世界與人生的總體景觀。

如果我們僅以紙媒與「印刷資本主義」來界定文學,那麼在當下「無名狀態」[17]的社會中「文學就要終結了」[18],但元宇宙的出現為文學發展提供了新節點與新機遇。元宇宙本身不是目的,而以元宇宙的方式重構現實才是目的,而發揚與創新「文學性」自然是目的之一。元宇宙賦予文學更多衝破現實束縛而自由、自主生成的可能性,「完全由分工造成的藝術家屈從于地方局限性和民族局限性的現象無論如何會消失掉。」[19]只要我們能夠進一步發掘、厘清文學與元宇宙的聯結,進一步建構文學元宇宙的圖式,那麼文學將會以一種更加精彩、生動的方式賦予我們充分的驚喜。

元宇宙時代的到來也對文學研究提出了新的期待。就文學批評而言,元宇宙的范式啟發了一種新的批評視野,即從打破單一文本的邊界開始,直至打破文學類型學的桎梏,建構一種總體性、輻射性、譜系化的批評方式,形成元宇宙化的文學思維與觀念。就文學史的書寫而言,文學元宇宙打破了以往以線性時間為維度的文學史敘事,回應了「重寫文學史」的挑戰,令文學史建構向多維度的立體文學圖譜邁進。總而言之,文學與元宇宙都並非神話,但二者的結合將創造神話。

注釋

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An Appraisal of Cai Yong's *Fu* from His Innovations

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Abstract: Cai Yong is one of the most accomplished and prolific *fu* writers in the Han dynasty, whose *fu* oeuvre as a whole greatly expands the scope of traditional *fu* writing and re-defines *fu* as a literary genre with his constant experiments with both form and content. Embedded with his life as is recorded in his official biography and modern scholarship, this paper re-evaluates Cai Yong's *fu* from his innovations, and argues that there are four innovations that can be firmed established in his *fu*: 1, the broadening of the scope of *fu*, enabling it to convey more emotions than only frustration; 2, direct engagement with politics of his time; 3, his metrical innovations in the rhythm of *fu*; 4, his creative borrowing from the *Shi jing*.

Keywords: *Fu*; Cai Yong; literary innovation

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1 Cai Yong: A Life

The second-century writer Cai Yong (133-192 C. E.) is a native of Chenliu commandery (in modern Henan province). What we know today about his life is mostly from the biography of his recorded in the *Hou Han shu* (The History of Eastern Han), from which we learn that the polymath Cai Yong was already an acclaimed literary figure during his lifetime. Among many achievements, he was an esteemed Zither player, astronomer, historian, calligrapher, memorial eulogy writer, and also a *fu* writer. (Fan 1965: 1975-2013).

But the erudite scholar Cai Yong was probably too righteous to play dirty political tricks and too blunt for the sophisticated political game of the house of cards, unfortunately never possessed the political acumen, a quality that is of utter importance for surviving in the turbulent late Eastern Han dynasty. We find at least two times when his political naivety nearly cost him his life, and he did not survive the third time. The first time was when counselled by the emperor, he boldly named dozens of powerful eunuchs and consort of clans that he

believed should be immediately sacked. There came immediate and overwhelming revenge. Cai Yong was arrested shortly after for a malicious attempt to sabotage the regime and was sentenced to death. He was spared because his ally literati group pleaded for him and made the emperor have a second thought. He was pardoned to return to his hometown in Chenliu and before leaving the capital he attended a dinner arranged in his honour. This time it is not the enemy, but his potential friend and ally that he managed to offend. The arrogant host Wang Zhi, who was the brother of a high official Wang Fu in the imperial court, felt humiliated when Cai Yong refused to return favour for him and defied him overtly when he danced for Cai Yong:

「酒酣,智起舞屬邕,邕不為報。… 詬邕曰:『徒敢輕我!』邕拂袖而去。」(Fan 1965: 2003).

"When drunk, ['Wang]' Zhi danced for ['Cai]' Yong. ['Cai]' Yong did not return the favour. … ['Wang Zhi]' scolded ['Cai]' Yong: ' 'How dare you belittle me!' ['Cai]' Yong wielded his sleeves and left." (Translated by the author of this article)

Wang Zhi's fury materialized in his indictment against Cai Yong for defaming the government when he was in prison. This time, knowing the imminent danger of death punishment, Cai Yong fled and, according to the official biography, hid in the Wu area for at least a dozen years. He led an idle life and had fun with the ancient books during this period before his reluctant consent to serve Dong Zhuo, the infamous warlord. After Dong Zhuo was assassinated, Cai Yong made one final political mistake that finally cost his life. Again, at a dinner, Cai Yong lamented the death of Dong Zhuo, which was considered treasonous by the host Wang Yun, and he was soon sentenced to death for collaborating with Dong Zhuo. He died in prison.

Cai Yong was no doubt unfitting for politics. But in the meanwhile, his virtues, such as his integrity and audacity, were well attested in these incidents. We will find later that these real and rare traits of his find their way into his oeuvre of *fu*, especially in his "Fu on Recounting a Journey" ("Shu xing fu") and earned him great posthumous fame.

2 The Under-researched Cai Yong as a *Fu* Writer

Despite Cai Yong's significance in so many aspects, there are few academic studies on him and his writings, and even fewer studies on his *fu*.

In the Chinese language, the information about his life comes from his biography in *Hou Han shu*. For the text of his entire oeuvre of *fu*, there are two very helpful reference books on the Han *fu* compiled by two of the most senior professors in this field: the *Quan han fu pingzhu* (Comments and Annotations on the Entire Han *fu*) by Gong Kechang (Gong 2003) and *Quan Han fu jiaozhu* (Annotations on the Entire Han *fu*) by Fei Zhengang (Fei 2005). As for the *fu* of Cai Yong, these two books sift through various editions of his writings and, for the first time, provide comparably reliable texts and preliminary annotations. So far, there are no traditional or modern monographs solely devoted to Cai Yong's *fu* or his other writings, but there has been a small stream of pertinent articles since the 1970s. Most of these articles deal with one theme or one *fu* of Cai Yong's and lack thorough study. And if compared with Gong Kechang's seminal short analysis of Cai Yong, we find most of these

articles are mostly repeating Gong and have differed very little.

In the English language, there are even fewer studies on the *fu* of Cai Yong. There are two monographs dealing with Cai Yong: Enno Giele's *A Study of Cai Yong's Duduan* in 2006 and *A Significant Season: Cai Yong (ca.* 133–192*) and His Contemporaries* by Mark Laurent Asselin (Asselin 2010). The former investigated Cai Yong's historical work *Duduan* and did not bother itself with his *fu*. It is the latter that was endowed with a serious scholarship towards some but not all of the *fu* of Cai Yong and which this paper refers to and responds to in many cases. The book was a revision edition of Mark Asselin's Ph. D. dissertation in 1997, but his interest in Cai Yong started even earlier. He also wrote the biography of Cai Yong in the *Hou Han shu* as his MA thesis. Apparently, he was also familiar with Gong Kechang's writings on Cai Yong. In 1990 when Gong's *Han fu yanjiu* "Studies on the Han *fu*" was translated into English, Asselin, then a graduate student of David R. Knechtges's, was the one who translated the chapters on Cai Yong's *fu*. In Asselin's 2010 book, he devoted two chapters to the study of six *fu* of Cai Yong's and provided English translations for them. Another interesting and important pertinent aspect is worth pointing out. The influential *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* gives roughly two pages to Cai Yong's *fu*, based almost solely on Asselin's Ph. D. dissertation and *Studies on the Han fu* by Gong Kechang. Most of Asselin's arguments or judgements on Cai Yong's *fu* do not deviate from Gong Kechang's. Given the fact that most recent Chinese articles on the same topic almost all follow Gong, as is observed above, it could be fairly concluded that Gong Kechang's arguments are dominant in the studies of Cai Yong's *fu*. These arguments, together with variants that appeared in Asselin and others, will be briefly discussed, and the aim of this paper is to propose several new interpretations and analyses, rather than simply parroting.

3 A Survey of Cai Yong's *Fu*

In the biography of Cai Yong in the *Hou Han shu*, which should be considered the most authoritative material of his life, unfortunately, there is no mention of the number of his *fu* or any specific *fu* except "Rebutting Admonition" ("Shi hui"). Nor do the various editions of his work collections provide all the *fu* of Cai Yong because there are sporadic *fu* ascribed to him found in other literature collections. In ascertaining the oeuvre of Cai Yong's *fu*, the serious scholarship by Fei Zhengang and Gong Kechang finally provided us with reliable texts after going meticulously through all the possible sources that could contain Cai Yong's *fu*. *Comments and Annotations on the Entire Han Fu* by Gong Kechang lists 16 *fu* while *Annotations on the Entire Han Fu* by Fei Zhengang lists 18. The two *fu* not included in Gong's book are "Fu on Restraining Emotions" ("Jing qing *fu*") and "Fu on the Beginning of Harmony" ("Xie chu *fu*"). But Gong has made convincing arguments that "Fu on Restraining Emotions" turns out to be a different name from "Fu on Curbing Excess" ("Jian yi *fu*") and "Fu on the Beginning of Harmony" is an essential part of another *fu* of Cai Yong's, "Fu on Harmonious Marriage" (Xie he hun *fu*). (Gong 2003: 864–876). This essay goes along with Gong's list.

We can now establish the complete list of all of the 16 *fu* of Cai Yong: "Fu Recounting a Journey" ("Shu xing *fu*"), "Fu on the Han River" ("Han jin fu"), "Qingyi *fu*" ("Fu on the Green-dressed Girl"), "Fu on Short People" ("Duan ren *fu*"), "Fu on Writing Brush" ("Bi *fu*"), "Fu on Zither" ("Tan qin *fu*"), "Fu on Grieving over the Old Chestnut Tree" ("Shang gu li *fu*"), "Fu on Cicada" ("Chan *fu*"), "Fu on Pellet Chess" ("Tanqi

fu"), "Fu on Harmonious Marriage" ("Xie he hun *fu*"), "Fu on Blind Musician" ("Gu shi *fu*"), "Fu on the Downpour" ("linyu *fu*"), "Fu on Curbing Excess" ("Jian yi *fu*"), "Fu on the Round Fan" ("Yuanshan *fu*"), "Fu on Obscure Article" ("Xuan biao *fu*"), "Rebutting Admonition" ("Shi hui").

Except "Fu on Obscure Article", which only contains the title and one sentence and is thus of no use in the discussion, the rest *fu* are more or less intact.

A few obvious characteristics of these *fu* can be immediately detected even for none-expert readers of *fu* in the late Eastern Han. First, none of these *fu* is epideictic *fu* (dafu), the well-known genre of *fu* which has a pre-eminent role until a few decades before Cai Yong. Clearly, there has been a shift in trend of *fu* composing in the time leading up to the end of Eastern Han. And in this regard, Cai Yong's *fu*, with all their experiments and given their huge influence, helped redefine *fu* in his time. Like the epideictic *fu*, Cai Yong's *fu* also has basic features like the use of rhymed and unrhymed verses, repetitions of synonyms, extensive parallelism, elaborate description and overstatement. But unlike those epideictic *fu*, his *fu* does not contain endless showy obscure words and allusions and are in a less ornate style.

Second, Cai Yong writes on the most extensive subjects in his *fu*, compared with all other *fu* writers of all time. A glimpse of the titles of these *fu* and we find subjects that were hardly written on in *fu* before him. For example, his "Fu on Han River" is the first *fu* about rivers. Also, his "Fu on Pellet Chess", "Fu on Harmonious Marriage", "Fu on the Round Fan" and "Fu on Short People" are all pioneering work that have inspired later *fu* writers to write on these same objects.

Great writers attain their greatness not only in acing the standard norm. They also innovate, experiment and explore. In this regard Cai Yong is beyond doubt a great *fu* writer.

4 Cai Yong the Great *Fu* Innovator

There are various types within the genre of *fu* and the criteria of demarcation are more often than not very arbitrary. Three major categories are the Shi style *fu*, the Sao style *fu* and prose *fu*. Already indicated by their names, Shi style fu is the type of *fu* inspired by the typical four-character verse of *Shi jing* (The Book of Songs). Sao style *fu* are after Qu Yuan's "Encoutering Sorrows" ("Li sao"). Cai Yong's seminal contributions to the development of the genre of *fu* lie in his Sao style *fu*. Sao style *fu* arose from imitating the songs of Chu, either in content or the stylistic features. The making of a Sao style *fu* usually necessitates it to contain the caesura marker *xi* and in content is usually about the author's lament on his talents not being valued by the world, the most famous example being Jia Yi's "Lament for Qu Yuan" ("Lament for Qu Yuan"). In this regard this subgenre is also called "Fu on Frustration".

The contribution of Cai Yong to Sao style *fu* or to the genre of *fu* generally is broadening the scope of it, enabling it to convey different emotions other than only frustration. The evolution did not begin with Cai Yong, but he could be credited to having broken the boundary of Sao style *fu* and pushed it to a higher level.

We can illustrate how he changes the way Sao style *fu* is written through the example of his "Fu on short People". The title alone tells us that it has nothing to do with the author's frustration, although in stylistic features it strictly follows what is expected of a Sao style *fu*. It is a *fu* that ridicules dwarfs and has received very little

scholarly attention perhaps because of its embarrassing content for modern people's eyes. The preface of this *fu* tells us the origin of dwarfs in China. In short, Cai Yong believes that dwarfs are ugly, stupid and alcoholic creatures that come from barbarian foreign places and come to China to be Sinicized. He then added that his intention is to vividly describe them in the *fu*. The *fu* itself is short:

> 雄荊雞兮鶩鷿鵜,鶻鳩鶵兮鶉鷃雌。冠戴勝兮啄木兒,觀短人兮形若斯。熱地蝗兮蘆即且,繭中蛹兮蠶蠕須。視短人兮形若斯,木門閫兮梁上柱。敝鑿頭兮斷柯斧,鞞鞨鼓兮補履樸。脫椎枘兮擣衣杵,視短人兮形如許。(Gong 2003: 840)

> Jing cocks, fledgling grebes,
> Pigeon chicks, quail hens,
> Crested hoopoes and woodpeckers:
> Observe the short people: Their appearances are like these.
>
> Ba-Peaks horse, Xiaxia ponies,
> Locusts in hibernation under ground, crickets in reeds,
> Chrysalides in cocoons, silkworms wriggling hairs.
> Regard the short people: Their appearances are like these.
>
> Wooden door middle-posts, beam-top supports,
> Damages chisel heads, broken-handled axes.
> Pita hand-drums, mallets for repairing shoes,
> Slipped-off hammer handles, pestles for pounding garden shallots.
> Regard the short people: Their appearances are like so. (Asselin 2010: 361–366)

In each line divided by the caesura marker *xi*, the basic syntactic structure that pours from the beginning till the end is XXX *xi* XXX, XXX *xi* XXX. Except in the last verse in every stich "Regard the short people: Their appearances are like these", each *xi* serves as a separation marker of images. By comparing dwarfs to woodpeckers, broken handle axes and pita hand-drums and so on, this is a *fu* cataloguing similes that describe exhaustedly the way dwarfs talk, walk, curse, and how laughable their miniature stature is. Unlike cataloguing of, for example plants in "Encountering Sorrows", the images here do not arouse any sense of beauty but rather depicts ugliness. Sao style *fu* usually deploys a sad tone but we clearly see from this example Cai Yong consciously challenged this concept and shown expertly that Sao style *fu*, with its characteristic musical rhythm, could be used to explore and express entirely something else, like comic effects of satirizing.

The second important innovation, and hence contribution to the genre of *fu*, is his direct engagement with politics in his *fu*. Rather than deploying indirect suasion like piles of epideictic *fu* before him do, Cai Yong is the writer who would go all out attacking what he believes to be injustice. This is epitomized in his "Fu Recounting a Journey". Even the preface alone would suffice to demonstrate his courage in his relentless criticism:

延熹二年秋,霖雨逾月。是時梁冀新誅,而徐璜左悺等五侯擅貴于其處。又起顯明苑于城西,人徒凍餓,不得其命者甚眾。白馬令李雲以直言死,鴻臚陳君以救雲抵罪,璜以余能鼓琴,白朝廷敕陳留太守遣余到偃師,病不前,得歸。心憤此事,遂託所過,述而成賦。(Gong 2003: 817)

In the autumn of the second year of the Yanxi 延熹 era [‘159 C. E.]’, it rained steadily for over a month. At this time, Liang Ji having just been put to death, the Five Marquises Xu Huang, Zuo Guan, and the others arrogated exalted positions in his place. Moreover, when they were building the Park of Manifest Yang to the west of the city, the labourers froze or starved and those who lost their lives were legion. The prefect of Baima 白馬, Li Yun 李雲, died on account of his forthright statement. The Grand Herald, Lord Chen, was punished on account of his coming to Yun’s aid. Huang told the court about my ability to play the zither. [‘The emperor]’ commanded the governor of Chenliu 陳留 to dispatch me. When I arrived in Yanshi 偃師, I became ill and being unable to proceed, I obtained leave to go home. My heart was so filled with resentment towards this affair that, based on the places I had passed, I wrote this *fu* recounting it. (Translated by the author of this article)

Cai Yong’s heart was indeed “so filled with resentment” that he even dared name the corrupt consort clans and eunuchs. This *fu*, probably the most famous one in his oeuvre, recounts his journey from Chenliu to Yanshi, where he decided he should proceed no more and return home. It is highly possible that the preface was writer after the main body of the *fu* and the illness in Yanshi a mere excuse. In the main body, generally the couplets alter between historical places (and their associations with corrupt officials in the old time) and physical places (bad weather, unpleasant road conditions, tired body and soul). For example, the couplet “I make a journey to capital Lo/ And encounter a long spell of incessant rain. /The road is arduous and obstructed/ Flooded with standing water, creating a disaster. 余有行于京洛兮, 遘淫雨之經時. 塗屯邅其蹇連兮, 潦污滯而為災.” and “At dusk, I stayed in Daliang. / I reproach Wu Ji’s being praised as a god. /Lament over Jin Bi’s guiltlessness, /And despise Zhu Hai’s seizing the General. 久余宿于大梁兮, 誚無忌之稱神. 哀晉鄙之無辜兮, 忽朱亥之篡軍.” The gloomy and rainy weather was giving Cai Yong a hard time travelling westwards to the capital. More depressingly, the places he passed by reminded him of those saddening historical incidents. The harsh physical conditions and unpleasant socio-historical context merged into altered lines of outcry.

From his biography in the *Hou Han shu* we know too well that Cai Yong is not the type of person who restrains himself from criticising in the face of political revenge. And his outspoken verses in this have enriched the expression of social realism in the *fu* genre.

The third major contribution of Cai Yong’s *fu* endeavours to explore is his metrical innovation in the rhythm of fu. Shi style *fu*, following the tetrasyllabic stichs from the *Shi jing* has four characters in each stich. There is either with the *xi* caesura marker in the fourth charter or sometimes without. Sao style *fu*’s stichs usually have seven syllables in each stich with or without *xi*. The tetrasyllabic-septasyllabic-alteration lines form the basic pattern of the rhythm of Cai Yong’s *fu*. But he successfully and consciously introduced new patterns, mostly subtle and easily going unnoticed, to create a more vibrant rhythm in his *fu*. Let’s first consider his verses with *xi* the caesura marker. There are six varying patterns of stich observed in his lines.

1. XXXX, XXX 兮。

E. g., 跋涉遐路,艱以阻兮。I have trudged and waded distant roads, / That was difficult and hazardous.

2. XXXXXX 兮,XXXXXX.

E. g., 余有行于京洛兮,遘淫雨之經時。I make a journey to the capital Luo, / And encounter a long spell of incessant rain.

3. XXXXXXX 兮,XXXXXX.

E. g., 經圃田而瞰北境兮,晤衛康之封疆。While passing through Putian, / I behold its northern limits, / And remember it as Kang of Wei feudal bounds.

4. XXXXXX 兮,XXXXXXX.

E. g., 僕夫疲而劬瘁兮,我馬虺隤以玄黄。The driver is enervated, fragged from exertion, / My horses, haggard, stagger, turning from sloe to sallow.

5. XXXXXXX 兮,XXXXXXX.

E. g., 博六經而綴百氏兮,建皇極而序彝倫。Well-versed in the six Canons and connecting a hundred masters/ We build the imperial grandeur and set principles in order.

6. XXX 兮 XXX, XXX 兮 XXX.

E. g., 脫椎枘兮擣衣杵,視短人兮形如許。Slipped-off hammer handles, and pestles for pounding garden shallots. /Regard the short people: Their appearances are like so.

As observed above, patterns 1 and 2 are the most frequent. The rest patterns' frequencies vary, from a dozen occurrences (pattern 6) to several occurrences (patterns 3 and 4), to a single occurrence (pattern 5, in "Fu on the Writing Brush"). In most *fu* of Cai Yong, he deploys a combination of these patterns. For example, in "Fu Recounting a Journey" alone we could find an interchange alteration of patterns 1–4. The stich patterns without the caesura marker *xi* are prose verses most frequently as pattern 1 and pattern 2. We could see examples in "侏儒短人,僬僥之後. 出自外域,戎狄別種(Pygmies are short people,/ Descendants of the Wren-men,/ Who emerged from the outer regions,/ And are a branch race of the Rong and Di.)and "普天壤其無儷,曠千載而特生. Throughout all heaven and earth, she has no match;/ Only once in a millennium is one like her born." In most of his *fu*, Cai Yong combines the use of Sao style verse with all its variant patterns and prose verse to make a symphony of rhyme. Flowing from one pattern to another, the rhythm goes with the process of alteration and helps make Cai Yong's *fu* rich in various emotions these verses denote. And we can feel certain to assert that in this regard, the musician Cai Yong gives the *fu* writer Cai Yong an impeccable, elegant and delicate choice of rhythm.

The fourth literary innovation in Cai Yong's *fu* involves his creative borrowing from the *Shi jing*. Being an

erudite classics scholar, Cai Yong must be very familiar with the *Shi Jing*, which can be easily attested by the fact that Cai Yong used images and ideas from the *Shi Jing* extensively in his *fu*. For example, in "Fu on a Green-dressed Girl" alone, there are at least 15 references to *Shi Jing*, when the whole piece of *fu* contains only 264 characters. And also, the *fu* is written in Shi style *fu*, using tetrasyllabic stichs from the beginning to the end.

The first way is directly borrowing words from *Shi Jing*. Let's see, for example, the second line of "Fu on the Green-dressed Girl": 歎茲窈窕, 產於卑微. ("O this coy and comely one,/ Is born in lowliness and humility!") When Cai Yong praises the green-dressed girl and tries to make a contrast between humility and noble, he borrowed the phrase 窈窕 (yao tiao, "beautiful") and hence the denoted image from *Guan ju*, the first poem in the Zhou Nan section in the *Shi Jing* ("窈窕淑女, 君子好逑" There is a good maiden fair,/ Whom a young man is wooing). The second example, also found in this *fu* is in the line 兼裳累鎮, 輾轉倒頹 (My layered robes are burdensome and oppressive, /I wheel and stagger, stumble and fall). The word 輾轉(turning) is also a borrowing from "*Guan ju*" (But tosses all night long,/ So deep in love, so deep! 悠哉悠哉, 輾轉反側). When the male persona cannot attain his love for the green-dressed girl, he, like the gentleman in *Guan Ju*, cannot sleep at night with emotions running wild in his mind.

The direct borrowing from *Shi Jing* is powerful and adept. Served as an allusion, it not only re-shows the images he borrowed, but also invokes the readers' knowledge and feelings for the original poem when they encounter these borrowings.

The second way is the use of metonymy, borrowing the titles of poems in the *Shi Jing* as substitutes for what these poems stand for. We find the example in "Fu on Harmonious Marriage": "葛覃恐其失時, 摽梅求其庶士." ("Kudzu Vines Spread" fears missing opportunity,/ "Dropping Plums" seeks after gentlemen.) *Ge tan* ("Kudzu Vines Spread")is the title of a poem in Zhou Nan, which implies a woman's wish to go back to visit her parents, while *Biao mei* ("Dropping Plums")is the title of a poem in Zhao Nan section, which indicates the maid's wish to be pursued by a gentleman. ("求我庶士, 迨其吉兮!" If you love me at all, / Woo me a lucky day!).

Although the reference to "Kudzu Vines Spread" is somewhat obscure, the reference to "Dropping Plums" clearly shows that the bride in this *fu* in eager to have a merry wedding and husband. The use of poem titles in the *Shi jing* to refer to the content of these poems is a concise as well as an intelligent way to incorporate images into the *fu* verses and enrich the meanings.

The third way, which I believe best demonstrates Cai Yong's masterful literary skills, is the re-writing of lines from the *Shi jing*. Examples are prevalent in his *fu*. Let's see, for example, how he rewrites lines from the *Shi jing* to praise the beautiful, humble maid in "Fu on the Green-dressed girl":

> 盼倩淑麗,皓齒蛾眉。玄髮光潤,領如蝤蠐。縱橫接髮,葉如低葵。脩長冉冉,碩人其頎。(Gong 2003: 833)

An engaging smile and animated eyes, a fair beauty,/Gleaming teeth, lovely brows,/ Black hair, shiny and sleek,/ Neck long and white like a grub./ Across and down, touching her hair,/ Are leaves like falling mallow./ Longish and dainty-delicate,/ 'A stately woman of goodly height.' (Asselin 2010: 367–369)

These eight stichs are rewritten from the second stanza of the poem "The Duchess Zhuang Jiang" (shuo ren, 碩人) from *The Airs of Wei* (衛風) section:

手如柔荑。
膚如凝脂。
領如蝤蠐。
齒如瓠犀。
螓首蛾眉。
巧笑倩兮。
美目盼兮。(Zhou 2002: 82)

Like lard congealed her skin is tender,
Her fingers like soft blades of reed;
Like larva white her neck is slender,
Her teeth like rows of melon-seed,
Her forehead like a dragonfly's,
Her arched brows curved like a bow.
Ah! Dark on white her speaking eyes,
Her cheeks with smiles and dimples glow. (Xu 2013: 78)

Here Cai Yong rewrites what in the original poem descriptions of lady Zhuang Jiang to applaud green-dressed girl's fingers, neck, hand, manner, eyebrows and smile. He adds new images and rearranges originals images into a symphony of beauty. And by comparing the lay girl to the noble lady Zhuang Jiang, he daringly disregards the social taboo. All is done too well within only eight lines through his rewriting. We also see in the end another example of his rewriting forms the *Shi Jing*: "I think about you, muse about you, / Aching for satisfaction, I'm utterly famished." (思爾念爾, 怒焉且饑.) This line is rewritten from *Ru fen* ("Leave Me Not"): "未見君子, 怒如調飢." (My lord cannot be seen, / I feel the hunger great.) The female persona's hunger for her husband to come back is rewritten in this *fu* to represent the male persona's miserable longing for the green-dressed girl.

The naturalness and conciseness of the expression in the *Shi jing* inspire the ways Cai Yong writes about women and love. He adeptly uses these three different ways to borrow images from the *Shi jing* to express his own inner feelings and makes his *fu* rich in emotions.

5 Conclusion

Cai Yong's *fu* fundamentally changes literati's conception of what could be written about in *fu*, encourages a way of direct and bold expression in the subgenre of political *fu*, and helps to inspire a flow of the rhythm in *fu* that is more elegant, delicate and more sophisticated, but also showcases how classics such as the *Shi jing* can

contribute to one's own writing in innovative ways. It would be fair to conclude that Cai Yong is one of the most important innovators of *fu* writing in the late Eastern Han.

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Research on the Cross-cultural Narrative Effect of Traditional Chinese Music

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Abstract: As an important component of fine traditional Chinese culture, promoting cross-cultural communication of traditional music is the theme of the "Culture Going-Out" Strategy. This paper introduces narrative theory into the cross-cultural communication of traditional Chinese music and separates five paradigms of its overseas narrative: Japan's geographical relationship dimension, South Korea's cultural trade dimension, Southeast Asia's historical immigration dimension, the United States' political security dimension, and Italy's cultural sharing dimension. It also puts forward suggestions for reconstructing the cross-cultural narrative system of traditional Chinese music based on the analysis of the relationship between the narrative subject, narrative strategy, narrative discourse and narrative effect.

Keywords: traditional Chinese music, cross-cultural narrative, traditional culture, The Belt and Road, "Culture Going-Out" Strategy

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1 Introduction

At the closing ceremony of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games, performances with Chinese unique cultural rhymes, such as "Loving the Willows" and "Farewell," attracted worldwide attention, showing the hidden and powerful effect of music narration. As an American scholar Edward Cone said, "Music is a language," "so there are a lot of discussions about what music tells and how to tell-indeed, music can tell anything (Cone 1974/2011: 1)". Promoting the cross-cultural narrative of Chinese traditional music is an inevitable move under the initiative of the "the Belt and Road" and the blueprint of "Culture Going-Out."

Traditional Chinese music can be traced back to the Huangdi period, while its overseas communication began in the pre-Qin period. With the development of economic and trade exchanges between China and foreign

countries, cross-cultural exchanges of traditional music have been carried out. In the era of globalization and information technology, the cross-cultural narrative of Chinese traditional music faces many new challenges, such as how to integrate into the world cultural family while maintaining its characteristics and how to enhance the cultural soft power while enhancing the cultural identity of Chinese culture. Analyzing the current narrative effect of Chinese traditional music and summarizing the gains and losses of historical experience will help clarify the obstacles and improve the narrative effect.

2 Five Dimensions of Cross-cultural Narrative Effect of Traditional Chinese Music

In the long-term historical practice, the cross-cultural narrative of Chinese traditional music yielded fruitful results and established a cognitive foundation around the world. However, in modern times, until "Western learning spread eastward," the cross-cultural communication of Chinese traditional music progressed slowly, and some audiences formed an impression of aging, rigid and outdated traditional Chinese music. The overseas narrative of Chinese traditional music in the modern and contemporary period has been seriously hindered due to the long-term weakness of national strength, serious cultural trade deficit and other unfavorable conditions. Generally speaking, the cross-cultural narrative effect of Chinese traditional music varies significantly in different periods and regions.

2.1 The geographical relationship dimension in Japan

Chinese traditional music has a long history of communication in Japan, benefiting from geographical location and profound origin in the two countries. Even today, Chinese music still shows an important influence on Japanese music. For example, at the opening ceremony of the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympic Games, the entrance music of Japanese sumo wrestlers was an elegant tune originating from China.

Since the early Qin Dynasty, traditional Chinese culture, including agricultural production technology and musical instruments, came to Japan, with the development of water transportation. In the Tang Dynasty, Chinese musical instruments, music scores, and music rituals, were systematically introduced into Japan. Japan also set up special music institutions such as Gagaku-ry (雅樂寮), Nei chiao fang (内教坊) and Drum-Blowing Department (鼓吹司), following the music management system of the Tang Dynasty. In the Ming Dynasty, Ming Yue was widely spread among the mainstream people in Nagasaki and Kyoto. In the Qing Dynasty, Chinese songs such as Nine Linked Rings were very popular in Nagasaki, and often were taken as one of the compulsory music courses for children in upper-class families (Wang Zhiguo 2021: 33).

However, since modern times, the attitude of Japanese society towards Chinese culture changed significantly. In particular, the rise of Japanese nationalism and the outbreak of the war of aggression against China made it impossible for the two countries to have large-scale and effective communication in music and culture. Entering the contemporary era, especially since the Chinese Reform and Opening-up, the music and cultural exchanges between China and Japan have opened up a new situation. Two new trends emerged: Folk forces became an important driving force, including Chinese musicians living in Japan and Japanese local folk

forces; Besides, commercial interests became another important driving force. A typical case in the contemporary music industry was the success of Twelve Girls Band.

Overall, the Japanese audience's interest in Chinese music focuses on music with both contemporary style and traditional charm, which implies the factors of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the recognition of Chinese culture by mainstream Japanese people.

2.2 The cultural trade dimension in South Korea

In ancient times, the transmission path, and narrative characteristics of traditional Chinese music in the Korean Peninsula were similar to those of Japan. Traditional music and culture in the Korean Peninsula have a deep Chinese mark, such as local representative instruments, Xuanqin(玄琴) and gayageum(伽倻琴), which are all transformed from Chinese musical instruments.

After the reform and opening, especially the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1992, the two countries conducted music communication frequently, including music-academic exchanges and music performance exchanges. In terms of performing arts, the Beijing Opera Academy of China, China Disabled People's Art Troupe, and Wuhan Peking Opera Art Troupe, have all performed in South Korea, demonstrating the cultural charm of traditional Chinese opera. In addition, the Central National Orchestra, the Japanese Music Group and the Korean Central National Orchestra jointly founded the Asian National Orchestra. At the same time, a large number of non-governmental exchanges have emerged, especially in the field of popular music and youth culture. China South Korea Song Festival and "Korean Wave" are the most typical.

Overall, the cross-cultural narrative of traditional Chinese music in South Korea presents the following three characteristics: Firstly, the audiences of the two countries objectively have a high degree of cultural commonality, and the consistency in language, culture, and customs, brings convenience to cultural communication to some extent. Secondly, the popular music industry represented by the "Korean Wave" has formed an industrial cluster effect with the help of mass media, showing strong penetration and commercial value. In comparison, the Chinese music and cultural industry face a huge cultural trade deficit. Third, due to the rapid improvement of South Korea's national strength and the rising trend of nationalism, some Korean audiences have many misunderstandings and even discrimination against Chinese music and culture.

2.3 The immigration dimension in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia, formerly known as Nanyang, plays an important role in China's Maritime Silk Road. Traditional Chinese music is widely spread in this region, which is driven by both official and folk forces, presenting a scene of multiple subjects, multiple channels and large-scale.

Officially, Ming treasure voyages (Zheng He's voyages to the West) in the Ming Dynasty promoted economic and cultural exchanges. In addition, accompanied by two population migrations "going to Southeast Asia" in history, a large number of Chinese migrated there. The first time was the transportation of Chinese workers from the Opium War to the early 20th century; The second one was from the early 20th century to the early 1950s.

Local audiences in Southeast Asia have high cultural recognition of Chinese traditional music culture, and

massive market demand for cultural consumption, due to the high proportion of Chinese in the total population. The history of traditional Chinese operas performing in Southeast Asia has exceeded 150 years. At the content level, the most typical is the wide spread of local Chinese operas represented by Nanguan (Helen REES 2014: 40–54). Cantonese opera is also widely spread there.

In recent years, the spread of traditional Chinese music in Southeast Asia is in ascendant, which reflects the great influence of music as a unique language on promoting cultural identity.

2.4 The Political Security Dimension in America

The narrative effect of Chinese traditional music in the United States shows the typical landscape of contemporary cross-cultural communication of Chinese culture. And the narrative drive of traditional Chinese music in the United States can be roughly divided into three dimensions: Chinese and American folk music forces, music education and communication institutions, and official organizations.

Migrant population and performance exchange have become important factors. Many Chinese workers went to the United States in the middle of the 19th century, they could be regarded as the first generation of immigrants. Since modern times, the upsurge of Chinese immigrants to the United States has not subsided, forming a phenomenon of new immigrants. Mei Lanfang's visit in 1930 became an epoch-making event and was considered as the most successful case in history (Li Tongwei, Li Qingben 2020: 41–48). In the contemporary era, Zhou Wenzhong, Tan Dun, Yo-Yo Ma, and other musicians are recognized in the mainstream market of the United States. Another folk force is American scholars. For example, Louis Strong Hammond and Henry Eichheim, combined Chinese characteristics to create Christian ritual music after studying in China.

In terms of music education and communication, Zhao Yuanren founded the Chinese Singing Arts Seminar in the United States in 1969. In 1987, the Asian Music Research Association began to publish research articles on Chinese music by American scholars. In 2017, the Central Conservatory of Music and the Bard Conservatory of Music in New York opened the major of Chinese folk music instrumental performance, which was the first major of Chinese folk instrumental performance established by foreign universities. Since then, local Americans could also study Chinese folk music and obtain a degree in Chinese folk music (Ding Chen, Wang Zhijun 2018: 10–11).

As for official organizations, they mainly include official cultural performances, official literary exchanges and Confucius Institutes. For example, Binghamton University established the Confucius Institute of Opera and a large number of Chinese literary and artistic groups performed in the United States.

Overall, in the mainstream cultural market of the United States, the sense of the existence of Chinese traditional music is not strong, the market competitiveness is weak, and some audiences have a rigid impression. In addition to the ever-changing Sino-US relation, the narrative of traditional Chinese music is not smooth. A typical example is that many Confucius Institutes in the United States have been closed in recent years (Hou Honghong 2022: 182–192).

It is particularly important to note that the music and media industry in the United States is undoubtedly the first in the world. And they are good at learning from other countries. For example, the music score of Kung Fu Panda combines Chinese traditional music with Western music. It was created by Hans Zimmer, a Hollywood music master. With the help of this popular global film, it objectively promoted the spread of traditional Chinese

music and culture. This method of innovating narrative texts and expanding narrative channels is very worthy of our reference and learning.

2.5 The two-way communication dimension in Italy

The opening of the Silk Road enabled the two remote countries, ancient China and ancient Rome, to initiate economic and cultural exchanges. The exchanges between the two countries epitomized the value of two-way and mutually beneficial sharing. The exchange entered a prosperous period, which began in the Yuan Dynasty and was most prosperous in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, especially with the participation of business travelers, missionaries and other cultural figures.

Marco Polo, an Italian businessman and traveler, lived in China for 17 years. The Travels of Marco Polo recorded the music played in folk activities, banquets, wars and other scenes in detail. In the Ming Dynasty, Matteo Ricci, the first Italian missionary who came to China and the first foreign music teacher in the Chinese court, participated in the revision of the music part of the Ming Huidian(明會典). Matteo Ricci's Notes on China (利瑪竇中國劄記) systematically introduced Chinese musical instruments, operas, music activities, etc., to the west, which improved the Western understanding of traditional Chinese music and culture. At the same time, Matteo Ricci also introduced the Western piano, organ, etc., to China. In the 17th-18th century, "China fever" rose in Europe, and Chinese customs such as architecture, clothing and clothing, as well as Confucian philosophy and Chinese literature, were sought after in Europe. Opera, which was born at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, was inevitably affected by Chinese music and culture. Many Chinese elements appeared in Italian opera. One was to embody "China" rather than traditional Chinese music. For example, "Chinese Women" embodies clear Chinese elements; The original story of "Chinese Hero" came from the Chinese Yuan Opera "Zhao's Orphan(趙氏孤兒)". The other was the explicit use of Chinese music. For example, Puccini used the Chinese Jiangnan folk song Jasmine(茉莉花)(Zhou Lina 2022: 65-66) and the folk song "Mom, how confused you are(媽媽你好糊塗)" in his plays.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Italy in 1970, traditional Chinese music has been widely and continuously spread in Italy. Not only do Chinese musical performance organizations visit Italy frequently, but also, the Italian government launched the "Turandot Plan," the "Italian Culture Year" in 2006, and the "Chinese Culture Year" in 2010. This is naturally driven by administrative forces, but the Italian audience's recognition of the aesthetic value of traditional Chinese music culture is the key factor. It can be seen that traditional Chinese music is also an important contribution of Chinese culture to world civilization. Promoting cross-cultural narration of Chinese traditional music is conducive to inheriting world civilization and sharing excellent human wisdom and cultural crystallization.

3 Factors Influencing the Cross-cultural Narrative Effect of Chinese Traditional Music

3.1 Narrative subject and narrative effect

From the perspective of historical practice, the narrative subject of Chinese traditional music was erratic

between the official and the folk. The official played a central role in communication and communication, such as the establishment of "Yuefu(樂府)" in the Han Dynasty, the establishment of Li Yuan(梨园), Taichang Temple (太常寺) and Jiaofang(教坊) in the Tang Dynasty, and Ming treasure voyages. Until recent years, many foreign cultural exchanges also were promoted by administrative forces. Although official promotion brought some convenience, too much official participation and hard implantation of official discourse, also tend to bring about a sense of propaganda, thus producing a preconceived position on the narrative text, resulting in counterproductive effects.

The overseas narration of Chinese music in history could not be separated from the drive of Chinese immigrants. Not only they became an important narrative subject of traditional Chinese music, but also the main object in fact. The narrative object was excessively dependent on the immigrant population, and there was a risk that the audience was only Chinese.

In addition, the choice of narrative text and narrative scene, in the final analysis, is actually about the narrative subject. Traditional Chinese music has accumulated a wealth of text reserves, and a certain cognitive basis in overseas audiences which, of course, provides some historical benefits. However, this kind of "wealth" is not put things right once and for all. Due to the outdated narrative text, the lack of reasonable screening and the lack of modernity, some audiences regard Chinese traditional music as an obsolete culture. It is not an overnight thing to make "wealth" play its contemporary value.

3.2 Narrative strategy and narrative effect

From the perspective of the narrative effect, the cross-cultural communication of traditional music is never independent from society and times, but consistent with the social and economic communication needs of the period. The planning and implementation of the narrative need to constantly change and adjust the narrative text around the dynamic development, combined with specific narrative context, media channels, and narrative scenes.

The Silk Road aimed to promote economic and trade exchanges, but it objectively greatly promoted the overseas communication of traditional Chinese music. During the Song and Yuan Dynasties, the development of shipbuilding and navigation technologies made the Maritime Silk Road possible, which in turn promoted economic, musical, and cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries. Meanwhile, a large number of foreign travelers came to China. Although their original intention was mainly about economics and trade, their active narration brought mainstream people in Europe a much vivid and intuitive understanding of Chinese music culture.

The narrative effect of traditional Chinese music varies greatly in different periods, regions, and cultural and social backgrounds. For example, in Italy, it relies on theater performance, while in Japan and South Korea, it relies on the mass media of popular music and cultural consumption. Constantly enriching and adjusting the narrative strategy is of great significance for improving the cross-cultural narrative of Chinese traditional music.

3.3 Narrative discourse and narrative effect

Through the analysis of historical practice, it can be seen that the more attention is paid to reciprocal

exchanges in the narrative, the more likely it is to be recognized and accepted. In comparison, the narrative with strong propaganda and preaching would arouse disgust and rejection.

As a narrative text, traditional Chinese music is a dynamic cultural system, which is constantly enriched by the development of society, economy, culture and foreign exchanges. In the Han Dynasty, the policy of amity was implemented, and the two princesses were successively married to Wusun in the Western Regions. The long-necked disc lute(中長頸圓盤琵琶), as a unique Chinese musical instrument, became one of the dowries. Zhang Qian sent to the Western Regions to bring back the Western region music Moko Doule(摩柯兜勒), which was adapted into Twenty-eight Interpretations of the New Voice(新聲二十八解) and became a famous Han music. In addition, the curved neck pipa(曲頸琵琶) was also introduced from India to China in the 4th century, and became an important local instrument in traditional Chinese music. During the Sui and Tang Dynasties, a large number of Hu music was introduced into the Central Plains in China and integrated with local music. The most famous Nishang Feather Clothes Song(霓裳羽衣曲) in the Tang Dynasty was created by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty based on India's Brahman Song(婆罗门曲). Overseas communication has also enriched and developed the cultural system of traditional Chinese music.

The acceptance of Chinese traditional music is also in direct proportion to the will and ability of local narrators. Typical examples are Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci. These foreign communicators regard Chinese music and culture as treasures, actively absorb nutrients and share the achievements of Chinese civilization. Their promotion of Chinese music, combine with Chinese customs and culture, has greatly enhanced the appeal of Chinese music. The first perspective of the story has also increased the persuasiveness so that Western audiences can see the three-dimensional China. To further increase the attraction and appeal of traditional Chinese music culture and promote the narration of "others" will help greatly improve the cultural transmission.

4 Conclusion

New historical background brings new propositions to the cross-cultural narrative: how to highlight the unique aesthetic value and humanistic purport of traditional Chinese culture in the context of world culture, how to balance the promotion of traditional culture with the avoidance of one-way cultural output, or even narrow nationalism. In history, traditional Chinese music and world civilization had extensive and in-depth exchanges and realized the exchange of teaching subjects through mutual influence, which was why the rich and prosperous content system of traditional Chinese music emerged nowadays. The gains and losses of traditional Chinese music in the past cross-cultural narrative practice should be regarded as an important reference to promote relevant research and practice.

Traditional Chinese music has insufficient sense and awareness in the contemporary overseas mainstream music market, and some audiences' impression stays in a narrow historical category. Although this is closely related to cultural differences, cultural discounts, and man-made eyeglasses, it is also because of the lack of a complete narrative system in traditional Chinese music.

The cross-cultural narrative of traditional Chinese music should not only have a historical pattern, a sense of historical mission and a high degree of cultural self-confidence, but also be down-to-earth, pay more attention to

the study of narrative laws, promote the reconstruction of narrative discourse system, and then adopt different narrative strategies for different audiences in different regions and cultural background, so as to comprehensively improve the narrative effect.

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A Comparative Study on Magic Realism in *Beloved* and *Big Breasts & Wide Hips*

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Abstract: Originating in Latin America in the 1950s, magic realism has become a literary trend because of its artistic and aesthetic values. World-renowned writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Toni Morrison, and Mo Yan have published a series of literary masterpieces embedded with magical realistic elements, which draw the attention of many literary critics. This thesis uses text analysis and comparative study as research methods and examines the magical realistic elements in Mo Yan and Toni Morrison's representative works *Beloved* and *Big Breasts & Wide Hips*. The discussion focuses on similarities and differences from the perspective of magic and reality, magic narrative techniques, magic-realistic symbols, as well as mythological archetypes and sacred scripture in those two novels. Based on this, I find that hallucinatory realism is a better term in further magical realism studies because it shows magic realism's acceptance and transmission in China.

Keywords: magic realism; *Beloved*; *Big Breasts & Wide Hips*; comparative study

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1 Introduction

Magic realism is a literary term that originated in Latin America. Put simply, and it is a combination of magic elements and reality. Realistic characters, settings, and unrealistic events constitute the main fundamental key of these magic realists. Magic realists have achieved great success in the Modern and contemporary literary world. In 1982, Gabriel García Márquez won the Nobel Prize because of his masterpiece *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, "for his novels and short stories, in which the fantastic and the realistic are combined in a richly composed world of imagination, reflecting a continent's life and conflicts." His success brings magic realism to the world. Deeply influenced by Gabriel García Márquez and William Faulkner, Mo Yan becomes a new talent bursting on the literary scene. Toni Morrison won the Pulitzer Prize in 1988 for *Beloved* and the Nobel Prize in 1993, which drew many critics' attention. In 2012, Mo Yan was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature for his work as a writer "who with hallucinatory realism merges folk tales, history and the contemporary." From then on, he owns praise from critics all over the world as well as criticism. The word "hallucinatory realism" especially raises people's curiosity. Many critics do comparative studies concerning their writings, and they find many differences. Different from them, I chose another point of view to do the comparative study, which others rarely step into the two novels, both influenced by Gabriel García Márquez.

Beloved is Toni Morrison's fifth novel, which has always been regarded as the masterpiece of the contemporary black woman writer. It is this book that makes Morrison the first black Nobel Laureate. In this novel, Toni Morrison reveals a magic world before us, which got immediate notice and high evaluation when it was published. The protagonist, Sethe, kills her daughter and tries to kill her other three children when a posse arrives in Ohio to return them to Sweet Home, where Sethe would never want to come back. A woman presumed to be her daughter, called Beloved, returns years later to haunt Sethe's home at 124 Bluestone Road, Cincinnati.

In America, critics have noticed the magic elements in Morrison's *Beloved*. Joan Mellon (2000) pointed out that "the impulse of magic realism to confront the past, both from the past, both from a historical and a moral perspective, is also seen in Morrison's *Beloved*." (p. 20), but they haven't done further analysis about the presentations of magic realism or its effects. Morrison's works were introduced to China in the 1980s. The study of Toni Morrison in China is "underdeveloped" than that in Western countries. In the five major periodicals of foreign literature in China from 1988 to 2000, there are forty critical papers on Toni Morrison. Among them, seven Papers concern *Beloved*, focusing on the theme, structure, and writing style. None of them emphasize magic realism. From 2000 until now, more than 100 critical Papers on Toni Morrison can be searched in CNKI, about 60 of them concerning the relationship between Toni Morrison and magic realism. These papers have done a very good job of dealing with the main characteristics of *Beloved* and Morrison's writing style. (Su, p. 68) "The definition of magic realism is elaborated. The main characteristic in *Beloved*, magic realism, is analyzed, as well as its functions in building up the themes. Morrison expressed the brutality of slavery through the magic world in *Beloved*. He used the patterns of mythology and folklore to reveal the repression and resistance of culture and expressed the theme with the magical narratives." (Ma, p. 104) Papers like these give me plenty of

resources for my research.

Before Mo Yan got the Nobel Prize in literature, his works had become very popular in China and many other countries. His masterpieces like *The Galic Ballads*, *The Republic of Wine*, *Life, and Death are Wearing Me Out* are also welcome in Western countries. Research on magic realism has successfully drawn many critics' attention in China. Mo Yan styles himself as a writer of relist, often historical fiction, which is certainly true, as far as it goes. Like the Latin American creators of magic realism, he stretches the boundaries of "realism" and "historicism" in new and frequently maligned directions. The Swedish Academy, which selects the winners of the award, praised Mo's "hallucinatory realism," saying it "merges folk tales, history and the contemporary." The award is a cause of pride for a government that disowned the only previous Chinese winner of the award, an exiled critic.

Research on Mo Yan's works did not attract people's attention before the 1990s. In 2010, the number of papers concerning Mo Yan increased to over 100. At the very beginning, critics concentrate more on the analysis of Mo Yan's masterpieces. With the growth of comparative literature, research on Mo Yan becomes "international." Compared with Gabriel Garcia Marquez and many other famous writers, critics learn more about Mo Yan's creative writing. So, I should say that the existing research on Mo Yan's work has become a trend, and it will be more prosperous since Mo Yan got the Nobel Prize in 2012. Although the Swedish Academy named Mo Yan's style hallucinatory realism, we notice that he is also deeply influenced by magic realism from Latin America. According to Chen Liming (2008), "The transmission and acceptance of magic realism are broadening with our better understanding of humans. And we will have a more vivid understanding of magic realism with the development of open and reforming in the cultural field." (p. 26) Since magic realism plays such a significant role in Chinese Modernistic Literature, we must do detailed research on it. This paper employs magic realism as a theoretical foundation and mainly focuses on the comparative study of *Beloved* and *Big Breasts & Wide Hips* (*BBWH*). This thesis is not only a necessary supplement to the study of magic realism but also provides an important reference frame in the study of magic realism's transmission in China.

2 Real Characters and Setting & Unreal Events

Beloved is a realistic magic work in which reality and fantasy are both present. The setting of the story is a real place, and events that happened in the novel are based on real events. The story happened after the American Civil War, when an African-American slave, Margaret Garner, temporarily escaped from slavery in 1856 in Kentucky by fleeing to Ohio, a free state. A posse arrived to retrieve her and her children under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which gave slave masters the right to pursue slaves across state borders. Margaret killed her two-year-old daughter instead of allowing her to be recaptured. That is the foundation of the whole story. Moreover, her work is a sample of the works, which are mostly associated with political power and the influential societies that are battling against the influence of their previous dominant rules, considering themselves to be at the margins. (Bowers, 2004)

Quite a lot of unrealistic events can be found in this novel, which is taken for granted by the characters as if they are parts of this world. The most significant of these events is Denver's seeing the ghost as a "white dress"

that "knelt next to her mother and had its sleeves around her mother's waist" (Toni, M. p. 35). Also, Beloved appeared from the river in the form of a fully-grown woman when she was a one-year-old baby, eighteen years after she had been murdered by Sethe. These are references to an embodiment of slavery and cruelty, presented in a symbolic way.

Compared with *Beloved*, Mo Yan's *BBWH* shares the same feature: a combination of real characters and settings and unreal events. At the beginning of this novel, he claims that "to the spirit of my mother" (Mo, p. 1). Unlike *Beloved*, stories that happened in Gaomi are not directly from one single true event or story but a collection of historical events in Chinese history. *Beloved* shows us an age when slaves were not treated as human beings, while *BBWH* reveals to us the grave disasters that the Chinese have borne during the past 100 years, from the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 to the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and the early years of Sun Yat-Sen's republic, the Japanese invasion in the 1930s, the civil war between the CCP and Kuomintang, the cultural revolution, and the post-Mao years. In the additional part of his book, there are also events related to Modern China which mainly focus on influences brought up by reform and opening policy. Like Mo Yan, Shangguan Jintong is the youngest in his family. The unpredictable fate of his eight sisters is destined to be a tragedy in that special period. Mo Yan says, "in the book *BBWH*, I applied many true events that happened to my mother and me without scruple" (Shao, C. & Zhang, Y. p10). Regarding this, the main characters and plots and stories' outlandish elements were inspired by real events even though we do not have the exact example to illustrate.

The novel is loaded with unrealistic events, which are taken into serious consideration by the main characters of the novel. Lingdi, the third sister, also known as Bird Fairy, becomes famous quickly in Northeast Gaomi Town and beyond. Many people come to Jintong's house to get the panacea. The prescription is unique and filled with an aura of mischief: "a powdered mixture of seven bees, a pair of dung beetle's excrement balls, an ounce of peach leaves, and a half catty of crushed eggshells, taken with water." (Mo Yan, p. 151). It seems that the description is real and vivid, showing the details in every way. Nonetheless, the magic power of Lingdi is obviously mythological. "…the bird fairy had used her mystical powers to punish that terrible man, to the boisterous delight of the good people and the enhancement of her own reputation." (Mo Yan, p. 152) It is easy to catch the main property of these two novels: an integration of Realistic Characters, Settings, and Unreal Events. Common features are shared between Toni Morrison's "village literature" and Mo Yan's Gaomi-township. She claims to write for the "village" or the "tribe," while Mo Yan claimed to be a farmer as well as a writer. He does not write for the farmer or "village" but writes as a farmer. (Mo Yan, 2002)

3 Magic Narrative Techniques

3.1 Multi-angle narrative techniques

In *Beloved*, Toni Morrison uses the multi-voice narrative strategy in portraying the central conflict——infanticide. Rather than confirming storytelling as a singularly authentic form of communication, Morrison's applied numerous ways in *Beloved*—official and unofficial, central and decentralized, privileged and marginal. The processor unlocking the events of 18 years ago is revealed little by the painful memory (A word created by

Toni Morrison, which means the memory appears by itself.). Morrison moves around all the characters, allowing each one in turn to share their perception of events with the reader. The important events are not thoroughly described at once based on the timeline: such as the tale of Sethe's escape and Denver's birth, especially the infanticide. They are told by or remembered through the consciousness of various characters— Denver, Sethe, Paul D., Stamp Paid, Beloved and other black women in the Bluestone 124 as well as through the voice of the writer, each one of them contributes a little to the truth and making the mystery clear and closer to readers.

Baby Suggs' perspective is expressed in chapter fifteen, which allows the readers to sense a mysterious and suspicious atmosphere. After Sethe arrived at Bluestone 124, Stamp Paid brought over two pails of rare, deliciously sweet blackberries. Baby Suggs decided to bake some pies, and before long, the celebration had transformed into a feast for ninety people. Baby Suggs sensed a "dark and coming thing" in the distance, but the atmosphere of jealousy created by the town's people clouded her perception because she had overstepped, given too much, offended them by excess" (Morrison, 2004, p. 163). But suddenly, she realized that it was not only the colored people but something else. "Behind the disapproving odor, way back behind it, she smelled another thing. Dark and coming. Something she couldn't get at because the other odor hid it" (Morrison, 2004, p. 163). The reader can get a vague reason why Sethe attempts to kill her own children in the middle of the novel.

In the middle of the story, the schoolteacher who has come to bring Sethe and her children back to slavery which showed his point. For him, the infanticide and Sethe's attempt to kill her children are simply a testimony to the result of a little so-called freedom imposed on people who needed every care and guidance in the world to keep them from the cannibal life they hated. And he treats Sethe as a nigger woman or a creature. For Sethe, infanticide is a "mercy killing," and she takes it as the deepest hurt in her heart. From this, we can see when infanticide is happening and what makes a mother cut the throat of her own baby: the helplessness of a mother, the thick mother's love, the fear of losing her children, and her abomination of slavery.

The narrative mode encompasses not only who tells the story, but also how the story is described or expressed (for example, by using stream-of-consciousness or unreliable narration). The "narrator" could also be more than one person because some stories are from more than one point of view, showing different storylines of people at the same time. Critics pay more attention to the first-person narrative because many of them take the second-person narrative as a first-person narrative. In *BBWH*, the use of second-person narrative is a great success. For it makes the audience member feel as if he or she is a character within the story. The second-person narrative mode is often paired with the first-person narrative mode in which the narrator makes emotional comparisons among the thoughts, actions, and feelings of "you" versus "I." Gao Xingjian (1981) claims that "the use of second-person narration is getting more and more popular, because of the emotional comparisons which can be produced to readers." (p. 13)

In the novel, Mo Yan called the eighth sister in the first person and "she" in the third person; however, it is transformed to the second person "you" when depicting the eighth sister sinking gradually so as to demonstrate the deeply hidden love from Jingtong to the eighth sister. However, sometimes it is a mess because of the frequent appearance of you, me, and her. Additional chapters two and three use the first person, additional chapter four in the third person, additional chapter five in the first person, and chapters six and seven in the third person. The usage of the third person makes it possible to narrate the story clearly. And the first person contributes

a lot to telling family history in the view of Shangguan Jingtong. At the same time, the application of the second person enhances the emotional illustration. Mo Yan takes full advantage of those parts combining them to be a unit.

The character of multi-points of view functioning differently and the ability of the free-view switch helps Mo handle his rhythm easily, which is helpful to expression and bilateral criticizing between narrator and narratee. The switch sometimes occurs between two paragraphs, sometimes among chapters. Sometimes it even happens in a single paragraph.

Chapters		Point of View
Chapter1–Chapter10		Third person
Chapter11–Chapter36		First person
Chapter38		First person & Third person
Chapter39		First person & Third person
Chapter40	The first half	First person
	The others	Third person
Chapter42–Chapter50		Third person
Chapter51	The first half	Third person
	The second half	First person
Chapter52	The first half	First person
	The others	Second person & Third person
Chapter54		First person
Chapter55		Third person
Chapter56		Third person & First person
Chapter57–Chapter58		Third person
Chapter59–Chapter63		First person

The above table is a detailed description of the "Person" in *BBWH*

In short, the employment of multiple points of view is unique. In *Beloved*, the same events are presented in numerous voices, and each retells from different perspectives, with none taking precedence over the other. Each time, a different facet of the story is presented so as to form the same yet distinct story. Through skillful use of the multi-voice in narration, Morrison completely broke the traditional linear narrative structure, which is the main feature in the narration of this novel. She interweaves numerous memories and impressions into a whole in which the history and the fate of blacks are clearly shown. Meanwhile, Morrison makes the personal experience go up to a high degree of national destiny in this novel. Thus, this creative technique has strong shock and magic power.

3.2 Juxtaposition of the past and the present

One of the features of the two novels is broking the linear narration in structure. The juxtaposition of the past

and the present serves to reinforce the idea that the past is alive in the present. *BBWH* applies flashbacks quite often, but we can see the basic clue and it would be easy for us to grasp the main plot. *Beloved* is more like a work of stream of consciousness, and it is hard for us to grasp the main plot.

Morrison melds the entire story into one inseparable piece to be gazed at by giving us fragments to work with. From a stylistic perspective, Morrison's artistry in this regard is nothing short of breathtaking. It is not a linear tale that was told from the very beginning to the end, so the readers should read from the very beginning to the end. Sometimes the past is told in flashbacks, sometimes in stories, and sometimes it is plainly told as if it were happening in the present as Morrison frequently uses the present tense. Morrison's detailed description of details, memories, and lyrical commentary forms a liquid stream that carries the reader along the intriguing tale. In *Beloved*, the "Jigsaw puzzle" structure is applied. Almost all paragraphs in it are connected with a different timeline. Morrison arranges the time order in accordance with her mind flows. Such arrangement exemplifies the "dislocation of time" which can be found quite often in literal works concerning magic realism. There are two sets of time schemes to narrate the story: the "present time scheme" and the "past time scheme." The former is pointed out at the beginning of the novel: "For years each puts up with this spite in his own way, but by 1873 Sethe and her daughter Denver were its own victims." (Morrison, p. 3) The "past time scheme" appears when the character recalled the past starting from the 1850s. The past and present are mingled and mutually interfered with the development of plots. Just as Morrison (1994) said, "My writing expects, demands participatory reading…the reader supplies the emotions. The reader even supplies even some of the color and some of the sound. My language has to have holes and spaces so the reader can come into it." (p. 164) Readers have their own understanding and comprehension of the same text, which also causes magic effects.

In Mo Yan's storytelling, critics reach a consensus that he is a writer who is addicted to mingling the past and the present into a whole entity. For me, Mo Yan's works' structure is the "montage." Montage is a technique in film editing in which a series of short shots are edited into a sequence to condense space, time, and information. The term has been used in various contexts. It was introduced to cinema primarily by Eisenstein (Bordwell & David, 2005), And early Russian directors used it as a synonym for creative editing. Montage can be treated as a core concept in film editing, that's because of the magic effect produced by it.

Through the free combination, the esthetic function of montage can be very extensive. It can strengthen the power of living things, adjust tempo and mentality, stimulate new ways of thinking and relating, and create time and space. Mo Yan's sense of freedom and revelry make it possible for characters in his novel to get through easily from the past to the present. The magic effect is also achieved by the free shifting of insights, which plays a significant role in arousing readers' association and impacting the reader's emotions and psychology. There are two ways for Mo Yan to put montage into *BBWH*: First, people telling stories about the past can be a bridge connecting the past and the present. Second, by shifting frames, Mo Yan tries to achieve a slow or rapid pace when moving the plot forward. In *BBWH*, the main plot is arranged in accordance with the time sequence, whereas in some parts of the novel, especially the last several chapters, the main characters recall their memories more often. In chapter forty-five, Shangguan Lü said, "I do what has to be done, son. don't laugh at me. I' ve done many bad things in my life, but this is the first time I' ve stolen anything." (Mo Yan, p. 440) These "bad things" here are her old memories. To stand in her family, she has to make babies until she gets a boy. This

reminds the readers about what she had done in order to achieve this goal and finish this holy and important task.

At the same time, readers rethink the meaning of "bad" here. In the following part, Shangguan Lu resumes her memory. (Mo Yan, p. 440)

> At first, I hid them in my socks, but they caught me and made me feel lower than a dog…At first, I had to use a chopstick to make myself throw up…oh, the feeling…, but now I'm used to it…your mother's stomach has turned into a grain sack.

This conversation happens after Jintong comes back home from the farmyard. When he finds the special method, his mother makes the "dish." Readers sympathize with Jintong's feelings as well as his mother's. It seems like a picture or animation which reappears in front of our eyes, showing their suffering and hunger through telling the story by Shangguan Lü. The way how Shangguan Lü "steals" the food is so real and cruel, as if it is not true, and that is the writer's purpose, which is a representation of magic realism. The contrast between chapters forty-five and forty-six is also achieved by using an obvious time signal. Things have become so different in China before and after the 1980s. The arrangement of the time and the change of the world is to show the readers how quickly time flies and how hard these miserable days be forgotten. And that's how montage works in movies as well as literal works.

Like the jigsaw structure used in *Beloved*, the montage style shifting frames are also applied in *BBWH*. Jigsaw structure emphasizes the entity consisting of segments. Nonetheless, montage takes these segments as a whole part and achieves special aesthetic value and significance by shifting them or revealing them from different perspectives. Readers can feel the narrating tempo and the mental activity of the main characters of the novel. From chapter one to chapter nine, several scenes are displayed in front of us at the same time. The center of the whole thing is the birth of Jintong and Yunü; however, we cannot integrate these scenes into an entirety, which is different from the jigsaw structure in *Beloved*. Shangguan Lü emptied her dustpan onto the exposed surface of the kang and gently asked her daughter-in-law to climb back up immediately. She then said, "go ahead and have you baby…Your father-in-law and Laidi's daddy are in the barn tending to the black donkey. This will be her first foal, so I should be out there giving them a hand." (Mo Yan, p. 4) Yes, Shanguan Lu just wants to show her impatience to Shangguan Lü and leaves her alone. She has to take care of the black donkey. A woman's life is much cheaper than a donkey, that's the point of the scene (scene one).

Scene two is about the central character of the novel, Shangguan Lu, and she keeps praying to Guanyin and her ancestors. "Merciful Bodhisattva Guanyin, who succors the downtrodden and the distressed, protect and take pity on me, deliver a son to this family…" (Mo Yan, p. 4). This is the monologue as well as psychological activity. Although she was lying on the bed, we can infer that her spirit was kneeling down in front of the Buddha or her ancestor's memorial table. From another point of view, we can see how urgent and eager she wants a son. Scene three is the Japanese army's invasion which shows the environment when Jintong and Yunv were born to readers that the beginning of the story is the chaos of war. Putting these scenes together forms a sharp contrast (war) between humans and animals, ideals and Realities, China and Japan. Later, in the chapter, when Shangguan Lu got herself back from the coma because of violent pain, she prayed again, "God in Heaven,

Blessed Virgin! Send down your grace and bounty to save my soul" (Mo Yan, p. 39). The praying shows that Shangguan Lu's belief begins to change. At least she believes in these two "gods" at the same time. This really gives the story a good beginning which clearly shows the Background of the times as well as the main character. Therefore, readers will find it very interesting and feel inspired to read it further to grasp the whole thing that happens in the novel. This is not the same as *Beloved*.

Above all, they create an atmosphere that combines the past and the present, mingles different people and different events at the same time, creating a magical effect, not only producing in its readers the pleasure of a reading experience but also embodying the national cultural background to the maximum.

4 Magic-realistic Symbols

Magic realists usually make full use of exaggeration, absurdity, and mysterious techniques to show the social reality and people's living conditions by the description of absurd and strange events, which are expressed by puns and metaphorical methods. Just as I have mentioned before, magic realists often describe one event or character from different angles or describe different events and characters from one angle but from a different point of view. In characterization, magic realists describe characters step-by-step by adding mystery to reveal their inner world.

4.1 Magic-realistic symbols in Beloved

In *Beloved*, almost every slave is suffering from the slavery system, which has already been abolished. But the severe pains that were brought by the system will never be erased from slaves' minds. They find it difficult to get a peaceful and pleasant life although they are now free. Thus, painful memory will be an important point in understanding the novel and slavery. As the name of the novel, Beloved is the main character of the novel and the plot is mainly developed based on her. She is the center of the novel and also the key to understanding the whole novel. Like *BBWH*, we cannot be sure what exactly the breast means in different parts of the novel. Beloved also takes on a different form and represents a different symbolic image.

4.1.1 The killed baby— victim under the slavery system

In the first stage, Beloved appears as a dead girl killed by her mother. Under the slavery system, many children are persecuted by slave owners. Since birth, they are slave-owners private property just because their parents are slaves. They have no right to get freedom and education. More importantly, they have already been killed spiritually, which is nothing different from death. They are killed by the slavery system.

4.1.2 The ghost— black people's miserable past

Beloved appears in the shape of a ghost of the dead girl of Sethe, who keeps haunting the house where Sethe and Denver live. Whenever Sethe struggles against the ghost, she cannot help putting herself into the deep valley of the past, which has tortured her so many times. The ghost's haunting the house is a symbolic meaning of Sethe's unforgettable past. That the ghost keeps haunting the houses shows that Sethe fails to abandon the terrible past time and time again. Gradually, For Sethe, her daily life is a "serious work of beating backs the past." (Toni Morrison, p. 73) In fact, the story that Beloved revives after death and comes back is a fantastic story.

What happens in the story is absolutely not real. Toni Morrison has profound meanings to arrange two-year-old Beloved to revive after death. Beloved does not have a name and independent consciousness; her death is like wind, without any marks. It is just an epitome of 60 million even more black slaves who just died under the circumstances of slavery. White man's world and American society neglect the value and meaning that the Black person exists. They forget millions of Black persons' death is just as people's treating Beloved. They can only remember that there is such a thing as whether the person reviving after death is Beloved or not; even Sethe is not sure for a long time.

4.2 Magic-realistic symbols in Big Breasts & Wide Hips

In *BBWH*, the breast is necessary for Jintong's life. Without breasts, Jingtong will die. When Jintong grew up, the environment would not allow him to drink milk anymore, but he cannot forget the pleasure and sense of safety brought by his mother's breasts. Thus, instead of making love with single-breast Jin, he just sucks her breast even though it is "single." He knows that being addicted to breasts is wrong, but he just cannot stop it. Like slaves in *Beloved*, they want to forget the miserable days, but these days even come more often in their minds or dreams. Beloved and breasts in the two novels are important symbols. It is proper if we say those are the soul of the novels. The identification of Beloved is not clear. The things that happened between them are hard to believe. Readers will never have the right answer to this question, and that is where the magic and reality lie in the novels.

4.2.1 Resistance to grown up and the filthy society

In *BBWH*, we can find that the scene where Shangguan Jintong refuses to eat food and insists on drinking milk will impress us so much. As the only boy in the family, Shangguan Jintong owns the love and concern of all the family members. Thus, he is the only person who can drink milk all the way until he has to give it up when his family faces the hardest time. If he just gives it up at that time, it will be a failure for the writer who wants to make Jintong a symbol of insistence at that time. When Jintong gets a serious illness after he is sent back from jail, there is only one way to get him to survive: the milk from the breast.

Jintong is a symbol of eternality, and he is the only one who is still alive at the end of the novel. First of all, his eight sisters, seven nephews, and his mother died of different reasons, except Parrot; secondly, he has incurable breast fetishism. Mentally, he is an old baby, never grown up. He cannot get used to life without milk. The birth of a human means the disconnection of the mother's body. From a safe and warm space to an unfamiliar environment, people need great courage and confidence. And the ablactation means the official ending of the absolute adherence between mother and son. From this perspective, breast fetishism is the illustration of a human being's willingness to back to their mother's breast. As the purist food in the world, milk stands for a pure and innocent world. Jintong's attitude toward foods is "living animals" and "the fibers of vegetation" (Mo Yan, p. 232). Even whenever his disease comes back, he will throw out all the filth. We can take this as Jintong's resistance to the filthy society.

4.2.2 The worship of woman and reproduction

It is risky to use "Big Breasts & Wide Hips" as a title because it is easy for the readers to think about sex. Many critics blame Mo Yan's choice of title for a simple reason to draw people's attention and therefore

underestimate its literal value. Although the title can cause sexual association, what Mo Yan wants to express is reproduction. We can see the original adoration of the mother and reproduction. When Jintong was a little child, he showed great interest in breasts. In addition, he can judge his mother's mode from the taste of the milk. When he was grown up, his infatuation with breasts grew much more. No one other than him could understand breast better. In his lifetime, Jintong encounters numerous breasts: his sisters' breasts, his nephew's breasts, a stranger's breasts in the snow market, and even a goat's breasts. This is the evidence to prove that Jintong is not an immoral behavior who would not let any breast slip from his hands. On the contrary, it reveals all the men's dreams: they not only need love from their mothers but also from all the females. According to Mo Yan, there is a Shangguan Jintong in every writer's mind.

There are more than two ways to show the worship of breasts. One is the detailed description of breasts, and the other is through Jintong's breast fetishism. Jintong's love and worship for the breast can be divided into three types. First, take breast (milk) as food. From this point of view, all females are equal: his mother, sisters, neighbors, and the she-goat. He drinks their milk and loves their breasts. In the second place, Jintong makes breasts as sex. In the process of Jintong's growing up, all his sexual fantasy is related to breast. Thirdly, as the symbol of beauty and purity, Jingtong behaves properly without any considerations concerning sex in the snow market. Because of this attitude, he hates those people who devastate and ruin the breasts.

5 Mythological Archetypes and Sacred Scripture

To increase the magic feeling in their literal works, both Mo Yan and Toni Morrison have paid much attention to the employment of mythological archetypes and sacred scripture. Besides, by applying different mythological archetypes from their own countries or cultural systems, they can easily stand out as "themselves," which illustrates that they are not the imitators of Gabriel García Márquez.

5.1 Employment of mythological archetypes in Beloved

As one of the most salient characteristics of magic realism, the employment of mythological archetypes can be found everywhere in *Beloved*. As an African American, Morrison has the advantage of adopting mythic archetypes from different cultures. Morrison uses these mythic archetypes to explore the miserable lives of the Black slaves and expose the cruelty of the slave owners. The employment of mythic patterns strengthens the artistic influence and deepens the themes of *Beloved*. American critic Cynthia Davis (1982) notes that Morrison's skillful "combination of social observation with broadening and allusive commentary gives her fiction the symbolic quality of myth…the search for a myth adequate to experience is one of Morrison's central themes." (p. 323) Generally speaking, Morrison's use of Greek mythology is subtle and suggestive rather than direct. Her allusions, even the fairly obvious comparison, invite the reader to tease out implications rather than figuring out one-to-one symbolic correspondence.

As an African American, Morrison was brought up and educated in the American culture. Thus, she is strongly influenced and makes herself acquainted with western myths. And these myths are mainly taken from the Bible and the mysterious stories of the Western world. Morrison successfully combines these Western elments

with the native African-American culture. In this way, she forms her own way of writing.

5.1.1 Seth

Sethe is the beautiful and arrogant woman in the novel, whose name originates from Bible—Seth. According to the Hebrew bible version (Genesis 4: 1–8):

> Then the LORD said to Cain, "Why are you furious? And why are you downcast? If you do right, won´t you be accepted? But if you do not do right, sin is crouching at the door. Its desire is for you, but you must master it."
>
> Cain said to his brother Abel, "Let's go out to the field."
>
> And while they were in the field, Cain attacked his brother Abel and killed him.

Due to God's rejection of his offering and jealousy, Cain killed Abel. Therefore, God gives the third son to Adam and Eve. And Eve believed God had appointed him as a replacement for Abel. In *Beloved*, Morrison also hoped that Sethe would be blessed by God. However, In Egyptian mythology, Set (or Seth) is portrayed as the usurper who killed and mutilated his own brother Osiris. Osiris' wife, Isis, reassembled Osiris' corpse and embalmed him. Osiris' son Horus sought revenge upon Set, and the myths describe their conflicts. Osiris was a wise lord, king, and bringer of civilization who happily married his sister, Isis. Set was envious of his brother, so he killed and dismembered Osiris. Seth here is a cruel, pitiless man with no mercy. Obviously, the name Sethe which was given by Morrison, has double meanings. Therefore, Sethe is endowed with two different kinds of characteristics: goodness, loveliness, nobleness, and piousness, as well as indifference, ferociousness, and sinisterness. The infanticide shows Sethe's sense of dignity which shows the kindness and greatness of motherhood, instead of cruelty, ruthlessness, and tyrannical. (Luo, 2011)

5.1.2 Garden of Eden

In *Beloved*, Sweet Home is a parody of the Garden of Eden. What we can tell from the name is the harmony and sweetness of the "Sweet Home," where Sethe and other slaves are treated as instruments of labor. The origin of the story is Sethe's escaping from the plantation— "sweet home," and the escaping, as we can see, is the parody and rewriting of the Lost Paradise in the Bible. The second part of the Genesis creation narrative opens with God creating the first human, whom he places in a garden "in the east, in Eden." God asks the man to take care of the garden but forbids him to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The first man and woman break God's command and eat the forbidden fruit of the tree, and God expels them from the garden. Corresponding to this, Mr. Garner, the owner of Sweet Home, "having demonstrated one more time what a real Kentuckian was: one tough enough and smart enough to make and call his own niggers' men" (p. 13) He treats the slaves equally and calls them man to show they are equal; he never blames them and teaches them all kinds of skills. In Sethe's eyes, Sweet Home is a beautiful, idyllic plantation. Sethe's memory gives a vivid description:

> …suddenly Sweet Home was rolling, rolling, rolling out before her eyes, and although there was not a leaf on that farm that did not want to make her scream, it rolled itself out before her in shameless beauty. It

never looked as terrible as it was, and it made her wonder if hell was a pretty place too. Fire and brimstone are all right but hidden in lacy groves. It shamed her—remembering the wonderful soughing trees rather than the boys. (p. 7)

They are ignorant of the truth of slavery and complacent about being called "men." With the Schoolteacher's takeover of Sweet Home, all the dreamlike life comes to an end. From then on, they are treated barbarously, and Sweet Home becomes a place that is neither sweet nor a home. Finally, Sethe finds that her human and animal "characteristics" are measured by her Schoolteacher, and she decides to escape from Sweet Home. Unlike Adam and Eve are expelled from Eden, Sethe's escape is on her own initiative. Her escape is the Negation of Sweet Home, which tells us that the Sweet Home does not exist like the unreachable Garden of Eden.

5.1.3 African folklores as archetypes

Magic realism is deeply rooted in traditional cultures; thus, Morrison employs supernatural elements, including African-American folklore and African mythological, archetypal stories. This technique leaves the reader further thinking through the illusions.

I have mentioned the "jigsaw structure" before in this thesis from the narration's perspective. However, this kind of "jigsaw" has another meaning if we see it in another way. There is an African mythological archetypal story: once upon a time, there was a beautiful girl who is inspired by many people. She refused all of them because all of them are not handsome enough to win her heart. A devil heard of this and decided to try. He wandered around and collected the most handsome face, and the strongest body, making himself the most handsome man in the world. The beauty is attracted by the devil's appearance, ignoring all her family's opposition, and running away with the devil. All the way running with this pretty girl, the devil returned everything he borrowed one by one. And this is the time when the girl notices that the man she loves is an ugly devil. (Wang, 2011)

In the novel, Beloved is a combination of pieces borrowed from here and there. First of all, like the devil in the story, Beloved's body is an integration of several parts. In chapter five, "She had new skin, lineless and smooth, including the knuckles of her hands." (p. 61). "Her skin was flawless except for three vertical scratches on her forehead so fine and thin they seemed at first like hair, baby hair before it bloomed and roped into the masses of black yarn under her hat." (p. 62) "Sethe saw that her feet were like her hands, soft and new." From these descriptions, we can see that Morrison repeatedly strengthens Beloved's body as soft and tender. It seems that raising the head is very difficult for this twenty-year-old girl, "Her neck, its circumstance no wider than a parlor-service saucer, kept bending …" (p. 60).

Above all, we get the information that Beloved's body is not compatible with her age. Later in chapter fourteen, "Beloved went on probing her mouth with her finger." (p. 157) This reminds her to think that maybe like her teeth, her body may disappear one day. Second of all, Sethe's experience is formed by many small events, which I have done detailed research on and explained in the narration part. Beloved's experience stands for what all the miserable days the slaves have been through. Through this magical description of historical reality, Morrison shows us that Beloved cannot be removed from black people's minds.

5.2 Employment of mythological archetypes in Wide Hips & Big Breasts

5.2.1 Buddhist literary connotation

The Buddhist literary connotation in Mo Yan's novels is the key for us to get a better understanding of magic realism. The employment of Buddhist doctrines in literature is not Mo Yan's creation. However, Mo Yan takes the best advantage of the resources from Buddhist doctrines and makes it a summit. *BBWH*, not only Buddhist doctrines were applied when Mo Yan created these characters, but also the Western religion—Christianity. For Mo Yan (2007) himself, he feels closer to Buddhism, "Among the world's three major religions, I feel more destined for Buddhism because of the extraordinary beauty." (Mo Yan, p. 326) And he also claims that "Without religious spirit, it is very hard for a novel to become a classic." (p. 404) Therefore, he combines religion from the west with Buddhism, which forms a sharp contrast between different cultures. In addition, he also applies Folk myths and legends to make his novel unique. The application of these skills inserted more magic elements in Mo Yan's novels, which achieved great success.

An Apsara is a female spirit of the clouds and waters in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. Apsaras are beautiful, supernatural female beings. They are youthful and elegant and superb in the art of dancing. They are the "symbol of luck and beauty." In China, Apsara can be seen in literal works and Buddhist scriptures as well. In Journey to the West, one of the most important novels of China, Bonze Tang ascends to heaven with his three followers. Ascending to heaven in Apsara's plot is very common in Buddhist scriptures. People who are destined to become Buddha and Buddhist Arhat must ascend to heaven in the day. It is also the key point to solving problems that cannot be solved in this mortal world. But in Mo Yan's novels, things do not always happen like this. These flying people finally return to the land of reality and die. The violation of tradition breaks the magic and brings everything back to reality, which gives readers more space to think about.

In *BBWH*, Lingdi decides to marry Birdman Han, who was taken away to Japan because of war. On the third day after Birdman Han was taken away, "Third Sister got off the Kang, barefoot, shamelessly tore open her blouse, and went outside, where she jumped up into the pomegranate tree." (p. 147) Since then, Lingdi becomes the Bird Fairy. From there, we can see the whole thing is magical. The third Sister's behavior shows her desperate attitude toward Birdman Han's being taken away. In Sima Ku's fly body experiment, Third Sister died. "When she uttered the strange, shrill noise…her nose had hooked into a beak, her eyes had turned yellow, her neck had retreated into her torso, her hair had changed into feathers, and her arms were now wings." (p. 223) Before she jumps into the deep valley, she became the Bird Fairy again. The description of the scene put the characters and readers in the same space. We hope to see Lingdi will fly to heaven, where there is no sorrow, no suffering, and no pressure from the mortal world. But she failed us, "…she flapped up and down as she climbed the increasingly steep hillside, shrieking as if alone in the world and heading straight for the precipice." (p. 223) Finally, she falls onto the cold and pitiless ground.

As the writer, Mo Yan should just tell the story, and leave the readers to think. The combination of magic elements and reality raises a question for us: what is the truth? Different from the Buddhist Arhat, Bird Fairy's ascending is a tragedy. But Mo Yan still shows his attitude through Jintong's reaction, "She was already soaring through the air below the precipice—I prefer the word soaring to plunging." The comment shows Mo Yan's

sympathy for Lingdi.

Another example of Flying Apsara's plot is Sha Zaohua. After Sima Liang refuses her Passionate Proposing, she jumps out of the window. Sima Liang, who wants to show his masculinity, also follows Zaohua and jumps out of the window. The result is thought-provoking: ShaZaohua dies and Sima Liang survives the "disaster". When Zaohua falls out from the window, many people outside appreciate the "magnificent spectacle" like the Chinese people in Lu Xun'sworks, "People below craned their necks to witness the spectacle, ignoring the body of Sha Zaohua, which was spattered like a dead dog on the cement I front of them…" the reaction reveals the Chinese's "Onlooker" psychology, showing us that even economic development cannot solve all the problem, people's "Onlooker" psychology is the best demonstration.

5.2.2 Superstitious tradition in Chinese folk customs

In Mo Yan's understanding, the folk customs and folk culture mainly originated from his hometown—Northeastern Gaomi Township. He once claimed that "For me, the hometown is forever a dreamland, an everlasting sadness, a Kind of spiritual sustenance, and an escape from real life." (Ji, 2006) Therefore, Mo Yan puts all the superstitious traditions and Chinese folk customs from his hometown and his own experiences into his novels. Like Morrison's appliance of African folklore, the use of superstitious tradition in Chinese folk customs has also achieved great success in addressing the writing topic and achieving a magic effect.

One example of a superstitious tradition is the story of Linda—the Third Sister, as well as the Bird Fairy. She is not the only "Fairy" in Northeast Gaomi Township. "In the brief history of Northeast Gaomi Township, six women have been transformed into a fox, hedgehog, weasel, white snake, badger, and bat fairies, all a result of love denied or a bad marriage; each lived a life of mystery, earning the fearful respect of others." (p. 148) Here it provides a tradition and reason for the Bird Fairy's appearance, and this is just the beginning of making the readers believe that Bird Fairy does not come from anywhere. Shangguan Lu's reaction officially confirms the existence of the Bird Fairy, "Now a Bird Fairy had appeared in my house, which both terrified and disgusted Mother. But she didn't dare say anything that went against Third Sister's wisher…" (p. 148) and mother set a meditation room for the Bird Fairy in a side room. Later, Bird Fairy shows her extraordinary divine power. She can punish these evil people and help those patients with strange diseases. When we all believe that Bird Fairy is a true "Goddess" beyond the six great divisions in the wheel of karma as well as life and death, she dies. I prefer to take this as the break of feudal myth and a critique of reality: people must pretend to be wired sorceresses so that they can keep living in the world.

5.2.3 Connotation of Taoism culture

Taoism is a philosophical and religious tradition that emphasizes living in harmony with the Tao. The term Tao means "way," "path" or "principle" and can also be found in Chinese philosophies and religions other than Taoism. (Wikipedia) In Taoism, however, Tao denotes something that is both the source and the driving force behind everything that exists. In *BBWH*, Jintong is chosen as the Snow Prince. The founder of the snow market is a Taoist Men's Teacher—Taoist Chen, who received his instruction from Laozi, the founder of Taoism himself. And Taoist Chen has risen to heaven to become immortal. I would rather call the snow market a combination of Taoism and superstitious tradition than take it as a religion, for what they have done is far beyond the religious meaning.

Organizers of the snow market and the Snow Prince will get paid from the instruction: "They give me several pairs of straw sandals and some dirty money, as a reward for my elected as the Snow Prince." (Mo, p. 290) Compared with dirty money, women's breasts are pure and honest. According to tradition, the Snow Prince has to touch all the women's breasts from Gaomi to give them the blessing, "The Snow Prince raised his purified hands in the benediction to the women of Northeast Gaomi Township." The whole thing is holy and finished quietly. According to Laozi (1993), "The Tao that can be told is not the eternal Tao." (p. 1) People keep the rules from the beginning to the end. All of a sudden, the rules break: "Grunting like a little pig, she grabbed my head and buried it in her bosom, where her overheated breast burned my face, and I heard her mutter softly, 'Dear boy…my own dear boy…'." (p. 331) Without any instructions, we could only infer the reason why Old Jin (known for her single breast) broke the rule. That is a good combination of Taoism culture and magic realism.

From the comparative analysis of these two novels from the mythological archetypes and sacred scriptures perspective, we can find that both *Beloved* and *BBWH* share some common features. They all use religious quotations or religious connotations they are familiar with. Seth and the Garden of Eden are classics in Christianity. Flying Apsara is a well-known classic in Buddhism. Besides, Morrison also applies African folklore as archetypes in *Beloved*, just like Taoism in *BBWH*. Different from *Beloved*, Mo Yan also applies Christianism in *BBWH* (I have not done a detailed analysis before for lack of space), which originated from the West, but Morison has not mentioned Eastern Religions. Although that's due to the Western invasion, Mo Yan's cultural awareness connects his literary creation to his culture and historical background. Both the Employment of mythological archetypes and sacred scripture achieve great success and influence in combining the magic elements and reality.

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, Toni Morrison tends to adopt the multi-point of view in narration in her works, and Mo Yan applies the changing point of view, a combination of second-person narrative and third-person narrative. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the past and the present can be found in both novels, but in different ways. As a key feature of magic realism, symbolism plays a very important role in *Beloved* and *BBWH*. In addition, the employment of mythological archetypes and sacred scripture can also be found in the novels. Through analysis, I find the main characteristics of magic realism and how it is applied to literal works: narrative skills, symbols, and archetypes. Though originated from Latin America, Toni Morrison successfully adds African-American elements into the magic realistic writing, and Mo Yan makes it even more Chinese. We can see a clear clue about the transmission and worldliness from the similarities between *Beloved* and *BBWH*. More importantly, the tiny difference from the form to the content depicts an even more diversified literary world. Probably magic realism is no longer suitable for describing Morrison and Mo Yan's writing, which has been denied them publicly. I suggest using a more neutral word, "hallucinatory," since it is not used specifically to refer to Gabriel Garcia Marquez and his literary world; however, it shows a strong connection to the "Menglong" (朦朧) Chinese literary style.

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Analysis of the German Film *Das Wunder von Bern* from the Perspective of Cultural Memory

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Abstract: The theory of cultural memory has gradually formed a boom since the 20s of the 20th century, and the theory has continuously matured and developed with the deepening of research by famous scholars such as Jan Assman and Astrite El. The German film "Das Wunder von Bern" was filmed in 2003 while recreating the "Bern Miracle" of Germany's victory in the 1954 World Cup. It describes the story of a family of former Nazi soldiers, showing the memory of the German people after World War II, including not only the painful memory of his father, Richard Rubinsky, in the prisoner of war camp, but also the memory of the three brothers and sisters' abhorrence of Nazi crimes and the memory of German fans who regarded the defeat as a shame. Through the research method of rising from individual memory to collective memory, the different modes of cultural memory in the film "Das Wunder von Bern" are discussed, and the embodiment of the purpose and development of cultural memory in the film is analyzed, and finally, a deeper understanding of the film is obtained, and the understanding of cultural memory theory is deepened. The analysis of the film "Das Wunder von Bern" is not only of literary and academic significance, but also of great practical significance.

Keywords: cultural memory; World War II; *Das Wunder von Bern*

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從文化記憶視角分析德國電影《伯恩奇跡》

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摘　要:文化記憶理論從20世紀20年代開始逐漸形成一股熱潮,隨著揚・阿斯曼和阿斯特莉特・埃爾等著名學者對研究的深入,該理論得到不斷的成熟與發展。德國電影《伯恩奇跡》拍攝於2003年,在重現1954年世界盃德國奪冠的「伯恩奇跡」的同時,描寫了一個前納粹士兵家庭的故事,展現了二戰後德國民眾對戰爭的記憶,其中不僅有父親理查・魯賓斯基在戰俘集中營的痛苦記憶即創傷記憶,還有兄妹三人對納粹罪行憎惡的記憶和德國球迷將戰敗視作恥辱的記憶。通過由個體記憶上升到集體記憶的研究方法對電影《伯恩的奇跡》中不同的文化記憶模式展開論述,並分析了文化記憶的目的性和發展性在電影中的體現,最終取得對影片更深層次的瞭解,也加深了對文化記憶理論的理解。而對電影《伯恩的奇跡》的分析不只是具有文學意義和學術意義,還具有重要的現實意義。

關鍵詞:文化記憶;二戰;《伯恩奇跡》

一、引言

20世紀20年代法國社會心理學家莫里斯・哈布瓦赫的《論集體記憶》是文化記憶研究的開端。隨著研究的不斷深入,文化記憶理論被應用到不同的研究領域,且越來越多的被用於文學和影視作品的分析。

德國電影《伯恩奇跡》拍攝於2003年,是一部以1954年德國在瑞士世界盃奪冠的「伯恩奇跡」事件為藍本、重現德國足球輝煌時刻的足球題材電影。然而電影又花了大量筆墨虛構了一個同時期前納粹士兵家庭的故事,暗含了許多對於二戰的記憶,這些記憶貫穿於整部電影,成為電影的核心和主線,因此這部電影更是一部二戰題材電影。與其他同題材電影相比,《伯恩奇跡》並沒有把鏡頭對準殘酷的大屠殺、血腥的戰場、痛苦的受害者,而是通過含蓄地展現一些人對二戰的記憶來引發觀眾對二戰這段歷史的重新審視和思考。這些個人對於二戰的記憶是德國民族的集體記憶的體現,構成了對二戰的文化記憶。對這部電影中的文化記憶進行分析,不但可以更加深入地理解電影本身,也具有重要的現實意義,有助於新時代的人們對於二戰這段歷史更全面的瞭解。

二、文化記憶

(一)文化記憶的概念

「文化記憶」(das kulturelle Gedächtnis)一詞是由德國學者揚・阿斯曼在1988年發表的文章《集體記憶

和文化身份》裡創造的。他為這個術語做了如下定義:文化記憶的概念包括了可重複使用的文本體、意象和每個時期每個社會特定的儀式。其概念的建立起到了穩定和傳遞社會自我形象的作用,基於這種集體的知識,每個群體建立起對過去的整體和特性的認識,並把其對整體性和個性的認識建立於這種集體的知識之上。

揚·阿斯曼的文化記憶理論建立在法國社會心理學家莫里斯·哈布瓦赫的「集體記憶」理論基礎之上,其核心觀點是:社會群體的文化記憶根植於穩定的歷史積澱層中,以「詞語、圖畫、舞蹈」等非物質遺產形式進行「暢通的、具有象徵性的編碼或者演示」,並具有構建集體同一性的功能。然而文化記憶本身是跨學科的現象,揚·阿斯曼對文化記憶的定義只是基於媒介研究和文化歷史的領域。

20 世紀 90 年代起,文化學和歷史人類學框架下的「文化記憶」研究在德國蓬勃展開。文化學對「記憶」的研究不是從神經學或者腦生理學的角度出發的,而是將記憶看成是一個和文化、歷史等範疇緊密相連的概念,它以關於集體起源的神話以及與現在有絕對距離的歷史事件為記憶物件。

(二) 文化記憶的兩個層面

美國社會歷史學教授傑弗瑞·奧力克認為,「文化包括了兩種根本不同的概念,一是把文化看做存在人們頭腦裡的一種主觀意義,另一個是把文化看做公眾可從社會裡得到的具體化的象徵形式」。據此,德國研究文化記憶的著名教授阿斯特莉特·埃爾將文化記憶區分成個體的和集體的兩個層面,即個體層面和集體層面。

個體層面的文化記憶是以個人為載體,受社會文化環境影響而產生的生物學意義的記憶,在口傳歷史、社會心理學和神經學領域中研究的文化記憶就是從這個層面而言的。集體層面的文化記憶的載體是社會群體,以文化體系作為記憶的物件,歷史符號、歷史形象、習俗、節日、儀式、共同的過去都是集體記憶的表現。文化記憶的兩個層面能在學術分析上進行彼此的區分,但是二者在實踐中又有緊密的聯繫:個體記憶構成了集體記憶,集體記憶通過個體記憶體現出來。個人作為社會群體的組成部分,其回憶必然與社會的建構密不可分,關注個體記憶就可以作為研究社會結構與變遷的一個重要視角。因此文學作品和影視作品中對文化記憶的研究通常可以採用由個體記憶上升到集體記憶這種以小見大的分析方法。

(三) 文化記憶的模式

針對過去的一個事件,不同身份的回憶主體、不同的回憶立場往往會有形形色色不同的文化記憶。阿斯特莉特·埃爾認為,過去是不斷被重構和重建的,因此我們對過去事件的記憶(個體的和集體的)很大程度上能變化。這不僅把被回憶的內容看成真實的,而且還把如何回憶的,即過去呈現出來的性質和意義看成真實的。總之,回憶相同的過去事件有著不同的模式。例如,戰爭能被回憶成抽象的事件(「戰爭史巨大事件」),政治史的一部分(「一戰是 20 世紀最具影響力的災難」),創傷的經歷(「戰壕、彈片、炮火網等的恐懼」),家族史的一部分(「我的叔叔參加的戰爭」),痛苦爭論的焦點(「由老一輩人、法西斯發動的戰爭」)。政治史、創傷、家庭回憶或代際回憶都是涉及過去的不同文化記憶模式。

三、從文化記憶視角分析德國電影《伯恩奇跡》

(一) 電影《伯恩奇跡》

《伯恩的奇跡》(Das Wunder von Bern)以 1954 年的世界盃決賽為背景,講述了一段由無到有的父子關

係,以足球作為引子,牽出了二戰結束後的「創傷」主題以及德國戰後重建的艱辛歷程,影片成功再現了 50 年代德國足球的輝煌時刻。電影中的故事發生於 1954 年春天。赫爾穆特・拉恩是一名足球運動員,在德國埃森州足球隊擔任射手。因為實力出眾,被選入聯邦德國國家隊前往瑞士參加世界盃比賽。聯邦德國在小組賽第二場敗給匈牙利隊,但兩次戰勝土耳其隊,以兩勝一負的成績順利出線,隨後又打敗南斯拉夫和奧地利沖進決賽,再次迎戰勁敵匈牙利,出人意料的是,決賽中,聯邦德國力克匈牙利隊奪得冠軍,電影中的這場勝利,也就是德國歷史上著名的「伯恩奇跡」。

除了生動再現德國足球隊勇奪桂冠的精彩事件之外,電影還花了大量筆墨虛構了一個同時期前納粹士兵家庭的故事。11 歲的小男孩馬蒂爾斯・魯賓斯基是赫爾穆特・拉恩的忠實小球迷。他和母親克裡斯塔、哥哥布魯諾、姐姐英格麗特住在魯爾區,父親理查・魯賓斯基在他出生之前就被派往二戰前線。後來父親從蘇聯戰俘營回到了家中。理查帶著戰爭的心理陰影,無法正常工作,敏感暴戾的他還打了三個孩子,引起了全家人的不滿,大兒子布魯諾甚至離家出走,家庭陷入矛盾之中。理查開始認識到自己的問題,聽取了神父的教誨,向家人說出了一直隱藏在心底的戰俘營經歷,之後父子關係打破了僵局。世界盃決賽前夜,父親理查叫醒了睡夢中的馬蒂亞斯,帶他前往瑞士觀看比賽。馬蒂亞斯到了決賽現場,此時比賽已經由 2 比 2 的比分進入下半場。拉恩見到了站在球場邊的馬蒂亞斯後倍受鼓舞,以一腳射門最終領先匈牙利,奇跡般的成為世界冠軍。最後一幕中,載著歸來英雄的列車在夕陽駛向地平線。電影暗含了許多對於二戰的記憶,這些記憶貫穿於整部電影,成為其核心和主線。

(二)《伯恩奇跡》中的文化記憶——從個體記憶到集體記憶

將這部電影放到上述關於文化記憶兩個層面的理論框架中,不難發現它總是在個人記憶與集體記憶的交替中展開,而不是僅僅停留在電影的演示層面。其中暗含了許多關於二戰的文化記憶,包括父親理查・魯賓斯基在戰俘集中營的痛苦記憶、兄妹三人對納粹發動戰爭罪行憎惡的記憶、德國球迷將戰敗視作恥辱的記憶,這些都是個體層面上對二戰的記憶,然而這些記憶所建立起來的關聯卻是二戰這段時期的德國歷史。也就是說,電影通過演示一些個體記憶,來指向和反映民族的集體記憶。相對於歷史教科書、圖書館裡的史料等等對二戰歷史的描述,電影的這種由小見大的表現手法可以讓現在的觀眾更清晰、更全面、更深刻的體會到二戰這段歷史記憶以及這些二戰經歷者和二戰記憶所有者的思想。

(三)電影中不同的文化記憶模式

根據阿斯特莉特・埃爾關於文化記憶不同模式的觀點,回憶相同的過去事件有著不同的模式。在電影《伯恩的奇跡》中展現了不同人物對二戰不同模式的記憶,包括:父親理查・魯賓斯基在戰俘集中營的痛苦記憶即創傷記憶、兄妹三人對納粹罪行憎惡的記憶和德國球迷將戰敗視作恥辱的記憶。

1. 父親的記憶:創傷記憶

創傷記憶(Trauma)一詞最早出現在 19 世紀末的歐洲醫學界,表示某種心理層面的創傷,它的形成往往與危及生命的可怕經歷有關。如果這種創傷記憶不能得到及時的緩解和治療,則有可能長時間的影響當事者的人格和心態,並引發新的心理危機。創傷記憶有兩個特點,一是當事者在事後會有一段時間的潛伏期,其間他將無法與任何人談論和講述這段經歷;二是這段沉默期會最終結束,當事者會試圖解決創傷記憶所帶來的心靈傷害。

電影中的父親理查・魯賓斯基是一名在蘇聯關押了 11 年的戰俘,受盡了饑餓、勞累、疾病的折磨,二戰對於他來說最主要的就是一種非人的苦難經歷,這種經歷形成了他的創傷記憶。

回到家之後的一段時間內,他經歷了創傷記憶的潛伏期,他並沒有與任何人甚至是妻子談論過那段經歷,而是努力掩飾內心的創傷,儘量不去觸碰。這段時期內,他因受此影響無法正常工作,當進入礦井聽見打鑽機器「突突突」的聲音時,他不自覺的想到戰場上的槍聲和那段可怕的記憶,因而非常恐懼大聲慘叫。他的性格、情緒、心理也受到了創傷記憶的影響,變得異常敏感暴躁,總是與孩子們格格不入。

理查到政府部門領取戰俘補償金,工作人員說得知他在蘇聯犯偷竊罪和蓄意破壞罪被判5年徒刑,因此這5年期間內沒有補償金。理查解釋說是因為饑餓而偷了幾塊紅薯,工作人員說道,「魯賓斯基先生,規矩不是我定的,你也不是第一個抱怨的人,你應該慶倖。」理查感覺到自己沒有被人理解,他努力按捺的情緒失控了,「慶倖? 我應該慶倖? 你才應該慶倖,因為你沒有被抓到蘇聯去,沒有挨打!」這是理查第一次嘗試向別人傾吐內心的苦難,但是沒有得到對方的共鳴與同情,他的創傷記憶沒有得到緩解,因此引發了更強烈的負面心理問題。

在這種憤怒的情緒下他面對家人的態度更是不可理喻,與幾個孩子的關係在原本就緊張的情況下變得幾乎崩潰,大兒子布魯諾甚至離家出走。內心既苦悶又仁慈的父親決定找教堂的神父傾訴並尋求幫助:「我不知道怎麼辦,沒有辦法,我想把一切都做好,但是事與願違,現在布魯諾離家出走了……」神父很理解他的心情,告訴他:「我和很多戰俘交談過,他們大多數對過去遭遇的痛苦都感到羞恥,他們不讓家人參與,想表現的很堅強、勇敢,害怕家人看出監獄對他們造成的傷害……」經過這次談話,理查似乎變了一個人。在一個特寫鏡頭中,他充滿自信與力量地站在足球場上,然後騰空躍起倒鉤射門,球進了,他的臉上露出出場以來的第一抹笑容。與神父的談話是他的第二次嘗試,也是成功的一次嘗試,為之後第三次的徹底打開心扉埋下伏筆。

就在理查與神父交談的當天晚上,電影鏡頭為這個家庭渲染出一種祥和的氣氛,這時兒子向正在削土豆的父親問道:「你們沒有東西吃嗎?」父親用及其平和的口吻答道:「沒有,事實上我們的食物從來都不夠,蘇聯人自己也沒有什麼吃的,我們燒毀了他們的一切。」馬蒂亞斯認真聽著,並向父親投去敬佩和同情的目光,當收音機裡傳出他喜愛的足球新聞時,他起身關掉了收音機,回到桌邊繼續傾聽父親的訴說,正在熨衣服的女兒英格麗特也開始注意父親說的話。他接著說:「最重要的就是早上能起來。第一件事就是去摸摸旁邊的人,看看他是否還活著,或許還能用得到他的靴子。」忙著切菜的母親聽到這裡也停下了手中的活,「有時候他們會把那些不能勞動的人送回家。很多人就裝病,好讓自己回家。他們喝鹽水,慢慢的就病倒了,那些還能走路的人,都被派到工兵部隊去了,而我被派到西伯利亞的採石場。」馬蒂亞斯問,「你從來都沒想過回家嗎?」「我……都已經不相信能回家了,我就不再去想你們,只是想著怎樣過冬,怎樣找到吃的。有時候,農民會給我們點東西吃。有一次,一個蘇聯人帶我去他家,給我看了一張照片,那是他的兒子。我知道不該那樣對你,但是我不知道該怎麼做,這裡的一切都很陌生。還有布魯諾,那都是我的錯。」經過這段沒有太大情感波動的娓娓道來式的敘述,父親不僅徹底為自己的創傷記憶找到了出口,還坦誠地承認自己的錯誤,至此,他的創傷記憶得到了良好的治癒和清除。父子關係隨之得到轉折,父親在世界盃決賽前夜叫醒了睡夢中的馬蒂亞斯,開車帶著他開往瑞士伯恩。

2. 兄妹三人的記憶:納粹党是發動戰爭的罪人

兄妹三人記憶中的二戰就是一場由德國納粹黨人發動的、給別的民族帶來災難的戰爭,因此他們對待前納粹黨人(包括父親)的態度是排斥與鄙夷。這種記憶模式在布魯諾身上表現的尤為明顯。

影片開頭部分有個母親和三個孩子圍坐餐桌吃飯的場景,禱告完畢母親問給布魯諾安排的的工作怎麼樣,他的回答是「我才不替前納粹黨的人工作。」從這個開頭可以對孩子們對於納粹黨的憎惡略見一斑。之後有一次,馬蒂亞斯一進家門就看到母親和哥哥姐姐端坐在桌旁,神情嚴肅,桌子正中央放著一封來自父親

的信。母親在全家到齊之後拆開信,之後因激動而哽咽著宣佈父親要回來的消息,但是兄妹三人的反應只是面面相覷,毫無喜悅之情,英格麗特勉強的擠出一絲笑容。母親問道:「怎麼了,你們不高興嗎?」布魯諾面無表情的隨口附和,「高興,高興(doch, doch)」而馬蒂爾斯只是一臉茫然。從他的茫然還可以想像出家人平時極少提及父親,顯然他們並不歡迎父親的歸來。

後來母親帶著孩子們在火車站等候父親。母親焦急的在人群中張望,尋找丈夫的身影,她說,「我只希望他好好的,誰知道蘇聯人對他做了什麼。」一旁的布魯諾卻認為父親是罪有應得,「蘇聯人,蘇聯人! 蘇聯人會把德國人打得屁滾尿流,就因為聯邦德國無端去攻打他們!」在布魯諾看來,德國納粹黨發動戰爭給其他國家帶來了災難,而父親也是其中一員。

在迎來了父親之後,整個家庭都籠罩著火藥味。父親帶著戰爭遺留下來的心理陰影,而孩子們又保持著對父親身份的偏見,導致了父親與孩子的關係矛盾重重。父親在母親生日那天送了兄妹三人各自的禮物,送給布魯諾的是一個打火機,之後布魯諾發現它可能是父親在戰爭中的戰利品,這引發了他和父親之間的強烈的衝突。「他們就是這樣教你們這些士兵的?」他毫不避諱地對父親的前納粹身份進行了攻擊。被惹怒的父親打了布魯諾一巴掌,這場衝突導致了布魯諾離家出走前往東柏林。從這場衝突中可以更加明確的看出布魯諾對於二戰中德國納粹党人的行為的譴責和鄙視。

3. 德國球迷的記憶:戰敗的恥辱記憶

電影中的一位德國球迷把德國在二戰中的失敗看做一次巨大的恥辱,由此他產生了對德國乃至對國家足球隊的悲觀、自卑的態度,形象生動地反應了部分德國民眾二戰後因戰敗而產生的心理陰影。在與匈牙利的決賽之前,這位球迷斷定「我們輸了戰爭,也會輸了決賽」;當匈牙利率先踢進一球的時候,他抱怨道「這麼早就進球! 看來我們沒機會了」;當匈牙利 2 比 0 領先德國隊的時候,他失望的說道「我們會 0 比 12 輸掉的,德國人將會再次丟盡臉面,我回家了!」這位球迷對於比賽的預測和評判不是從兩隊實力的比較出發,而是明顯受到德國在二戰中失敗這段記憶的影響。

雖然有像馬蒂爾斯、體育記者的妻子、還有其他球迷這些深信德國可以贏得冠軍的人,但是有部分球迷還是免不了受到德國戰敗的影響,將之前的勝利視作幸運,將失敗視作必然。隨著比賽最終的勝利,德國民眾的民族自信心也隨之大大增強,並帶動了經濟的復蘇。

電影本身作為一種文化記憶的媒介,傳遞了二戰後德國人民對二戰的記憶。而同時電影又不只是如錄影帶一般對歷史客觀的重現,它帶有主觀能動的色彩,也有意識地參與到記憶的構建中。

四、結語

本文將文化記憶研究理論運用到影視作品中,通過由個體記憶上升到集體記憶的研究方法對電影《伯恩的奇跡》中不同的文化記憶模式展開論述,並分析了文化記憶的目的性和發展性在電影中的體現,最終取得對影片更深層次的瞭解,也加深了對文化記憶理論的理解。

文化記憶研究是一門跨學科的研究,文化記憶理論被應用到不同的研究領域,其中包括文學領域。而對電影《伯恩的奇跡》的分析不只是具有文學意義和學術意義,還具有重要的現實意義。

注釋

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[Studies in Politics]

A Study on the Interaction Between the Qing and Zheng Wars and the Changes in Chinese Strategic Culture: Based on the Analysis of Neoclassical Realism Theory

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Abstract: This paper attempts to take the conqueror of Taiwan by the Qing Dynasty as an example to explore the process and results of the strategic cultural transformation of the Qing Dynasty. The Qing Dynasty was faced with intense geopolitics at the beginning of its founding. Therefore, the Qing Dynasty established a stable rule by establishing the eight banners. At the same time, it emphasizes the political situation that the Manchus people are the first and Han people are the second, and the resulting Strategic Culture is dominated by Land Power. However, after the outbreak of the Revolt of Three Feudatories, the previous Strategic Culture could not cope with the Zheng regime, which was dominated by Sea Power.

Keywords: Taiwan; Strategic Culture; Chinese Qing Dynasty strategy; Revolt of Three Feudatories; Land Power; Sea Power

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1 Introduction

Culture has always been an important variable in human society. Different races, people, classes, and groups have different views on culture. After human beings form a state, the state of external interaction behavior also has a special set of patterns and cognition, just like people. In the international community, the culture of the

state's external interaction is called "Strategic Culture," which dominates the cognition and behavior of the state's foreign policy. However, when we reflect on the history of international relations, we can find that most Strategic Cultures do not have a fixed explanation, which is largely due to the different cultural models dominated by different times. If we think further from here, can we say that China has had different Strategic Cultures at different times?

At the same time, we can imagine why the Strategic Culture of modern China did not have a Strategic Culture that attached importance to Sea Power until the 19th century. Before that, Chinese Strategic Culture always had a Strategic Culture of coastal defense and auxiliary Land Power, but why did the Land Power Strategic Culture dominate China for such a long time? On this basis, this paper will reflect on the strategic cultural change mechanism of the Qing Dynasty, which established the territory of modern China. This paper selects the case of the Revolt of Three Feudatories and Taiwan as a starting point to discuss why the Strategic Culture of Sea Power that once appeared in the Strategic Culture of China in the Qing Dynasty disappeared rapidly after Taiwan was included in the territory.

2 Literature Review

According to the topic discussed in this paper, Strategic Culture is that countries often change their behavior for different reasons, which causes changes in Strategic Culture. With the interpretation of a state's strategic choice, Strategic Culture has become an important research field in international relations. However, what is Strategic Culture and what is the driving mechanism for promoting the change of Strategic Culture? Up to now, the academic community still has no conclusion. At the same time, most of the research also focused on the lack of strategic cultural research on the Chinese Qing Dynasty in modern and contemporary times.

The concept of Strategic Culture was first proposed by Jack Snyder in the 1970s. Johnston and Kierman studied the Strategic Culture of the Chinese Ming Dynasty and defined it as "a complete symbolic system, which establishes a universal and lasting strategic preference by forming the concept of the role and efficiency of military forces in international affairs" (Snyder 1990: 50–65; Johnston 2015: 23–30; Kierman 2017: 33–38).

Including causal principle, language, analogy, and metaphor is a pioneer in the study of Chinese Strategic Culture. Since then, Johnston and Kierman believe that the core concept of Strategic Culture has been discussed from "determinism" and "instrumental theory" to the current "intervention variable" analysis. However, there is still no consensus on what strategic culture is. In general, although the relevant studies are as numerous as stars that cannot be reviewed one by one, the previous studies have not answered how to change the Strategic Culture. What is the driving mechanism of this transformation? What is the causal relationship between strategic cultural change and other variables? At present, only Song's Position Realism has carried out relevant research on this issue (SONG 2021: 25–35). In addition, most of the discussions on Strategic Culture focus on the modern nation-state, and less on the Strategic Culture of China in the pre-modern period, especially the Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty.

3 Research Objective

Before the conquest of Taiwan, the Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty was mainly dominated by the Land Power thought dominated by the Manchus. However, why did the Qing Dynasty choose the Sea Power thought dominated by the Han people after the Han people entered the center of Political decision-making? In addition, in the Early Qing Dynasty, facing the threat of the southeast Zheng regime in Taiwan and the northwest Dzungar Khanate Khalkha Mongolian League (准格爾-喀爾喀蒙古聯盟), why did the Qing Dynasty choose the strategy of the first southeast and then northwest? Based on this, this paper tries to answer how the geopolitical and political elites promote the change of Strategic Culture and then promote the political results of the conquest of Taiwan (Mosca 2019: 58-66).

The case selected in this paper can explain the transformation of the Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty. The key lies in the fact that the original Manchus Land Power culture of the Qing Dynasty could not effectively conquer Taiwan in this war, which led to the fact that the political decision-makers of the Qing Dynasty had to adjust their military system and political elites. Before that, the Qing Dynasty did not reuse the Han political elites on a large scale on the issue of state survival. Therefore, this paper believes that the case of "the Qing Dynasty conquered Taiwan" can effectively illustrate the causal relationship between the dynamic mechanism of strategic cultural transformation and the geopolitical and political elites (Palafox 2008: 22-31).

To clearly explain how the Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty promoted the conquest of Taiwan, we will establish an effective analytical framework to clarify the causal relationship and dynamic mechanism between the Strategic Culture and other variables.

4 Research Background

4.1 Sea Power Strategic Culture:

According to Alfred Thayer Mahan's definition of "Sea Power," this paper defines the Sea Power Strategic Culture as the ability of a state to master the marine strategy, which is very important to its development and security (Mahan 2019: 43-52; ZHANG 2013a: 52-58; Takeda 2021: 37-42).

4.2 Land Power Strategic Culture:

According to the definition of Sea Power, we define the Strategic Culture of Land Power as Land Power Strategic Culture as the ability of a state to master the land strategy, which is very important to its development and security.

4.3 The History of China in the Early Qing Dynasty

From the Qing Dynasty's entry into the Shanhai Pass (山海關) to the Revolt of Three Feudatories (1644-1673), the Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty was dominated by Land Power, which came from the external

situation faced by the Qing Dynasty (Elliot 2001: 44–58; YI 2020: 51–57). In terms of land security, the Qing Dynasty faced the alliance of Mongolia in the northwest Khalkha and Dzungar Khanate, the collusion of Khoshut Khanate Mongolia in the southwest Qinghai Tibet region, Zheng Taiwan in the southeast, and Three Feudatories (ZHANG 2013b: 33–45). The complex geopolitical structure prompted the Qing Dynasty to pay special attention to the Land Power culture and integrate the Land Power culture with the behavior of political elites. As time went by, the behavior of the political elite gradually became a cultural symbol and shaped the diplomatic concept and interests of the Qing Dynasty (Palafox 2008: 45–53).

To survive in a highly competitive environment, the Qing Dynasty carried out the policy of "the Manchus first" (首崇滿州), relying heavily on military organizations composed of the Manchus. Emperor Shunzhi (順治帝) believed that "Royal ancestor, conquered China, entered the Shanhai Pass (山海关), raised (the Manchus) people from turbulence, ruled the Chinese area, all of these relying on the Manchus military strength, made the most contributions, and worked very hard" (LU 2017: 53–66).

Secondly, since the founding of the Qing Dynasty China, the Qing Dynasty has been actively engaged in the policy of marriage with the Horcin (科爾沁) Mongols, which aims to consolidate the control of the Qing Dynasty over Mongolia. For example, Emperor Shunzhi married Borzhigit (博爾濟吉特氏) in 1651 and granted her the title of Queen (QI 2022: 45–56). Shunzhi Emperor, the third emperor of the Qing Dynasty, the above-mentioned behavior shows that the elite political behavior of the Manchus has gradually become a cultural symbol. The cultural symbols of Land Power influenced the strategic choice of the Qing Dynasty during the Revolt of Three Feudatories, thus shaping the trend of the war (ZHANG 1997: 34–54; Hirano 2018: 64–77).

5 Research Method

This paper uses the process tracking method to try to find the causal mechanism within the case of the change of Strategic Culture. According to the definition of Strategic Culture, Johnston defines Strategic Culture as "a complete symbol system (causal principle, language, analogy, metaphor) generated according to the habitual behavior of political elites, which will affect state preferences and foreign ideas" (Johnston 2015: 33–45).

1. Test how did the Qing Dynasty form a Strategic Culture?

2. Test what is the relationship between Manchu elites and Strategic Culture?

3. Check after the Han elite participated in the war against the Zheng regime, how did they promote the Strategic Culture of Sea Power within the Qing Dynasty?

4. Check what is the relationship between the Strategic Culture of Sea Power and the political elite of the Han people?

6 Research Hypothesis

This article will take the neoclassical realism theory as the analysis framework. The theory recognizes that "policy choice" and "policy formulation" are no longer regarded as the direct results of system stimulation, and system stimulation needs to be investigated through the state and other actors as the center and recognized and

responded to in the specific internal political environment (Ripsman 2017: 25–34). Therefore, to explain the changes in external behavior, it is necessary to study the unique processes of cognition, decision-making, and policy implementation of countries/international organizations, which make them respond differently to similar stimuli. Therefore, we assume the mechanism process of strategic cultural change in the Qing Dynasty:

1. The whole causal mechanism is the dynamic mechanism of the strategic cultural change of the Qing Dynasty, which was caused by the Revolt of Three Feudatories. Stimulated by the system, which led to the change of the elite political power of the Qing Dynasty.

2. After the Han officials dominated the Southeast War, they changed the original threat perception and then changed the previous Strategic Culture dominated by Land Power.

3. The change in Strategic Culture also further changed the focus of the Qing Dynasty on geopolitics, and the change of focus led to the change of state identity cognition. This can also explain the Chinese legitimacy motive force of the Qing Dynasty's conquest of Taiwan in previous studies.

4. After the political results of the conquest of Taiwan emerged, they were further fed back to the Qing Dynasty, thus forming a situation in which Han officials had a certain power over the Sea Power in the southeast and the power in the north was still in the hands of the Manchus officials.

5. The different situations of power in the north and the south can show that the Qing Dynasty had two sets of Strategic Cultures in the north and the south, thus burying the root cause of the strategic cultural dispute over land and Sea Power in the late Qing Dynasty.

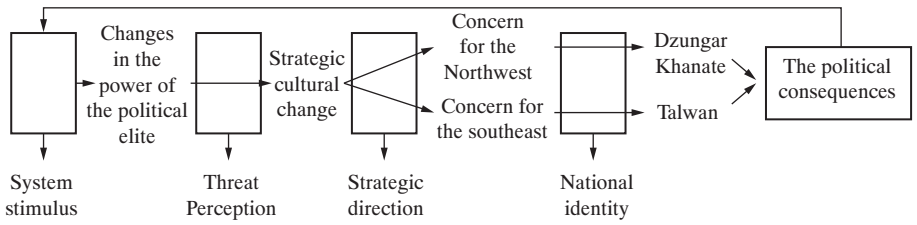

Table 1 Change of Strategic Culture and the Logic (Self-drawn by the author)

7 Results

7.1 Revolt of Three Feudatories and the change of Chinese security concept in the Qing Dynasty

In the Early Qing Dynasty, the ruling power of the Manchus was not enough to directly control the southern provinces, so the Manchu Dynasty adopted the policy of "ruling Han with Han." With the Revolt of Three Feudatories in 1683, the huge threat prompted the strategic center of the Qing Dynasty to move southward. In the 12th year of Kangxi (1673), Wu Sangui (吳三桂) claimed that Three Feudatories and other states were oppressed by Qing Dynasty to fight against the Qing Dynasty, and the Revolt of Three Feudatories broke out. When the news of Wu Sangui's rebellion reached the capital, it caused a shock to the Qing Dynasty, and even some ministers were frightened, Led by the great scholar Suo Yetu (索額圖).

At that time, the Qing Dynasty did not think that Wu Sangui and other local political forces would fight with

the central government, and they all had relatives as hostages in the capital. But when Qing Dynasty affirmed the Revolt of Three Feudatories, Suo Yetu demanded the killing of all the ministers who advocated the withdrawal of the vassal state to contain Three Feudatories (CHANG 1981: 14; YANG 2021: 110-120).

Zheng Jing also linked up with Wu Sangui and Geng Jingzhong (耿精忠) to move westward to capture the seven prefectures of Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Tingzhou, Chaozhou, and Hui. In his reply to the letter, Zheng Jing publicly claimed that he was " To meet the three vassals" and that he would "fight against the Qing's China with Three Feudatories. " As Three Feudatories and Taiwan's Zheng regime in Taiwan jointly resisted the rule of the Qing Dynasty, the Qing Dynasty had to face dual threats from land and sea. To win the war against the alliance between the Zheng regime in Taiwan and the Three Feudatories, the Qing Dynasty decided to deal with it first on land security. At the same time, this part can also see the influence of the cultural symbols of the Land Power strategy on the state security concept of the Qing Dynasty (Matsuura 2009a: 108-115; Matsuura 2009b: 88-90; KANG 2016: 120-130).

For example, in diplomacy, to prevent Wu Sangui, one of the Revolt of Three Feudatories, from contacting the Tibetan regime (Perdue 2021: 45-73; YANG 2021: 56-66). Faced with the threat of rebellion, the Qing Dynasty chose to deal with this problem first with state security on land. The Qing Dynasty first allied itself with the Tibetan regime. Tibetan regime said that I had known the news of the Revolt of Three Feudatories. If they enter Tibet, I will arrest them and give them to you (LI 2000: 65-77).

Kangxi assigned five troops to Jingzhou, Yuezhou, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Shaanxi to deal with the war. For China, it mobilized all the troops that could be mobilized at that time. The troops stationed in Beijing were quickly launched, and the troops defending the border between China and Russia also went to the front. However, during the outbreak of the Revolt of Three Feudatories (三藩之亂), there was also the Buerni Rebellion (布爾尼之亂) in the north against the rule of the Qing Dynasty. After knowing the rebellion in the north, Emperor Kangxi quickly sent Marquis Tu Hai (圖海) and General Erza (鄂扎) and Mongolian allies to strengthen military preparations to cope with the expanding war between the south and the north (Guo Shi Guan 1987: 39-45; Okada 2016: 66-71; Okada 2021: 52-59).

Although the Buerni Rebellion took only two months to be put down, it highlighted the loose control of the Qing Dynasty over Mongolia in the northwest of Khalkha (喀爾喀). Facing the pressure from the North and South rebellion, the Qing Dynasty made a different choice. Suppose the original Strategic Culture based on Land Power was to march to the south of Khalkha after the end of the Buni Rebellion and strengthen its influence on Land Power in the northwest. However, the Qing Dynasty turned to the Southern Three Feudatories and Taiwan after the chaos. It can be seen that for the Qing Dynasty, the intensity of the Three Feudatories Rebellion's impact on survival was higher than the threat of the Northwest (CHANG 2019: 113-125; Perdue 2021: 62-69).

At that time, the Qing Dynasty also requested affiliated Korea to send troops to participate in the crusade against the rebels from the north and south. However, the Korean rulers were worried about whether the Qing Dynasty had enough ability to defeat the rebels. In the end, the Korean leader said to the Qing Dynasty that he had made preparations to fight with the Three Feudatories, but in fact, Korea was watching the change in the situation in China (DING 2021: 51-55). The Qing Dynasty mobilized not only Prince Marcher Lord (Beile) but also the officers at the bottom of the Eight Banners, such as distant imperial relatives, Balkan Aisin Gioro (巴爾

堪), and other political strengths such as the Green Standard army (綠營兵) (The former Ming Dynasty army and other Han soldiers who surrendered to the Qing Dynasty) to fight (CHAO 1981: 120-135). The Revolt of Three Feudatories made the Qing Dynasty pay more attention to the Zheng regime in Taiwan and changed its perception of the threat to Taiwan (XIA 2015: 61-72; Iwai 2022: 54-60).

7.2 Taiwan Zheng's regime threat and the rise of Sea Power Culture

However, after the victory of the war with the Three Feudatories on land, the Land Power Strategic Culture held by the Qing Dynasty was not enough for the Zheng regime in Taiwan. The Qing Dynasty continued to fight against the Zheng regime in Taiwan in the southeast for years, and the policy of "surrender" and "siege" under the leadership of the Manchus Land Power culture failed to effectively deal with the threat of the Zheng regime in Taiwan (Okada 2021: 56-60).

First of all, under the influence of the Manchus-dominated Land Power Strategic Culture, the Qing Dynasty adopted the traditional Land Power thinking of "controlling the sea by land," which focused on land defense and regarded the sea as a forbidden area. During the process from "political elite power change" to "strategic direction," because the Zheng regime used its geographical advantages to confront the Qing Dynasty across the sea, the Qing Dynasty had no choice but to deal with the Zheng group for a long time. Therefore, under the Strategic Culture dominated by Land Power, the initial policy of the Qing Dynasty against the Zheng regime in Taiwan was "to follow the principle of appeasement, not to suppress highly" (SUN 2019: 71-75).

During the 21 years from the first year of Kangxi to the conquering of Taiwan in the 22nd year of Kangxi, 11 peace talks were held with the Zheng Group. In the first five negotiations, the Qing Dynasty always insisted on Zheng Jing's "obedience to Qing Dynasty" and "shaving hair and surrendering" (Coyett 2011: 110-125). At that time, Kangxi sent Mingzhu (刑部尚書明珠) as the main person responsible for the surrender of the Zheng regime in Taiwan. However, Zheng Jing complied that: "If China in the Qing Dynasty could treat me as a vassal state, like as Korea/Chosen rather than as a part of its territorial sovereignty. I would be willing to sign a peace agreement with China during the Qing Dynasty." Zheng Jing insisted that: "We were not part of the sovereignty of the territory of China in the Qing Dynasty." (ZHANG 2013b: 34-41; WU 2015: 35-38; WU 2017: 51-55).

As for Zheng Jing's statement of identity, Kangxi Reply harshly that: "Taiwan has been a Chinese territory since ancient times, can't compare the situation of Korea." In the 12th year of Kangxi, the Revolt of Three Feudatories broke out, and Zheng Jing colluded with Geng Jingzhong to capture Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Tingzhou, and other prefectures and local authorities (Clulow 2020: 101-105; Dash 2020: 64-68).

As the China Qing Dynasty was committed to fighting against the war in the southwest, China appointed Jieshu (杰書), who went to Fujian and was responsible for peace talks with Zheng Jing in the 16th year of Kangxi reign. Due to the inability to effectively combat the Zheng regime in Taiwan, the China Qing Dynasty made a big concession. They declared that: "Taiwan can pay tribute to China regularly like Korea, and China will stop attacking if Zheng recognizes Taiwan as a subsidiary of the Chinese Qing Dynasty." (Iwai 2022: 100-107). In July of the same year, Jieshu sent another envoy to Xiamen, and he requested Zheng Jing tributing to China and stop the war to attack Chin's Qing Dynasty. However, Zheng said that: "the Chinese Qing Dynasty

must transfer to the Zheng regime Taiwan the sovereignty of the islands along the southeast coast of China and the resources stored by the four local governments." (Iwai 2022: 120-133).

The negotiation between the Qing Dynasty and the Zheng Regime could not reach a consensus, so they could only continue to negotiate while continuing the war. In August of the 19th year of Kangxi (1680), Lai Ta (平南將軍賴塔), the general of Pingnan in the Qing Dynasty, said to Zheng Jing: "If Taiwan agrees to recognize Chinese suzerainty-ship and become a vassal state of China. Then Taiwan will not be attacked by China and can maintain peaceful relations with China like Japan and Korea." Although the Qing Dynasty had made the biggest concession, finally, they could not adopt suggestions from each other. The peace talks broke down again (China Social Sciences Press 1996: 135-148).

With the rise of Zheng's threat in the Qing Dynasty, the strategic consideration of Taiwan is increasing. Especially in terms of legitimacy, the Zheng regime in Taiwan was completely denied by the Qing Dynasty in comparison with the request of Korea and replaced by the Chinese identity of the Zheng regime in Taiwan. For example, in September of the eighth year of Kangxi's reign, Emperor Kangxi's imperial edict pointed out that "Zheng Jing is a Chinese," "Most of Taiwan are Chinese immigrants from Fujian" and Korea is a foreign State (Ching sheng-Tsu Shih-lu 1964: 70-88). The two cannot be compared. In their reply to Zheng Jing, Mingzhu (明珠) and other officials also seriously pointed out that "You are Chinese, and it is not appropriate to cite the case of Korea."

time	**amount to**	**Zheng attack qing**	**Qing attack Zheng**	**War scale**		
				Ten thousand people below	**More than ten thousand people**	**indeterminacy**
In 1651,	6	3	3	5	0	1
In 1652,	6	4	2	4	2	0
In 1653,	3	2	1	1	1	1
In 1654,	2	1	1	2	0	0
In 1655,	4	3	1	3	1	0
In 1656,	8	4	4	6	1	1
In 1657,	7	5	2	1	1	6
In 1658,	4	4	0	1	1	2
In 1659,	5	3	2	2	3	0
In 1660,	3	1	2	1	2	0
amount to	48	30	18	26	11	11

Table 2 According to Yang Ying's *Con Zheng Shi Lu* (從征實錄), the Zheng regime acquired the island base from 1651 to 1660 and then developed the land. In the past ten years, Zheng's army attacked the Qing army 38 times, and the Qing army attacked the Zheng regime 18 times without interruption, as shown in Table 2 (BU 2021: 61-63).

The Qing Dynasty, under the guidance of the Land Power Strategic Culture, also adopted the policy of no shipping in an attempt to weaken the strength of the Zheng regime in Taiwan. In the 12th year of Shunzhi's reign

(1655), the Viceroy of Zhejiang and Fujian, Tuntai (浙閩總督屯泰), besieged the Zheng regime in Taiwan and asked for the southeast coastal provinces to "no ships into the sea." Fang Xingye (房星燁), the Viceroy of Zhangzhou (漳州), also said that Zheng's military salaries were obtained from coastal provinces, so he only needed to "No one shall be allowed to carry out private maritime trade or live in coastal areas" (CHENG 2021: 54-60).

In the 18th year of Shunzhi's reign (1661), the Qing Dynasty adopted the suggestion of Huang Wu (黃梧), the former general of Zheng's regime. In his command, he forced the southeast coastal residents to move within 30 to 50 Chinese miles. Huang Wu (黃梧) made five strategies to eliminate Zheng's regime; moved coastal residents from Shandong, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, and other places into the inland, and set up border defense to prevent Zheng from attacking Chinese coastal territory. However, the Qing Dynasty's strategy could not damage Taiwan effectively. Qing Dynasty's strategy originated from an attempt to move the coastal tribes to arrest the Ming Dynasty generals before entering the Shan Hai Pass. But this way, failure to stop the Chinese southeast coast locals with the Zheng regime in Taiwan trades (ZHENG 2021: 56-64).

Because of the Qing Dynasty's ban shipping policy, Zheng Jing, in addition to developing Taiwan's shipbuilding industry. Zheng Jing sent merchant ships to and from various Chinese ports and traveled all over Heluo, Chiaochih, and Tokin, buying shipbuilding materials, and even casting Yongli coins from various places. Zheng Jing sent Jiang Sheng (江勝) to Xiamen to trade with the inland and finally made Taiwan's goods circulate to China. The Qing Dynasty's no-shipping policy did not achieve the desired effect but caused widespread smuggling, man displacement, farmland destruction, financial income deficit nearly bankruptcy (CHENG 2021: 61-64).

7.3 Decision to conquer Taiwan and the change of Sea Power Culture

At the same time, the Qing Dynasty's inferior position in the sea war with the Zheng regime in Taiwan forced the Qing Dynasty to further tilt its threat perception to the southeast. The Sea Power thought of the Han political elite has gradually risen. The Qing Dynasty also gradually realized that Taiwan's maritime strategy was not the traditional land Strategic Culture that could cope, so the state security concept of the Qing Dynasty began to change (伯來拉 2010: 230-242).

In the 18th year of Kangxi's reign, when the land war of the Revolt of Three Feudatories was gradually biased in favor of the Qing Dynasty, he decided to conquer Taiwan by force. He assigned Yao Qi-sheng (姚啟聖) to conduct this war. Yao Stated: "The Chinese emperor owns every inch of the sea territory. Unless the emperor agrees, no one can claim the sovereignty of the sea territory". Yao suggested Kangxi:

> If we want to ensure long-term stability in southeast China, we must eliminate the Zheng regime in Taiwan. We must remember the previous lesson. This lesson is that we attacked Xiamen before but were not under the jurisdiction of the local garrison, resulting in local disorder and threatening the stability of the rule. Now that we have conquered Xiamen again, we must quickly attack Taiwan, but we must establish our rule there. If there is no long-term order in the local area, there will be another war of resistance (YUAN 2020: 58-68).

At the same time, Fan Chengmo (範承謨), Yao Qisheng, Shi Lang (施琅), Li Shizhen (李士禎), Li Zhifang (李芝芳), the Han elite, they have successively called for strengthening the development of ocean affairs, especially in the field of ocean trade. Their thoughts are embodied in this article, *Qing Kai Hai Jin Shu* (請開海禁疏), the most representative, for example: "The state interest lies in maritime trade. If the coastal people are forcibly moved inland, it will only cause social unrest. If we develop maritime trade, the state will be prosperous and the people will be safe" (Andrade 2007: 34–43; Andrade, 2017a: 41–46; Andrade 2017b: 48–56).

After the Han political elites were put in the important position of Emperor Kangxi, their decision-making power was not only strengthened, but also strengthened the Qing Dynasty's understanding of the threat to Taiwan's oceans. Although Kangxi intended to forge ahead in Taiwan, there was controversy within the Qing Dynasty. Both the authority and the people were afraid to use troops against Taiwan. However, Yao Qisheng, Shi Lang, Li Guangdi (李光地), and other southern Han political elites in the Qing Dynasty advocated attacking Taiwan. It was with the support of many southern Han elites that Kangxi changed his understanding of Taiwan and decided to recover Taiwan by force (XIA 2015: 77–81).

To attack Taiwan, the marine Strategic Culture from the Han political elite gradually rose in the southeast region, and at the same time, it continued to affect the trend of the war against Taiwan. The rise of Sea Power Strategic Culture can be shown in several aspects: First, the Han people began to be responsible for the marine strategy of the war against Taiwan; Second, the Han people's understanding of the threat of the Zheng regime in Taiwan and the importance of Taiwan can be approved by the state representative (Emperor Kangxi); Third, the political elites of Han people attach importance to the development of the Chinese Southeast coastal region (LAPLANCHE 2021: 101–113).

Emperor Kangxi began to use Yao Qisheng and other Han people, let them take charge of the affairs of attacking Taiwan and enhance their political power. In May of the 18th year of Kangxi's reign (1679), Yao Qisheng proposed a new strategy to Kangxi. He adopted the method of "suppressing and pacifying". On the one hand, he increased the use of troops to capture and recover lost territory, and on the other hand, he advocated appeasing Zheng's generals because of the plight of the lack of elite in the water war in the Qing Dynasty. In the 18th year of Kangxi (1679), Yao Qisheng successively recruited Wu Ying (吳英), Chen Chang (陳昌), Zhu Tiangui (朱天貴), and other generals from the former Zheng's regime army, including nearly 50000 officers and soldiers. Later, a letter was submitted asking for the re-establishment of the chief military officers of Tongan, the addition of 1800 soldiers, the repeated defeats of Liu Guoxuan, the Zheng army, and the conquest of Haicheng (海澄), Kinmen (金門), and Xiamen (廈門) (CHENG 2021: 103–107).

Yao Qisheng asks to withdraw the Manchus soldiers from Fujian, rebuild the Fujian navy with Shi Lang as the navy commander, create new warships, and train the navy. In the 18th year of Kangxi's reign (1679), Yao Qisheng proposed that if he wanted to keep the Chinese southeast region stable, he must make a plan to attack Taiwan. "We have no maritime military force in Xiamen that can be used for war. If we attack Taiwan, we will be defeated". After Yao Qisheng was responsible for the attack on Taiwan, he asked the Manchus soldiers to withdraw from Fujian because the Manchus soldiers were not good at naval warfare and the cost of raising horses

was high. "The development of military forces at sea is not like the Land Power, which can adopt the Crowd tactics," he said (TSAO 1995: 101-107).

At the same time, he restored the Fujian navy structure that had been abolished for many years and transferred the military expenditure of the Land Power to develop the navy to meet the needs of restoring Taiwan to the sea war. Thus Yao promoted the strategic shift from land war to sea war. During his tenure, Yao actively planned the war against Taiwan, made ships and tools, prepared food and salaries, and promulgated regulations. He did everything he needed to enter the army. He also donated hundreds of warships, more than 3000 officers and soldiers, and more than 170000 Liang of silver. The maritime strategic thinking of the Han political elite is completely reflected in their political and political articles, and the Han elite knows the strategy of the Qing Dynasty to conquer Taiwan.

Affected by this, the Qing Dynasty actively attracted the Dutch to ally with the Qing Dynasty to reduce the influence of the Zheng regime in maritime trade. In terms of coastal defense, the Qing Dynasty no longer focused on defense but strengthened the preparation of ships and troops, such as ordering Yao Qisheng to build all kinds of warships, and at the same time, strictly trained sailors (LIU 2015: 65-78). In addition, the influence of Chinese identity prompted Qing Dynasty to actively strive for Taiwan to remain within the territory under Chinese jurisdiction. Because the ruling legitimacy of the Qing Dynasty in China was relatively weak, the conquest of Taiwan can strengthen state stability, and thus legitimacy was promoted (Haneda 2018: 123-137; DING 2021: 230-242; Toby 2022: 47-55).

In the first point, the arrival of the Han political elite prompted the emergence of the Strategic Culture of Sea Power and strategic thinking in the southeast in the Qing Dynasty, and also prompted the Manchus political elite to recognize the marine threat to Taiwan. For example, Shi Lang has a clear understanding of the sea and is good at water warfare. He has a general plan for forging ahead in Taiwan. In the sixth year of Kangxi's reign (1667), by observing the international situation, Shi Lang expressed his ideas to Emperor Kangxi, which are embodied in this book *Bian Huan Yi Jing Shu* (邊患宜靖疏) and explained If we want to conquer Taiwan, we need sufficient resources and Sea Power. As the political situation became stable, so they decided to attack Taiwan. In August, Kangxi appointed Shi Lang as the commander of the Fujian navy. He was responsible for attacking Taiwan by adding prince Junior Guard and ordering Fujian Viceroy Yao Qisheng and others to cooperate fully (ZHONGHUA BOOK COMPANY 1986: 56-75).

After Shi Lang arrived in Xiamen, he began to train the whole ship. "It is hard to select twenty thousand excellent soldiers, and three hundred big and small warships, all capable of breaking by Zheng regime in Taiwan." After he rectified the maritime military training along the southeast coast of China, half a year later, the Chinese defense capability had a strong marine strength (China Social Sciences Press 1996: 80-85). In 1681, Emperor Kangxi believed that Shi Lang was familiar with the Sea Power and decided to take Shi Lang as the commander in chief of attacking Taiwan. Emperor Kangxi said: "Now that the rebels on the land have been pacified, together with the former Navy General Shi Lang of Taiwan joining our navy, we can use his knowledge of Sea Power to conquer Taiwan and Penghu" (CHENG 2021: 89-98).

In the 21st year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1682), Shi Lang went up to attack Taiwan, In October, Shi Lang said to Kangxi: I want to take full charge of the attack on Taiwan. After Kangxi agreed to Shi Lang's

request, in 1683, Shi Lang led 20000 sailors and 300 warships to attack Taiwan, and the troops arrived in Penghu. Finally, Zheng's army failed, and Liu Guoxuan (劉國軒) fled back to Taiwan. More than 400 Zheng's generals died, 165 were reduced, 12000 soldiers died, and more than 485 were reduced (伯來拉 2010: 282-290).

7.4 The regional results of the conquest of Taiwan and Chinese Politics in the 17th century

After successfully winning the war against Zheng's regime in Taiwan, Emperor Kangxi believed that Taiwan was only a tiny place and "nothing was gained." After Zheng's perception of the threat disappeared, the driving force for the development of the Sea Power Strategic Culture declined and even disappeared. Its development soon began to slow down, such as the strengthening of the sea ban, the sea defense strategy of using land to control the sea, the reopening of the Taiwan abandonment debate, and the Land Power Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty regained its dominant position. Most rulers of the Qing Dynasty did not fully realize the value of Taiwan at this time, nor did they realize the importance of Taiwan Island to the inland Sea Power (Hua-wen Shu-chu 1964: 64-70).

This represented the view of most political elites in the Manchus and Qing Dynasties at that time. Therefore, after the elimination of the Zheng Group, the Argument about abandoning Taiwan was noisy. At that time, the mainstream of the Qing Dynasty thought that Taiwan was secluded and isolated from overseas, so it was useless to keep it. On the contrary, it was "useless to spend money in Taiwan every day". Therefore, we just need to move Taiwan's Han people back to the mainland, abandon ruling Taiwan, and merely guard Penghu. Even if Taiwan is occupied by the Dutch, as long as it recognizes the status of China (a superior suzerain-ship), China will allow and recognize the regime established by the Dutch here" (CHIANG 1985: 88-99).

However, Shi Lang, Yao Qisheng, Li Wei (李蔚), and other Han officials who are familiar with the situation of the Southeast Sea strongly rejected the popular opinion and insisted that Taiwan should not be abandoned. His propositions are mainly reflected in Shi Lang's *Gong Chen Tai Wan Qi Liu Shu* (恭陳臺灣棄留疏). In his memoir, Shi Lang insisted on defending Taiwan and put forward four reasons: first, Taiwan's strategic position is important, and it is the southeast coastal defense barrier; Second, after years of development, Taiwan is rich in natural resources, which can feed the inland; Third, if abandoned, Taiwan will easily become the foundation of rebellion; Fourth, the Dutch are eyeing the enemy. Once abandoned, it will be occupied by foreigners, which will lead to endless troubles. On this basis, I supposed that Taiwan could not be abandoned, "abandon will lead to disaster," and staying in Taiwan can be an "extended solid edge take" (Ueda 2017: 242-256).

Shi Lang pointed out the importance of Taiwan's strategic position. In the first month of the 23rd year of Kangxi (1684), at a meeting to discuss the Taiwan issue, Li Gui, Wang Xi (王熙), and other scholars from the political elite of Han thought it was "Taiwan is crucial to Chinese sea security governance and domination." Since then, the "staying Taiwan in China sovereignty" of the Han political elite group represented by Shi Lang was adopted. The Qing Dynasty set Taiwan as the government, which was subordinate to Fujian Province. It had jurisdiction over Taiwan, Fengshan, and Zhuluo states. It set up Provincial Police Office in Penghu and set up the Taiwan-Xiamen Defense Agency to stay under Taiwan rule. At the same time, it set up a general in Taiwan and

a deputy general in Penghu. In the spring of the 23rd year of Kangxi (1684), Taiwan's civil and military officials took office, and Taiwan was officially under the administrative jurisdiction of the central government of the Qing Dynasty (Ibid).

With the Conquering of Taiwan and the expansion of the Qing Dynasty's Sea borders, the Qing Dynasty's Sea Power Strategic Culture was retained and developed. First of all, the abolition of the policy of ban shipping to the sea. In this regard, Han officials went to Develop marine strategy many times. Shi Lang, the Fujian navy commander, asked for the Develop a marine strategy.

Yao Qisheng, Viceroy of Fujian Province, ask for five provinces and six provincial, local authorities to strengthen maritime affairs. Wu Xingzuo, Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi (兩廣總督吳興祚), ask for refugees to farm on the land and trade with the sea. In September of the 23rd year of Kangxi's reign (1684), Kangxi declared that "stop no shipping policy" because the threat of security disappeared. The claim directly brought about significant development of maritime trade, including overseas trade (Ueda 2017: 270-331).

Secondly, the southeast Han people, guided by the Strategic Culture of Sea Power, had a deeper understanding of the development of coastal defense in the Early Qing Dynasty. Han officials had a deeper understanding of Taiwan and southeast coastal defense, and their coastal defense consciousness was more focused on the sea. Shi Lang was the representative of this period. Shi Lang advocated coastal defense through active maritime progress and opposed passive inland defense. After the conquering of Taiwan, Shi Lang recognized the importance of southeast coastal defense to the Qing Dynasty's border defense in his *Hai Jiang Di Ding Shu* (海疆底定疏), "The current international situation is mainly an arms race at sea, not international relations on land," It shows that the idea of coastal defense has been transferred from land to maritime states (YUAN 2020: 52-61).

Shi has a very clear understanding of Taiwan's strategic position in coastal defense. "Although Taiwan is a place with many islands, it is the key to the four provinces", which is regarded as the gateway to the southeast coast. Shi Lang has put forward the idea of taking Taiwan and Penghu as a whole to build a state coastal defense. "Taiwan and Penghu are both strategically valuable." Therefore, different from the negative "sea defense" strategy of no shipping, preventing entry and exit, and using land to prevent the sea in the Early Qing Dynasty, Han officials represented by Shi Lang, Gu Zuyu (顧祖禹), Chen Lunjiong (陳倫炯), Lan Dingyuan (藍鼎元), Lu Zhiyu (魯之裕) have begun to lean toward the "sea" in their coastal defense ideas, especially their understanding of Taiwan's strategic position in coastal defense in the southeast (Ibid).

8 Discussion

8.1 The Strategic Culture of Sea Power and the concerns of the Manchus

After the conquering of Taiwan, Emperor Kangxi once again focused on leading the Sea Power with Land Power. In the fifty years of Kangxi, according to the will of Kangxi, Guan Yuanzhong (管源忠) (Fushun, Liaoning and Huang Banner of Han Army) General of Guangdong, Jue Luo Manbao (覺羅滿保), Viceroy of Fujian and Zhejiang (Yellow Banner of the Manchus), and Yang Lin (楊琳), Viceroy of Guangdong and

Guangxi (Tieling Wei of Fengtian and Huang Banner of Han Army) proposed the "No shipping", and trade via sea was banned. In the twenty-second year of Qianlong, the Qing Dynasty closed Jiang Hai Pass (江海關), Zhe Hai Pass (浙海關), and Minhai Pass (閩海關), only retained the trade between Yuehai Pass (粵海關) for foreign trading, restricted the export of traditional commodities such as silk and tea, and imposed many bans on the overseas trade of Chinese merchant ships. Although Taiwan was finally retained, after Qing established effective rule in Taiwan, the dispute about abandoning Taiwan still broke out. It can be seen that the Qing Dynasty did not recognize the important influence of Taiwan on southeast coastal defense (WU 2021: 87–93; Klooster 2023: 100–125).

The power of the Han political elite in the south rose because of their achievements in conquering Taiwan, the Qing Dynasty was established with the Manchus nobles as the main body, and the Viceroy of the Qing Dynasty was an important force for the central government to control the local areas, integrating local judicial, administrative, military, and supervisory powers. Therefore, the Qing Dynasty attached great importance and prudence to its state identity when appointing the Viceroy. This is reflected in the number of the Manchus and Han Viceroys. Guangdong and Guangxi, Fujian, and Zhejiang are located on the southeast coast, far from Beijing. They are the gateway to the southeast of China and the last place surrendered to the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, the rulers of the Qing Dynasty, proceeding from their interests, appointed a large number of Manchus Viceroys (BU 2021: 73–88).

8.2 Mainstream Land Power Strategic Culture and marine barrier

During the war against Taiwan, the political elite of the Han people published many books on ocean affairs, which repeatedly emphasized the importance of the ocean. It can be seen that the Han people in southeast China (especially in Fujian) are closely related to the marine Strategic Culture. The battle for the mainstream culture between the sea and the land took place as early as the Qing Dynasty ruled the Han people in southeast China. But at that time, most of the Chinese Han people belonged to the ruled class (unless they had special contributions) (Murry 2019; Tremml-Werner 2022).

China has always been a state with a land-based Strategic Culture, and its attention to maritime strategy is particularly weak. For China, no matter which dynasty, the most important thing is still the land territory. Territorial sovereignty and territorial strategy are regarded as the most important links of state security (Shepherd 2016: 115–118). However, there is a gap between the land right Strategic Culture that the policy elites are concerned about and the dependence of Chinese civil society on the sea. Chinese civil society often emigrates through the sea, especially the Han people in South China and Southeast Asian countries have close interaction. However, the elites of state decision-making rarely think that the ocean is a region that can be operated for a long time. It was not until the 19th century that China began to pay attention to the ocean again after the impact of Western states.

9 Conclusion

By testing the hypothesis of the change in the Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty, we can find that the

Strategic Culture of the Qing Dynasty was not always dominated by Land Power. It should be emphasized that after the threat perception from Taiwan was eliminated, the Strategic Culture of Sea Power once developed within the Qing Dynasty was soon contained or even retreated. Twenty years after the conquering of Taiwan, the Qing Dynasty ordered a new ban on the sea, the government started discussions within the government about abandoning Taiwan and guarding Penghu, the construction of the navy gradually stalled, and the goal of coastal defense turned to "only pirates," and the restrictions on inland Taiwan exchanges gradually strengthened.

The Strategic Culture focused on coastal defense was ignored, and the Strategic Culture focused on land defense regained its dominant position. But this also reflects the correctness of the model constructed in this paper. Therefore, when faced with problems that the old political elites could not solve, the impetus for Strategic Culture change will emerge, and the new political elites will promote the formation of new Strategic Culture. On the one hand, the new political elite will further develop their habitual behaviors into a series of policies and symbol systems, while the new symbol system will affect the perception of threats, geopolitics, and state identity, resulting in different worldviews, self-awareness, and enemy identity. After the Qing Dynasty conquered Taiwan, it can also be found that this political result not only consolidated the power of the Han political elite in the southeast region, but also made the Qing Dynasty think that there was no longer a unit threatening the survival and then acquiesced in the binding of the Strategic Culture of southeast Sea Power with Han officials.

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The Negotiation Process of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework And Its Alliance Turning

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Phased achievements of the major research project of the National Social Science Foundation in 2020, "Strengthening the Sino-Japan Greater Bay Area Double Circulation and Promoting the Long-term Development of the Two Countries" (approval number: 20VGQ005)

Abstract: The United States launched the "Indo-Pacific Economic Framework" in May 2022, which is an important part of its "Indo-Pacific Strategy" in the economic field. As representatives, experts, ministerial meetings and formal negotiations continue, the tendency of the United States and its allies to establish a political and economic integration alliance to encircle China in the Asia-Pacific region has become increasingly apparent. The purpose of this paper is to study China's response, how to hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation, and win-win, promote high-level opening up, and achieve Chinese path to modernization on the path of peaceful development. Through the detailed analysis of the negotiation process and other research methods, it is suggested that in the short and long term, we should focus on the rapid realization of the equal opening of IPEF and the establishment of a community with a shared future for mankind.

Keywords: Indian Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF); CPTPP/TPP; Alliance

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印太經濟框架的談判進程與同盟化轉向

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摘　要：美國 2022 年 5 月啟動「印太經濟框架」，這是其「印太戰略」在經濟領域的重要一環。而隨著代表、專家、部長會議和正式談判的陸續展開，美國及其盟友在亞太建立包圍中國的政治經濟一體化同盟的傾向越發明顯。本文的研究目的是中國的應對、如何高舉和平、發展、合作、共贏旗幟，推進高水平對外開放，實現走和平發展道路的中國式現代化。通過對談判進程的詳細分析等研究方法、建議在短期和長期、應分別把快速實現 IPEF 同等開放和建立人類命運共同體作為重點。

關鍵詞：印太經濟框架（IPEF）CPTPP/TPP　同盟化

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一、印太經濟框架的基本情況

（一）印太經濟框架的成就和政策內容

2022 年 5 月 23 日，美國在東京召開了關於印太經濟框架（IPEF）的首腦級會議，建立了美國主導的新經濟框架。IPEF 包括美國、日本、印度、新西蘭、韓國、文萊、印度尼西亞、馬來西亞、菲律賓、新加坡、泰國、越南、澳大利亞、斐濟等 14 個國家。按照美貿易談判代表（USTR）的計算，IPEF 的 14 個成員國人口約占全球的 32.27%，GDP 約占 40%，占全球商品和服務貿易的 28%。

表 1　IPEF 成員的 GDP 和人口規模（2021 年）

國別	GDP（十億美元）	GDP 占世界比例	總人口（億人）	總人口占世界比例	人均 GDP（美元）
美國	2299.61	23.93%	3.32	4.24%	69288
日本	493.74	5.14%	1.26	1.60%	39285
印度	317.34	3.30%	13.93	17.78%	2277
韓國	179.85	1.87%	0.52	0.66%	34758
澳大利亞	154.27	1.61%	0.26	0.33%	59934
印尼	118.61	1.23%	2.76	3.53%	4292
泰國	50.60	0.53%	0.70	0.89%	7233
新加坡	39.70	0.41%	0.05	0.07%	72794
菲律賓	39.41	0.41%	1.11	1.42%	3549
馬來西亞	37.27	0.39%	0.33	0.42%	11371

续表

國別	GDP(十億美元)	GDP 占世界比例	總人口(億人)	總人口占世界比例	人均 GDP(美元)
越南	36.26	0.38%	0.98	1.25%	3694
新西蘭	25.00	0.26%	0.05	0.07%	48802
文萊	1.40	0.01%	0.00	0.01%	31723
斐濟	0.46	0.005%	0.01	0.01%	5086
IPEF 總體	3793.52	39.47%	25.29	32.27%	–
參考:中國	1773.41	18.45%	14.12	18.02%	12556

資料來源:根據 IPEF 聯合聲明製作

「印太經濟框架」最初是 2021 年 10 月第 16 屆東亞首腦會議(EAS)時拜登總統提出的,他說:「為了準備將來我們的經濟,我們將建立一個面向繁榮的印太經濟框架①」。聚焦在構建數字貿易規則、重塑地區供應鏈、以及打造綠色技術標準等方面。其《共同宣言》說:「我們共享對自由、開放、公正、包容、相互聯系、堅韌、安全和繁榮的印太地區的承諾。我們具有實現可持續和包容性經濟增長的潛力」。IPEF 加強供應鏈來應對世界目前面臨的挑戰,突破「美國的《跨太平洋夥伴關系協定》(TPP)困境②」,比《全面與進步跨太平洋夥伴關系協定》(CPTPP)更適合當前③。

表 2　IPEF 主要內容

類別	內容
框架的性質	印度-太平洋地區的多邊經濟框架
形式	・不是需要議會批準的貿易協定,而是尋求各個領域達成一致模塊型框架。 ・與美國歐盟貿易技術委員會(TTC)類似。
對象領域	・貿易便利化、數字經濟技術標準、供應鏈韌性、脫碳與清潔能源、基礎設施、勞動標準等。 ・最初的優先領域為數字經濟、貿易便利化、供應鏈、可持續性、勞動者權利、基礎設施。
日程	・2022 年 5 月正式成立。年內發表關於和意向國的印度太平洋經濟框架展望聯合聲明。
其他	・在基礎設施領域的公私合作夥伴關系(PPP)和投資提供更大的靈活性。專註於『後疫情時代』重建經濟過程中最關鍵的問題,例如,在供應鏈上進行合作,圍繞供應鏈協調我們的投資,圍繞出口管製進行協調。

資料來源:根據美國政府高官的發言、媒體報道等製作

之後的推進由美國商務部長雷蒙多和 USTR 戴琪負責推進。其中,美國貿易代表戴琪將領導該框架的貿易部分,這將包括數字貿易、勞動標準和貿易便利化。商務部長吉娜・雷蒙多將負責供應鏈、基礎設施、脫碳、稅收和腐敗等部分。

表 3　IPEF 四大支柱概要

項目	內容
貿易	尋求用高標準構築包容性的,自由及公平的貿易承諾。包括在數字經濟方面的協作。

① ZHANG XUDONG. The IPEF Should Not Become an Exclusive Club. China Today. 2022-07-06.
② 龐中英. CPTPP:「英國加入模式」成為今後「高標準」? 世界知識。2021 年第 21 期. P63.
③ 美國貿易代表戴琪:印太經濟框架好於 CPTPP. 智通財經. 2022-10-27.

续表

项目	内容
供應鏈	提升供應鏈的透明性、多樣性、安全性以及可持續能。確保主要原材料、加工材料、半導體、重要礦產以及清潔能源技術可控。
清潔能源和基礎設施	加速清潔能源技術的開發和應用。強化技術合作的深化,資金的動員。通過強化向可持續有耐久性的基礎設施提供開發支援和技術合作,提高競爭力和互聯互通。
稅收和反腐敗	探索建立有效又堅固的稅製、防止洗錢以及防止收賄受賄等製度。促進公平的經濟。探索知識的共有和能力提升協助體系等。

資料來源;根據 IPEF 聯合聲明製作

（二）美國推出印太經濟框架的目的和問題

美國推出「印太經濟框架」是為了填補 2017 年退出 TPP 後留下的亞太經貿戰略漏洞。美國將與亞洲在經濟上為了進一步融合的目標邁進①。但 IPEF 能否對參加各國都有益是很大的課題。印度與東盟 7 國一起加入雖然很重要,但由於 IPEF 不包括關稅削減、美國市場準入,其能否成為對二者有益的框架,反而是 IPEF 成敗的關鍵。在百年變局和俄烏戰爭長期化之下,印太經濟框架可能給區域內的安全環境與經濟發展新增不確定性。IPEF 有製衡中國、對抗中國的一面,對此中國通過申請加入 CPTPP、深化「一帶一路」倡議、強化自由貿易試驗區、踐行中國的多邊主義等予以應對②。

值得註意的是東盟有 7 個國家參加,以及印度的參加。另外,雖然 IPEF 不包含臺灣,但 6 月 1 日美國和臺灣建立了「21 世紀美臺貿易倡議」。對「印太經濟框架」,中國認為是擾亂地區合作的設計,脅迫地區國家的工具。外交部指出:樂見有利於加強區域合作的倡議,但反對製造分裂對抗的圖謀。無論什麼名目的區域合作框架,都應該推進自由貿易,不應該搞變相保護主義;應該有助於世界經濟復蘇,不應該破壞產業鏈穩定;應該促進開放合作,不應該製造地緣對抗③。

IPEF 圍繞新興國家的關心事項,在亞太建立同盟組織的意圖不斷提高。亞太面對中國,一方面利用中國市場維持經濟增長,另一方面也存在被中國綁架的風險,所以 IPEF 開始時 13 個國家參加,特別是 ASEAN7 國參加,就反映了動搖不定這一點,印度參加的背景也是希望降低中國影響。對亞太國家來說,由於 IPEF 規則的籌劃製定以與美日等大國的貿易和投資擴大為目標,就必須計算 IPEF 發揮作用的可能性。中國要及時整理 IPEF 對參加國深化合作帶來的影響,並從正面進行阻止、排除美臺貿易協定的可能和風險④。

二、印太經濟框架的談判進展

IPEF 有貿易、供應鏈、清潔能源與基礎設施、稅收和預防腐敗四大支柱。根據部長會晤聲明⑤,希望為供應鏈的強化和數位貿易等諸多貿易規則做出貢獻。IPEF 是一個靈活的框架,各國不必參與所有四個領域。但是,與 TPP 和 RCEP 不同,關稅的削減不在框架之內,也不包括貨物貿易、服務投資、政府採購等市場准入

① 美國副財長:相信亞洲經濟體將有效抵禦低迷前景. 2022-10-25. 智通財經.
② 王卓. 介於 TPP 和 CPTPP 之間的印太經濟框架——美國的另起爐竈、日本的追隨與中國的應對. 東北亞經濟研究. 2022 年第 5 期.
③ 2022 年 5 月 23 日外交部發言人汪文斌主持例行記者會. 外交部網站. www. fmprc. gov. cn. 2022-05-24.
④ 程東. 島內輿論質問臺美關系真相. 環球時報. 2022-05-25.
⑤ 閣僚聲明のリンク. 経済産業省通商政策局経済連攜課. www. meti. go. jp.

談判。在美國現時的政治狀況下,特別是中期選舉如兩院皆失,關稅下調很有困難。而兩年後如果民主黨下臺,則有可能又是類似 TPP 的結局,曰此 IPEF 的成敗受到質疑。希望為供應鏈的強化和數字貿易等諸多貿易規則做出貢獻。IPEF 是一個靈活的框架,各國不必參與所有四個領域。但是,與 TPP 和 RCEP 不同,關稅的削減不在框架之內,也不包括貨物貿易、服務投資、政府采購等市場準入談判。在美國目前的政治狀況下,特別是中期選舉虽没有兩院皆失,關稅下調很有困難。而兩年後如果民主黨下臺,則有可能又是類似 TPP 的結局,因此 IPEF 的成敗受到質疑。

(一) 印太經濟框架的談判內容

(1)「四個支柱」的內容構成

第一個支柱是「貿易」。立足基於規則的多邊貿易體製,高標準、包容性、自由、公正,並致力於建立開放的貿易承諾。基於推進內容廣泛的目標,促進經濟活動,創造投資,推動堅強、可持續、包容的經濟增長和發展,以及為工人、消費者、原住民、區域社會、婦女和中小微企業(MSMEs)帶來利益的貿易和科技政策,努力開發嶄新和創造性的方法。

具體包括:勞動、環境、數字經濟、農業、透明性及良好的法規慣例、競爭政策、貿易便利化、包容性、技術支持和經濟合作等。特別致力於促進和支持跨國界數據的可靠安全流通;數字經濟的包容性和可持續增長;新興技術的負責任開發和利用。將在有彈性、可持續和包容性經濟增長的基礎領域尋求高標準條款,包括勞動力、環境、數字經濟、農業、透明度和良好監管實踐、競爭、包容性、貿易便利化、技術援助和經濟發展。特別是數字經濟方面,將推動包容性數字貿易,但能否製定出 CPTPP 數字貿易中的三原則等高水平的規則備受關註。建立數字經濟中的可信環境、促進在線信息訪問和互聯網使用、促進數字貿易、應對歧視慣例以及推進強韌安全的數字基礎設施和平臺。而在貿易便利化方面,對包括海運在內的物流管理和運輸相關的課題,將提高透明性。將促進海關數據和文件的電子處理,努力維護或形成貿易商數據高效可靠處理的負責任規則。此外,IPEF 特別追求有關擴充披露、電子支付、易腐物品和海關合作的規定和措施。

第二個支柱是「供應鏈」,各國將尋求協調行動,以減輕和防止未來的供應鏈中斷,並為各方的製造商確保關鍵部門和關鍵產品的安全。要提高公共機構的發展和與私營部門的合作,確保安全、堅韌的供應鏈以及最小化混亂和脆弱性的必要性。提高成員國供應鏈的透明度、多樣性、安全性和可持續性。提高物流管理和連接性,如對供應鏈影響的各種數據共享和方案的開發等。努力擴大聯合應對危機的措施和對混亂的更好準備及緩和其影響,如事先預測感染病流行和氣候變化等具體包括:在任何情況下,將市場扭曲最小化,保護業務秘密信息,促進法規遵從,尊重市場原理,並與成員國各自在 WTO 上的義務保持一致。製定重要領域及貨物的標準、增加在重要領域和貨物上的韌性和投資、建立信息共享和危機應對的機製、使用數據來改善供應鏈物流,並投資於新的培訓和發展機會以提高工人的技能,加強供應鏈物流管理和基於 ILO[①] 宣言的勞動者作用等。

第三大支柱是「清潔能源與基礎設施」,是以對碳排放技術的開發和支持對新興國家的基礎設施建設為目的而設置的。根據巴黎協定的目標和努力,加強能源安全並減少總體溫室氣體排放。增強和適應氣候變化,以及為人們提供可持續的生活和高質量就業。向清潔能源過渡將給整個印太地區帶來巨大的市場、投資、工業化和高質量工作機會。具體包括:能源安全和能源轉移;減少優先部門的溫室氣體排放;可持續土地、水和海洋的解決方案;消除溫室氣體的創新技術;讓向清潔經濟過渡成為可能的激勵等。此外,還將通

① ILO 是指國際勞工組織。國際勞工組織是 1919 年根據《凡爾賽和約》作為國際聯盟的附屬機構成立的組織。1946 年 12 月 14 日,成為聯合國的一個專門機構。

過支持低排放和零排放項目以及將現有資產轉移到這兩點上來,動員投資和可持續金融,推進安全多樣、堅韌的清潔能源供應鏈,通過開發用於可驗證項目的平臺、擴大可融資項目的管道,以及以對印太發展中國家的投資為引領,促進官民合作和國際混合金融,加強民間資本和機構投資者的資金合作。

第四個支柱是「稅收和預防腐敗」。旨在形成一套製度,以遏製印太地區的避稅和腐敗運動,促進經濟公正。將通過防止和消滅腐敗、阻止逃稅和改善國內資金使用,在 IPEF 成員內,努力使企業和工人的競爭條件對等。具體包括:反腐敗方面,有意在聯合國反腐敗公約(UNCAC)、金融活動工作組(FATF)的標準及適用對象的情況下,有效實施 OECD 防止外國公務員行賄公約;稅收方面,針對經濟數字化所帶來的收稅挑戰的兩大解決方案,支持在 OECD/G20「BEPS 包容框架」中開展工作;能力建設及創新方面,支持技術支持、專業知識及最佳實踐的共享、技術創新的進展;合作、包容性合作和透明度方面,通過定期在 IPEF 成員之間就共同目標的進展情況共享信息,強化共同目標的透明性,加深各方的合作規定和措施。

(2) 突出重構全球供應鏈

特別是在供應鏈方面,美國極力兜售「友岸外包」(friend-shoring)概念①,以提高本國供應鏈的安全性,減少對外國供應商的依賴。不過,這引發了美國和其他一些國家試圖避免過度依賴中國的背景下,人們對可能出現的全球經濟「脫鉤」(global economic decoupling)的擔憂②。隨著 IPEF 的出現,在以「美歐日和中國・東盟」為中心的印太地區的供應鏈網中,能否減少對中國的依賴,提高印度與東盟的比重備受矚目。這在短期內是不可能的,但考慮到美國為增強對華競爭力,2022 年從促建「芯片四方聯盟 CHIPS」到發布「芯片法案(在美國投資半導體工廠的補貼)」實施戰略,從《美國創新和競爭法案》《無盡前沿法案》到《通脹削減法案》(購買新電動汽車 EV 時扣除 7500 美元稅額)、《出口管理法案》;將 9 家中國實體移出「未經驗證清單」過程中,又將 31 家中國實體列入③,美國商務部副部長埃斯特維茲 2022 年 10 月進一步表示,「同盟國很清楚,我們希望他們采取同樣的行動④。對此,中國希望相關國家「獨立自主作出正確判斷」⑤。如此打擊中國芯片,勢必使得一些重要供應鏈發生變化。對全球產業鏈供應鏈穩定造成極大破壞,嚴重違反自由貿易規則,嚴重損害各國經濟發展和民生福祉。

總之,由貿易、供應鏈、清潔能源與基礎設施、稅收和預防腐敗四大支柱構成的 IPEF,對於 21 世紀型的世界課題,以及印太地區的各種各樣的國家間合作,將提供規則製定和區域平衡的新合作方法。以往的貿易協定失效,說明過去的經濟參與模型不能致力於清潔能源、數字領域的創新等新挑戰,而使勞動者、企業、消費者變得脆弱⑥。IPEF 雖然是經濟合作構想,但與 RCEP 和 CPTPP 等協定不同,是構築包括沒有參加 CPTPP 的印度、印度尼西亞、菲律賓、泰國、斐濟在內的亞太經濟圈的嘗試。IPEF 以貿易為對象,但不是 FTA 取消關稅等的自由化。目標是在數字貿易、勞動、環境等方面製定高水平的規則。將數字經濟規則整合到貿易中,加入了稅收、預防腐敗。

(二) 談判進程

(1) 談判的時間線

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① 指將供應鏈網絡限製在盟國和友好國家(limit supply chain networks to allies and friendly countries)。這借鑒了「離岸外包」(offshoring)[指一國企業將工作外包給另一個國家的人來完成。]、「在岸外包」(onshoring)和「近岸外包」(nearshoring)的概念[這兩者指的是將供應鏈轉移回國內或者轉移到距離本國更近的地方。]

② 李莎. Friend-shoring/友岸外包.《參考消息》. 2022-08-05.

③ 高橋俊樹. 見えてきたIPEFの全容~その2 米國の包囲網に中國はどう対抗するか~(日本)國際貿易投資研究所. 2022-10-03.

④ 美國要求日本等追隨對華半導體新規. 日經中文網. 2022-11-02.

⑤ 2022 年 11 月 2 日外交部發言人趙立堅主持例行記者會. 2022-11-02.

⑥ 警惕美國「印度-太平洋經濟框架」對全球穩定發展的不利影響. 21 世紀經濟報道. 2022-02-15.

IPEF 的談判進展並不積極,5 月 23 日成立後,2022 年 6 月 11 日,14 國代表在巴黎舉行了第一次會晤,表示根據領域的不同,可以考慮盡早達成協議,今後希望參加的國家,將按支柱分成小組開始談判①。而且,為了降低東盟的參與門檻,四大支柱的參與與否成為了自由選擇,還沒有明確表示如何進行談判。支柱只是表示了對象領域,沒有詳細的說明,也沒有明確參加國將參加哪些支柱。

7 月 13 日在新加坡舉行了首次高級官員和專家會議,對框架內一些設想進行了初步討論。7 月 26 日美國舉辦「印太經濟框架」政府間部長級視頻會議,首次談及實際議題。線下首次部長級會議於 9 月 8-9 日在美國洛杉磯舉行,目標是就啟動貿易及供應鏈等領域的正式談判達成一致②。會議由美國戴琪和雷蒙多主持,日本派出經濟產業相西村康稔出席會議,韓國、印度、東南亞各國等全體 14 個國家匯聚一堂。此次會議共享各國關心的問題和希望談判的領域等,正式宣布進入談判③。12 月 10 日至 15 日第一輪磋商已在澳大利亞布裏斯班舉行。

表 4　IPEF 四個支柱參加國的參與意向

		貿易	供應鏈	清潔能源與基礎設施	稅收和預防腐敗
1	美國	O	O	O	O
2	日本	O	O	O	O
3	印度	▲→△	O	O	▲→O
4	韓國	O	O	O	O
5	新加坡	O	O	O	O
6	泰國	O	O	O	O
7	越南	▲→ O	O	O	O
8	印尼	O	O	O	▲→O
9	馬來西亞	O	O	O	O
10	菲律賓	O	O	O	▲→O
11	文萊	O	O	O	O
12	澳大利亞	O	O	O	O
13	新西蘭	O	O	O	O
14	斐濟	O	O	O	O

註:O 是指參加,▲未定,△作為觀察員參加,▲→O 當初被認為未定,但最終決定參加。

資料來源:高橋俊樹:《印度不參加貿易支柱的目的是什麼》(日本)國際貿易投資研究所

IPEF 構想是在 2021 年 11 月的東亞峰會上由拜登總統明確的④,在 2022 年 2 月 11 日發表的「印太戰略」行動計劃中,表示將在 2022 年早期開始新的夥伴關系談判⑤。但之後在美國政府內及與參加各國的調整上花費了時間,推遲了半年多。但與以往 FTA 相比,從構想發表到談判開始為 1 年,反而很短。美國希望在 2023 年 11 月由其主辦的 APEC 首腦會議之前完成簽署,因此 IPEF 有望在一年半內達成協議。美國貿易

① Aidan Arasasingham. Unpacking the Indo-pacific Economic Framework. CSIS. 2022-05-23.
② IPEF 部長級會議 9 月將在美國首次面對面舉行. 日本經濟新聞. 2022-08-21.
③ IPEF 部長級會議 9 月將在美國首次面對面舉行. 日本經濟新聞. 2022-08-21.
④ Executive Office of the President, National Security Council, Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States, February 2022.
⑤ 外務省.「繁栄のためのインド太平経済枠組みに関する声明」. 2022-05-23.

代表戴琪的設想是 IPEF 有意在「三年內」取得成果。一邊前進,一邊取得成果①。

(2)談判前景並不明朗

談判中潛藏著不確定性。美國政府中管理 IPEF 的部門分為 4 個,商務部 2 個、USTR 1 個、國務院 1 個。通常,總統應該指定一名總負責人,在其指揮下有效地推進全體談判,保持平衡。但此次卻沒有指定這樣的總負責人,參加國要與美國進行協商,就要與上述 4 個部門分別協商。在以這樣的談判框架為前提的情況下,談判必然會遇到困難。另外,白宮在成果清單中強調,IPEF 使美國的勞動者、小企業、農戶能夠在印太地區進行競爭,通過強化供應鏈帶來成本的降低,有助於抑製通貨膨脹。由於美國不會在關稅下調等市場準入上讓步,因此即使美國在 4 個領域尋求高水平的規則,參加國讓步的可能性也會下降。東盟等部分國家發出了設置適用規則的寬限期等要求、靈活設計製度的呼聲②,還要求在了解各國的法律製度以及在技術合作等方面給予照顧。

縱觀美國 20 世紀 80 年代以來的經濟產業政策歷史,如表 5 所示,到特朗普時代為止主要通過提高降低關稅,有效地限製進口或謀求擴大出口。但是,拜登總統不采用建國以來美國通商史的關稅政策,而構築由數字經濟和供應鏈等支柱構成的新框架(IPEF)③。

表 5　從美國通商政策史看印太經濟框架(IPEF)

時代劃分	年代	特征	平均稅率等
第一時期	1790 年~1860 年(從獨立到南北戰爭)	提升對進口產品關稅以增加稅收(Revenue)的時期	1800 年代初期的平均關稅為 20%左右、1820 年後期開始為了保護北方的產業而采取了高關稅政策,最終提高到 60%左右。
第二時期	1860 年~1934 年(南北戰爭及 1929 經濟危機)	(從與國外競爭到保護國內產業而管製進口(Restriction)的時期。	平均關稅從南北戰爭錢的不到 20%提高到 50%,到 1929 經濟危機時期又跳升到 60%。
第三時期	1934 年~現在(1929 經濟危機到現在)	為了擴大出口而削減貿易壁壘,追求互惠主義(Reciprocity)的時期。	1934 年根據貿易互惠法案將下調關稅的談判權交予總統。以此為契機,平均關稅從 1950 年代初期的 10%左右,1970 年代後期開始下降到 5%並維持至今。
特朗普時期	2016 年~2020 年	放棄 1934 年開始實施的「相互削減關稅和非貿易壁壘」這種互惠主義,開始追求「貿易收支和投資機會均衡」的新互惠主義。	利用美國貿易法對鋼鋁產品增收懲罰性關稅和對中國所有產品追加關稅(最高 25%)。
拜登總統時期	2020 年~現在	促成不包含削減關稅和市場準入在內的印太經濟框架(IPEF)建立,推動形成與到目前為止美國貿易史上政策完全不同的、劃時代的貿易模式。	截止到 2022 年 11 月,繼續維持特朗普時期的對華關稅政策,IPEF 談判開始,但是因為不包含市場準入談判,所以也沒有關稅減讓談判。

資料來源:道格拉斯・A・阿溫著、長谷川聰哲監譯、《美國通商政策史》、日本文真堂、2022 年 2 月出版

IPEF 的目的是提高參與國的經濟韌性、可持續性、包容性、及經濟增長、公平性和競爭力④。另外,IPEF

① 戴琪稱 IPEF 要在三年內出實績,日本資深媒體人質疑:美民主黨都不一定還在執政. 觀察者網. 2022-09-28.
② IPEF 部長級會議 9 月將在美國首次面對面舉行. 日本經濟新聞. 2022-08-21.
③ 高橋俊樹. 見えてきたIPEFの全容~その3　米国通商政策史から見たIPEF~(日本)国際貿易投資研究所. 2022/10/05.
④ 外務省.「繁栄のためのインド太平経済枠組みに関する声明. 2022-05-23.

不是取消關稅的傳統貿易協定,不需要美國議會的批準,但反之也沒有議會的法律保障,則必須將 IPEF 確立為美國和印太各國之間的體系。這是下面兩年多裏最大的課題①。但對於其他 13 國,美國卻要求不管參加 IPEF 四大支柱中的哪一個或哪幾個支柱,都要立法保護簽約成果。這就導致了法律地位的不平等②。

14 個成員國經濟水平發展不一、關切也各不相同,要照顧到方方面面的情緒和利益並非易事。如不管 IPEF 怎麼設計數字經濟、供應鏈體製,都與文萊、斐濟這樣相對落後的創始成員國關系不大。一些國家擔心被要求在環境、人權、數據分發等方面采取美國那樣的嚴格規定。如果 IPEF 其中一些國家不能遵守數字貿易、環境人權和碳排放等若幹規則,那麼 IPEF 的可靠性就會相應下降,如果利用不用參加 IPEF 全部 4 個支柱的規則,而不參加支柱的國家變多的話,IPEF 的不確定性會增加。可以靈活討論參與 IPEF 的機製,反過來也可能會變成拖累。USTR 代表戴琪在 6 月提到了引入對不遵守 IPEF 規則的企業實施懲罰的糾紛解決機製的可能性③。如果出現對於價值鏈的行政幹預等,還要看是否同 WTO 規則有沖突。美國究竟能為 IPEF、如在可再生能源的基礎設施建設方面,提供多少資金和資源支持還不得而知。最後,IPEF 談成前後涉及美政府換屆,如 2025 年新政府放棄 IPEF,美國對外經濟政策的可信度將一落千丈。這也令 IPEF 的整體可持續性出現問題④。

與最後關頭退出 RCEP 一樣,印度在 9 月談判中第一個退出了貿易支柱。理由是 IPEF 的數據本地化(限製跨境數據流通的行動)以及勞動環境今後的規定可能不會給發展中國家帶來利益,印度沒有做好參與的準備。將僅作為觀察員加入討論⑤。今後是否正式參與 IPEF 的「貿易支柱」,第一階段美印貿易協定中的 GSP⑥ 案件可能會成為其討價還價的材料之一。對印度來說,最大的問題是國內大市場無法統一。中國影響力的擴大也不是印度希望的,所以走「金磚四國」和⑦”」的路線。東盟的 7 個國家和斐濟雖然也同樣認為,勞動、環境等框架可能沒有實際利益,但在美國的壓力下,最終決定加入「貿易支柱」。另外,在 2022 年 6 月初的時候,臺灣不參加 IPEF,對於形成不依賴中國的供應鏈這一點,會出現一些負面影響。所以 2023 年 APEC 能否達成妥協目標,IPEF 能否形成 21 世紀型貿易模式的「新範式」或「平臺」⑧,將取決於今後細節談判能否取得進展、四大支柱規定和機製的實效性、以及各參與國能否切實遵守其規則等。

三、印太經濟框架的同盟化轉向

IPEF 服務於美國的「印太戰略」,試圖動搖東盟中心地位,打造「集體實力」,從政治、經濟、安全方面孤立中國,希望亞太國家「同頻共振」,在供應鏈、基礎設施等方面「去中國化」,向同盟化轉向。

(一) 美日歐(北約)的印太戰略合流

2007 年起,安倍就提出「自由開放的印度洋太平洋戰略」,2018 年成為日本自主的「印太構想」。日本

① 瀧井光夫. IPEF 談判開始和今後的課題. 櫻美林大學、日本國際貿易投資研究所. 2022-09-19.

② 徐立凡. 印度退出貿易談判,印太經濟框架尷尬邁出第一步. 新京報. 2022-09-13.

③ World Trade Online. 2022-06-06.

④ 美國牽頭搞 IPEF,印度為何不加入四支柱中「貿易談判」? 第一財經. 2022-09-12.

⑤ 高橋俊樹. 見えてきたIPEFの全容~その1　インドの貿易の柱への不参加の狙いは何か~(日本)国際貿易投資研究所. 2022/09/27.

⑥ 一般優惠關稅製度(GSP:Generalized System of Preferences)是對從發展中國家進口的一定農水產品、礦工業產品適用比一般關稅率低的稅率(優惠稅率)的製度。

⑦ 高橋俊樹. 見えてきたIPEFの全容~その2　米国の包囲網に中国はどう対抗するか~(日本)国際貿易投資研究所. 2022-10-03.

⑧ 高橋俊樹. 見えてきたIPEFの全容~その3　米国通商政策史から見たIPEF~(日本)国際貿易投資研究所. 2022-10-05.

將該構想定位為國際公共產品和外交重要組成,致力於打造「印太構想」的支點,在大力宣傳的同時具體規劃其政策路徑。強化國際合作及公益色彩,積極打造「作為國際公共產品的印太」。但存在政策製度、對華立場、合作機製及價值理念等問題。

2022 年拜登提出「印太戰略」,以建立抗衡中國的經濟圈。該戰略在經濟領域的明確標誌便是 IPEF,目的是為了填補美國 2017 年退出 TPP 後留下的亞太經貿戰略漏洞,削弱亞太地區美國沒有參加的 CPTPP 以及 RCEP,在貿易及供應鏈上與日本和東南亞各國合作。美「印太戰略」明確表示「抑製軍事侵略臺灣」,並想要讓在臺灣問題上曾是「配角」的日本成為「主角」。二戰以來一直是美主日隨,協助美國壓垮中國,美主日隨的格局越發明顯。

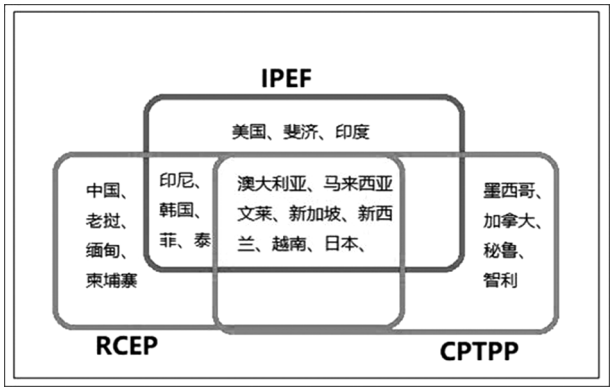

圖 1　IPEF、TPP、RCEP 成員國

資料來源:根據各種資料製作

兩國印太動向的實質也從自主到追隨與合流。日本最先提出印太戰略,如今美國成為主導者,日本淪為棋子。2020 年 1 月美日貿易協定生效,4 月菅義偉訪美構建日美「競爭力與韌性夥伴關系」,商定在半導體供應鏈、6G、量子技術、碳排放等合作;6 月建立了「日美全球數字互聯互通夥伴關系」;11 月建立美日工商夥伴關系(JUCIP)、日美通商合作框架。2022 年 2 月美日為對抗「一帶一路」,同意設立經濟版 2+2 機製。將在構建有關半導體等供應鏈的新框架方面展開合作,並讓韓國和東盟參與,也讓尖端半導體製造商臺積電加入。但日美貿易第二階段談判已陷入停滯,使日本汽車產業無法享受貿易自由化紅利。

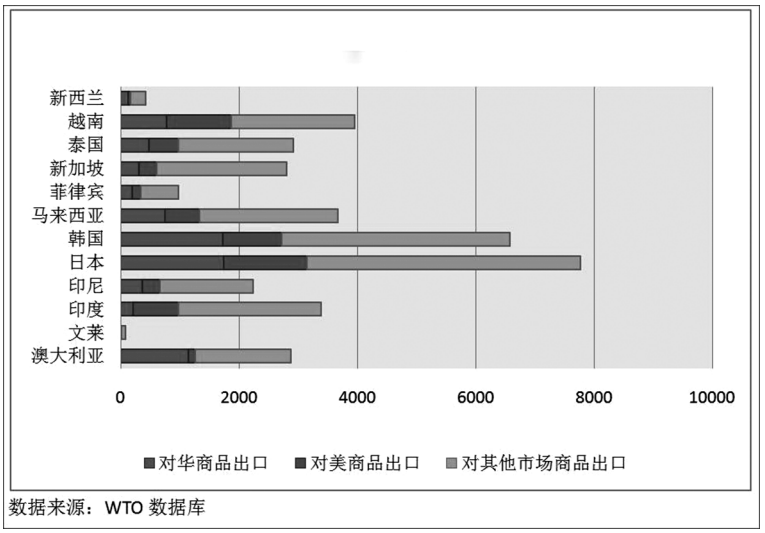

圖 2　2021 年 IPEF 主要成員對美國商品出口情況(單位:億美元)

美日歐印太合流也基本完成。2021 年英法德及歐盟相繼出臺印太戰略文件,強化經濟合作和安全協同,推進經濟議程,保護供應鏈。2022 年 1 月,日本與澳洲簽署軍隊聯合訓練的《互惠準入 RAA》協定,10 月簽署新安全協定。日美有類似 RAA 的《日美地位協定》,日英今後也簽署 RAA,意味著日本在「四方安全對話」(QUAD)後又加入美英澳「三邊安全夥伴關系」(AUKUS)。日本首相 3 月訪問印度和柬埔寨後,4 至 5 月八天六國,走訪東南亞和歐洲,積極參與北約對俄製裁。俄烏戰爭後日韓積極參與北約,6 月 29 日開始的北約首腦會議,首次同時邀請日本、韓國、澳大利亞、新西蘭作為全球合作夥伴參加。美歐日布局臺海等,中國也要防止印太版歐盟的出現①。

(二) IPEF 是同盟化的經濟基礎

IPEF 旨在通過促進印太地區數字貿易等領域的合作,提高對華競爭力,取代 CPTPP,加強對中國的包圍網,是美國主導的「對抗中國的貿易模式」。但 IPEF 有兩個困境,即對抗中國和發展中國家參加的兩難。如果提出過高水平的目標,發展中國家的參加就會變得困難;如果與中國強烈對抗,希望與中國保持良好關系的東盟各國的參加就會變得困難。確保以東盟為中心的發展中國家的參與是 IPEF 成功的必要條件。

表 6　美國關鍵礦產進口主要來源地

關鍵礦產	主要來源國
銘	俄羅斯、南非、墨西哥、哈薩克斯坦
氟石	墨西哥、越南、南非、加拿大
石墨	中國、墨西哥、加拿大、印度
鎂	中國、俄羅斯、以色列、烏克蘭、巴西、土耳其、哈薩克斯坦
鎰	加蓬、南非、澳大利亞、格魯吉亞
稀土元素	中國、馬來西亞、日本、愛沙尼亞
總	墨西哥、德國、中國
錫	印尼、馬來西亞、玻利維亞、秘魯

數據來源:BCI Solutions

以 IPEF 是「中國包圍網」、「對抗中國的軸心框架」來看,如何推進與中國的競爭和確保發展中國家的合作是 IPEF 的課題。在清潔能源、數字經濟、基礎設施建設方面,發展中國家對美國及其他發達國家,同時對中國的「一帶一路」等的資金援助、技術合作的期待都很大,兩頭獲利。因此中美對它們的要求和幫助如何保持平衡是另一個課題。

(三) 同盟化的政治與軍事動向

IPEF 成立後第二天,美日澳印召開了「四方對話(QUAD)」首腦會議②,同意未來 5 年在基礎設施領域爭取 500 億美元以上的投資。成立 3 天後的 26 日,斐濟宣布作為第 14 個國家參加。這樣的動向以降低對中國依存為目標,與美日澳高質量基礎設施投資項目「藍點網絡(BlueNet)」構想相連。這種與清潔能源相關的技術開發和基礎設施的整頓支持,會給很多 IPEF 參加國帶來好處。

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① 市川顯・高林喜久夫編著. EU 的規範與力量. 中央經濟社. 2021.

② QUAD 的 4 國首腦於 2021 年 3 月召開了首次電視會議,同年 9 月舉行了見面會。這次 2022 年 5 月 24 日的會議,以面對面的形式是第 2 次。

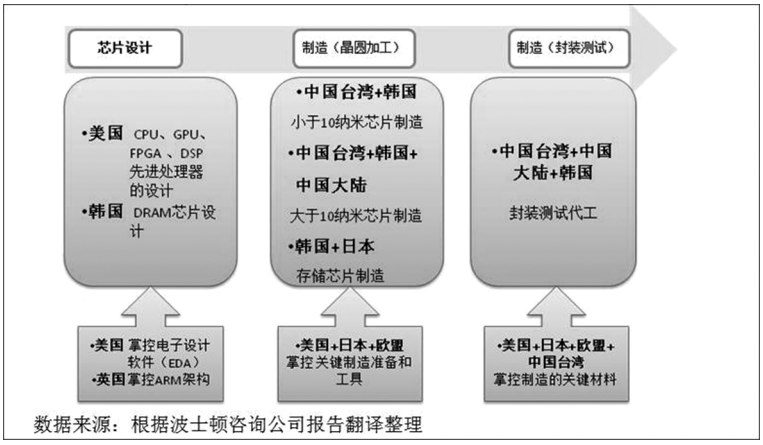

圖 3　按在不同生產環節占全球份額情況（超過 65%）區分的半導體芯片供應鏈主要參與方

2021 年秋以來，美國一直在建立政治安全製度，經濟基礎是 IPEF。同期，美國也與日本建立了「日美商務・產業夥伴關系（JUCIP）」和「經濟版 2+2」，正在討論半導體供應鏈、高速通信標準「5G」和人工智能（AI）的出口管理等問題。美韓、美臺也設立了同樣的框架。另外，在美日澳印的「QUAD（四方）」、美英澳的「AUKUS（奧庫斯）」等安保傾向的框架下，也考慮到半導體、AI、量子計算機等戰略物資、新興技術，討論了供應鏈的構築和技術合作。另外，在 2021 年 12 月美民主峰會上，通過了《出口管理和人權倡議共同聲明》，就是對用於人權壓迫的尖端技術（監視相機等）的出口進行管理，美國等 4 個國家達成了合作協議。

2022 年 7 月 19 日美國通過了 520 億美元芯片法案，這是美國整個《對華競爭法案》的一部分。正是由於該方案，讓臺積電計劃在亞利桑那州投資 120 億美元，英特爾預計 200 億美元在美國俄亥俄州建廠。27 日，美國參議又通過了規模高達 2800 億美元的「芯片與科學」法案，紐約時報稱，該法案「旨在增強美國的製造業和技術優勢以應對中國」。該法案融合了經濟和國家安全政策，除上述 520 億美元外，另為科研領域提供大約 2000 億美元支持，特別是在人工智能、機器人技術、量子計算等尖端領域。7 月 30 日首次美日「經濟 2+2」會談在華盛頓啟動，宣布將針對新一代半導體研究，啟動建立一個「新的研發機構。將在「印太經濟框架（IPEF）」下「專註解決供應鏈問題」。CHIPS 拜登是看上了韓國三星集團製造芯片的技術，現在調轉槍頭瞄上了日本，因為韓國的半導體生產線大多都在國外，如果「投靠」美國，勢必要得罪另外一方。

歐盟也與美國設立了貿易技術評議會（TTC），並於 2021 年 9 月通過了匹茲堡宣言。該宣言不僅涉及出口管理、投資審查，還涉及 AI 利用和開發、人權、民主主義的適合性、新興技術貿易和廢除強製勞動等。在 2022 年 5 月第 2 次會議上，在半導體產業供應鏈中斷的早期警戒機製設立和協調投資促進，基於烏克蘭形勢的食品危機應對等方面也達成協議。2022 年 4 月，歐盟與印度也同意設立 TTC。通過上述計劃推進的政治外交、軍事安全合作，構築只在同盟國間促進尖端技術的標準化和供應鏈，並且通過戰略物資・技術優先的融通和貿易管理・投資審查等，包圍中國，阻止中國前進。

然而，IPEF 的課題很多。四個支柱談判雖然長遠，但如何實現和實施卻是從現在開始。另外，東盟各國等認為美國的要求過多，但實際利益卻很小。雖然 IPEF 已經成立，但形成供應鏈的主角卻是亞太各國企業。在供應鏈方面，企業考慮的因素是質量（quality）、成本（cost）、及時性（timeliness）和安全（security）①。從企業的角度來看，在中國以外大規模構築新供應鏈的成本會增加。特別是中國以外的新興國家和發展中國家還沒有完善最先進的數字化物流系統，修建此類基礎設施既費錢又費時。企業最終還是要為股東和其他利

① 擔憂供應鏈轉移？用底層邏輯看清真相！長江商學院. 2022-11-01.

益相關者負責,不可能長期偏離經濟的基本原則。因此,即使 IPEF 成立,能否保證全球供應鏈的強韌仍然是不透明的①,同盟化之路漫漫長遠。

四、結論與討論

對於拜登首份「印太戰略報告」,中國認為把中國的經濟關系同「對中國的安全防範」直接掛鉤,是居心不良、來者不善。中國需要警惕 IPEF 風險的蔓延,可以依托我國超大規模市場優勢,以國內大循環吸引全球資源要素,增強國內國際兩個市場兩種資源聯動效應,提升貿易投資合作質量和水平。穩步擴大規則、規製、管理、標準等製度型開放。通過申請加入 CPTPP、推動共建「一帶一路」高質量發展、強化自由貿易試驗區、踐行中國的多邊主義、如 RCEP、《數字經濟夥伴關系協定》(DEPA),擴大面向全球的高標準自由貿易區網絡,有序推進人民幣國際化等予以應對。通過深度參與全球產業分工和合作,維護多元穩定的國際經濟格局和經貿關系②。

(一) 在數字經濟和數字貿易規則領域,應加速 DEPA 談判進程

截至 2021 年 6 月,全球共有 188 個區域貿易協定(RTAs)含有與數字貿易相關的特定條款,其中 113 個含有特定的電子商務條款,89 個含有電子商務(數字貿易)章節。IPEF 數字經濟框架將與 USMCA(美墨加)、CPTPP、美日數字貿易協定一起為美國在區域和全球數字治理領域保持優勢地位提供新的路徑、模式。2022 年 8 月 DEPA 同意成立中國加入工作組。中方與 DEPA 成員開展實質性談判,持續推進加入進程,並推動 DEPA 與 IPEF 標準競爭。隨著中國加入 DEPA 的可能性增大,中美在數字經濟領域的霸權爭奪將愈演愈烈。

(二) 在供應鏈韌性和安全領域,繼續降低對美國最終產品市場的過度依賴

IPEF 將與美日澳半導體聯盟、美日澳印稀土聯盟等一起為美國重塑印太地區供應鏈,維護美國在全球供應鏈尤其是半導體供應鏈中的主導地位、關鍵節點地位發揮新的作用。我國應在增強供應鏈韌性,確保產業鏈供應鏈穩定安全的同時,繼續完善、優化中國與周邊國家、印太地區各國間的產業鏈價值鏈和區域生產網絡。在供應鏈領域,包括出口管製、製裁、供應鏈合作等方面建立多邊國際規則,強化與主要經濟體的政治關系、加強與其供應鏈合作③。

(三) 應對美歐日印太合流,打造中國版真正的亞太多邊主義命運共同體。

加速 CPTPP 談判,自主提前達到 CPTPP 規則標準。IPEF 有 7 個成員為 CPTPP 成員,目前,我們正按照 CPTPP 加入程序,與各成員進行接觸、溝通和磋商。為積極推動加入進程,中方已就協定案文規則進行了充分、全面和深入的研究評估,梳理了加入 CPTPP 可能需要采取的改革舉措和修改的法律法規。應通過持續深化改革,並在市場準入領域作出超過中方現有締約實踐的高水平開放承諾。根據今後一個時期我國改革發展總體形勢和任務要求,最終占據 FTAAP 的主導權。2010 年在日本舉辦的 APEC 首腦會議的「橫濱宣

① 洪風.「印太經濟框架」先天不足的三大短板. 當代世界. 2022-06-10.

② 習近平. 高舉中國特色社會主義偉大旗幟 為全面建設社會主義現代化國家而團結奮鬥——在中國共產黨第二十次全國代表大會上的報告. 人民網-人民日報. 2022-10-26.

③ 胡誌勇:「印太經濟框架」難以遏製中國. 盤古智庫. 2022-10-10.

言」中,計劃通過當時談判中的 ASEAN+6（之後的 RCEP）和 TPP 來實現 FTAAP。這意味著 FTAAP 會是中美主導競爭。所以應避免「CPTPP 的 RCEP 化」。與 CPTPP 等相比,RCEP 缺乏「下一代 FTA」的貿易和投資問題」中包含的勞動和環境規則,也沒有規定政府采購的市場開放。因此,中國不加入 CPTPP,就意味著放棄經由 CPTPP 到 FTAAP 的路線,並經由 RCEP 實現 FTAAP, 這並不現實。FTAAP 只能通過 CPTPP 來實現, 因此中國必須加入 CPTPP、開展中日韓 FTA、參與 WTO 改革、加入 DEPA 等,快速完成 CPTPP、FTAAP,以實際行動踐行真正的多邊主義。

總之,「印太經濟框架」是美國印太戰略的短板,對印太夥伴的吸引力不足,也並不容易實現。美國的國際影響力的衰退更不是一個「印太經濟框架」所能夠翻盤的。從 2018 年中美貿易戰到 2020 年新冠疫情至今,中國和印太的格局確實在不斷變化。但任何封閉排他性的戰略構想,都不合時宜,也都註定會失敗。中國、亞太地區國家必須維護以世界貿易組織為核心的多邊貿易體製,加強區域內的國家戰略對接,堅定不移地維護真正的多邊主義。自 2008 年以來,中國每年為世界經濟增長的貢獻在 25%至 30%之間,如果能保持這一貢獻率,美國以外那些國家為了自身的就業、社會穩定和發展,不能沒有中國市場,就不會輕易掉進美國的圈套①。對內保持一定的增長速度,這是經濟工作應該有的一條底線。對外應以推動南南合作和南北對話為目標,探索主導亞太與聯合國開發計劃署、世界銀行、國際貨幣基金組織等國際組織建立合作關系並加強對話溝通②。與亞非拉現有區域性合作機製實現有機融合,建立定期對話機製,探索引進項目製合作方式,開展靈活合作。當今時代是一個和平、發展、合作、共贏的時代,只有真誠互利的合作才有未來。

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① 林毅夫. 當前經濟發展的挑戰與應對. 北京日報. 2022-06-13.

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The Compatibility Characteristics of Confucian "Great Harmony Society" and Communist Ideal

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Abstract: In order to continue to promote the Sinicization of Marxism, we must further improve the work of combining Marxism with China's specific reality and excellent Chinese traditional culture. The Confucian culture represented by Confucius' thought has a high degree of self-consistency and compatibility between its excellent spiritual connotation of "the society of great harmony" and the lofty ideal of communism. These self-consistency and compatibility characteristics mainly include the compatibility between Confucius' "the world is for all" and communist public ownership; the compatibility between Mencius' "rule of the people" and Marxist "individual ownership"; the compatibility between Confucian "practice learning" and Marxist practice view; the compatibility between "sages," "gentlemen," "key minorities" and "communists" and the compatibility between Confucian rational spirit and Marxist "atheism" thought. A profound understanding of the compatibility between the two has important practical significance for improving our cultural self-confidence and promoting and developing Marxism in China.

Keywords: Confucianism; the society of great harmony; communism; compatibility; self-consistency

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儒家「大同社會」與共產主義理想的兼容性特徵

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摘　要:要持續推進馬克思主義中國化,必須進一步做好馬克思主義同中國具體實際相結合,同中華優秀傳統文化相結合的工作。以孔子思想為代表的儒家文化,其優秀的「大同社會」精神內涵與共產主義遠大理想之間有著高度的自洽性和兼容性。這種自洽性與兼容性特徵主要包括孔子「天下為公」與共產主義公有制的兼容性;孟子「民治恆產」與馬克思主義「個人所有制」的兼容性;儒家「踐履之學」與馬克思主義實踐觀的兼容性;「聖賢」「君子」「關鍵少數」與「共產黨員」的兼容性以及儒家理性精神與馬克思主義「無神論」思想的兼容性。深刻認識二者之間的兼容性特徵對提高我們的文化自信,推進和發展馬克思主義中國化等具有重要的現實意義。

關鍵詞:儒家思想;大同社會;共產主義;兼容性;自洽性

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引言

馬克思主義之所以能夠在中國大地上紮根結果,與中華民族的優秀傳統文化特別是儒家文化這塊豐沃的土壤分不開。習近平總書記指出:「不忘歷史才能開闢未來,善於繼承,善於創新。優秀傳統文化是一個國家、一個民族傳承和發展的根本。如果丟掉了,就割斷了精神命脈。我們要善於把弘揚優秀傳統文化和發展現實文化有機統一起來,緊密結合起來,在繼承中發展,在發展中繼承。」談到中西方文明的比較時,他指出:「中國是東方文明的代表,歐洲則是西方文明的發祥地,正如中國人喜歡茶而比利時人喜愛啤酒一樣,茶的含蓄內斂和酒的熱烈奔放代表了品味生命、解讀世界兩種不同方式。但是,茶和酒並不是不可相容的,既可以酒逢知己千杯少,也可以品茶品味品人生。」談到如何傳承中華文明時,他又指出:「傳承中華文化,絕不能簡單復古,也不能盲目排外,而是古為今用,洋為中用,辯證取捨,推陳出新,摒棄消極因素,繼承積極思想,『以古人之規矩,開自己之生面』,實現中華文化的創造性轉化和創造性發展。」當下,在以習近平總書記為核心的中國共產黨的領導下,全國各族人民為實現中華民族偉大復興夢聚力發軔。分析、研究儒家「大同社會」與共產主義理想之間的相容性特徵,不僅是創新和豐富思想政治工作的有效途徑,也是加快馬克思主義中國化的重要步驟,其具有鮮明的時代精神和現實意義。

一、文獻綜述

早在上世紀二三十年代,一些仁人志士便對儒家的「大同社會」與馬克思共產主義理想進行過比較研究。中國共產黨的創始人之一李大釗,第一個清醒地認識到應當將馬克思主義與中國傳統文化進行比較融合,並通過「東西方文明之調和」,創造出一種新型的文明。他用「大同團結」和「個性解放」的相反相成來表達馬克思的社會主義理想。1923 年,中國共產黨的早期領導人瞿秋白創作了《赤潮曲》。歌詞中,瞿秋白把

「大同」與「共產」並列,其比較融合之意十分明顯。1925 年,郭沫若先生撰寫了題為《馬克思進文廟》的小說。小說中描述:馬克思進文廟拜訪孔子,孔子發現馬克思的理想社會與自己的大同理想「不謀而合」,馬克思也發現自己對世界、人生的看法與孔子「完全相同」。最後,馬克思慨歎道:「我不想在兩千年前,在遠遠的東方,已經有了你這樣一個老同志!」毛澤東在表述中國社會理想前景時指出,我們將經過人民共和國走向世界大同,沒有「個性解放」就沒有民主主義和社會主義。儘管先輩志士都曾通過對中西方文化的比較融合,促動馬克思主義與中國實際相結合,使中國文化的精神產品克服民族的片面性和局限性,而具有世界性意義。目前,關於儒家「大同社會」與共產主義理想之間兼容性特徵的研究還有一定的空間。本文通過深入細緻地查閱、爬疏材料,著眼於儒家「大同社會」與共產主義理想各方面的兼容性與自洽性特徵,嘗試為馬克思主義中國化以及儒家思想的研究提供新思路,新視角。

二、「天下為公」是兩者最重要的兼容性特徵

《禮運》雲:「大道之行也,天下為公。選賢與能,講信修睦,故人不獨親其親,不獨子其子,使老有所終,壯有所用,幼有所長,鰥寡孤獨廢疾者皆有所養,男有分,女有歸。貨惡其棄於地也,不必藏於己;力惡其不出於身也,不必為己。是故謀閉而不興,盜竊亂賊而不作,故外戶而不閉,是謂大同。」

(一)「大同社會」的總目標:「大道之行也,天下為公」

儒家的「大同社會」思想概括起來有以下幾方面的內涵:一是全民所有的社會制度。《禮記正義》中「天下為公,謂天子位也,為公揖讓而授聖德,不私傳子孫,即廢朱均而用舜禹也。」二是選賢與能的人才管理制度。「大道之行也,天下為公,選賢與能。」三是講信修睦的良好人際關係。「講信修睦,故人不獨親其親,不獨子其子。」四是人得其所的社會保障制度。「使老有所終,壯有所用,幼有所長,鰥寡孤獨廢疾者,皆有所養。男有分,女有歸。」五是人人為公的社會道德。「謀閉而不興,盜竊亂中而不作,故戶外而不閉,是謂大同。」六是各盡其能的勞動態度。「貨,惡其置於地也,不必藏於己;力,惡其不出於其身也,不必為己。」

孔子不僅對「大同社會」進行了理論上的概括,而且在現實中也有親身實踐。他擔任魯國中都宰時,「與聞國政三月,粥羔豚者弗飾賈,男女行者別於途,途不拾遺。四方之客至乎邑者不求有司,皆予之以歸。」在施教時,孔子多次提及自己的理想,「老者安之、朋友信之、少者懷之」等等。孟子作為儒家的集大成者,他在孔子的思想基礎上進一步提出了「仁政」思想。「親親而仁民」「老吾老以及人之老,幼吾幼以及人之幼」。究其內涵,孟子的「仁者無敵」理想與孔子的「大同社會」如出一轍,都是希望天下百姓能各安其所,安居樂業。

(二)全民所有制是共產主義理想的總體目標

《共產黨宣言》中,馬克思和恩格斯闡述:"消滅私有制,把一切生產工具集中在國家即組織成為統治階級的無產階級手裏,並且盡可能快地增加生產力的總量。"[11]可以說,馬克思的共產主義是一種「物質財富極大豐富,消費資料按需分配;社會關係高度和諧,人們的精神境界極大提高;每個人自由而全面的發展,人類從必然王國向自由王國飛躍」的社會理想。共產主義社會制度的主要特徵如下:

首先,共產主義是最美好的社會理想。消滅剝削制度,建立全民所有制。「資本不是一種個人力量,而是全社會力量」「把資本變為公共的,屬於社會全體成員的財產,這並不是把個人的私有財產變為社會財產」「共產主義的特徵並不是要廢除一般的所有制,而是要廢除資產階級的所有制」。馬克思、恩格斯特別指出,

在「共產主義社會」裏已經累積起來的勞動只是擴大、豐富和提高工人生活的一種手段。「共產主義革命就是同傳統的所有制關係實行最徹底的決裂。毫不奇怪,它在自己的發展進程中要同傳統的觀念實行最徹底的決裂。」由此可以看出,共產主義社會是消滅私有制的公有制社會,即人人佔有生產資料。社會分配方式也隨之變為各盡所能,按需分配,最終實現人人過上幸福美好的生活。

其次,共產主義是最科學的社會理想,是最符合人類、自然、社會發展規律的一種社會制度。共產主義理想不是從人們的主觀願望或抽象人性中提出的擬想方案,而是建立在馬克思主義唯物史觀和剩餘價值學說兩大基石之上,其具有歷史的、客觀的必然性。

最後,共產主義是共產黨人最崇高的理想和終極追求的目標,它體現了最廣大人民群眾的利益訴求。「過去的一切運動都是少數人的或者為少數人謀利益的運動。無產階級的運動是絕大多數人的、為絕大多數人謀利益的獨立的運動」,「共產黨人始終代表整個運動的利益」。[12]自從馬克思主義引入中國後,經過長期的實踐和印證,我們不僅取得了革命的勝利和新中國的建立,而且通過社會主義的建設和不斷發展,使馬克思主義中國化日臻完善。因此,共產主義是崇高而偉大的,是與儒家「大同社會」所呈現的主要特徵有相同之處的。

三、孟子「恆產論」與馬克思「個人所有制」的相容性特徵

(一) 孟子的「恆產論」

孟子在肯定和繼承「大同社會」的前提下,進一步提出了「制民之產」的治國理念,即在公有制的基礎上實施「個人所有制」。「民之為道也,有恆產者有恆心,無恆產者無恒心,苟無恒心,放辟邪侈,無不為已。」[13]「無恆產而有恆心者,惟士為能,若民,則無恆產,因無恒心。苟無恒心,放辟邪侈,無不為已。」[14]孟子在這裏提出了恆產與恒心兩個重要概念,並指出二者之間的辯證關係。在孟子看來,對於一般老百姓來說,「無恆產者無恒心」「苟無恒心」則「放辟邪侈,無不為已」。由此,孟子將「制民之產」上升到治國理政的高度。

孟子的「恆產論」集中體現了儒家關於「公有制」前提下個人所有制的思想。「恒者,常也。產,生也」,所以「恆產,則民常可以生之業也。」他認為「治民恆產」首先要解決老百姓的土地問題,即「五畝之宅」「百畝之田」。「五畝之宅」是為解決基本的溫飽條件,「樹之以桑,老者可以衣帛也。雞豚狗彘之畜,無失其時,七十者可以食肉矣」。「百畝之田」是為解決家族生存的問題,即「數口之家可以無饑也」。在這裏,孟子的「恆產論」顯然是強調老百姓對房屋、土地以及生產生活資料的所有權和使用權。

「民之為道也,有恆產者有恆心,無恆產者無恒心,苟無恒心,放辟邪侈,無不為已」。這裏的「道」指孔子追求的大同社會;「恒心」指大同社會的道德理想。孟子認為對於一般老百姓來說「有恆產者有恆心」,「恆產」是手段,「恒心」才是目的。所謂「恒心」就是道德之心、良能良知、人之善端。當所有人的覺悟提高到一定程度進而實現孔子的大同社會時,便是有「恒心」的體現。同時,他強調「無恆產而有恆心者,惟士為能」。這裏的「士」指「行己有恥,使於四方,不辱君命」[15]者,也指有文化、有道德、有覺悟之人。

當下學界一般認為孟子的「恆產」主要包括以下幾方面的內容:一是收入說。從政治學的角度來看,「收入說」主要是指老百姓有了穩定的收入,才可能堅守道德底線和社會行為準則。中國第一相管仲認為強國富民是治理國家的第一要務,其中富民是強國的基礎,「倉廩實而知禮節,衣食足而知榮辱」。[16]孔子也認為「庶幾哉」之後,首先是「富之」,然後才是「教之」。二是資產說。從法律的角度理解,「資產說」認為老百姓應當擁有恒定的物產,包括房產、土地以及維護其生存、生活的基本生產資料。

由此可見,不管是「收入說」還是「資產說」,都體現了管仲、孔子、孟子等人治國理政中的民本思想,都與孔子的「大同社會」一脈相承。這些「民本」思想,其核心並不在於「穩定政治統治,使農民安土重徙,安心農業生產,以實現社會的基本穩定」,[17]而是對宇宙永恆和人類終極問題的探索,也就是孔子所謂的「大道之行也,天下為公」。在孟子看來,要推行並實現孔子追求的「大同社會」,最根本的是要實現人的高度自覺,使人人都具備所謂的「恒心」。因此,孟子「恆產論」所宣導的「個人所有制」並不是反對公有制,提倡私有制,而是對孔子大同社會「公有制」的完善和補充。

(二)馬克思主義的「個人所有制」

馬克思主義提倡建立共產主義的「公有制」,卻並不反對完善「個人所有制」。「共產黨人可以把自己理論概括為一句話:消滅私有制」,但同時強調「共產主義並不剝奪任何人佔有社會產品的權力,它只剝奪利用這種佔有去奴役他人勞動的權力」。他在《資本論》中提出,要在實現社會主義公有制的基礎上「重新建立個人所有制」。在馬克思、恩格斯看來,建立社會主義公有制與重新建立個人所有制不僅不矛盾,而且互為前期、互為補充。他們甚至認為,要通過發展社會主義公有制進而更好地實現和保障個人所有制。

馬克思認為勞動者對勞動條件的所有權是通過生產本身來實現的,「一切生產都是個人在一定的社會形式中,並借助這種社會形式而進行的對自然的佔有」。[18]黑格爾說:「通過佔有,物乃獲得『我的東西』這一謂語,意志對物有了肯定的關係」。他指出「物與我的同一性」,這裏的「同一性」就是所有權的自由本質。由此看出,馬克思、恩格斯所創立的共產主義和社會主義制度並不是追求的目的,而是實現目的的重要手段。其目的是人的自由、解放和全面發展。

四、儒家「踐履之學」與馬克思實踐哲學的兼容性特

(一)儒家思想是一門踐履之學

強調實踐的重要性是儒家思想的重要特質之一。《尚書·堯典》記載:「克明俊德,以親九族」。不管是堯考察舜繼承王位,還是舜考察禹繼承王位,都將親力親為、以身作則作為首要的用人標準。「克明俊德,以親九族」要求繼承者不僅要有高尚的道德品質,更要有愛民的親和力。「親」既是親民如子的美德,也是勵精圖治、率先垂範的感召力。《尚書》中將「行」放在更重要的位置,提出「非知之實難,將在行之」。孔子亦是「先行後知」的典範,子曰:「古者言之不出,恥躬之不逮也。」[19]子曰:「學而不思則罔,思而不學則殆」[20]「吾嘗終日不學,以思,無益,不如學也」。[21]孔子認為通過勞動實踐才能更加深刻地理解書本知識,即「行有餘力,則以學文」。對此,毛澤東在《講堂錄》中也說:「古者為學,重在行事,故曰『行有餘力,則以學文』」。子貢問君子,子曰:「先行其言而後從之」。[22]子路問政,子曰:「『先之勞之』。請益,曰:『無倦』」。[23]在孔子這一思想的影響下,他的學生「子路有聞,未之能行,唯恐有聞」。[24]曾子也說「吾日三省吾身,為人謀而不忠乎,與朋友交而不信乎,傳不習乎?」[25]孟子也十分強調實踐的重要性,他認為人的「良能良知」是先天固有的,但只有通過實踐才可以將人的「良能良知」這種善端得以啟蒙或收繳,即所謂「求放心」。荀子雖是「性惡論」的創始者,但他同樣認為「不聞不若聞之,聞之不若見之,見之不若知之,知之不若行之。」[26]

從這些古代先賢的觀點中可以看出,儒家思想不是束之高閣的理論,而是一門踐履之學。中國自古以來就存在著樸素的唯物主義史觀,強調實踐在認識世界中的重要性。孔子的「學而時習之,不亦說乎」[27]強調學習倫理道德知識的同時,要重視人的道德實踐活動。王陽明的心學「知之真切篤實處便是行,行之明覺精

察處即是知」[28]強調主觀的人要與客觀的世界完全融合,達到「心外無理、心外無事」。當人的主觀認識與客觀世界高度融合時,就是「知行合一」。毛澤東說:「人們要想得到工作的勝利即預想的結果,一定要使自己的思想合於客觀外在的規律性。如果不合,就會在實踐中失敗。」[29]

(二)馬克思主義的實踐哲學觀

馬克思主義實踐觀認為實踐是認識發展的動力,也是檢驗真理的唯一標準;認識反作用於實踐,推動著實踐的發展。

馬克思主義實踐觀經歷了三個發展階段:第一階段的主要標誌為《1844 年經濟學哲學手稿》。在這部手稿裏,馬克思第一次提出異化勞動的概念,即人類未來生存而開展的生產勞動就是一種實踐活動。馬克思的「實踐活動」理論與以往的哲學家亞裏士多德「日常倫理行為」不同,也與黑格爾的「精神活動」不同,更與費爾巴哈的「吃喝拉撒」不同。他認為人是實踐活動的主體,人的勞動就是一種實踐,一切在理論上無法解決的問題必須通過實踐才能解決。馬克思第一次把人類的主體性與世界的客觀性、事物的物質性與能動性統一起來,形成唯物史觀的雛形。第二階段的重要標誌是《關於費爾巴哈的提綱》。在這部著作中,馬克思更加系統地論述了實踐觀的內涵,首次提出了科學的實踐觀。他從分析人的本質出發,提出「人的本質並不是單個人所固有的抽象物,在其現實性上,人的本質是一切社會關係的綜合」這一重要論斷。[30]他批判了以往一些哲學家離開人的社會關係談論人的本質的錯誤觀點,進一步指出社會生活的本質是實踐,以理論解釋理論行不通,理論問題只有在實踐中不斷檢驗和總結,才能用來指導實踐。第三階段的主要標誌是《德意志的意識形態》。在這部著作中,馬克思全面論述了人的主觀能動性與具體的實踐活動相結合,創造世界和推動人類社會不斷向前發展的重要思想。他通過對人類物質生產活動的分類,即人類物質生產活動包括為滿足基本生活需要的物質生產活動本身、為滿足更高社會水準的生產活動、為繁衍人類而開展的人口活動等,把人類的實踐活動與動物的本能區別開來。這也標誌著馬克思主義唯物史觀的逐步形成。

馬克思主義傳入中國後,中國共產黨人對其進行積極踐行和傳播。1927 年,毛澤東通過實地考察撰寫了《湖南農民運動考察報告》。該文答復和批判了右傾機會主義者對農民運動的不實責難,體現了馬克思主義實事求是的唯物史觀精神。1930 年,毛澤東撰寫了《批判本本主義》一文。文中提出沒有調查就沒有發言權,「離開實際調查就要產生唯心主義的階級估量和唯心的工作指導,那麼,不是機會主義,就是盲動主義」這一重要道理。後來毛澤東發表的《實踐論》和《矛盾論》進一步闡述了共產黨人從實踐、到認識、再到實踐,反復進行、螺旋式不斷上升的知行統一觀。《實踐論》中特別強調:「人類的生產活動是最基本的實踐活動,是決定其他一切活動的東西。人的認識,主要地依賴於物質的生產活動,逐漸地瞭解自然的現象、自然的性質、自然的規律性,人和自然的關係;而且經過生產活動,也在不同程度逐漸認識人與人的一定的相互關係。一切這些知識,離開了生產活動是不能得到的。」

毛澤東還將人的實踐性提高到馬克思主義辯證唯物論的高度。「辯證唯物論把實踐提到第一位的地位,認為人的認識活動一點也不能離開實踐,排斥一切否認實踐重要性、使認識離開實踐的錯誤理論。」[31]在這裏,毛澤東強調實踐高於理論,理論是依賴於實踐的,並生動地舉例:「要改良一個梨子,首先要親口嘗一口梨子」。[32]革命初創時期,當二十八個布爾什維克拿著莫斯科的尚方寶劍指揮紅軍而接連失敗時,是毛澤東力挽狂瀾於既倒。他沒有運用多麼高深的理論,而是將革命與中國的實際相結合,才取得了最後的成功。改革開放初期,大家爭相討論關於「姓資姓社」的問題。鄧小平提出不要爭論,要摸著石頭過河,把馬克思主義與中國的具體實際相結合,解決當代中國社會主義建設中遇到的難題。事實證明,改革開放不但實現了讓中國老百姓「富起來」的美好願望,而且創新了馬克思主義,推進了馬克思主義中國化。如今,中國特色社

會主義進入新時代,習近平總書記不斷深化和發展馬克思主義思想,使馬克思主義與中國的具體實際更加緊密結合。他不僅提出了「必須以知促行,以行促知」「不斷讓思想自覺引導行動自覺,讓行動自覺深化思想自覺」[33]等思想,還用「擼起袖子加油幹」「幸福是奮鬥出來的」等生動易懂的話語激勵中華兒女。

由此可見,人要產生正確的看法和理論,必須借助於生產實踐活動。進一步說,主觀的人必須和客觀的世界產生關係以至於相融合,才能得出正確的理論。因為,實踐是檢查真理的唯一標準,也是實現共產主義遠大理想的唯一途徑。

五、「聖賢」「君子」「關鍵少數」「共產黨員」的兼容性特徵

(一) 儒家的「聖賢」與「君子」

儒家對人的精神境界劃分為不同的等級和層次,一般意義上理解,從上到下分別為聖人、賢人、君子、士、孝悌、小人(庸人,或指老百姓)、鬥屑之人等。說到「聖賢」,一般總指為道德高尚之人。但在儒家來看,「聖」與「賢」有一定的區別。

對於「聖」,哀公曰:「『善! 敢問:何如可謂聖人矣?』孔子對曰:『所謂聖人者,知通乎大道,應變而不窮,能測萬物之情性者也。大道者,所以變化而凝成萬物者也。情性也者,所以理然不然取捨者也。故其事大,配乎天地,參乎日月,雜於雲蜺,總要萬物,穆穆純純,其莫之能循;若天之司,莫之能職;百姓淡然,不知其善。若此,則可謂聖人矣』」。對於「賢」,哀公曰:「『善! 敢問:何如可謂賢人矣?』孔子對曰:『所謂賢人者,好惡與民同情,取捨與民同統;行中矩繩,而不傷於本;言足法於天下,而不害於其身;躬為匹夫而願富貴,為諸侯而無財。如此,則可謂賢人矣』」。[34]由孔子言論可知,「聖」指「知通乎大道,應變而不窮,能測萬物之情性」,能夠「參天贊地、化育萬物」「與天地合其德,與日月合其明,與四季合其序,與鬼神合其吉凶」,處於天地境界的人。這種境界對於一般人而言,只能是「神龍見尾不見首」。孟子對「聖」也有過論述:「可欲之謂善,有諸已之謂信,充實之謂美,充實而有光輝之謂大,大而化之之謂聖,聖而不可知之之謂神」。[35]在孟子看來,「聖」幾乎就是「神」,它肩負著化育天下的職責。宋代張載「為天地立心,為生民立命,為往聖繼絕學,為萬世開太平」也是指這一類人。

相對於「聖」者,「賢」則有所不同。「賢」者「好惡與民同情,取捨與民同統;行中矩繩,而不傷於本」。雖然「言足法於天下」,但這類人不是真正的「立法者」,而是「執法者」。所謂「聖王賢相」,「聖」如帝王一樣君臨天下,「賢」則似宰相般執掌朝野。「聖」是「先天而天弗違」,「賢」是「後天而奉天時」。「賢」者雖然未能站在天地境界「立法於天下」,但這類人洞察人性、深知民情,能夠與老百姓同呼吸、共命運,並能順應天時,乘著大勢給老百姓帶來實實在在的好處。歷史上這類人很多,春秋戰國時期的管仲、子產、晏子等人皆是「賢」者。

「聖賢」之後便是「君子」,「君子」之後是「士」。先說「士」,子貢問曰:「『何如斯可謂之士矣。』子曰:『行己有恥,使於四方,不辱君命,可謂士矣』」[36]在「士」之後,儒家認為還有三類人,分別是「孝悌」「小人」「鬥屑」。子貢曰:「『敢問其次』曰:『宗族稱孝焉,鄉黨稱弟焉』曰:『敢問其次』曰:『言必信,行必果,硜硜然小人哉! 抑亦可以為次矣』曰:『今之從政者何如?』子曰:『噫! 鬥筲之人,何足算也?』」[37]「君子」則處在以上幾種人的中間,是道德建設的中堅力量,對社會風氣的根本轉變起重要的推動作用。

「質勝文則野,文勝質則史,文質彬彬,然後君子」[38]「君子不器」[39],這是對君子基本素質的要求。「君子和而不同,小人同而不和,君子周而不比,小人比而不周」「君子坦蕩蕩,小人長戚戚」,[40]光明磊落是君子為人

處世的風範。「君子之德風,小人之德草,草上之風,必偃」[41]「先行,其言而後從之」,[42]這是君子的人格魅力在引領社會風氣方面所具備的條件素養。「修己以敬、修己以安人、修己以安百姓」,[43]這是君子在教化社會、安定天下、拯救百姓等方面應肩負的歷史責任。王陽明在《大學問》中講:「大人者,以天地萬物為一體者也。其視天下猶一家,中國猶一人焉。若夫間形骸而分爾我者,小人矣。」[44]王陽明這裏的「大人」與孔子所指的「君子」具有相同的內涵,都是先知先覺者,是人民大眾中的先進分子。

儒家的「君子」人格內涵主要包含以下幾個方面:一是「志於道」,胸懷遠大理想。對「道」的追尋和把握是君子的最高人生境界,也就是「至善」;二是「慎其獨」,塑造獨立人格。「慎獨」不但要塑造獨立的人格,而且要有獨到的見解,要敢於發聲,即君子所謂的「獨明、獨見、獨覺」。「慎獨」在人格上是獨立的,在思想上和行動上是覺悟的;三是「踐其行」,引領社會風氣。「君子之德風,小人之德草」,引領社會風氣的根本好轉是君子的重要社會責任;四是「三不朽」實現立言、立德、立功。君子不僅要立言、立德,更要立功於天下。

(二)共產黨員和「關鍵少數」的率先垂範和社會引領作用

《中國共產黨章程》明確提出:「中國共產黨黨員是中國工人階級的有著共產主義覺悟的先鋒戰士」「中國共產黨黨員必須全心全意為人民服務,不惜犧牲個人的一切,為實現共產主義奮鬥終身」。關於共產黨員的率先垂範和社會引領作用,毛澤東、劉少奇等黨的領導人早就有過論述。

1938 年 10 月,為總結抗戰以來的經驗教訓,統一全黨的認識和步調,毛澤東撰寫了《中國共產黨在民族戰爭中的地位》一文。文中他對中國共產黨的各方面建設提出了具體的方針、任務及方法,並專門探討了共產黨員應該怎樣認識自己、加強自己、團結自己,才能領導這次戰爭取得勝利的問題。除此,毛澤東還對共產黨員的職責作了明確的闡述:其一,關於黨員的模範作用。個人利益服從於民族和人民群眾的利益,大公無私、積極努力、克己奉公、埋頭苦幹、是實事求是學習的模範。其二,關於黨員的全局觀念。一個好的共產黨員必須善於照顧全局、善於照顧多數,並善於和同盟者一道工作。其三,關於幹部政策。毛澤東認為「政治路線確定之後,幹部就是決定的因素」。對於幹部,既要識別,又要使用,更要愛護。其四,關於黨的紀律觀念。毛澤東重申:個人服從組織、少數服從多數、下級服從上級、全黨服從中央的紀律觀念。[45]綜上,該篇文章實為中國共產黨建設史上的綱領性文獻。

《論共產黨員的修養》是劉少奇最具代表性的著作之一,也是中國共產黨思想史上的一部經典著作。這部著作不僅包含了豐富的馬克思主義中國化的思想資源,而且在廣泛傳播的過程中推動了馬克思主義大眾化的發展,實現了馬克思主義中國化與大眾化的有機統一和完美結合。1980 年 5 月 17 日,鄧小平在劉少奇追悼大會的悼詞中指出:少奇同志言行一致,「他在《論共產黨員的修養》中對廣大黨員提出的黨性鍛煉的要求,自己都以身作則地實踐了」「他的《論共產黨員的修養》一書和其他關於黨的建設的著作,教育了全黨的廣大黨員,是我們黨的寶貴的精神財富。」[46]

「關鍵少數」是新時期習近平中國特色社會主義思想的重要內涵。黨的十九屆四中全會提出要建立不忘初心、牢記使命的制度。習近平總書記在「不忘初心、牢記使命」主題教育總結大會上的重要講話中指出,制度是用來遵守和執行的,不忘初心、牢記使命,必須堅持領導機關和領導幹部帶頭。因為領導幹部是黨和國家事業發展的「關鍵少數」,對全黨全社會都起著風向標的作用。要推動不忘初心、牢記使命的制度落實落地,領導幹部作為「關鍵少數」,如何發揮其風向標作用至關重要。在決勝全面建成小康社會、打贏精准脫貧攻堅戰、實現「十三五」規劃的收官之年,必須發揮好「關鍵少數」領導經驗豐富、實踐經驗豐富、組織協調能力強的優勢,在堅定「四個自信」上著力,向黨和人民交出踐行初心使命,激發奮進新時代力量的合格答卷。

由上可得,共產黨員、「關鍵少數」與「君子」之間具有高度的相容性,這種相容性主要體現在三個方面:一、兩者都有類似的理想信仰。共產黨員的信仰是共產主義,君子的信仰是為「道」,即「大道之行也,天下為公」的「大同社會」。二、兩者的內在氣質有高度的相似性。共產黨員要求自我修養,劉少奇在《論共產黨員的修養》中提出一個共產黨員務必「要有馬列主義理論的修養,以及在實踐中運用這種理論的修養,要有革命戰略、戰術的修養,要有用馬列主義的立場與方法去研究與處理各種問題的修養,要有思想意識與道德品質上的修養,要有黨內團結與紀律上的修養,要有艱苦奮鬥與工作作風上的修養,要有善於對待各種人們,善於聯繫群眾的修養,以及各種科學知識的修養等」。其目的就是「為了革命的實踐,為了更有效地去指導群眾的實際革命運動」。[47]儒家亦對君子有很高的修身要求。孔子的「仁義禮智信」「溫良恭儉讓」「恭寬信惠敏」以及《大學》的「三綱領、八條目」等,都高度重視君子人格的修養、塑造和完善。「自天子以至於庶人,壹是皆以修身為本」。[48]三、兩者所肩負的歷史責任相類似。共產黨員是有覺悟的共產主義先鋒戰士,必須全心全意為人民服務,不惜犧牲個人的一切為共產主義奮鬥終身。君子則以天下為己任,有「朝聞道夕死可矣」[49]「志士仁人,無求生以害人,有殺身以成仁」[50]的殉道精神。

六、儒家「理性精神」與馬克思主義「無神論」的兼容性特徵

(一) 儒家思想的理性精神

在儒家的哲學世界中只有此岸,沒有彼岸;只重視當下,不考慮來世。孔子認為管理國家、社會不能用迷信的手段,而要用理性的方法。「子不語:怪、力、亂、神」[51]「務民之義,敬鬼神而遠之,是為知也」。[52]孔子講的「知」即為理智、理性,也就是科學精神。『子疾病,子路請禱。子曰:「『有諸?』子路對曰:『有之。《誄》曰:禱爾於上下神祇。』子曰:『丘之禱久矣』」[53]從這裏可以看出孔子並不相信鬼神的存在。當一些學生向孔子詢問鬼神之事時,孔子概不回答。在孔子的心目中,一個真正的君子應該是智、仁、勇的合一。「知者不惑,仁者不憂,勇者不懼」,[54]只有三者合一的人才能夠擔當起拯救天下的重任。他對於「智者」給予了深刻的內涵。「知者樂水,仁者樂山。知者動,仁者靜,知者樂、仁者壽」[55]「知之為知之,不知為不知,是知也」。[56]在談到「知」時,孔子往往將其與「惑」相對,「愛之欲其生,惡之欲其死。既欲其生,又欲其死,是惑矣」[57]「一朝之忿,忘其身,以及其親,非惑與?」[58]

儒家的理性精神還體現在對於「美」的追求上。儒家認為真、善、美三者之間不是孤立的,是有其內在必然聯繫的。在孔子看來,「《韶》,盡善盡美」,《武》則「盡美矣,未盡善也」,[59]並由此形成「真善美」相統一的思想觀念。同時,孔子認為個人的情感表達必須與理智相結合。子曰:「《詩》可以興,可以觀,可以群,可以怨」。[60]發乎情,止於禮就是儒家的中庸之道。中庸之道不僅要求個人在人格塑造時,須通過「如切如磋,如琢如磨」來形成「溫良恭儉讓」的完美人格,而且在處理家庭、社會、國家等倫理關係時,也要遵循「理性主義」。家庭層面是親血緣,重人倫;社會層面是與人為善,和平相處;國家層面是穩中求健,切忌冒進。

(二) 馬克思主義「無神論」的唯物史觀

馬克思主義哲學是建立在實踐基礎上的,不僅是唯物的,也是辯證的。恩格斯指出:「全部哲學特別是近代哲學的重點的基本問題,是思維和存在的關係問題」。[61]這一結論表明,馬克思主義在宗教上持無神論觀點,是一種理性精神。什麼是無神論?「無神論就是實事求是,認為世界上沒有神、鬼和天堂、地獄以及其他任何超自然力量的實際存在;人的命運掌握在人自身手裏。這是事實,也是真理」。[62]什麼是馬克思主義無神

論,「就是以科學為依據,從哲學的深度研究宗教神學的世界觀、認識論和方法論,探究一切鬼神論的謬誤及其所以謬誤的原因;同時深層次地討論如何正確地認識世界、正確地思維、正確地實踐。無神論並不是簡單地否定神,不信神,而是學習和教人以正確的思維方法、正確的人生觀和價值觀,與科學和社會的整體進步銜接起來。」[63]馬克思主義無神論的鮮明特點主要包括:唯物史觀的理論与科學社會主義運動的實踐以及貫徹始終的科學精神。[64]由此可得,馬克思主義的無神論與孔子的不語怪、力、亂、神有其鮮明的相似性,二者皆強調實踐,注重理性。

七、結語

綜上所述,儒家的「大同社會」與共產主義理想之間存在著多方面的兼容性特徵,如儒家「天下為公」與馬克思主義「公有制」的兼容性;孟子「恆產論」與馬克思主義「個人所有制」的兼容性;儒家「踐履之學」與馬克思主義科學實踐觀的兼容性;儒家「君子」人格與「關鍵少數」、共產黨員的兼容性;儒家理性精神與馬克思主義無神論唯物史觀的兼容性等。儘管孔子尊崇周禮,強調克己複禮,他講的個性發展和對大同社會的追求,是一種等級制度下的社會治理現象,而馬克思共產主義是在生產力高度發達的情況下,達到的一種社會模式,但二者對追求人類幸福美滿的最高願望是一致的。以儒家理性精神與馬克思主義無神論唯物史觀為前提,腳踏實地,積極踐行,並充分發揮儒家優秀的「君子」人格及「關鍵少數」、共產黨員良好的作風與品格,在合理發展個人所有制的同時,努力實現共產主義偉大理想。

習近平總書記在不同場合反復強調,要把中國優秀的傳統文化融入社會主義核心價值觀,要用中國優秀的傳統文化提高人們的精神境界,提升國家的軟實力,增強中華民族的文化自信。孔子、孟子、王陽明等都是儒家思想的代表,他們雖然受時代的限制有著各種局限性,但其思想中仍然遺存著我國發展進程中所需要的文化精髓。批判地繼承這些閃耀著時代精神的優秀傳統文化,對我們豐富和發展社會主義核心價值觀,深入推進馬克思主義中國化,以及更加深刻的瞭解和把握習近平總書記關於人類命運共同體思想有著十分重要的現實意義。

注釋

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② 摘自習近平在布魯日歐洲學院的演講。

③ 摘自習近平 2014 年在文藝工作座談會上的講話。

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Research on the Development of Malaysia-China Economic Relations During the National Front Administration (1974-2018)

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Abstract: In the long-term development of Malaysia and China, the economic relationship is one of the most important bilateral relations between the two countries. Since Malaysia and China formally established diplomatic relations in 1974, under the leadership of the National Front, Malaysia has adopted specific economic policies towards China in different development periods, and the specific economic policies have also shown different characteristics in different development periods. Until Malaysia's 2018 domestic election, Malaysia-China economic relations ushered in a new period of development. Therefore, this article takes the timeline from 1974 to 2018 to analyze the development and changes in Malaysia-China economic relations during this period and what methods and means Malaysia adopted to establish and develop economic relations with China under the leadership of the National Front in order to promote the positive development of its own economy.

Keywords: economic relations; Malaysia; China; the National Front

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國民陣線執政期間馬中經濟關係發展探究（1974—2018）

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摘　要：在馬來西亞與中國長期的發展過程中，經濟關係是兩國最重要的雙邊關係之一。自 1974 年馬來西亞與中國正式建交以來，在國民陣線的領導下，馬來西亞在不同的發展時期採取了特定的對華經濟政策，而特定的經濟政策也在不同發展時期表現出了不同的特點。直到馬來西亞 2018 年的國內大選後，馬中經濟關係迎來了全新的發展時期。而研究結果顯示，馬來西亞儘管歷經了從馬哈蒂爾到納吉佈時期的領導人變化，但是在對華經濟關係上仍然堅持以務實主義的經濟政策為核心，根據不同時期的國家發展需要來調整與中國的具體經濟合作形式。而基於羅伯特・帕特南的雙層博弈理論，主要有領導人特質、國內利益群體、國家利益考量、大國博弈和東盟原則等五個因素影響了馬來西亞對華經濟政策的演變，而其中，國家利益考量與大國博弈則是最根本的影響因素。馬來西亞也根據特定的對華經濟政策以實現著馬來西亞國家利益的最大化。

關鍵詞：馬來西亞；中國；國民陣線；經濟政策；經濟關係；雙層博弈理論

一、引言

長期以來，馬來西亞對華經濟政策一直受到學者和研究人員的關注和討論。討論的重點是馬來西亞將對中國採取什麼樣的經濟政策來促進和發展中馬之間的經濟關係。由於中國強大的經濟實力對馬來西亞極具吸引力，兩國在雙邊貿易和投資方面建立了廣泛的互動與合作，馬來西亞不能忽視中國經濟在馬來西亞發展藍圖中的重要性。然而，馬來西亞也擔心過度依賴中國經濟給自身安全帶來風險和挑戰。此外，兩國在南海問題上還存在一定的分歧，這使得馬來西亞在決定採取何種經濟政策發展對華經濟關係時保持一定程度的謹慎和認真態度。從 1974 年到 2018 年，馬哈蒂爾、巴達維和納吉布等三位不同的馬來西亞領導人在推動馬中經濟關係發展方面發揮著重要作用。因此，筆者主要係統回顧了從馬哈蒂爾到納吉的馬來西亞對華經濟政策的發展歷程，並利用羅伯特・帕特南的雙層博弈理論來分析馬來西亞在三個不同政府時期的對華經濟政策的影響因素，並總結了經濟政策對中馬經濟關係的影響。

本文主要包括三個部分；第一部分主要介紹了 1974 年至 1980 年中馬兩國建立經濟關係的情況。第二部分主要介紹了國民陣線執政期間不同領導人採取怎樣的對華經濟政策來鞏固和發展與中國的經濟關係，包括馬哈蒂爾、阿卜杜拉・巴達維和納吉等，並總結了不同政府執政時期馬來西亞對華經濟政策的特點，而最後一部分具體介紹了羅伯特・帕特南的雙層博弈理論並利用此理論來探究國民陣線執政期間馬來西亞對華政策演變與發展的影響因素。

二、馬中經濟關係的建立與突破（1974—1980）

中馬經濟互動與發展並非始於 1974 年，而是始於 1957 年。一些學者習慣於界定和劃分中馬經濟發展

時期,將 1974 年視為兩國經濟發展的萌芽。但一個問題是,在此期間,中國和馬來西亞並沒有正式建交,主要是因為兩國之間的意識形態問題,彼此沒有關注雙邊經貿互動。在本文中,研究範圍之所以界定在 1974 年,主要有兩個原因。一方面,中國和馬來西亞自 1974 年正式建交,幫助兩國開啟官方經濟往來和互動,使兩國的經濟聯繫與合作越來越頻繁,馬來西亞也開始給予對華經濟政策更多的關注。因此,選擇 1974 年為起點更具代表性和價值,有助於我們梳理馬來西亞對華經濟政策的發展歷程。另一方面,從 1957 年到 1974 年,兩國之間沒有正式的經濟貿易和互動,這一時期雙邊貿易更加集中在非政府組織層面,尤其是以馬來西亞華人為代表。因此,本文的研究範圍將集中於 1974 年至 2018 年馬來西亞對華經濟政策的發展。

1974 年至 1980 年,雖然中馬建交並開展雙邊交往,但經濟合作僅限於某些方面,雙邊合作仍十分有限,而馬來西亞政府的經濟政策仍對推動發展兩國之間的經濟關係起到了重要作用。

(一) 經濟外交和經濟政策

人們在分析國家將採取何種經濟政策來促進經濟發展時,將經濟政策作為一種特殊的經濟外交來發展對外經濟關係。對於經濟外交,不同的學者有不同的定義。有學者認為,經濟外交是一國的外交手段,其主要目的是解決與其他國家的經濟貿易衝突,從而幫助各國獲得相關利益(Zhao,2011)。Chohan(2021)認為,經濟外交是一個多方參與的過程,主要通過經濟手段實現最大範圍的經濟收益。Berridge 和 James(2003)提出經濟外交是一個國家或政府的一種重要方式,其目的是為了完成特定的經濟任務,通過經濟制裁或援助來解決相關問題,以維護國家安全和利益。從以上定義來看,大多數學者將經濟外交視為解決內外問題的一種方式或手段,其目的也是為了維護國家安全和社會穩定,保障國家利益。在經濟外交的具體實施過程中,需要關註三個關鍵因素,主要包括:政治經濟緊張局勢、國內國際緊張局勢、政府與其他群體之間的緊張關係(貝恩和伍爾科克,2017)。這主要表明,一個國家在通過經濟外交解決外部問題和衝突時,需要處理好不同層次、不同群體之間的關係。比如國內國際緊張局勢,在經濟外交過程中,一方面要注意經濟外交對他國的影響,避免因損害他國利益而導致衝突升級。另一方面,經濟外交也受到國內層面各種因素的影響,需要協調不同的利益組織。

關於經濟外交與經濟政策的關係,經濟政策通常被視為實施經濟外交的手段或策略。經濟政策的具體內容包括經濟投資、貿易、援助、制裁等。這些不同的方式可以幫助各國發展與外國的經濟關係,鞏固與其他國家的經濟互動與合作,促進本國經濟發展。而經濟政策又包括積極的經濟政策和消極的經濟政策。不同的經濟政策對一國對外經濟關係發展的影響完全不同。例如,當一個國家決定採取積極的經濟政策時,必然會積極發展與其他國家的經濟聯繫,建立更廣泛的經濟合作關係,使兩國都從經濟合作中受益,從而減少必要的矛盾和衝突,維持兩國相互依存。相反,如果一個國家或政府採取經濟制裁等負面經濟政策,勢必會加劇與其他國家的緊張和衝突,也會對自身安全產生不利影響。同時,在實施經濟外交時,也強調了專業人員的重要性。這是因為當代社會的專業人士已經掌握了全面的專業知識,他們可以依靠這種專業知識為經濟政策的實施提供全面的參考。專業人士還可以在與其他國家的經濟互動過程中依靠重要知識獲得經濟優勢,從而影響經濟政策的決策過程(Seabrooke,2011)。因此,經濟政策與經濟外交密切相關。一個國家在發展對外經濟關係時,需要注意採取什麼樣的經濟政策來發展對外關係,以獲取利益,維護自身安全。

(二) 困境中經濟關係的突破

1969 年馬來西亞的種族衝突迫使馬來西亞政府改變國家的發展政策。在此期間實施新經濟政策(NEP)。新經濟政策於 1970 年至 1990 年實施。近二十年來,新經濟政策對馬來西亞和中國的經濟發展產

生了重要影響。推行新經濟政策的主要原因是,自馬來西亞獨立以來,馬來人和馬來西亞華人長期處於不平等地位,這激發了馬來人改變種族不平等地位的決心。新經濟政策旨在提高馬來人在國家發展過程中的社會地位,創造和鞏固馬來人在國家發展中的領導地位,在教育和文化上更傾向於馬來人,促進國家的經濟發展(阿齊茲,2012)。新經濟政策的具體落實主要包括四個方面:改變財政政策,為中下層群眾提供免費教育、住房、醫療服務;直接干預商品市場,控制產品價格和產量;農村發展政策,提高馬來人的經濟收入和生活水平;改變資本所有製結構,培養馬來資本家(曹,1998)。通過以上政策,新經濟政策的積極影響是改變馬來西亞長期存在的種族失衡,改善馬來人在經濟社會中的地位,創造大量以馬來人為主的國有企業,縮小貧富差距。它還增強了馬來人的民族自信心,促進了國家的經濟發展(Rasiah & Shari,2001;Cao,1998;Ibrahim,2009)。但與此同時,新經濟政策也產生了許多不利影響,主要表現在三個方面:(1)成為馬來人特權合法化的工具,加劇種族衝突,貧困問題沒有從根本上得到解決,導致腐敗問題嚴重;(2)嚴重損害了馬來西亞華人的利益,降低了華人的社會地位,拉大了華人與馬來人的階級差距,導致華人資本逃離馬來西亞,轉向其他國家;(3)外資對馬來西亞失去興趣,外資逃離步伐加快,對國家長期經濟發展造成損害(Koon,1997;Lin et al.,2021; Hara,1991;Yacob & 哈立德,2012)。鑑於這些不利影響,馬來西亞也間接對中國採取了相對保守和不積極的經濟政策。

在中馬經濟發展過程中,馬來西亞華人始終發揮著重要作用,產生了重大影響。由於馬來西亞華人與中國有著密切的歷史文化聯繫,馬來西亞華人始終保持著對中國的親近感。在新經濟政策的影響下,馬來西亞華人無法維護自己的安全和利益,只能選擇在中國投資和貿易,以維護自己的安全和利益,而這種選擇也在無形中維護和鞏固兩國的經濟關係,為後來的全面經濟發展奠定了堅實的基礎(Husin et al.,2012;Chin,2008)。但在此期間,馬對華經濟政策受到新經濟政策的影響,馬對發展對華關係並不重視。兩國雖已建立外交關係,但經濟互動仍局限於某些方面,尚未建立和開展廣泛的經濟合作(鄭,2009)。一方面,由於新經濟政策的實施,馬來西亞政府過度維護了馬來人的利益和社會地位,而忽視了華人社區的利益。因此,與馬來西亞華人關係密切的中國並不是馬來西亞政府的優先事項。另一方面,由於兩國在意識形態和政治制度上存在差距,馬來西亞政府對中國仍有強烈的擔憂和猜忌,對華經濟政策相對保守。儘管如此,1974 年馬政府仍初步採取行動與中國建立經濟關係,1974 年至 1980 年經濟關係也取得進展和突破,經貿投資額也顯著增加。

總之,這一時期,馬來西亞對華經濟政策的特點是:相對保守、不積極;重視國內經濟發展,忽視外部互動;經濟發展緩慢。不過,雖然這一時期馬對華經濟政策並不積極,但馬來西亞正在逐步探索和發展與中國的經濟關係,這也為隨後兩國全面經濟互動奠定了重要基礎。

三、國民陣線執政期間不同政府對華經濟政策的發展

(一)馬哈蒂爾執政期間馬中關係的發展

1986 年以來,中馬經濟關係進入新時期。這一時期不僅是因為兩國經濟合作與互動進一步擴大,還因為馬來西亞也改變了以往對華經濟政策,採取更加積極主動的發展對華經濟關係的戰略。在此期間,馬來西亞領導人也經歷了從馬哈蒂爾、巴達維到納吉的巨大轉變,其中馬哈蒂爾是更具影響力的領導人,在他的領導下,馬來西亞對華經濟政策發生了戲劇性的變化。

自 1985 年馬哈蒂爾首次正式訪華以來,拉開了他發展對華經濟政策的序幕。1985 年以來,兩國雙邊貿

易大幅增長,經濟合作與交往更加頻繁。特別是在 2002 年,馬來西亞取代新加坡成為中國在東盟的最大貿易夥伴,兩國經濟聯繫更加深入和密切。面對兩國經濟發展的有利形勢,馬哈蒂爾此時也採取相應措施進一步推動經濟發展,主要包括:一是取消相關行政法規,取得中國產品進口許可證;二是加大支持馬來西亞華人赴華投資,設立相關代表處,延長馬來西亞華人在中國停留時間;第三,取消對商人的限制等相關規定,進一步拓寬兩國溝通渠道,擴大合作規模(Shee,2004;Zheng,2009)。在上述政策影響下,中馬經貿發展得到進一步鞏固和擴大。經貿關係的不斷發展反映了馬來西亞對華政策由相對保守的態度轉向積極的政策。在此期間,馬來西亞對華經濟政策的發展主要受三個因素的影響。主要包括領導人、馬來西亞華人利益集團,以及中國經濟的吸引力。

1. 領導人

與馬哈蒂爾之前的歷任領導人相比,他們更關心馬來西亞的國內經濟發展,而不是關注國外,而堅持實用主義的馬哈蒂爾則將目光投向了更廣泛的國際社會(Hing,2013)。隨著冷戰的結束和經濟全球化的發展,馬哈蒂爾逐漸意識到,未來的社會將是國家間的合作,封閉孤立的國家很難融入這個時代。因此,馬哈蒂爾提出國家發展政策(NDP)來取代新經濟政策(NEP)。在國家發展政策的影響下,馬來西亞改變了發展方式,選擇以更加開放包容的方式發展與各國的經濟關係,以更好地融入全球經濟。關於發展對華經濟關係,馬哈蒂爾雖然擔心中國的軍事實力,但他始終認為,中國擁有世界上最豐富的勞動力和巨大的國際市場等優勢,以及巨大的發展潛力。友好溝通和良性的經濟政策將有利於馬來西亞借助中國經濟的發展,促進馬來西亞經濟的發展與繁榮。因此,在實用主義的影響下,經濟關係給馬來西亞帶來的好處和利潤將超過對中國的擔憂和懷疑。因此,對中國保持友好和積極的經濟政策非常重要(Nambiar,2021)。

2. 馬來西亞華人利益集團

作為特殊的利益組織,馬來西亞華人在馬中經濟關係發展中發揮著極其重要的作用。這一重要性一方面體現在馬來西亞華人憑藉自身的語言優勢和與中國密切的文化聯繫,正在努力、積極地發展對華貿易和投資,同時也體現在中國,恰逢改革開放時期,急需大量海外投資。馬來西亞華人的投資也加深了馬中經濟聯繫。另一方面,在馬哈迪爾的領導下,馬來西亞推動國家發展政策(NDP)以發展對外經濟關係,馬來西亞華人的重要性在此時凸顯。馬來西亞華人需要保持對華經濟穩定並確保持續獲得利益,因此他們依靠自身的資源和優勢來影響馬來西亞的對華經濟政策(Whah & Fee,2012)。因此,在馬哈蒂爾時期,華人社區的重要性更加明顯和突出,馬哈蒂爾也希望利用華人社區擴大對華經濟合作,鞏固雙邊發展。馬哈蒂爾重視華人社區的一個主要因素是馬來西亞華人和中國社會享有相同的語言和字母,並且沒有溝通障礙(Zheng,2009)。語言和文化的對接也使馬來西亞對華投資得到中國政府的重視,得到當地政府的政策支持和幫助,更好地促進了雙邊經貿發展,增進了相互友誼。

3. 中國經濟吸引力

隨著中國改革開放政策的實施,各種外資限制的放寬以及各種吸引外資的政策措施的出台,中國經濟的巨大潛力得到了體現。1980 年以來,中國經濟快速發展,出口不斷增加。尤其是中國巨大的國內市場和充足的勞動力資源,吸引了世界許多國家的資本公司,紛紛在中國投資、建廠,中國進入全面發展的新階段。但同時,在中國經濟高速發展的同時,馬來西亞的經濟發展相對緩慢。1997 年的亞洲金融危機也重創了馬來西亞經濟,這讓馬哈蒂爾意識到中國經濟將有力地重振馬來西亞經濟。而馬來西亞作為出口導向型國家,嚴重依賴海外資本推動經濟發展。由於之前的新經濟政策的影響,許多海外資本紛紛逃離馬來西亞。因此,馬來西亞迫切需要改變國內投資環境,吸引更多海外投資到馬來西亞。於是,在這種國內外的雙重壓力下,馬來西亞對華經濟政策此時也發生了相應的變化。馬哈蒂爾轉變經濟發展思路和方法,著力發展對

華經濟關係,努力擴大對華各種經濟交往與合作,希望依靠中國發展帶動馬來西亞經濟復甦。

在以上三個因素的影響下,馬來西亞對華經濟政策表現出較為積極主動的態度,雖然經濟政策比較積極,但並不代表馬來西亞完全支持中國的各項政策。作為一個小國,隨著中國經濟實力的增強,周邊國家開始擔心是否中國對利用經濟手段來增進對其他國家的控制,軍事手段的頻繁使用也增加了對周邊國家的威脅和風險。針對這種情況,馬哈迪爾也保持相對的警惕和猜疑,也在規避過度依賴中國經濟帶來的巨大風險,但從實際來看,馬來西亞需要依靠中國經濟來帶動馬來西亞自身經濟的發展。因此,在馬哈蒂爾時期,馬來西亞對華經濟政策是一種相對避險的策略,主要特點表現為:積極主動、注重經濟關係、擴大雙邊合作等。通過這樣的對話和經濟政策,馬來西亞鞏固和發展了與中國的雙邊關係,享受了中國經濟發展帶來的經濟利益和影響,幫助自身促進了經濟復甦和發展。

(二)阿卜杜拉·巴達維執政期間馬中經濟關係的發展

2003 年,馬哈迪宣布結束首相任期,阿卜杜拉·巴達維接替他成為馬來西亞新任首相。與馬哈蒂爾相比,巴達維似乎缺乏馬哈蒂爾外交政策的果斷和自信,其外交政策風格被評價為相對保守和溫和(Khalid,2009)。結果,一些人開始質疑巴達維能否承擔如此重要的責任,帶領馬來西亞走向更美好的未來,尤其是與他的前任馬哈蒂爾相比。馬哈蒂爾在任期間,馬來西亞實現了經濟快速增長,大力建設公共基礎設施,改變了基礎設施條件,使馬來西亞成為世界發展中國家經濟發展的典型代表。而當阿卜杜拉·巴達維上台後面臨如此重大的成就時,人們開始期待阿卜杜拉·巴達維能夠保持甚至超過馬哈蒂爾在任期間取得的經濟成果。對於阿卜杜拉. 巴達維來說,有兩個重要問題擺在面前。一是國內經濟受到嚴重急性呼吸系統綜合症(SARS)的影響,經濟增長動力不足。二是複雜的國內政治矛盾和衝突(Ganesan,2004)。尤其是巴達維政府不得不採取措施重塑與西方國家的外交關係,因為在前總理馬哈蒂爾任職期間,在其強勢外交風格的影響下,馬哈蒂爾對美國等西方國家進行了批評。馬來西亞的地緣政治行為導致馬來西亞與美國的關係出現裂痕(Ganesan,2004)。阿卜杜拉·巴達維的外交政策的特點是與其他領導人相處,以促進雙邊關係的發展和進步,正如阿卜杜拉·巴達維在 2003 年宣布,馬來西亞和美國將建立合作,加強打擊恐怖主義的河東行動,以及保守溫和的執政風格贏得了其他國家領導人的信任(Khalid,2009)。在他面臨的問題中,經濟疲軟是最重要的。儘管馬來西亞在 2003 年上台後經濟實現了正增長,但由於非典的影響,經濟增長仍然受到衝擊和影響。在此過程中,中國的經濟實力讓阿卜杜拉·巴達維看到了新的發展機遇。如果說馬哈蒂爾前首相成功拉開了馬中經濟關係快速發展的序幕,那麼巴達維在馬哈蒂爾的基礎上,有效鞏固了馬中經濟關係的成果。在對華經濟政策方面,阿卜杜拉·巴達維政府主要集中在兩個方面。一方面,應努力鞏固和維護馬哈蒂爾時期馬中兩國的經濟成就,並在此基礎上採取進一步措施,擴大與中國經濟關係的合作空間。二是發展多邊關係,建立經濟合作共同體。阿卜杜拉·巴達維高度重視與中國、韓國、日本等國的多邊關係,希望建立經濟共同體,進一步加強與中國和其他國家的經濟聯繫(Khalid,2009)。在阿卜杜拉·巴達維的領導下,馬中經濟關係在他任職期間也取得了相應的成果。馬來西亞取代新加坡成為中國在東南亞最大的貿易夥伴,2002 年兩國雙邊貿易額達到 113 億美元(Ganesan,2004)。然而,與中國的經濟合作並沒有立竿見影,因為巴達維任期內的改革未能達到預期效果,引起巫統內部的不滿和壓力,而在第 12 屆國內選舉中,國陣失去了議會的多數席位,巴達維宣布辭去馬來西亞總理職務,納吉接替他成為國家新領導人。

當我們評價巴達維在任期間對華經濟政策的發展時,阿卜杜拉·巴達維是極其特殊和矛盾的。這主要是因為巴達維既沒有像前任總理馬哈蒂爾那樣在推動馬中經濟關係發展方面取得重大突破,也沒有像後來的納吉那樣實現馬中經濟關係的繁榮。他對華經濟政策也被認為是保守的。但仍需承認,巴達維在推動馬

中經濟關係發展方面發揮了作用。在此基礎上,他積極尋求突破,因為他的經濟政策也為後來的納吉政府實現馬中經濟關係的繁榮奠定了重要基礎。在穩健的經濟政策指引下,馬中經濟關係得到有效加強,為納吉在任期間的後續發展奠定了堅實基礎。

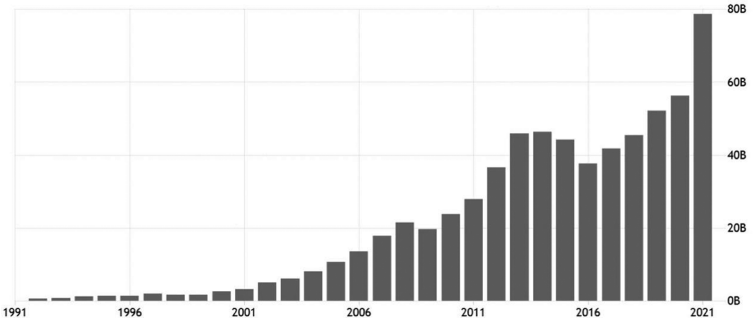

圖 1　1991—2021 年中國對馬來西亞出口發展情況

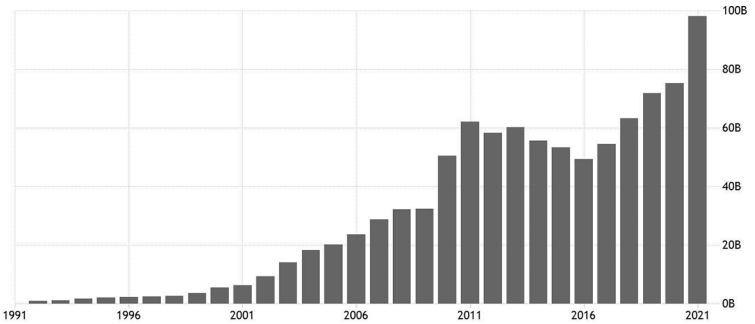

圖 2　1991—2021 年中國從馬來西亞進口情況

（三）納吉布執政時期馬中關係的發展

作為繼馬哈蒂爾和巴達維之後的國家領導人,納吉在對華經濟政策上並沒有做出較大的改變,而是繼承了馬哈蒂爾時期的對華經濟政策,仍然保持著對華積極的態度,進一步擴大了經濟合作領域的空間。與巴達維相比,納吉在對華關係中表現出更加開放和積極的態度,表現在主動與中國簽署相關經濟項目、頻繁訪問中國、支持中國企業在馬來西亞開展相關活動等。納吉在任期間,「一帶一路」倡議(BRI)的出現對中馬經濟關係產生了重要影響。作為中國迄今為止最重要對外經濟項目,「一帶一路」旨在緊密聯繫世界各國,為其發展提供資金和技術,促進各國共同發展。而擁有巨大地理價值的馬來西亞,也不會錯過這個寶貴的機會。納吉果斷決定加入「一帶一路」,全力支持和歡迎該項目,並推出多項舉措,發展和推動中馬圍繞「一帶一路」。可以說,「一帶一路」項目是一個重要的動力,不僅因為它縮短了馬中政治距離,加深了兩國之間的密切聯繫,還因為它為馬中兩國的發展提供了充足的投資和重要的技術,改變了當地基礎設施並提供許多就業機會並提高人們的收入(Yu,2017;Yean,2018;Zhang,2020)。在「一帶一路」的影響下,納吉更加重視發展對華經濟關係,推行更加開放和積極的經濟政策,吸引中國投資。但「一帶一路」也引發了一些爭議,主要包括債務風險、合作項目內容不透明、腐敗問題和國家安全風險等(Loh ,2017;Balding,2018),2015年南海仲裁案也引發了相關爭議以及馬來西亞和中國在南海主權問題上的衝突,同時也導致馬來西亞審視其對華經濟政策是否仍需維持或改變(Storey,2020)。然而,儘管面臨諸多挑戰,例如南海問題,但從實踐的角度來看,巴達維和納吉執政期間中馬兩國的經濟發展不斷發展,中國也成為了馬來西亞的第一大貿易國。

因此,在此期間,馬來西亞對華經濟政策仍然是積極的,經濟發展仍然是中馬關係的核心,政治安全問題被置於次要地位。而更重要的是,在納吉執政期間,中馬之間建立了東海岸鐵路線(ECRL),有力地增強了經濟的深度和廣度。

年份	投資者或建築商	部門	數量(单位:百万美元)
2010	中國鋁業公司(中鋁)	金屬	350
2011	中國鋁業公司(中鋁)	金屬	800
2011	周大地產	房地產	790
2011	首鋼集團	金屬	240
2012	中國南車	運輸	130
2012	碧桂園	房地產	330
2013	廈門大學	其他	190
2013	廣西北部	金屬	650
2013	廣西北部	運輸	480
2013	卡姆丹克太陽能	能源	380
2013	中國鐵路車輛股份有限公司 (CRR)	運輸	130
2013	廣州富力地產	房地產	1370
2014	上海綠地	房地產	180
2014	山東代印	其他	200
2014	信義玻璃	房地產	200
2015	上海綠地	房地產	660
2015	晶科太陽能	火力	100
2015	上汽(上海汽車)	運輸	280
2015	南通富士通	技術	370
2015	中國廣核、南方電網	火力	5260
2016	株洲旗濱	房地產	210
2016	中國廣核	火力	100
2016	廣西投資	金屬	140
2016	西安隆基_	火力	240
2016	中國交通建設	旅遊	1680
2017	青島魯海豐	農業	280
2017	中國銀行證券	金融	120
2017	浙江吉利集團	交通	110
2017	碧桂園	房地產	280
2017	山東橫源	能源	140
2018	敏捷物業	房地產	840
2018	華天科技	技術	440

表 1　2010—2018 年中國對馬投資

東海岸鐵路(ECRL)項目是中國對外戰略——「一帶一路」倡議(BRI)的重要組成部分。作為最重要的參與國之一,馬來西亞對 ECRL 有著濃厚的興趣,認為 ECRL 可以大大提高馬來西亞人民的生活水平,促進馬來西亞的經濟發展。ECRL 項目的主要內容是將馬來西亞首都吉隆坡與馬六甲海峽和關丹海峽的巴生港以及哥打巴魯連接起來。中國交通建設總公司(CCCC)為承包商,負責沿線鐵路的開發建設。ECRL 項目的資金來源包括兩部分,一是主要來自中國進出口銀行提供的 385 億令吉貸款,其餘則由馬來西亞自己提供和負責。

ECRL 的主要推動者是馬來西亞前總理納吉布。納吉在 2016 年長期訪華期間,表達了對 ECRL 的極大熱情和支持,相信 ECRL 與中國的合作將極大改變馬來西亞的基礎設施狀況,為馬來西亞經濟發展注入前所未有的活力和動力(Lim,2018)。在一些學者看來,ECRL 是一個對中馬有很多好處的合作項目,可以極大地鞏固和促進馬中經濟合作與發展(Malgeri,2019;Lim,2018)。對中國而言,ECRL 項目不僅可以拓展中國企業的海外發展空間,緩解國內產業過剩問題,還有助於中國進一步鞏固和加強與馬來西亞等東南亞國家的經濟合作基礎(Zheng,2020;Zhang,2021),也可以增強對馬來西亞的影響力,贏得馬來西亞的信任和支持,從而為中國拓展更廣闊的國際合作空間。對於當時的納吉政府來說,東鐵帶來的巨大利益體現在三個方面:一是改變了馬來西亞的基礎設施條件,為經濟發展奠定了基礎。長期以來,馬來西亞經濟發展的一大障礙是國內基礎設施建設的落後和不足。由於基礎設施建設需要龐大的行政預算,馬來西亞政府無力承擔高額資金支持,而中國可以向馬來西亞提供大量資金援助,可以有效幫助馬來西亞提高基礎設施水平,從而解決基礎設施落後的問題。二是創造了許多就業機會,提高了人民收入。馬來西亞經濟發展長期依賴外商投資和出口,中國強大的經濟實力吸引了馬來西亞的目光。馬來西亞政府相信,與中國的經濟合作將給馬來西亞帶來廣泛而持久的利益,特別是來自中國的經濟投資。ECRL 作為一項大型基礎設施項目,需要開發和利用新的土地,以更好地建設鐵路。在此過程中,可以與沿線城市和地區開展合作,從而帶來很多就業機會,提高當地人民收入。第三,鞏固納吉個人任期內的政績,從而贏得馬來西亞人民的支持。作為馬來西亞最重要的公共建設項目之一,ECRL 也得到了該國眾多利益集團和政黨的見證。一旦 ECRL 能夠順利完成並帶來實際利益,將有助於前首相納吉鞏固個人成就以及公眾廣泛和持續的支持。基於這種情況,前總理納吉布積極採取各種措施推動東鐵發展,希望它不僅能幫助馬來西亞實現更好的經濟發展,也能幫助自己實現更大的政治抱負(Saravanamuttu,2017)。然而,ECRL 在 2018 年遇到了更大的危機和挑戰,而這個挑戰伴隨著馬來西亞 2018 年的國內大選而來。2018 年的國內大選也深刻改變和影響了 ECRL 的發展和實施,並在一定程度上暗示馬來西亞對華經濟政策的新調整。

綜上所述,納吉執政期間,馬中經濟關係達到前所未有的繁榮穩定,對華經濟政策沒有改變,是一種軟對沖策略。通過充分利用對沖策略,馬來西亞不僅可以從與中國的經濟合作中獲得實質性的利益,而且納吉也可以利用這一重要機會,進一步鞏固和加强两國之間的經濟關係。然而,親華經濟政策自然會引起一些反對黨的情緒和不滿,尤其是希盟(PH)。由於濫用職權和貪污腐敗,納吉不得不在 2018 年國內大選中辭職,馬哈蒂爾接替他成為馬來西亞新任總理。仍然可以看出,由於對華經濟政策穩定、積極,馬來西亞依靠與中國的經濟合作推動其高效和迅速的發展。

領導人	對華經濟政策	主要特點
馬哈蒂爾	務實主義	積極主動、注重經濟關係
巴達維	務實主義	以維護兩國經濟關係穩定為核心,相對謹慎
納吉布	務實主義,以軟對沖策略為主	高度熱情與支持、相對靠攏中國

表 2　國民陣線執政期間不同領導人對華經濟政策比較

四、雙層博弈理論下的馬來西亞對華經濟政策

對於任何一個國家來說,對外政策的選擇在國家的發展藍圖中佔據著十分重要的地位,因為對外政策是國家發展與他國關係的主要手段,如果對外政策實施恰當能夠有效的推動國家與他國雙邊關係的友好發展,而對外政策選取不當則會引起與他國關係的惡化乃至於雙方的敵對甚至是武裝衝突。因此,國家必須審慎的考量採取何種對外政策來實現國家對外利益的最大化。在國際關係中,許多學者都紛紛從不同角度來討論國家的對外政策選擇,而羅伯特・帕特南(Robert Putnam)則從國內政治與國際政治如何互動的角度來研究對外政策是如何進行的,提出了其經典的「雙層博弈理論」(Two-Level Games Theory)。羅伯特・帕特南並不像過往的國際關係學者一樣僅從國內政治來探討對外交政策的影響而是敏銳的觀察到國內政治與國際政治存在著一定的聯繫,這種聯繫也就解釋了為何國家的對外政策選擇有時從國內角度詮釋是乏力的,而「雙層博弈理論」為國家的對外政策如何受到國內政治與國際政治的雙重影響提供了強有力的解釋(Putnam,1988)。

「雙層博弈理論」分為兩個層次,即縱向與橫向層次,具體如圖 3 所示。帕特南假定代表國家的談判者會同時在國內與國際兩個層次上進行雙向的博弈,而橫向層次即是談判者在國際層次上會與其他國家的代表進行談判以商討某種事務,同時在國內層次上又與那些進行批准與實施的行為者進行談判。而縱向層次上包括談判與批准兩個階段。在談判階段時,談判者們會達成一個初步的協定而後來到第二階段。在第二階段中,代表國家內部決定和實施政策的領導人或者選民會通過正式或者非正式的方式來批准或實施這些協定。而帕特南也提出了一個核心概念,即「獲勝集合」(Win-Set)。何謂「獲勝集合」,主要指當代表國家的政治家們在結束談判後所提出的最後協議能被國內選民認可和批准的程度。「獲勝集合」的關鍵在於第一階段的博弈和第二階段國內選民接受的最大範圍。只有有效的採取博弈手段並得到最大數量的選民認可時,談判所達成的結果才是具有意義的。

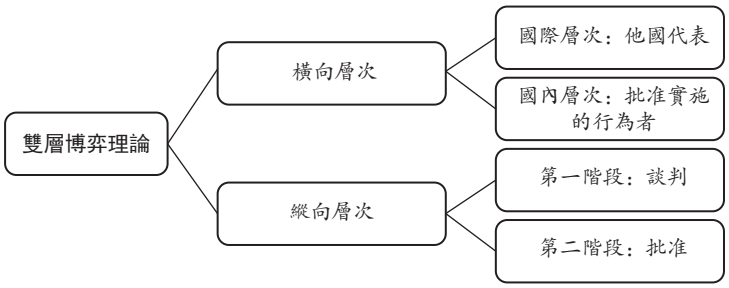

圖 3　雙層博弈理論模型

而就馬來西亞對華經濟政策的發展來看,它根據國內外政治的實際形勢多次調整了其對華的經濟政策,而對華經濟政策的演變也自然而然地受到了國內政治與國外政治的雙重影響。儘管許多學者提出了多種影響馬來西亞對華經濟政策發展的因素,但就本文來說,筆者認為以下五個要素是最為主要的,包括:領導人特質、國內利益群體、國家利益考量、大國博弈和東盟原則,而其中國家利益考量與大國博弈則是最為根本的兩個因素。而對於國家的對外政策來說,影響要素與要素之間是存在著一定的聯繫,進而通過要素的整體性互動來影響國家的對外政策制定與實施。依據帕特南的「雙層博弈理論」,馬來西亞對華經濟政策發展的互動模式具體如圖 4 所示。

就馬來西亞對華經濟政策發展而言,在整個國民陣線執政期間,馬來西亞主要是以務實主義經濟政策

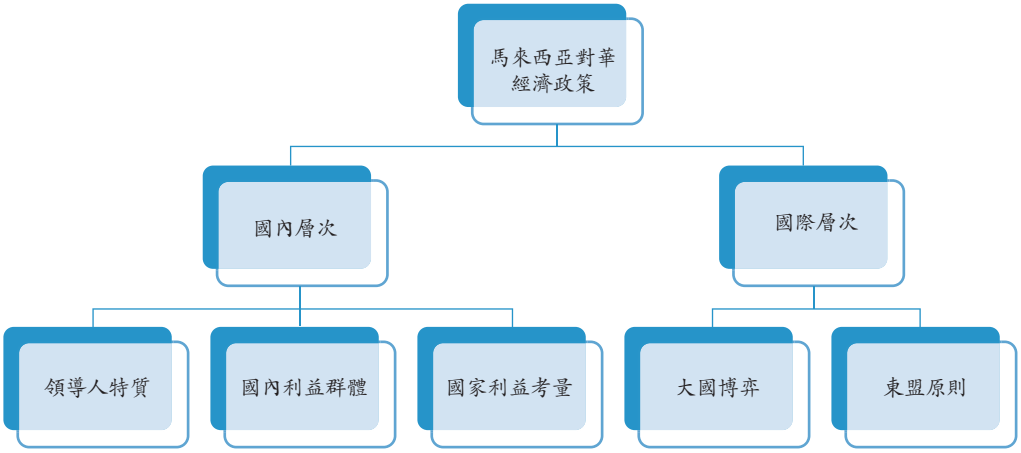

圖 4　馬來西亞對華經濟政策影響因素

作為發展對華經濟關係的核心,而在不同領導人執政時期,表現出經濟政策的不同特殊性。而在整個發展過程中,國內層次的國家利益考量和國際層次的大國博弈發揮著最為關鍵的作用與影響。首先是國內層次的國家利益考量。而何謂國家利益,指滿足國家以生存發展基礎的各方面需求和在這個基礎上對國家整體發展有好處的事物。對於所有國家來說,國家利益並不是長期穩定不變的而是隨著時間和國內外形勢的變化而有所不同。之所以國家利益如此重要,是因為國家利益是一個國家對外對內發展的根本目的,國家通過採取不同的內外策略來獲得不同的利益,這些利益都是國家利益的一部分,最終都是為了實現國家的繁榮昌盛和興旺發達而存在。而國家,作為在國際政治體系中一個理性的行為體,在國家發展的不同階段國家利益是有所不同的,所以國家會審時度勢的採取不同政策來實現國家利益最大化。對馬來西亞來說,與中國雙邊關係的互動在不同時期的必要性和利益是有所不同的,而馬來西亞的國家利益主要體現在以下四個方面,分別為:(1)維護以民主自由為核心的資本主義政治制度不受侵害;(2)捍衛馬來西亞等東南亞國家的中立定位;(3)減少大國競爭與博弈對馬來西亞等小國的影響,維護馬來西亞等小國的國家安全;(4)以維護馬來西亞國家經濟安全與政治安全為核心,要求對華關係發展更符合馬來西亞國家的利益期望與要求。正是基於這樣不同的國家利益考量與驅動,馬來西亞在發展對華關係時也會因地制宜的採取適當的政策來推動馬來西亞與中國雙邊關係的和諧發展。但這並不意味著其他國家利益就不重要,而國家利益是複雜的,在同一時期內多種國家利益會交織在一起,但是只有一種國家利益在成為這個時期內對外關係發展的核心利益與根本利益。例如在馬來西亞與中國建交前,馬來西亞的國家利益不僅只有維護以民主自由為核心的資本主義政治制度不受侵害,還包括捍衛馬來西亞國家安全不受外來威脅。然而此時期處於冷戰時期,以意識形態為核心的鬥爭主要了整個國際政治秩序,馬來西亞作為堅定站在以美國為首的資本主義陣營,對於蘇聯領導下的社會主義陣營及其意識形態充滿著擔憂與懷疑,因而身處於社會主義陣營的中國自然而然成為了馬來西亞的政策威脅與對手,所以此時期對華保守的經濟政策可以維護馬來西亞的國家安全,但最根本的目的還是為了捍衛馬來西亞以民主自由為核心的資本主義制度不受來自社會主義的影響。因此,在國家利益的影響下,國家會根據實際情況來實施對外政策以實現國家利益最大化。

其次是大國博弈的影響。在馬來西亞與中國的互動過程中,大國博弈就始終伴隨著兩國的互動而發展。由冷戰時期的蘇聯與美國的大國博弈到冷戰結束後的中國崛起與美國開展多方面的角逐與較量,馬來西亞需要在這複雜的大國博弈中找到一條適合自身的道路來維護自身安全。而大國博弈之所以在馬來西亞的對華政策發展中佔據瞭如此重要的地位,根本原因在於基於相對實力不對稱所產生的威脅感知。而何

謂威脅感知,主要指在國際關係中,國家作為一個敏銳和理性的行為體,由於不同國家實力的不同對其他國家所帶來的直接感受是不同的,國家會因此產生恐懼或者擔心等不同的認知,這種對他國基於力量差異而導致的認知上變化即是威脅感知。對於馬來西亞來說,它本身的綜合實力在當下的國際政治體系中是一種小國的存在,而國際政治體系永遠是由大國間的博弈與競爭而主導的,而像馬來西亞等小國與大國在經濟、軍事、人口等多方面都是存在著巨大的差距,小國是無力與大國發生直接性的衝突與鬥爭,一旦發生衝突,這必然會讓小國走向滅亡。所以小國對大國在國際政治中是有所戒備的,它擔心大國是否會威脅自身安全或成為大國主導體下的一份子。而在發展對華關係時,中國與馬來西亞在綜合實力是有所差距的,而這種差距所帶來的威脅感知是由弱到強的,尤其是在馬哈蒂爾時期,隨著中國的綜合實力的逐漸強大,儘管中國強調自身的崛起是一種和平方式,不會對其他國家產生威脅,但是在馬來西亞等其他國家看來中國整體實力的強大卻是一種潛在的威脅。加之兩國的意識形態與政治制度不同,馬來西亞自始自終對中國抱有深深的戒備與擔心,無法給予中國以充分的信任與合作。所以在發展與中國關係的不同時期內,馬來西亞都是採取不同的策略來維護自身安全。例如在兩國建交前,馬來西亞採取依附策略選擇站在以美國為主導的資本主義陣營以對抗中國。建交後,馬來西亞選擇對沖政策來對沖中美等大國間的博弈與衝突。其策略的目的也是為了增強馬來西亞作為小國承受風險的能力,因為小國在國際政治體系中是脆弱的,無法承受與大國間關係惡化的嚴重代價,只能選擇依附於大國生存或者維持中立來避免引起大國對小國的敵對,從而讓大國間的博弈對小國的影響維持一個平衡點。

除了大國博弈和國家利益考量,其他因素在影響馬來西亞對華政策發展中發揮了重要作用。正是基於不同領導人特質和國內不同利益組織的雙重影響下,馬來西亞需要考慮到國內利益群體的整體利益,例如本土的馬來族和華人群體,所以在納吉佈時期馬來西亞極度的靠近中國和加強與中國合作,而到馬哈蒂爾第二任任期時,本土的馬來族感受到了外來中國資本對本土企業的威脅,給予馬哈蒂爾極大的壓力要求馬來西亞與中國的合作更為公平與透明。而東盟的中立與不干涉原則則是成為了馬來西亞對外政策發展的重要基石,作為東盟的成員國之一,馬來西亞也倡導在大國博弈中維持中立地位和不主動涉及到大國的競爭與衝突,更多的希望減少外來大國對東南亞地區事務的干涉而由本地區的國家來處理,這也在一定程度上影響了馬來西亞對華政策的選擇。

總之,馬來西亞在發展對華經濟政策的發展是受到了多維因素的影響,在這些因素的綜合影響下,馬來西亞才因地制宜的採取了不同的對華政策以推動了馬中關係的持久穩定發展與切實地維護了國家的安全與利益。

五、結論

通過回顧馬來西亞與中國經濟關係的發展,可以看到,無論馬哈蒂爾、巴達維亦或者納吉布,馬來西亞對華經濟政策的發展都呈現出一個持續上升的曲線,而且這種經濟政策表現出一個整體的進步和積極的發展。馬中兩國衹有憑藉積極穩定的經濟政策,才能保持經濟持續健康發展。儘管在此過程中兩國之間存在軍事政治衝突和挑戰,但不能從根本上影響和改變馬來西亞對華經濟政策以及馬中友好的經濟關係。然而,隨著 2018 年納吉布因為貪污腐敗事件而被迫下臺,馬哈蒂爾代替其成為新任的馬來西亞總理,馬來西亞在對待發展與中國的經濟關係上出現了新的變化與調整,而這些新的變化與調整也成為了馬中經濟關係在接下來穩定發展的重要挑戰。

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(Editors: Bonnie WANG & Joe ZHANG)

A Study on Taiwan-related Public Opinion and Its Attitude Differences Among Mainland Chinese Netizens: An Analysis of the Topic of "Seeking Independence by Epidemic" on Weibo

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Abstract: This study explores the timing of the outbreak of Taiwan-related public opinion and the corresponding public opinion events among mainland microblog netizens under the theme of "seeking independence through the epidemic." Utilizing the "interpretation package" theory, "encoding/decoding theory," and emotional polarity analysis, the study establishes a framework for analyzing netizens' sentiment in terms of priority, negotiation, and confrontation. The study extracts five distinct emotional differences in national identity, including "acknowledging the legitimacy of the Chinese central government and actively participating in the formation of national identity," "having strong confidence in China's military power," displaying "nationalistic and resolute views on sovereignty issues," "disapproving of certain harmful policies and subjects," and "patriotic sentiments fueled by Internet populism."

Keywords: mainland Chinese netizens; public opinion involving Taiwan; emotional differences

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1 Introduction

The novel coronavirus pneumonia epidemic is a major global public emergency and represents what Giddens and other scholars describe as the contemporary "risk society" in the context of "unprecedented changes" in the world today (Giddens, 1999). The epidemic presents a significant challenge to a country's ability to govern

socially and guide public opinion.

Despite China's strong cohesion and institutional excellence in preventing and controlling the spread of the epidemic, it has successfully contained the domestic outbreak in a timely manner, creating "China speed," "the most beautiful retrograde," and "never lie flat" anti-disaster miracles. China has also actively carried out an international assistance policy based on the community of human destiny, demonstrating its role and style as a great country. However, some countries and regions have disregarded China's efforts in resisting the epidemic and have deliberately smeared China's image in the public opinion arena, inciting national hatred and attempting to gain inappropriate political benefits. During the epidemic, the DPP administration, led by Tsai Ing-wen, repeatedly criticized China as an "international epidemic gap" and prohibited Taiwan from exporting masks to the mainland, and conspired with the US government to allow Taiwan to join the World Health Organization in a vain attempt to become "de facto independent."

These actions have sparked intense debates and emotional fluctuations among China's netizen groups, who have expressed and constructed phenomenal public opinion events closely related to national identity through online interactive platforms, such as microblogs. Investigating the self-generated discourse logic and attitudes and emotions of netizens in this complex public opinion field is an efficient way to uncover differences in patriotic concepts, gather value consensus, and deepen identity (Xu, M. H. & Li, D. N., 2020). Since Weibo is a social platform and news acquisition medium used by most people in mainland China (to a certain extent, it is equivalent to the combination of Twitter and Facebook functions), therefore, this article chooses the relevant public opinion situation of Weibo as the starting point, and uses the public opinion analysis tool "Micro Hotspot"① produced by Weibo Company, which is directly related to the Weibo corpus, to analyze the differences in the attitudes of mainland netizens towards Taiwan-related public opinions, and help optimize relevant public opinions reasonable construction (the time span and sample size of data collection will be described in Chapter 3).

2 Related studies of microblogging netizens' comments

With the advancements and growing popularity of Internet technology and mobile devices, social media platforms with low barriers, anonymity, group discussions, user-generated content, and self-selection have become primary means for individuals and various social groups to comment on public issues they are concerned with, disseminate information or exchange emotions. These platforms are crucial carriers and windows for reflecting social opinions, and academic research in the field of public opinion governance has often focused on the comments of internet users on social media, such as microblogs (Bi Hongmei & Huang Yilin., 2020; Zhang J, Zhang Yaping & Zhao Feng., 2020; Liu, Chunnian & Xiao, Di., 2020)

① "Micro Hotspot", previously known as Sina Micro Opinion, is positioned as a big social data tool, with the primary functions of checking the hotness index, communication analysis, word-of-mouth analysis and microblogging sentiment of a certain person, company or event, with sections of microblogging event analysis, competitor analysis and big data report. This article uses the "Weibo event analysis" function. The corpus crawled by this function includes bloggers, commentators who have publicly published the input keywords (such as "Seeking Independence by Epidemic" in this article) on the entire Weibo platform. And it can also analyze which related posts or media have the most replies and reposts, so as to discover opinion leaders.

The cutting-edge research approach often involves analyzing socially-mediated internet users' comments by incorporating theories related to semiotics, structuralism, or the sociology of emotions. For instance, Yin Lian-Gen uses Gamson's "interpretive packages" theory and Stuart Hall's "encoding/decoding" theory to construct a paradigm with "metaphor, exemplars, catchphrases, depiction, roots, consequences, appeals/principle", the audience event interpretation framework was constructed with "metaphor, instance, aphorism, description, cause, effect, and principle" as the horizontal axis and confrontational interpretation, preferential (hegemonic) interpretation, and negotiated interpretation as the vertical axis to analyze the strong participatory characteristics and mass psychology of audiences in microblog space (Yin, Lian-Gen., 2014). Based on cognitive emotion theory and rooting theory, Deng Chunlin and Jia Yi et al. pointed out that microblog users tend to have emotional tendencies based on the stimulation of certain public opinion events, which can be divided into five categories: "strongly derogatory, generally derogatory, objective, generally positive, and strongly positive," while general users' emotional tendencies are frequently influenced by opinion leaders. These emotional tendencies of general users are often influenced by opinion leaders (Deng, Chunlin, Jia, Yi, Long, Zhengfan & Jiang, Liu., 2020); while Peng Guanglin believes that the analysis of internet users' comments should focus on the individual, collective, and social emotions behind them (Peng Guanglin., 2020).

Combining the existing research, it is not difficult to find that digging deep into social platforms represented by Weibo and news acquisition media to mine netizens' comments is a more feasible way to analyze the public opinion of mainland netizens in the "Seeking Independence by Epidemic" event that occurred along with the COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, first of all, a basic judgment on their views and attitudes is made according to Hall's decoding/encoding theory in previous research, and then Gamson's "interpretation package" theory is adopted to analyze in detail what kind of emotional attitudes among netizens and how these emotions reflect national identity. Although the integration of the above studies can build a basic explanatory framework for this paper, there are also certain problems in these studies. On the one hand, many studies simply list the emotions or opinions reflected in the review texts according to the explanatory framework, without further subdividing the corresponding groups of people; On the other hand, many studies neglects to analyze the psychological identity, ideology, and social mentality reflected in the comments' emotions or opinions. Therefore, this study will overcome the above-mentioned deficiencies, and use the logic of sentiment analysis to go deep into the decoding/encoding point of view judgment and the analysis of "interpretation packages" and investigate the specific situation of Weibo netizens and Taiwan-related public opinion during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In summary, this paper will adopt the idea of sentiment analysis to investigate the specific situation of Taiwan-related public opinion of microblogging netizens during the COVID-19 pandemic.

3 Analysis of mainland netizens' public opinion on "seeking independence through epidemic"

3.1 Overview of mainland netizens' public opinion on "seeking independence through epidemic"

In this paper, we used the "Microblog Event Analysis" section of the data crawling and analysis tool "Micro

Hotspot" to statistically analyze 42, 951 messages on the topic of "pursuing independence through epidemic," which were strongly reflected in Taiwan's public opinion between December 1, 2020 (the first case of New pneumonia was confirmed) and November 27, 2020 (the time that this study was carried out). The development nodes and trends of public opinion events are shown in Figure 1.

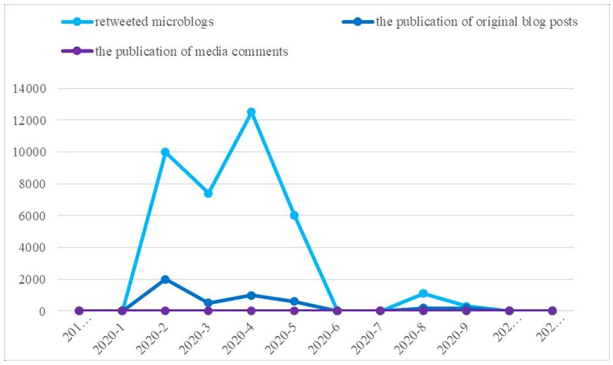

Fig. 1 Trend of public opinion on the theme of "seeking independence by epidemic" on Weibo

In Figure 1, the horizontal coordinates represent the time nodes of public opinion events, and the vertical coordinates represent the number of comments by netizens at different time nodes. The blue line represents the tendency of the number of retweeted microblogs, the navy-blue line represents the trend of the publication of original blog posts, and the purple line represents the trend of the publication of media comments. As we can observe, the microblogging public opinion on the topic of "pursuing independence by epidemic" started to emerge in January 2020, with nodal events in February-May 2020 and August 2020, and reached the peak of public opinion buzz in April. Among them, the primary opinion data are mainly retweeted microblogs. And the specific references of these nodal events can be derived from the tracking and distillation of Figure 2 and Table 1 below.

Fig. 2 Hot word clouds on the theme of "seeking independence by epidemic" on Weibo

Table 1 Key opinion leaders and agenda setting of the topic of "seeking independence through epidemic" on Weibo

Name of opinion leader	Overview of blog content
CCTV News	CCTV comments on female journalists using Taiwan issue to deliberately provoke WHO: Hong Kong female reporter using Taiwan issue to deliberately provoke WHO, WHO makes the cleanest and most hardcore reaction
People's Daily News	Taiwan Affairs Office: Seeking independence by the epidemic will never succee: The head of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council issued the following statement on Taiwan-related issues at the World Health Organization on Feb. 6.
Jun Zhengping	Jun Comment: Seeking independence by the epidemic and Taiwan independence is a political plague more virulent than a virus: Taiwan and its affiliated islands are a sacred and inseparable part of China's territory, and it is reasonable, legal and sensible for the Chinese army to patrol them in combat readiness.
China Anti-Cult	Foreign Ministry: China strongly condemns the personal attacks against Tan Desai WHO. Director-General Tan Desai said Taiwan has been making racist attacks against him, to which Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian said: …
Gulou Micro News	Hot: China strongly condemns the personal attacks against Desai Tan. WHO Director-General Desai Tan said that Taiwan has been making racist attacks against him, to which Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian said: …
Communist Youth League Central Committee	Taiwan's "Internet army" is running rampant, the global "bombing" non-stop. They still think they have won the face for Taiwan, but do not know that in the eyes of people around the world, they are just a group of laughing clowns.
Planet Huang Zhixian	2020 May 6, "Huang Zhixian night question" full version of the editorial notes: the new coronavirus spread in France at the end of December last year? Seeking independence with the epidemic? ……
Jiangxi Anti-Cult	Foreign Ministry China strongly condemns personal attacks against Tan Desai @ ChinaAgainstCult

First of all, from the hot word cloud after big data analysis, we can see that among the public opinion events related to the theme of "pursuing independence by epidemic" on Weibo, eliminating the words "China", "Taiwan", "mainland", "new crown" and so on have been eliminated. In addition to "China", "Taiwan", "mainland", "new crown" and other words with unclear direction, "WHO", "mask", "journalist", "personal attack", "America", "politics" and so on hotter and more frequent comment words. The main opinion leaders on this topic made remarks such as "CCTV comments on female journalists using Taiwan issue to deliberately provoke WHO", "China strongly condemns the personal attack on Tan Desai", "Taiwan independence is a political plague more poisonous than a virus." The following specific netizens' comments are filtered and analyzed around the media related to the events discussed in the table.

Table 2 Chronology of incidents in which the Taiwan authorities "sought independence through epidemic"

Timing	Events
January 2020	Taiwan Customs checked mail sent overseas and intercepted a total of about 90, 000 masks mailed to the mainland on the 30th and 31st.
February2020	Feb. 6: The head of the State Council Taiwan Affairs Office issued a statement on World Health Organization issues related to Taiwan. Feb. 14: The spokesman of the State Council Taiwan Affairs Office condemned the DPP authorities and Taiwan independence forces for taking advantage of the new crown epidemic to engage in political maneuvering, which is a plague more poisonous than a virus.

continued

Timing	Events
March 2020	Mar. 24: The Taiwan Affairs Office pointed out that the so-called "joint statement" on epidemic prevention issued by Taiwan and the U. S. once again exposed the DPP administration's despicable act and political agenda of "seeking independence through epidemic. Mar. 28: A female reporter from RTHK English repeatedly asked WHO whether it would reconsider Taiwan's membership in a video interview with Bruce Elder, a senior adviser to the WHO director-general, who hung up immediately.
April 2020	Apr. 9, WHO Director-General Tan Desai said that Taiwan has been making racist attacks against him. A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: "China strongly condemns the personal attacks and racist remarks and actions against Director-General Tan Desai"; a spokesman for the Taiwan Affairs Office said that the DPP authorities "seek independence with the epidemic" by any means possible, viciously attacking the WHO and its director, and allowing the green net army to spread racist remarks indiscriminately, which we strongly condemn. Apr. 16, Taiwan's DPP authorities wanted to take advantage of the epidemic when other countries did not have time to care, the "China Airlines" to "Taiwan Airlines", but after considering the costs Su Zhenchang finalized, not to change the Chinese, but to change the English.
May 2020	May. 6, the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations Office in Geneva said: Taiwan has open channels of communication with the WHO and the mainland, and there is no so-called "epidemic prevention gap", opposing the stigmatization and politicization of the epidemic. May. 20, Tsai Ing-wen refused to recognize the "1992 Consensus" in her inauguration speech on May 20.
August 2020	Aug. 5, news broke that the U. S. Health and Human Services Secretary Azar will visit Taiwan on. A spokesman for the Taiwan Affairs Office said that the DPP authorities are holding foreign countries hostage, willing to be pawns, and colluding with the U. S. side to gain political self-interest and harm the common interests of compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

3.2 Analysis of the differences in the attitudes of mainland netizens in the incident of "seeking independence by epidemic"

As cited in the literature review, Gamson's "interpretive parcel" theory, Stuart Hall's "encoding/decoding" theory, and the related theories from the sociology of emotions can be used interchangeably in the study of Internet users' group comments. Among them, Yin Liangen's research combined the above-mentioned Gamson and Hall's research more closely. Therefore, this paper will incorporate the analysis of emotional polarity based on Yin's "audience event interpretation framework" to further interpret the influence of different emotions of Internet users' comments on the construction of national identity. It should be mentioned that since the events and public opinion of Taiwanese authorities' "seeking independence by epidemic" had not yet completely stopped at the beginning of this research, the "results" in the original framework were eliminated and the tangible causes were incorporated into the "principles". The concrete reasons were also incorporated into the "principles". In addition, according to relevant studies, the influence of online netizens' comments on the audience is much greater than the influence of the articles they comment on, and the top ten most popular comments on online news frequently determine or portray the basic positions and emotions of the rest of readers on a certain event (Wang Xiaohong & Zhou Chu., 2019). Therefore, in the following, this study focuses on the top ten comments of the top ten microblogs under a certain event to investigate.

3.2.1 The framework of commentary attitude of netizens' preferential interpretation

According to Stuart Hall's theory, "preferential interpretation" is the most favored way of decoding by the

information coder①, i. e., the audience recognizes the information and expresses emotions according to the original intention of the information coder. The Internet users' comments that fall into this interpretation mode in this study can be categorized as strongly agreeing with the one-China principle, largely disparaging the DPP and the US authorities, and generally agreeing with the WHO (See Table 3).

Table 3 Framework of commentary attitudes of preferential interpretations by netizens

	Strong endorsement of the one-China principle	**General derogatory comments about "Taiwan independence" and the U. S. authorities**	**General endorsement of WHO**
Metaphor	"Taiwan Province of China", "Motherland Mother"	"Taiwan Foundry", "Rebel Kids", "Puppet Government"	None
Exemplars	"Since ancient times, those who split the motherland have not ended up well" "The end of Taiwan independence is reunification … The mainland has long circled Taiwan around the world with the one-China principle to keep Taiwan from splitting up"	"Appearing in the U. S. might be easily contained? How did 5 million cases come about?", "a country with the worst epidemic to work with you, don't be funny, 'Cai Cai' (a kind of Tsai Ing-wen's contemptuous name)!", "Taiwan people are innocent, this government, must be severely punished"	"The official replied to her that we had just discussed China. This is a great reply", "This WHO official is very sensible and resourceful!"
Catch phrases	"The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the reunification of both sides of the Strait are historical necessities" "China cannot be left out at all!"	"Intervention is not without cost", "doing nothing is not possible, political showmanship first", "do not take advantage of the situation to engage in division. This time the most important thing is to unite against the virus!"	"Count me in as a joint supporter of the Secretary-General" "As the Director-General of WHO has been able to do so without taking sides with any country and being truthful, I hope someone will see your contribution to the world and your efforts for peace."
Depiction	"Chinese territory is not to be questioned"	"Make a fool of yourself', "Stupid and bad", "don't interfere in China's internal affairs", "Block 'Taiwan independence' artists"	"Protect Mr. Tan" and "Go Director-General"
Appeals/ principle	Maintaining the unity of the motherland	Upholding the reunification of the motherland and opposing political conspiracies	Support International Justice

In general, the emotional attitudes of the above three "preferred interpretations" of Internet users' Taiwan-related public opinion comments can be distilled into two characteristics, namely, that this group of Internet users emotionally identifies with the legitimacy of the Chinese central government and spontaneously and actively participates in the rational construction of national identity.

First of all, Michel Walzer once said: The state is an invisible but perceptible presence for the citizen, and for the citizen to experience the object of the state, it must be personified and symbolized (Kertzer, D. I., 1988)). Comparing China to "the Motherland" and Taiwan to "rebellious children" is a classic symbol of discourse for constructing national identity and proclaiming the unity and sovereignty of the country. The long-term use of this symbol can foster the natural identification of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait with

① In the context of this paper, it is the news publisher represented by the mainstream media such as "People's Daily".

the country.

Secondly, these Internet users, who share a common national, ethnic, and regional identity, realize in the microblogging space the construction of a community that can be a source of social meaning for its members, as most advocated by Manuel Castor in his book The Power of Identity. According to Castells (2010), such a community has three significant characteristics, one of which is a response to general social trends, and a resistance to these social trends for the sake of an autonomous source of meaning. This is embodied here in the spontaneous resistance of netizens to the tendency of international public opinion to stigmatise our country, and in their support for the one-China principle and their derogatory attitude towards "Taiwan independence" and the US authorities who seek to create a split; secondly, they are defensive identities from the outset with "protective and unifying functions." In other words, they offer protection against a hostile outside world. Thirdly, they are all constructed through unique symbols of self-identity (e. g., ethnicity, faith, culture, geopolitics, etc.), and it is obvious that netizens with national patriotism at their core and indivisible territory as a discursive representation of this model sentiment are highly compatible with it. Such a cultural/emotional community can contribute to the stability and internal cohesion of the nation.

3.2.2 The framework of commentary attitude of netizens' negotiated interpretation

Negotiated interpretation refers to a situation in which the audience can basically understand the meaning of the information disseminated by the coder, but due to their own interests, knowledge frameworks, and technical bases, they present information coding that they neither fully reject nor produce some misinterpretation'. There are two types of sentiments in this model, i. e., strong approval of the reunification of Taiwan by force and a general negative sentiment towards the incident of the detention of masks in Dali (See Table 4).

Table 4 Framework of commentary attitudes of netizens' negotiated interpretations

	Strong endorsement of the "unification by force" of Taiwan	**A general derogatory comment on the Dali withholding of masks**
Metaphor	"Sycamore" (In Chinese, the pronunciation of Sycamore is similar to force unity)	"Dali owes to reason" (the Chinese word for Dali is the same as the word for reason)
Exemplars	"If we want to unify by force, I will donate one month's salary when we march out" and "This incident shows that Taiwan's sense of identity with China is almost non-existent. The possibility of peaceful reunification basically does not exist anymore"	"1. when will Dali return the supplies; 2. how many supplies Dali returned; 3. when will the supplies arrive in Chongqing; 4. in addition to returning Chongqing's and other cities?" The government's response to the issue is that it is not only a matter of time, but also a matter of time.
Catch phrases	"Right now, we should strike hard! Fight against Taiwan independence! Unify Taiwan by force!", "After the epidemic is over, let's unify Taiwan by force"	"South of the colorful clouds, the masks of the interception" (rhymes with "south" and "interception" in Chinese), "Prince Duan: Dali is independent!" (The Duan family name, which once ruled the Dali region, rhymes with "block" in Chinese)

continued

	Strong endorsement of the "unification by force" of Taiwan	A general derogatory comment on the Dali withholding of masks
Depiction	"Action in the morning, liberation at noon, issuance of mainland second-generation ID cards (to the people of Taiwan) in the afternoon and watching the news broadcast at 7 p. m"	"Taiwan side to intercept the confiscation of masks sent to the mainland, Dali also want to do so?"
Appeals/ principle	The position of the "iron-blooded" patriots	Oppose similar bad policies and subjects

In terms of information decoding, the two negotiated interpretations of netizens' comments in this study basically agree with the mainstream media's condemnation, attitude and value of the "Taiwan independence" incident, and strongly support the leadership of the Communist Party of China and uphold the reunification of the motherland in terms of political stance but have different opinions or doubts about the implementation of specific policies or the resolution of analogous incidents.

First, in the first case, the so-called "strong support for armed reunification with Taiwan, i. e., " advocating the use of military means or waging war or threatening to use force to make Taiwan officially return to mainland China, the group of netizens who have such feelings can be classified as the "iron-blooded patriotism" group, which has been classified by scholars such as Gui Yong and Li Xiume (2015). In the academic context, they refer to the group of netizens who are "nationalist", have high confidence in mainland China's military power, and have strong nationalist and hardline views on the sovereignty issue. However, it should be noted that their identification with the nation-state is not necessarily the same as their identification with the government, and they also criticise government policies on issues such as corruption. Therefore, these Internet users should be directed to become a source of voice in our public opinion field for the policy of "not giving up the unification of Taiwan by force" and a symbol of public sentiment for the unification of the motherland, instead of slipping into the populism on the Internet cited below.

Secondly, the second incident is about an incident in which the Dali City Health and Welfare Bureau in Yunnan illegally seized emergency masks from the regional SF company that were to be sent to Chongqing during the epidemic. This incident had nothing to do with Taiwan-related public opinion, but since the DPP authorities' practice of withholding emergency masks sent from Taiwan to the mainland was similar, some netizens posted condemnatory comments on the matter under the relevant microblogs condemning the DPP's actions. The author believes that this incidental incident of Taiwan-related public opinion can prompt reflection on the policy's contribution to politics to the construction of national identity. In addition to identity, modern national identity has added the element of political identity, and the most superficial element of political identity is policy identity (Hu J., 2021). The core of policy identity is the people's trust based on the legitimacy, effectiveness, and stability of policy, and when there are distortions in the formulation and implementation of major policies, such as in the above-mentioned incident, even if it is a local government, the overall image of the state and the government will be damaged, and national identity will be damaged.

3.2.3 The framework for commentary attitudes of confrontational interpretations by netizens

Confrontational interpretation is a subversive interpretation of the audience's intention of the symbols compiled by the message coder due to different cultural structures and production relations, which usually manifests as extreme or negative emotions and complete misunderstanding, misinterpretation, or shifting of the focus of the message. The sentiments of netizens' comments in this model in this study are manifested in irrational strong derogatory meanings towards Taiwan and Taiwan compatriots and irrational general derogatory meanings towards some national policies concerning Taiwan (See Table 5).

Table 5 A framework for commentary attitudes of confrontational interpretations by netizens

	Irrational and strong derogatory references to Taiwan and Taiwan compatriots	**Irrational and strong derogatory comments on some of the Chinese government's Taiwan-related policies**
Metaphor	"Dumb Bay", "Frog Island", "Taiwan Frog", "Green Frog" (all of the above in Chinese pronunciation with Taiwan or for the "Taiwan Green" contemptuous name)	None
Exemplars	"don't talk to me about what compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, from the ungrateful son refused to sell masks completely chilled, now as long as the island does not want people", "in fact, not unified and not independent is best, because there is a reference", "I only recognize Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan frogs do not count, Taiwan frogs belong to the bottom of the well"	"don't slow down to help Taiwan, also prohibit the mainland from traveling to Taiwan, when their economic recession is strong, what need the central government to help then negotiate with them; otherwise they will be left to fend for themselves", "Taiwan society in the 7, 80s identify with one China is mainstream, now Taiwan independence consciousness is the mainstream The government has proved that the past Taiwan-related policies are a failure. It's better to review and seriously reform than to paralyze yourself!" The government has also said that it is "sure that it is a very small number of Taiwan Independents? If it is a very small minority, how did Tsai Ing-wen come to power?"
Catch phrases	"Remember folks, and it's not the same people.", "Rather not grow grass there, must recover the island of Taiwan!", "Froggy really made mainlanders resent them more this time."	"The satisfaction rate of the Taiwan Affairs Office should be the lowest among all departments" and "The lip service is of no use, but the Taiwan-related work is a mess."
Depiction	"Bay frogs stink to high heaven", "green baby roll"	"The same old story" and "raising the enemy"
Appeals/ principle	Extreme Patriotism under Internet Populism	Extreme Patriotism under Internet Populism

From Table 5, it can be seen that netizens who belong to the confrontational interpretation show a great deal of clamour and excitement in their commentary sentiments, and the comments of this type of netizen groups show the characteristics of patriotism under Internet populism, such as extremism, clustering, parody and limited information selection. Although this kind of commentary is still a kind of national identity in some sense, it is extremely detrimental to the construction of a reasonable and robust national identity, which can be derived from the following two points.

Specifically, patriotism under online populism is a kind of emotional catharsis that is keen on shaping the dichotomy between various issues such as "people and authority" or "us and you" with inflammatory slogans, dissatisfaction with the current foreign policy of the Party and the government, simplistic thinking with the "zero-

sum game" theory in international relations, building internal blind arrogance, and mocking reality through the orgy of online entertainment discourse (Shi L. C., Luo Junwen & Liu S. C., 2018). The reason why this "emotional catharsis" is detrimental to the construction of national identity is, first of all, that it is difficult to develop such emotions in a sustainable way; the convergence of such netizen groups is often only due to a specific event (e. g., "Taiwan independence", "Diaoyu Islands incident", "Huangyan Island incident", etc.), and lacks the cohesive power to maintain the moral norms of normative public life and common interests (e. g., "constructive opinions, the pursuit of common ideals, etc."), but only "one-way criticism" of negative social events, for example, in this study, such netizen groups not only selectively ignore the achievements of the Taiwan-related exchanges of the State Administration of Taiwan Affairs over many years, but also only flirt with the current policies and the State Administration of Taiwan Affairs without making any substantive suggestions (Cui, Cong & Zhang, Li-Ren., 2020).

Furthermore, the above-mentioned network populist national identity is contrary to rational national identity. On the one hand, patriotism and national identity are a comprehensive identification with the values and common elements of the motherland, not just a love of one's own ethnicity, place, or even personal political views. The comments of netizens in the confrontational interpretation in this study, such as "we want the island but not the people" and "it stinks to high heaven", are a fragmentation of the "compatriots" identity of the Taiwanese people. The view that the establishment of ECFA ①is an "act of capitalizing on the enemy" and the frivolous remarks are irrational behavior similar to the logic of "smashing and looting" Japanese goods in the "Diaoyu Islands" incident. To a certain extent, it has brought the peaceful reunification across the Taiwan Strait to a standstill. (Wu Zhiyuan., 2018).

4 Conclusion

The study of mainland netizens' attitudes towards Taiwan-related public opinion during the COVID-19 Pandemic on a microblogging platform has shown that these attitudinal differences reflect and influence their participation in national identity construction. Moreover, these differences create challenges for the interpretation of their messages and deepen the symbolic communication effects of coders like mainstream media. This study concludes that the sentiment difference in netizens' comments during public health emergencies such as the COVID-19 Pandemic reflects the tension of society under the increasing risk and uncertainty and the importance of political identity in emergency management. Hence, there is a need for active public opinion management measures to be considered and guided correctly. To foster good governance in the future, the following three aspects can be considered:

(1) Strengthening the promotion of rational values and innovating the policy interpretation mode: The media should actively promote and explain the rational core and practical benefits of concepts such as "Chinese

① ECFA, or Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, is essentially a preliminary framework arrangement for the negotiation of a free trade agreement between the two mainland and Taiwan economies, and includes several early harvest agreements. This agreement is constantly questioned in confrontational netizen comments as one of the main tools to assist Taiwan, and this group of netizens believes that the ECFA should be "broken" to sanction the DPP authorities.

Dream", "Chinese National Community Consciousness" and "ECFA" through relatable, popularized and figurative narratives. This will help netizens break out of the "information cocoon", and "group polarization" caused by cultural degradation, eliminate extreme or negative populist views, and direct people to form rational patriotism.

(2)Setting measures to divert the flow of public opinion: The government should establish a moral baseline for online patriotism by introducing legal regulations based on the rule of law. Additionally, it should broaden and guarantee the supply of institutional discourse channels for ordinary Internet users (e. g., to set up new media windows for the government to ask questions about people's livelihood, to strengthen the discourse interaction with Internet opinion leaders, etc.) respect their fundamental right to reasonably express patriotic feelings. These efforts will help preserve the right to express patriotic feelings and create a public opinion pioneer and the beacon of public sentiment.

(3)Strengthening mutual understanding among the nationals and expanding the breadth, depth and speed of cross-strait civil integration. The report of the 20th National Congress states that "resolving the Taiwan issue and realizing the complete reunification of the motherland" is "the common aspiration of all Chinese sons and daughters", and we should devote ourselves to "Insist on uniting the majority of Taiwan compatriots … Promote the spiritual togetherness of compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait". This "spiritual bond", which is rooted in the solidarity of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, is exactly what Habermas advocates: "The two parties are in a position of mutual equality, respecting each other, communicating equally, and interacting with each other in the process of interaction… The two parties are in a state of mutual equality, respecting each other, communicating equally, and interacting with each other… (Wang Ying., 2021)" Previous studies and research have shown that stereotypes, ideological struggles, and differences in lifestyle are among the factors contributing to the alienation of national identity between mainland and Taiwanese citizens, leading to irrational comments from both sides on social media(Tang Hua, 2020). To address this issue, future cross-strait relations should shift from an official-led exchange model to a deeper integration model that promotes daily interactions between people in areas such as social media, culture, education, and employment. By eliminating misunderstandings and promoting direct contact, a community of life across the Strait with shared awareness, information, identity, and lifestyle can be established, resulting in a revitalization of public opinion and bringing us closer to peaceful reunification.

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[Translation Studies]

A Translator Working for National Strategic Goals: An Interview with Prof. Zhang Wei

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Abstract: At present, Translation Studies in China should take as its primary concept to take the initiative in fulfilling the national strategic programs and benefiting Chinese social and economic development. For this purpose, social awareness and contribution should enjoy priority by highlighting such key research topics as translation policy consultation, translation management, translation theorizing with Chinese characteristics, and translation education reform, thus further advancing Translation Studies in China.

Keywords: national strategic goals; social awareness; translation studies

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Wang Zuyou (shortened as Wang thereafter): Hello, Professor Zhang! It's my pleasure to have a written interview with you on behalf of the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. In the new era, humanities, philosophy, and social studies, including translation studies, should be actively connected to national strategic development and actively meet the needs of social development. You have studied a lot in this regard. Will you please talk about it specifically?

Zhang (shortened as Zhang thereafter): Thank you, Mr. Wang! I am grateful to the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* for providing this communication opportunity. On May 17, 2016, at the symposium on philosophy and social science work, President Xi pointed out that philosophy and social science workers should put social responsibility first and attach great importance to the social effects of academic

research. Therefore, as a unique cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication phenomenon and research field, translation studies should also seriously consider the importance of relevant exploration in supporting national development strategies and promoting social and cultural development. Specifically, in the new situation, the overall development of translation studies in China should adhere to the following main principles and directions.

First of all, we should correctly evaluate the value of translation and translation studies and avoid the two wrong orientations—the "instrumental orientation" and "utilitarian orientation".

Secondly, we should emphasize the maintenance of cultural diversity in translation ethics, respect cultural ecological balance, promote mutual learning of civilizations, and promote the harmonious coexistence of different cultural traditions.

In addition, to strengthen the public service awareness of translation research, China's translation research should go out of the comfort zone, aim at the needs of national development strategies, solve the urgent problems in the current society, and provide theoretical support, consulting services or data evidence for the national cultural construction and development strategy, language policy, translation industry standards, and market norms.

Finally, adhere to the innovation of translation theory, fully tap the scientific connotation of inheriting Chinese traditional translation theory, rationally draw on foreign translation ideas, and strengthen the originality and uniqueness of Chinese translation theory in the new era.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. You have just explained that China's translation research should strive to support the national development strategy. Could you talk specifically about the areas or issues that should be explored intensively?

Zhang: Yes, as mentioned above, being active in meeting the needs of strategic, economic, and social development should be the focus of current and future long-term Chinese translation studies, which can be concentrated in the following two directions.

First of all, taking the national strategic direction and focus as the object, strengthening policy consulting research, such as the systematic investigation and analysis of the translation and dissemination of Chinese discourse, the translation and introduction of Chinese literature and culture, the cultural exchange and dissemination between China and neighboring countries, and the development of translation resource library serving the "the Belt and Road" strategy.

Secondly, with the translation market management as the guidance, strengthening the standardized management of the construction industry, such as the translation legislation, the construction of the modern management system of the translation market, the integration of modern technology-oriented translation practice, teaching and management.

Wang: Thank you for your explanation, Mr. Zhang! I am enlightened. You just mentioned the innovation and development of Chinese translation theories, which may involve the characteristics of Chinese translation theories or ideas. However, there have been different opinions on translation theories with "Chinese characteristics". May you share your views on this?

Zhang: Thank you, Mr. Wang. You are right. For a long time, Chinese translation studies, especially translation theory studies, have been studying the innovative development of Chinese translation theories, which

is mainly reflected in the thinking or controversy about translation theories with Chinese characteristics. In short, the concentrated discussion on translation theories with Chinese characteristics appeared in the 1990s, when the focus of the debate was whether there were translation theories or ideas with national characteristics. Finally, the universal view of translation theory, that is, although translation practice involves a specific language and cultural system, translation theories or ideas are universally applicable, seems to prove the upper hand. However, that discussion largely ignored an issue, that is, translation practice took place in a specific social and historical context, and translation practice often has a more obvious or even more powerful driving role, constantly enriching and even subverting previous translation concepts and ideas, such as machine translation, fan translation, crowdsourcing translation and other behaviors and phenomena in the modern technological environment cannot be effectively explained by previous translation theories.

Moreover, the discussants at that time often consciously or unconsciously believed that the foreign (especially Western) translation theory system was more explanatory than Chinese translation theory, especially that Chinese traditional translation thought was not as systematic as Western modern translation theory. In fact, it should be noted that Western translation theories or ideas are also based on specific language and cultural practices. Translation concepts, including dynamic equivalence and multi-system theory, have obvious particularity or even limitation in terms of text types, language materials, translation purposes, and objective evaluation of effects, and do not have universal explanatory power. Therefore, Tymoczko, Toury and other internationally renowned scholars have called for that translation studies, especially theoretical construction, should pay attention to the direction of "discarding the European center" and emphasize the development of diversified translation theories.

During the investigation at Renmin University of China on April 25, 2022, President Xi pointed out that to accelerate the construction of philosophy and social science with Chinese characteristics, in the final analysis, is to build a Chinese independent knowledge system. Personally, I believe that the "independent knowledge system" for translation research is mainly manifested in independent translation thoughts and theories. Without theoretical summary and distillation based on Chinese translation practice, it is difficult to form the autonomy of the knowledge system of translation research, and it is difficult to reflect the uniqueness of Chinese translation practice and theoretical thinking. Naturally, it will lose the basis for equal dialogue with international peers. For this reason, Chinese translation scholars are constantly exploring the new era and have the courage to make theoretical innovations, among which the historical view of translation culture, translatology, corpus translatology and ecological translatology are the representatives. Of course, it should be noted that what we emphasize here is the "Chinese characteristics" of translation research or translation theory construction, especially the rational thinking of translation with the theme of translation and communication of Chinese culture, which does not negate the universality of translation theory in interpreting cross-language and cross-culture, and ultimately contributes to the original Chinese translation theory based on Chinese translation practice, forming an independent knowledge system of Chinese translation research, building a discipline system, academic system and discourse system of translation studies with Chinese characteristics.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. Regarding translation research to serve national strategic needs, you have just specifically mentioned the research on translating Chinese into foreign languages. Will you please elaborate more on this topic, such as specific contents and main methods?

Zhang: As we know, there were three climaxes in China's translation history: the translation of Buddhist scriptures from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Tang and Song Dynasties, the translation of science and technology in the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, and the translation of Western studies from the Opium War to the May Fourth Movement Period. At present, we are witnessing the fourth translation climax with the opportunity of realizing the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. In the first three translation climaxes, the translation of foreign (especially Western) advanced ideas and culture into China was the mainstream, but now, in the fourth translation climax, foreign translation under the influence of the national strategy of Chinese culture's "going out" has become the dominant one, and translating from Chinese to foreign language has become the pioneering force in promoting Chinese culture and strengthening Chinese cultural soft power. In this regard, based on the national practice of Chinese translation, studies concerned should focus on the description and analysis of basic data of Chinese translation, the assessment of the effect or quality of Chinese translation (such as book sales, collection and circulation, reader acceptance survey, mainstream poetic evaluation, social "capitalization" process, etc.), the general principles of Chinese translation and the "precision communication" model. "There are many gaps in this research. There are many research gaps in this area, such as the dynamic database of overseas translation of Chinese literature (including information and systematic research on the mutual translation of literature in specific languages and regions), empirical research on the acceptance of readers in the target language of Chinese to foreign translation, and so on. All the above-mentioned can be explored in the future. Finally, as General Secretary Xi Jinping emphasized at the symposium on the work of philosophy and social sciences, a nation that despises, abandons, or betrays its culture will not only fail to achieve long-term development, but may even end in tragedy. Therefore, the foreign translation and dissemination of Chinese culture and Chinese literature should always adhere to cultural self-confidence and evaluate the current foreign translation of Chinese culture and literature systematically and comprehensively. The uniqueness of Chinese culture and literature should not be obscured or even damaged in order to deliberately meet the expectations or habits of foreign readers. Instead, cultural self-awareness and cultural discourse awareness should be highlighted, and Chinese literature and its representative be distinctly maintained and highlighted. This should be the basic principle that Chinese translation practice and research should especially adhere to.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. Speaking of translation research serving national strategies, I noticed that you are chairing a major project of the National Social Science Foundation, the theme of which is the foreign translation and dissemination of Chinese characteristic discourse.

Zhang: Since the 18th Party Congress, strengthening international communication capacity building has become a major national strategy. On May 31, 2021, General Secretary Xi Jinping, while presiding over the 30th collective study of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, emphasized the importance and necessity of strengthening and improving international communication work in the new situation, especially pointing out that great efforts should be made to strengthen international communication capacity building and to form an international discourse that matches our comprehensive national power and international discourse that matches our comprehensive national power and international status. To this end, we have actively prepared and joined forces with different disciplines, such as journalism, communication, and translation, and in 2019 we were granted a major project by the National Social Science Foundation of China to comprehensively review the development of Chinese foreign discourse over the past 70 years since the founding of the country. The project

will profoundly summarize the foreign discourse expression system with Chinese characteristics, comprehensively grasp the translation status of foreign discourse with Chinese characteristics in the English-speaking world, and actively explore the overseas dissemination of Chinese foreign discourse. This is not only a major fundamental topic for philosophical and social science research in the new era, but also an important initiative to serve the development strategy of national cultural soft power. In addition, this study fully integrates corpus linguistics, corpus translation, critical discourse analysis, sociology and communication, and highlights the methodological design of "quantitative combination and multiple argumentations", which can effectively promote the coordinated development of multiple disciplines with foreign discourse translation as the core and is a new growth point for the future development of Chinese translation research and related disciplines. It is a new growth point for the future development of Chinese translation research and related disciplines.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. Regarding academic research serving the goals of social and economic development, it is true that some researchers are too much lopsided in the pursuit of "academic ontology" and lack care for social practice. Will you please tell us how translation research can reflect social values and promote the comprehensive development of translation practice, teaching, and social application?

Zhang: You raise a very good question that involves the evaluation of the value and significance of academic research. President Xi Jinping specifically pointed out at the symposium on philosophical and social science work that academic research should adhere to and promote academic democracy, respect differences, and tolerate diversity, but also recognize that special attention should be paid to doing great scholarship and true learning while avoiding reality, working behind closed doors and sitting on the fence in academic research also exist to varying degrees. As I personally understand, under the current situation, the "great learning" and "true learning" of translation research are mainly manifested in the social service value and practical teaching role of translation research, in addition to the relevant issues mentioned above.

First of all, we should strengthen the practical application research to meet social needs, such as the development and application of a multi-type translation service resource base, the construction and application of a translation talent base, and the market-oriented translation talent cultivation mode and system, etc., so as to give full play to the role of translation research in serving the goals of social and economic development.

Secondly, we should strengthen the systematic and specialized research of translation teaching, reduce the "big and general" research ideas, and carry out breakdown in-depth research of translation education links, such as objective determination and dynamic evaluation of translation ability, systematic design and comprehensive evaluation of translation test, design and application of translation learners' corpus, and reform of translation teaching in a modern technology context, etc., so as to actively promote translation teaching reform. The research should actively promote the systematic exploration of translation pedagogy. In addition, it should pay attention to translation teaching and research in multilingual and composite languages, and actively serve the national strategy of peace diplomacy and the development strategy of diversified international patterns.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. When it comes to the role and value of translation studies, the relationship between translation theory and practice is inevitably involved, but the relationship between translation theory and translation practice is entangled and complex. What's your idea in this respect?

Zhang: You are right. The relationship between translation theory and practice is a long-standing and unresolved topic. The communication between scholars of translation research, especially theoretical research,

and translation practitioners is not sufficient, and often each expresses his own ideas, as if the "gap" between theory and practice is difficult to be bridged, especially the questions or challenges such as what the use of translation theory is and can translation theory guide translation practice still exist.

Theory and practice are inseparable in essence, and they are interrelated and influence each other. In the same way, it is difficult to separate translation theory from translation practice. Any translation theory is a summary and abstract representation of the behavior and phenomena of specific translation practice, and any translation practice is executed under a specific translation theory or concept (though sometimes unconsciously or vaguely). In brief, the relationship between translation theory and practice has to be considered in the following ways.

First of all, the nature, levels, types and functions of translation theories should be clarified. Some theories (such as ideology, normative theory, manipulation theory, psychological cognition, etc.) mainly explain the social and historical background or psychological mechanism in which translation activities take place and their influence on translation behavior, and do not directly or obviously relate to translation practice operations, and these theories play more of an ontological and epistemological role. On the other hand, some theories (especially those based on comparative linguistics) mainly explain the methods of linguistic and cultural transformation in translation operations, which have a more overt guiding role in translation practice and mainly play the methodological value of translation theories. In conclusion, in order to objectively evaluate the relationship between translation theory and practice, it is first necessary to systematically understand the nature and type of translation theory itself.

Secondly, the reason for the gap between translation theory and practice is largely due to the fact that the scholars or practitioners concerned have not well-integrated theory and practice, either by attaching importance to theory and neglecting practice, or by emphasizing practice and ignoring rational summaries, with the result that it is difficult to reconcile the two sides, each sticking to its own argument. I personally believe that translation researchers should place special emphasis on translation practice and have rich translation practice experience themselves, so as to ensure that their research is not detached from practice, and only then will translation practitioners not question the practical value of specific research. Of course, translation practitioners should also strengthen their sense of rational reflection based on practice, sublimating their empirical and perceptive individual experiences into systematic norms and standards, so that translation practice can become a more regular operational behavior. In conclusion, I personally always believe that the coordinated development of translation practice, teaching and research should be the principle that translation researchers and practitioners should adhere to, and it is also the basic path to effectively resolve the contradiction between translation theory and practice.

Wang: Mr. Zhang, you have long served as a reviewer of the National Social Science Foundation's project applications and project evaluation. Can you tell us how to serve the national goal while avoiding duplication to increase the success rate of project applications or paper publications? This may be a matter of great concern to everyone.

Zhang: Yes, paper publication and project applications are always hot topics for schools and teachers. Today we mainly illustrate the development idea of translation research serving national strategies, but in fact, research selection should also fully consider other factors, such as personal educational background, research tradition, school discipline layout, regional economic and social development, etc. Taking the declaration of the National

Social Science Foundation as an example, I suggest that you pay attention to the following factors.

Firstly, it is important to read and analyze the project guidelines carefully, taking into account one's research interests or strengths, and to discover from them the specific requirements or expectations of the state for academic research. For example, the project guidelines in previous years repeatedly mentioned research on the translation and dissemination of Chinese literary theory, indicating that tapping into traditional Chinese literary ideas and promoting the dissemination of Chinese literary theory to the outside world should be a research priority. As a result, a number of projects on the translation and interpretation of Chinese literary theory were approved in those years. Last year I read a similar study, which was also well-argued, and as a result, it was also eventually approved.

Secondly, we should actively focus on national development strategies and hot spots of social and economic development and explore research that responds to the urgent needs of the state and society. For example, artificial intelligence, big data, and corpus are all current focuses in the development of digital humanities. Humanities and social sciences research, including translation research, should make full use of these modern technological tools to explore research topics or directions in an innovative manner. For example, in the course of supporting the development of foreign language subjects at Xinjiang University, I assisted a local teacher in exploring the dissemination of the concept of "a Community of Shared Future for Mankind" in Russian-speaking countries, and the project was eventually granted the regular project of the National Social Science Foundation of China in 2021.

Finally, we should hold on to complementary development and highlight our differentiated advantages, especially taking into full consideration the social and cultural traditions of our region and identifying specific research topics based on our own research. In addition, in recent years, the National Social Science Foundation has set the category of "unusual and lost knowledge", which particularly encourages the exploration of history, philosophy, non-common languages, and other related foundations, from which you can also choose your own research topics.

Wang: Thank you for your suggestion! Mr. Zhang. Regarding the strategic development of translation research, in fact, translation teaching and teaching material construction are also very important factors. Could you please introduce the situation in this regard?

Zhang: Your judgment is very accurate. The construction of teaching materials is a national affair, and currently, the government attaches great importance to the construction of teaching materials and related teaching activities because it is directly related to the specific implementation process and actual effect of talent cultivation. At present, the foreign language sector is seriously implementing the requirements of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Publicity and actively promoting the introduction of Xi Jinping's thoughts of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the campus, teaching materials, and classrooms, and is preparing a series of teaching materials on "Understanding Contemporary China" for foreign language and literature majors in higher education. I have the honor to participate in and edit "Understanding Contemporary China—Chinese and English Translation Course", which will be generally used in foreign language majors nationwide in September this year. This textbook adheres to the basic educational goal of educating people for the Party and the country, implements the principle of cultivating people with moral character, organically integrates the socialist thoughts of Xi Jinping in the new era with translation skills, and devotes itself to cultivating high-quality translation talents

with national sentiment, global vision, and professional skills. In a word, the preparation of this set of textbooks reflects the purpose of innovating China's knowledge generation system and should be a major change in the preparation of Chinese foreign language textbooks and even in the history of Chinese foreign language education, with far-reaching effects.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. Finally, the sustainable development of any discipline should be based on the cultivation of research teams. What advice do you have for young people who want to engage in translation research?

Zhang: Yes, "As the wave in the Yangtze River pushes the wave before it, and the new people in the world catch up with the old ones." Translation disciplines and related research need to be constantly replenished with fresh blood to strengthen the backup. For students in translation-related disciplines, I have a few personal experiences to share with them.

First, they should stick to their academic interests, believe that "I am born to be useful", fully understand and actively promote the cultural, social, and historical values of translation, and enhance the social influence and appeal of translation research.

Secondly, we should adhere to an open and tolerant academic mentality, objectively evaluate different or even opposing views, and learn from all sides to make use of them, to gradually form a personalized and distinctive research field and become real experts.

Thirdly, we should insist on interdisciplinary thinking, refrain from working behind closed doors and sticking to the old ways, but keep in mind "seen horizontally, mountain ridges presented; vertically, mountain peaks come into sight", fully and rationally draw on the ideas and methods of other disciplines, look beyond translation, and knowledge translation, understand translation and appreciate translation in a comprehensive and systematic way.

Fourthly, we should insist on the awareness of the scientific method, actively embrace modern technology, make full use of modern tools to obtain diversified translation data, optimize the design of argumentation, and improve the quality of research.

Fifthly, we should insist on the integration and development of theory and practice, truly realize the researcher and practitioner as one, and realize the positive interaction between translation theory and practice to unite knowledge and practice.

Wang: Thank you, Mr. Zhang. Your answers to the relevant questions are very strategic, and I believe readers will be able to benefit a lot from them and effectively improve their practice and research. Thank you!

Zhang: Thank you, Mr. Wang, and thanks to the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* for providing a platform for communication. The above views are only my personal opinions, and time is limited, so I can't expand them specifically. You can refer to the published related papers for details, and welcome your criticism and correction, and then fully communicate through other forms. Let's learn from each other and jointly promote the healthy development of translation research in China. Thank you.

(Editors: LENG Xueyuan & Bonnie WANG)

Academic Translation Should Follow the Standard of "Faithfulness, Expressiveness and Elegance": Discussion on a Chinese Version of *Public Opinion*

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Abstract: The translation standard "Xin Da Ya" (faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance) is a profound understanding and theoretical summary of Yan Fu's academic translation practice, which coincides with the current Chinese academic translation requirements set by the state. Therefore, "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" has an important theoretical basis and practical foundation as an academic translation standard and can be a reliable yardstick for measuring the quality of academic translation. This article first traces the historical origins and key interpretations of "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance", and then from this perspective, discusses the issues of mistranslation, omission, and addition in the Chinese version entitled *Yu Lun* of Walter Lippmann's classic work *Public Opinion*, and provides sample translations for reference. The aim is to distinguish truth from falsehood and promote the genuine exchange and healthy development of Chinese and Western academic thought.

Keywords: "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance"; standard of academic translation; Chinese version of *Public Opinion*; examples of translation errors

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1 Introduction

Walter Lippmann is a famous American journalist, political scientist, newspaper columnist, and one of the most esteemed scholars in the history of communication studies. He has published 31 works on philosophy, policy, diplomacy, and other topics, among which his 1922 book *Public Opinion* is recognized as a seminal

work in the field of journalism. Since its publication, the book has received high praise from the American and Western news and political science communities and has been translated into dozens of languages. Its influence remains enduring to this day. Huang Dan (2018) pointed out, "As far as communication research is concerned, it laid the foundation for the study of mass media, paving the way for research on propaganda analysis, public opinion surveys, gatekeepers, agenda-setting, reception effects, and so on. Just as some scholars have said, most of the research on mass communication is nothing but a footnote to Lippmann's *Public Opinion*."

The earliest Chinese translation of *Public Opinion* can be traced back to the late 1980s. In 1989, Lin Shan's translation entitled *Yulun Xue* was officially published by Huaxia Publishing House, which was the first Chinese translation of *Public Opinion*. So far, six Chinese translations have been published successively, providing important references and guidance for the construction and academic development of disciplines such as journalism and political science in China, and becoming a must-read for learners and researchers in relevant fields. Among these translations, the most notable one is the Chinese translation *Yu Lun* published by Peking University Press in 2018. As one of the "Weiming Social Science - Media and Society Series" (translated edition) published by Peking University Press, the book *Yu Lun* was reprinted four times within seven months of its publication (from April 2018 to January 2019), demonstrating its significant impact. However, unfortunately, there are too many errors in this Chinese version, mainly involving mistranslations, omissions, additions, and other aspects. Luo Weidong (2005: 41) believes that "Given the translation orientation of the Chinese academic community, the negative academic impact of an erroneous translation is so obvious that it requires the efforts of several generations to eliminate it. Our translators should be cautious all the time." It is necessary to analyze and correct this academically translated book to avoid further misunderstandings or even misguidance for Chinese readers. As early as 1898, Yan Fu, a pioneer in the translation of social science works in China, proposed the "Xin Da Ya (faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance) standard for academic translation. This article attempts to trace the historical origins of this standard and provide a key interpretation, using it as a perspective to analyze the translation of *Public Opinion*.

2 The Original Intention of Yan Fu's "Faithfulness, Expressiveness and Elegance"

The three characters "Xin Da Ya" were first mentioned by Yan Fu in his article "Preface to the Translation" written for his book *Tian Yan Lun* (the Chinese version of Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics, and other Essays*):

> "Translation is fraught with three difficulties: conveying the meaning faithfully (Xin), expressing it fluently (Da), and rendering it gracefully (Ya). While it is already very difficult to pursue fidelity to the original text in translation, a translation that is only faithful to the original but not sufficiently expressive is not a good translation. Therefore, it is also necessary to strive for full expression in the translated text. … *The Book of Changes* says: 'Writing should show the true intentions of the author.' Confucius said: 'It is enough if words can express the meaning.' And 'Words without elegance will not go far.' These three elements are the

correct path for writing, and also the model for translation. Therefore, in addition to being faithful and expressive, elegance is also important." (Yan Fu, 1986: 1321–1322)

Since Yan Fu proposed "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance", it has been regarded as a guiding principle in the field of translation for more than a century and has had a profound impact on later generations. "The development history of modern Chinese translation theory is based on Yan Fu's advocacy of 'faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance'" (Liu Junping, 2015: 74). However, the original meaning of "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" has gradually been lost in the continuous interpretation and debate by later generations. Nowadays, people often regard "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" as a standard for literary translation, which is actually far from Yan Fu's original intention. In fact, "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" is based on Yan's profound understanding of *Tian Yan Lun* and is a theoretical refinement and summary of his practical activities.

If one reads "Preface to the Translation" carefully, it is not difficult to find that Yan Fu's main discussion is centered around the academic work *Tian Yan Lun*. In "Preface to the Translation", Yan Fu pointed out that translating Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics, and other Essays* faces many difficulties: first, the original book is a recent work. "What the original book discusses is the new learning gained by Westerners in the past fifty years, and also a book written by the author in his later years." (Yan Fu, 1986: 1321) Second, the grammar is different. "In Western sentences, a noun follows another noun, and then explains it. … Therefore, Western sentence structure may consist of a few words, and may have tens or hundreds of words." (Ibid) Third, the theory is profound. "The original text's terminology is profound and is difficult to convey in common language." (Ibid) Fourth, there are many technical terms, and it is difficult to find suitable translations. "New theories have emerged, and the terminology is complex. Searching for appropriate Chinese terms is difficult, and even when found, they are often inconsistent." (Yan Fu, 1986: 1322)

In response to these translation difficulties, Yan Fu proposed his own solutions one by one. Yan Fu believed that although *Evolution and Ethics, and other Essays* was the latest research achievement in the West at that time and was published by Huxley in his later years, he attempted to "translate the text to convey its deep meaning, and sometimes made some additions to the words and sentences to enhance the meaning, without being too strict with the order of words and sentences, but not distorting the original text". (Yan Fu, 1986: 1321) Regarding the differences between Western sentence structures and Chinese, Yan Fu opposed mechanically translating the original text or deleting difficult-to-translate parts of the original text. He believed that as long as the translator fully grasped the ideas in the original text, achieved a comprehensive understanding, and had the text at the tip of their tongue, they could naturally make the translation accurate and fluent. "If one imitates this method of translation, it may not be possible to communicate effectively, and if one takes shortcuts by deleting parts of the text, the meaning may be lost. The translator must first fully understand the spiritual essence of the entire text, and then, when writing, the words will come naturally and complement each other." (Yan Fu, 1986: 1321) In order to solve the problem of difficult-to-understand content for readers, Yan Fu suggested that translators should make more references and contrasts to clarify the meaning of the original text. All of this is for the sake of achieving the goal of being expressive and faithful to the original text. "Translation should be done with the

context in mind, so that the meaning can be expressed fully, and thus being faithful to the original text. (Yan Fu, 1986: 1321) Regarding the issue of numerous technical terms that are difficult to translate, Yan Fu believed that translators must rely on their own level and understanding, and determine the Chinese translation based on the meaning of the new term. "When encountering this, the translator must rely on his own judgment and determine the name based on the meaning." (Yan Fu, 1986: 1323) He then went on to describe the process of determining the Chinese translation of the term "Introduction" in the preface of the first volume of *Evolution and Ethics, and other Essays*.

It can be seen from the above that Yan Fu's "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" was focused on translating the academic work *Evolution and Ethics, and other Essays*, and therefore should be regarded as a translation standard for academic works. Ye Junjian noticed this fact very early on. He believed that Yan Fu's "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" translation standard for social sciences was quite different from the general literary translation standard. (Ye Junjian, 1997: 30) Yan Fu translated a total of 11 works in his lifetime, among which his translation of the so-called "Eight Great Books" was the most famous. The "Eight Great Books" include T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, A. Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, H. Spencer's *Study of Sociology*, J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* and *System of Logic*, E. Jenks's *A History of Politics*, Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Law*, W. S. Jevons's *Elementary Lessons in Logic*. These works cover the fields of philosophy, economics, political science, law, logic, and other disciplines. They were all academic achievements in the field of social sciences. Yan Fu carefully selected the Western social science books that China needed most based on China's social priorities, and each selection had a profound intention. In evaluating Yan Fu's translation motives and achievements, Ye Junjian believed that "in the process of historical development, some advanced members among the educated in China began to understand that neither science nor technology alone could serve as a panacea. These things must also be coordinated with political and social system reforms that are related to them - and these reforms must be leading. Yan Fu deeply felt this and some of his translation work can serve as vivid illustrations." (Ye Junjian, 1992: 14) This may explain why throughout his nearly 20-year translation career, Yan Fu never ventured into literary translation. In fact, "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" is not only a theoretical summary based on his first translated work *Tian Yan Lun*, but also a standard he adhered to in translating the other seven social science works.

3 Academic Translation Standards: "Faithfulness, Expressiveness and Elegance"

Regarding the standard for academic translation, on January 29, 2015, the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television issued and implemented the "Academic Publishing Standards: Chinese Translations" (Standard No. CY/T123 – 2015), which in Section 5, Article 1, clearly stipulated that "the translation should be faithful to the original and accurately express it, in accordance with the norms of modern Chinese usage". This is the latest industry-standard developed in China for Chinese academic translations. This standard is consistent with Yan Fu's "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance". "To be faithful to the original" corresponds to Yan's "faithfulness", "accurately express it" corresponds to Yan's "expressiveness", and "in

accordance with the norms of modern Chinese usage" corresponds to Yan's "elegance". It can be said that the current Chinese academic translation standards in China are still based on the foundation of "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance", indicating that in the new era context, "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" as an evaluation standard still has strong operability in academic translation practice.

With the deepening of translation studies and further standardization of translation practices, translation standards have also kept pace with the times. "Faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" can still serve as a standard for guiding academic translation practices and evaluating the quality of academic translations, even after being modernly interpreted. Some scholars have pointed out that in practice, the "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" standard seems to have surpassed the long-standing theoretical disputes in the field of translation studies and is regarded as a kind of standard in many fields both inside and outside the translation industry, playing an undeniable role. Its deep influence and wide coverage far exceed our imagination. It can be said that the "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" standard has not become obsolete or replaced in the context of continuous progress in translation research today but continues to emit strong vitality. (Liu Yunhong and Xu Jun, 2010: 17) For current academic translation, "faithfulness" means that the translation should be faithful to the original text, without deviation, omission, or arbitrary addition or deletion of the original text content; "expressiveness" means not to be confined to the original text form, and to ensure that the translation is accurate and fluent; "elegance" means that the selection of translated words should be appropriate and comply with the language norms of the target language.

As an academic translation standard, "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" requires the three elements to complement each other, and none can be neglected. Before the translator starts translating, they need to deeply understand the ideas in the original text and consult relevant background knowledge, especially professional vocabulary, terminology, and concepts related to the book being translated. This is the basis and prerequisite for achieving faithfulness.

During the translation process, the translator not only needs to "faithfully convey the knowledge content of the original work, but also fully aware of the language and discourse structural characteristics of the original work that conveys knowledge, so as to maximize the retention of the deep logical semantic relationships of the original text, faithfully reproduce the author's perspective and ideological perspective hidden behind the written knowledge, and convey the author's social and political intentions". (Guo Qingmin, 2017: 116)

In terms of word choice and sentence structure, the language used by the translator should be formal, rigorous, and comply with academic language norms while also reflecting the language style of the original author as much as possible. Hatim and Mason (2001: 86-89) pointed out that our language choices inevitably reflect our perception of reality. Translators in two different social and linguistic structures should be fully aware of the places in the original text that conform to or deviate from social norms and language norms and try to faithfully reproduce the language choices of the original text, avoiding arbitrary changes in the target language.

4 Analysis of the Translation of *Public Opinion*

Based on the "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" standard, some examples in the first chapter "The

World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads" are selected as a case study.

Example 1:

They started for the Indies and found America. They diagnosed evil and hanged old women. They thought they could grow rich by always selling and never buying. A caliph, obeying what he conceived to be the Will of Allah, burned the library at Alexandria. (Lippmann, 1922: 5)

Chinese translation:

比如,他們本想航海去印度,卻意外地發現了美洲新大陸;他們想要進行旨在除惡揚善的審判,卻又對老婦施以絞刑;他們認為只售賣不購買就能發大財;一位哈裏發甚至宣稱自己服從真主安拉的旨意,卻讓亞歷山大港的圖書館付之一炬。(Chang Jiang and Xiao Han, 2018: 4)

Analysis: In terms of "faithfulness", translating "diagnosed evil" as "進行旨在除惡揚善的審判" (judging with the aim of eliminating evil and promoting good) is a mistranslation that abandons "faithfulness" for "elegance". "Diagnose" means "to identify, or recognize", and "evil" means "devil", so why "hanged old women"? To correctly understand the logic behind this sentence, one must rely on the context. The previous sentence mentioned that the world people imagine is often very different from the real world, and then gave the example of Columbus, who wanted to sail to the East but accidentally discovered America. According to relevant information, this is related to the witch-hunting movement in medieval Europe. In the eyes of witches at that time, women's bodies were more fragile, and because some women were lewd and evil, they were easily tempted by the devil, and the devil controlled the witches to achieve their goal of harming humanity. In 1484, Pope Innocent VIII issued a command to massacre all women believed to be witches, sparking a 300-year-long witch-hunting movement in Europe. Because the identification of witches at that time relied entirely on the subjective speculation of religious personnel, a large number of innocent women were persecuted and killed. Therefore, "diagnose evil" means "to identify devils". The mistranslation in this paragraph also includes "亞歷山大港" for "the library at Alexandria", and "印度" for "Indies". In terms of "elegance", compared with the original text, the translation is not concise and clear enough. In addition, the phrase "what he conceived to be" is completely omitted in the translation. Below is the reference translation provided by the author of this article:

他們啟程去尋找印度群島卻發現了美洲,他們甄別女巫卻絞死了老婦人,他們認為只賣不買就可以發家致富,一位哈裏發為了遵從他臆想中的真主意誌,焚燒了亞歷山大裏亞圖書館。

Example 2:

And that, therefore, like Hamlet, it will stab Polonius behind the rustling curtain, thinking him the king, and perhaps like Hamlet add:

"Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!

I took thee for thy better; take thy fortune." (Lippmann, 1922: 7)

Chinese translation:

因此,就像哈姆雷特(Hamlet)用劍擊殺帷幕後的波洛尼厄斯(Polonius)並誤以為自己刺殺了國王一樣,人們對於頭腦中的圖景與真實世界的混淆也會產生悲劇的結果,或如哈姆雷特的臺詞所言:

別了,你這可憐、魯莽、多管閑事的傻瓜! 我還以為你能過得更好;這都怪你命運不濟。(Chang Jiang and Xiao Han, 2018: 6)

Analysis: In the previous passage, the author Lippmann mentioned that almost every political party would construct an imaginary image of their opponent and firmly believe in it. This sentence further explains that what people regard as facts are actually imagined facts in their minds, not real ones, using the example of Hamlet mistakenly believing that he was killing the king. The quote in the original text comes from Act 3, Scene 4 of Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet*: Hamlet arranges a play similar to the death of his father in front of his uncle, who becomes angry and leaves. Hamlet then takes the opportunity to kill Polonius hiding behind a screen while talking to his mother. "I took thee for thy better" was mistakenly translated as "我還以為你能過得更好" (I thought you could have done better), but here, "take…for" means "mistake for", and "the better" refers to the king, Hamlet's uncle. "人們對於頭腦中的圖景與真實世界的混淆也會產生悲劇的結果" (The confusion between the image in people's minds and the real world can also have tragic consequences) is a pure invention by the translator. Additionally, the translator missed translating the word "rustling". Below is the reference translation provided by the author of this article:

它就像哈姆雷特一樣,揮劍刺向躲在窸窣作響的帷幕後的波洛尼厄斯,以為那就是國王;或許還會像哈姆雷特一樣,末了補上一句:

再見吧! 你這可憐的、魯莽的、多管閑事的傻瓜!

我還以為是你主子;你自認倒黴吧!

Example 3:

We insist, because of our superior hindsight, that the world as they needed to know it, and the world as they did know it, were often two quite contradictory things. We can see, too, that while they governed and fought, traded and reformed in the world as they imagined it to be, they produced results, or failed to produce any, in the world as it was. (Lippmann, 1922: 4-5)

Chinese translation:

在這種「事後諸葛亮」的優越感的影響下,我們堅持認為「他們」需要了解的世界與「他們」已經了解的世界往往判若霄壤。我們也能看到,當「他們」對臆想中的世界進行治理,或於其中展開鬥爭、交易與變革時,「他們」的行為或許能對真實世界產生實質的影響,也可能只是鏡花水月。(Chang Jiang and Xiao Han, 2018: 4)

Analysis: The term "hindsight" refers to an understanding of a situation or event only after it has happened or developed (*New Oxford English-Chinese Dictionary*, 2007: 995). The translation "事後諸葛亮" of

"hindsight" is a sarcastic expression, mocking those who make judgments after the fact. Although it is similar to "hindsight", the emotional color of the word has deviated and does not convey the intended meaning. Similarly, "判若霄壤" and "鏡花水月" are idioms with a strong literary flavor, which does not match the plain and straightforward language style of the original text, and may give the impression of overusing Chinese idioms. Based on the previous paragraph, it can be inferred that "they" refers to people who firmly believe that the world they perceive is the real world. However, repeating the word "他們" four times in the translation is not appropriate. Additionally, adding quotation marks to emphasize "需要" and "已經" is confusing and violates the norms of modern Chinese usage. Below is the reference translation provided by the author of this article:

基於這種後見之明,我們堅信,世人需要認知的世界與實際認知的世界往往大相徑庭。我們還發現,世人會根據自己想象的世界進行管理、爭鬥、貿易和改革,而在真實的世界裏,世人或許有所收獲,或許毫無結果。

Example 4:

For Cosmas, there was nothing in the least absurd about his map. Only by remembering his absolute conviction that this was the map of the universe can we begin to understand how he would have dreaded Magellan or Peary or the aviator who risked a collision with the angles and the vault of heaven by flying seven miles up in the air. (Lippmann, 1922: 7)

Chinese translation:

在科斯馬斯看來,他所繪製的世界地圖根本就是合情合理的。我們只有牢記科斯馬斯對自己宇宙觀的絕對自信,才能想象出他會對麥哲倫(Magellan)或皮裏(Robert Peary)這樣的地理探險家,以及那些躍入7英裏高的天空而有可能與天使相撞,甚至把天穹撞個窟窿的飛行員懷有一種怎樣的恐懼心理。(Chang Jiang & Xiao Han, 2018: 6)

Analysis: Some mistranslations that can be spotted at a glance include "宇宙觀" (the map of the universe), "想象" (understand), and "甚至把天穹撞個窟窿" (the vault of heaven by…). Mistranslations that require some research to identify include "世界地圖" (his map) and "那些躍入7英裏高的天空而有可能與天使相撞,甚至把天穹撞個窟窿的飛行員" (the aviator…in the air). From the previous paragraph, it is easy to see that the "map" mentioned here refers to a Christian Topology written by Cosmas, so "世界地圖" is a mistranslation based on a literal interpretation. The original "the aviator" is a phrase with a definite article plus singular form, specifically referring to Orville Wright, who successfully flew the "Wright Flyer I" on December 17, 1903, becoming the first human in history to do so. Additionally, the grammar of the original sentence containing the conditional mood "would have dreaded" was not understood or conveyed correctly by the translators, and the meaning of the original sentence was completely reversed. Below is the reference translation provided by the author of this article:

科斯馬斯並不認為自己的地形誌有任何荒謬之處。他深信這就是宇宙的地圖,只有記住這一點,我們

才能逐漸明白,他怎麼可能會懼怕麥哲倫、皮裏以及冒著跟天使與蒼穹相撞的危險飛至7英裏高空的飛行員奧維爾·萊特。

Example 5:

Finally, some hundreds of young girls, overcoming the timidity of their sex, asked for engagements, their families not to know about it; others wished only to serve him. (Lippmann, 1922: 10)

Chinese translation:

最後,還有成百上千的妙齡女子,克服了女性的羞赧天性,瞞著家裏人向霞飛求愛,還有一些女孩子幹脆願意做他的仆人。(Chang Jiang and Xiao Han, 2018: 10)

Analysis: Translating the independent gerund phrase "their families not to know about it" as "瞞著家裏人" does not accurately convey the original meaning. Additionally, the verb "serve" refers to "performing duties or providing services for another person or organization", as defined in the *New Oxford English-Chinese Dictionary* (2007: 1943). Therefore, directly translating "serve him" as "做他的仆人" is a clear mistranslation. Below is the reference translation provided by the author of this article:

最後,還有幾百個年輕女孩,克服了女性的羞怯向將軍求婚,她們的家人對此渾然不知;另一些女孩則希望只要能服侍他就心滿意足了。

5 Conclusion

"Without academic translation, there would be no construction and inheritance of the human knowledge system; without academic translation, there would also be no communication and collision between Chinese and world academic studies." (Shen Yan, 2012) Currently, many Chinese translations with questionable quality have had a negative impact on the healthy development of domestic academia, which is partly attributed to the lack of guidelines for academic translation. In the increasingly prosperous era of academic translation, Yan Fu's "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" is still a reference standard. Liu Yunhong and Xu Jun (2010: 17–18) pointed out that compared with other constructive translation standards such as "resemblance to the original", "creation of a similar realm", and "multiple complementarities", "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" are more profound, comprehensive, concise, practical, and operable. Based on this standard, this article has made a preliminary discussion of the first chapter of *Public Opinion*, but due to limitations of space, it is impossible to list and analyze all related translations. The lack of "faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance" in the Chinese version *Yu Lun* will not only mislead domestic readers who rely on Chinese translations as reference sources, weaken its influence and dissemination in the target language culture, but also prompt us to think about another key issue closely related to academic translation standards: who is the ideal translator of academic works? On the one hand, academic translation requires translators to be familiar with the content of the original text and the related theoretical system; on the other hand, translators must have a fluent bilingual ability because this is

related to an accurate understanding of the original text and accurate expression of the translated text. At the same time, translators should also possess good professional ethics and a sense of responsibility.

According to Deng Zhenglai (2005), "Behind the translation of Western academic works lies the scholars' sense of responsibility and true insights into Chinese society. These works also constitute an organic component of China's academic development." Despite the various problems with the Chinese translation of *Public Opinion*, we should also recognize the two translators' sincere efforts: as a foundational work in journalism, the book has not only high academic value in itself, but also has important practical significance in promoting academic research and practical exploration in related fields in China. In addition, the translators provided corresponding graphic supplements for some historical figures and significant events mentioned in the book, and also translated the index of the entire book. This fully reflects the translators' academic vision in selecting the book and their relentless efforts to overcome reading barriers for Chinese readers.

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A Multimodal Discourse Approach to the Translation and International Communication for Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage: Take "*Nüshu*" as an Example

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Abstract: Intangible Cultural Heritage is an important part of a country's or a nation's cultural wealth. With the initiative of "the Belt and Road" and the strategy of Chinese culture "going out" proposed by our country, the translation and international communication for Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage has attracted attention from more and more people in the academic translation circle. "*Nüshu*" is among the first batch of the National Intangible Cultural Heritage List of China. This study, taking as an example the practice of manufacturing the *Nüshu* Chinese-English bilingual brochure under the school-enterprise cooperation project between the Central South University of Forestry and Technology and Hunan Yuhua Intangible Cultural Heritage Museum, attempts to explore a multimodal discourse approach to the translation and international communication for Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage. Based on the Four-strata Theory put forward by Kress & van Leeuwen in the construction of the multimodal discourse, namely discourse, design, production, and distribution, the paper details the manufacturing of the *Nüshu* brochure from these four aspects.

Keywords: intangible cultural heritage; translation and international communication; multimodal discourse approach; *Nüshu*; Chinese-English bilingual brochure

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非遺外宣譯介的多模態語篇構建
——以「女書」中英文宣傳冊製作項目為例

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摘　要:非物質文化遺產(簡稱「非遺」)是一個國家或民族文化的重要組成部分。隨著「一帶一路」倡議和中國文化「走出去」戰略的提出,非遺文化外宣譯介越來越多地受到翻譯界的關注。「女書」是湖南省首批列入「國家級非物質文化遺產代表性名錄」的項目之一,本文以「女書」中英文宣傳冊製作項目為例,嘗試對非遺外宣譯介進行多模態語篇構建路徑探索,基於克雷斯和范・勒文(Kress & van Leeuwen)關於多模態語篇構建的「四層面」理論,即話語層、設計層、生產層、分佈層,重點討論了構建該宣傳冊多模態語篇過程中對話語、設計、生產、分佈等四個層面因素的考量。

關鍵詞:非遺;外宣譯介;多模態語篇構建;女書;中英文宣傳冊

基金專案:本文系湖南省教育廳科學研究專案重點課題「江永女書非物質文化遺產對外傳播與譯介路徑研究」(編號:19A507)之研究成果。

引言

非物質文化遺產(簡稱「非遺」)是一個國家或民族文化的重要組成部分。隨著文化在國家綜合實力競爭中的地位日益凸顯,「促進中華文化域外翻譯傳播,推動中華文化『走出去』是增強國家文化軟實力、建構大國文化形象的必然要求」①。在此背景下,我國非遺文化外宣譯介越來越多地受到了翻譯界的關注。

湖南省作為中華文明的重要發祥地之一,擁有豐富多彩的非物質文化遺產。其中,「女書」是首批列入「國家級非物質文化遺產代表性名錄」的項目之一。相較於國內「女書熱」的持續發酵甚至某些女書元素在國際舞臺上大放異彩②的現象,學界對女書的外宣譯介及研究顯得較為滯後。本文基於中南林業科技大學與湖南雨花非遺館進行的校企合作實踐項目成果,嘗試探討非遺外宣譯介的多模態語篇構建路徑。

一、非遺外宣譯介與多模態語篇構建

何謂非遺外宣譯介?何謂多模態?何謂多模態語篇構建?多模態語篇構建路徑對非遺外宣譯介有何意義?等等都是本章擬重點解決的問題。

(一)非遺外宣譯介的概念界定

在定義「非遺外宣譯介」之前有必要先界定「外宣譯介」這個概念。這是一個由「外宣」和「譯介」兩個片

語成的術語,包含「對外宣傳」和「以翻譯為媒介」兩重意思,國內大多數學者稱之為外宣翻譯,「是一個國家對外交流水準和人文環境建設的具體體現」[③],「是一種門面工作」[④]。關於外宣翻譯的定義很多,如「要完成那些對外宣傳材料的翻譯任務為基本內容的翻譯實踐活動的總稱」[⑤]、「一種跨語言、跨文化、跨地域的資訊共用與思想交流活動,一種意識形態的國際旅行與傳播實踐,一種國家形象在國際生態環境中的適應性選擇與自我建構方式」[⑥]、「是以翻譯為手段,以宣傳為目的,通過媒體讓外國人民瞭解中國的交際活動」[⑦]等等。本文借鑒學者們給外宣翻譯所下的定義,將「非遺外宣譯介」界定為:通過翻譯並借助一定的傳播媒介將我國的非遺文化與其他國家的人進行資訊共用與思想交流的活動,激發他們對中國非遺文化的興趣,實現非遺的國際傳播。

(二)多模態與多模態語篇構建

多模態是交際的普遍特徵。多模態是指「在某一種具體資訊交流的語境中存在的一種以上的不同模態的並存現象」[⑧]。人類早期交際的模式以單一語言模態為主,在相當長一段時間內,研究者關注的都是語言這一符號資源及其意義系統。但隨著科技的發展,人類由單一語言模態實現交際的模式逐漸被由語言、圖像、聲音、動作等構成的多模態交際模式所取代。越來越多的學者意識到,「對社會行為和意義的解讀應包括非語言符號等所有表意資源。」[⑨]上世紀九十年代,社會符號學者基於韓禮德的系統功能語法,開始研究多模態語法。進入本世紀以來,國外多模態研究迎來發展的黃金期,代表人物 Mondada、Machin、van Leeuwen、Kress、Rowsell、Caple、Bateman、Early、Kendrick、Ledin 等著述頗豐。[⑩]國內自 2003 年掀起了多模態研究的熱潮,代表學者包括李戰子、胡壯麟、朱永生、楊信彰、張德祿、馮德正、曾方本、代樹蘭等。

社會符號學是多模態語篇的重要理論基礎。根據符號學理論,「模態」是指「在社會文化中形成的創造意義的符號資源」[⑪],語言、圖像、聲音、動作等都可看作是一個個獨立的模態。韓禮德(Halliday)很早就意識到多模態語篇的存在,以其為代表的系統功能語言學派將語言、圖像、聲音、動作等社會符號資源都看作人類交際的意義潛勢,具有系統性和多功能性,任何模態都是完整的表意系統,任一模態同時能實現概念、人際和組篇三大「元功能」。克雷斯和范・勒文(Kress & van Leeuwen)把韓禮德的「元功能」思想延伸到視覺模式,發展並建立了以再現功能、互動功能和構篇功能為核心內容的視覺語法理論。他們將「多模態」定義為「設計符號產品或事件時多種符號模式的使用以及這些符號模式結合的特別方式」[⑫],把「利用多種符號資源來實現意義」[⑬]的語篇稱為多模態語篇。國內學者楊信彰、李戰子和張德祿也給多模態語篇下過定義。楊信彰指出「多模態語篇是一種交際手段,以多種表達方式創建意義,進行交際。」[⑭]李戰子認為多模態語篇指「任何由一種以上的符號編碼實現意義的文本」[⑮]。張德祿定義為「運用聽覺、視覺、觸覺等多種多種感覺,通過語言、圖像、聲音、動作等多種手段和符號資源進行交際的現象」[⑯]。

多模態語篇構建是指利用多種符號資源共同創建意義的過程,克雷斯和范・勒文把這個意義創建或生成的過程分為四個層面,即話語、設計、生產、分佈。[⑰]「話語」是指社會對現實(某些方面)建構的知識,是在特定語境下以符合社會參與者利益的方式產生的,並以不同的符號模態表達出來。[⑱]「設計」是對符號資源(包括各種符號模態以及不同符號模態的組合)的使用。設計介於內容和表達之間,既是符號資源概念化的過程,也關涉這些概念化符號資源如何表達的問題。設計在特定交際語境中體現話語,同時又創造出可以將社會對現實建構的知識變成某種社會(人際)行動的情境。設計不同於實際生產符號產品或表達符號事件的過程。設計過程所使用的資源、符號模態仍是抽象的,可以有多種不同的實現方式。[⑲]「生產」指通過一定的媒介將各種表達意義的符號資源組合一起,把具體的符號事件用特定物理材料清晰地表達出來,或指符號產品的物理製作過程。生產實現設計,是表達的物理過程,是從意義到物質實體的過程。[⑳]「分佈」指對

符號產品或事件在技術上重新編碼,以達成記錄和傳播的目的。[21]克雷斯和范・勒文對這四個層面的界定並不是非此即彼相互對立的關係,各個層面之間有諸多聯繫和交織,如「話語」始終貫穿於其它幾個層面中,「設計」和「生產」,甚至「分佈」互為關聯。本研究將基於以上理論,結合國內外學者在多模態話語分析領域取得的研究成果,對湖南雨花非遺館「女書」中英文宣傳冊的多模態語篇構建進行闡釋。

(三)多模態語篇路徑對非遺外宣譯介的意義

非遺外宣譯介的目的是實現非遺的國際傳播,注重對外宣傳的社會效應,即在受眾中產生影響,引發其關注、模仿等行為反應。傳統非遺外宣譯介多採取單一語言模態,只關注語言文字等資訊的傳播。但在現代媒介技術空前發展的當下,資訊的傳播呈多模態化發展態勢,「多模態媒介成為大眾閱讀世界、與世界互動的主要途徑」[22],通過多模態語篇路徑對非遺進行外宣譯介已成為共識。與單一語言模態相比,多模態語篇在意義建構和傳播方面都具有無法比擬的直觀性和愉悅性。

多模態語篇既指由語言文字符號和各種圖片符號資源共同構建的多符號語篇,如報紙、漫畫、紙媒廣告、宣傳手冊等,也指利用現代科學技術或手段將視覺符號和聽覺符號結合起來的多媒介語篇,如電影、電視、短視頻等,前者是靜態的,後者為動態的,本研究探討的是前一種靜態的多符號語篇。

二、湖南雨花非遺館「女書」中英文宣傳冊的多模態語篇構建

本專案是在中南林業科技大學與湖南雨花非遺館校企合作的大背景下產生的。湖南雨花非遺館聚集了 359 個非遺項目,通過與省內各大高校合作,積極保護並推廣湖南省的非物質文化遺產。2019 年 9 月,中南林業科技大學與該館達成合作意向,啟動了包括「女書」在內的非遺外宣譯介實踐和研究活動。筆者作為「女書」項目指導老師之一,參與了「女書」中英文宣傳冊製作的全過程。本項目組包括師生共 10 人,指導老師 2 人,學生 8 人,其中 5 人為翻譯專業本科生,3 人為 MTI 研究生,宣傳冊的製作主要由 5 位本科生負責。圖 1 是最後定稿的中英文宣傳冊效果圖。

這是一個由六個版面構成的三折頁彩色小冊子,包括對女書的簡介、女書與女性文化、女書傳人之一(也是本項目委託人)李愛蓮女士及其創立的「愛蓮女書館」的介紹、女書文化作品展示和女書練字帖。除了語言文字模態,該宣傳冊還利用其它符號資源如圖片、二維碼、特殊字元、簽章等共同創建語篇意義。

該宣傳冊製作出來之後得到了委託人的肯定和讚賞,並被湖南雨花非遺館用來進行女書宣傳推廣以及女書館內各種文化產品的宣發。下麵從「話語、設計、生產、分佈」四個層面對該宣傳冊的多模態語篇構建一一進行闡釋。

(一)話語層

「多模態語篇生成過程始於語境化,即把交際置於具體的語境中。」[23]語境分為文化語境和情景語境。文化語境為多模態語篇的構建提供環境,如「整個文化的意義潛勢、意識形態、社會系統、行為模式」[24];情景語境是具體交際事件的語境,涉及「話語範圍、話語基調、話語方式」[25]。本案例嘗試建構的是國內外社會對我國國家級非物質文化遺產——女書的知識。女書的概念有狹義和廣義之分,狹義的女書指女書文字,或稱「女字」,是世界上唯一現存的女性專用文字,其字元以細尖、瘦長為主要特點,呈長斜體菱形,民間叫做「蚊形字」,於 2017 年被納入國際標準字元集。廣義的女書指的是一種文化,「包括產生這種文化的人文地理、女書流傳區域各種風俗習慣以及用女書文字寫成的作品和寫有這種文字的物體」[26]。本研究定位于廣義的

圖 1 「女書」中英文宣傳冊效果圖

女書概念，因此，從話語範圍來看，所有參與交際的符號模態（包括視覺模態和聽覺模態）都指向廣義的女書，共同表現女書作為一種文化的概念意義；從話語基調來看，本交際情景中的講話者（發話者/說話者）是湖南雨花非遺館和女書項目委託人，聽話者（受話者）是國內外女書文化的潛在受眾。講話者的交際意圖顯而易見，即通過中英文宣傳冊將女書文化傳播到國內外的潛在受眾中去。講話者為了激起受眾對女書的興趣，除了用語言文字提供一些基本資訊之外，還通過圖片、練字帖、二維碼連結等其它形式努力拉近與受話者之間的距離，整個語篇的語體風格介於正式和非正式之間；從話語方式來看，該多模態語篇使用的符號資源包括中英文語言文字、女書字元、女書物件插圖、女書文化作品圖樣、女書練字帖和簽章、背景畫、網頁連結及抖音號和微信號二維碼、委託人工作室及其書寫女書的照片等。

（二）設計層

設計是本案例多模態語篇構建的關鍵環節。為達到語篇交際的目的，此階段要解決的問題包括：宣傳冊以什麼方式呈現（整體呈現方式）、選擇哪些符號資源或模態來表達語篇意義（模態的選擇）、不同模態之間如何協作以實現連貫的語篇意圖（不同模態的協作）。

1. 整體呈現方式：項目組提供了書冊式和折頁式兩個備選方案。前者的設計靈感來自廣州市旅遊局印發的一套關於「遊、住、行、娛、食、購」的中英文宣傳書冊集，專案組傾向於此方案，因為設計成書冊式有更多的發揮空間，頁數可以從十幾頁跨度到二十幾甚至三十頁，內容也更豐富、詳細。然而，同委託方溝通時，第一個方案卻被否了，原因是印刷成本高，而且，資訊太龐雜。因此，後一個方案被提上議程，爭議的焦點成了是用二折頁式還是三折頁式呈現的問題。通過反復溝通和討論，最後確定選用後者，即由六個版面構成的三折頁式，除去封面板塊，其餘版面正好可以構建五個相對獨立的主題板塊。

2. 模態的選擇：除了必要的中、英文雙語文字模態以及各種表徵不同意義潛勢的圖像模態，本宣傳冊還融入了對顏色模態和視聽模態的運用。如藍色作為女書文化的代表性元素，被選定為本宣傳冊的基礎色

調。又譬如,考慮到第一主題板塊「什麼是女書?」中關於女書知識的介紹篇幅有限,專案組設計時在本頁左下角留出一處空白,加入二維碼,借助此連結,將本宣傳冊交際語篇從文字加圖像的視覺模態擴展到以聲音呈現的聽覺模態,彌補了視覺文字受篇幅限制的不足。同樣的原因,在設計第三主題板塊時加入了一圓一方兩個二維碼,分別是「愛蓮老師抖音號」和「愛蓮老師微信號」,將交際語篇從只包括文字和圖像的靜態視覺模態邊界擴至含有音視頻的動態視覺模態。

3. 不同模態的協作:(1)宏觀層面。宏觀層面的模態協作指向整體構成構宣傳冊語篇的六個頁面之間的銜接,主要通過明、暗兩條線得以實現。明線體現為整體佈局,頁 1 至頁 6 分別是「封面」(頁 1)、「一、什麼是女書?」(頁 2)、「二、女書與女書文化」(頁 3)、「三、李愛蓮女士與愛蓮女書」(頁 4)、「四、女書文化作品」(頁 5)、「五、女書練字帖」(頁 6),各個主題對應一個序號,按折頁展開方向依次排列,各個主題內容之間也前後關聯。暗線是指貫穿頁 2 至頁 6 的背景圖,採取低飽和度設計,隱約可見一幅湖湘村落景觀圖,暗示著女書文化的發源地,同時與封面上具有湖湘特色的建築物剪影相呼應,營造了一種互相勾連的文化氛圍。(2)微觀層面。指同一頁面內不同符號資源的配合,包括文字、圖像、顏色等的協作和互補,有的頁面這三種模態地位同等重要,如封面(頁 1)和封底(頁 6),有的突出文字和圖像,如頁 2 至頁 5。本宣傳冊的封面和封底均由由顏色、文字、圖像三種模態構成,其中顏色模態的地位得到突顯。譬如,封面底色由三種飽和度不同的藍色拼綴而成,占整個頁面約五分之四。封底是與封面相呼應的淺藍和渲染藍混搭色,幾乎占整個頁面的一半。除了藍色,女書文化的另一代表顏色白色也得到了充分運用。譬如,封面正中央偏上約小一號字元的位置嵌入了一個白色帶耳的鑲藍白邊框的豎長方形圖章。該圖章除了「湘楚女韻之解密女書」幾個標題字和一個隱綽的八角花紋圖案,其餘皆為留白。此外,圖章下面的小標題字和右側的剪影也採用了白色,與周圍的藍色背景融為一體。封底的文字模態都採用白色字體,再加上臨摹書法用的大塊留白,與頁面的藍色背景互相呼應,相得益彰。頁 2 至頁 4 是本宣傳冊語篇文字資訊的承載主體,因此,文字模態在這幾個頁面占主導地位,圖像模態只是起補充或強化語義的作用。從具體佈局上看,頁 2 中文字模態和圖像模態占比為 2:1,文字模態包括中、英兩種語言,中文在左上端靠近標題的位置,英文在右中下方,中文右側留白處是兩張上下平行的矩形圖片,一為「女書」二字的漢字體與女書字體的書寫,一為女書代表性物件之一的「三朝書」樣本圖。英文左側留白處為兩幅嵌套在一起的圓形圖案和一個方形二維碼,上方的圓形圖片展示了女書發源地江永縣一隅,另一圓形圖案顯示的是女書文化的代表性物件,最下方的方形二維碼上印有「掃碼可瞭解更多女書知識」一行文字。所有模態協同作用,互為補充,共同創建「什麼是女書?」這一主題板塊的語篇意義。頁 3 的文、圖模態比約為 4:1,圍繞「女書與女性文化」的主題安排了一左一右、上下錯開的兩個小主題板塊——「君子女文化」和「閨蜜文化」,中文資訊在上,英文在下,兩個板塊交錯留出的空白左下方設計了一個寫意的摺扇圖案,上接一幅女書字書法的圖片,右邊是一幅展示女書傳人低頭書寫女書的照片。摺扇暗示「閨蜜文化」,書法圖配上女書傳人的照片展示了「君子女文化」的一個側面。頁 4 主題為「李愛蓮女士與愛蓮女書」。李愛蓮女士是本項目的委託人,她在湖南雨花非遺館經營的女書館是宣傳冊的主要使用方,這一板塊應其本人的要求設計,文字模態和圖像模態約各占一半,文字模態作為資訊承載主體占主要地位,圖像模態只呈現局部資訊的情境,起強化語義的作用。頁 5 的主題是「女書文化作品」,其交際目的是向讀者展示女書館內的文化作品,包括部分女書書法作品和女書文創產品。為了達到更好的視覺呈現效果,多姿多彩的圖片成了主模態,圖片下方的文字模態對圖像進行解釋說明,起補充作用。

(三)生產層

生產實現設計,是多模態語篇產品的物理製作過程,即通過一定的媒介將組合在一起表達特定語篇意

義的符號資源轉化為具體的符號產品的過程。本宣傳冊是一種利用現代印刷技術列印在頁面上的印刷體多模態語篇,生產過程涉及頁面尺寸、紙張材質、折頁工藝等,此時項目組成員的角色由設計者轉換為次要生產者,在與作為主要生產者的印刷社進行訴求溝通方面起了積極作用。

本宣傳冊頁面尺寸採用標準的印刷 16 開 210 毫米×285 毫米,紙張有普通紙和銅版紙兩種材料類型供選擇,二者在價格、質感以及光澤度方面都有比較明顯的區別。考慮到用戶的實際需求,最終選用了光滑度更高、光澤度更好的銅版紙,成品效果得到了用戶(專案委託人)的高度肯定。同時,為了更方便、精准地折頁,印刷時採用了燜切(壓痕)工藝,即在相鄰兩頁的紙面中間壓出一道線,用戶可以毫不費力地沿壓痕彎折成冊。

(四)分佈層

多模態語篇構建的過程看似到生產層已經完結,但對於一個完整的交際過程來說,設計和生產只是實現了人際關係中發話者或說話者一方的意圖,另一方即受話者或聽話者反應如何或者說語篇所產生的交際效果仍是未知數。克雷斯和范・勒文提出的「分佈層」思想及相關闡釋正好回答了這個問題。分佈層涉及記錄和傳播兩個方面,說話者和設計者想要表達的意義在一定技術手段的加持下被完整或部分地記錄和保存下來,然後通過特定的媒介傳播和分佈到聽話者當中。[27]單從記錄方面來看,分佈層所涉技術幾乎與生產層重合,上文已有詳細討論,這裡不再贅述。

傳播需要媒介,作為符號產品的宣傳冊在分佈層即成了一種傳播的媒介,使受話者與發話者發生聯繫,並通過產生共鳴、發出行動等進行交際。本宣傳冊首批印製了 300 份投入使用,儘管因數量有限,發送的場合僅限於一些特定的宣講或交流活動,但用戶對產生的交際效果非常滿意,提出了加印要求。有必要指出的是,在首批宣傳冊使用和傳播過程中,用戶和受眾都給出了寶貴的回饋意見,對專案組後期完善產品意義重大。其中,用戶也是專案委託人發揮了多重角色的作用,既是交際的發起者、設計參與者和發話人,又是符號產品的使用者和傳播者。受眾閱讀本宣傳冊時做出的反應通過用戶回饋給主要設計者和生產者。

三、思考與啟示

本項目從啟動到宣傳冊最後製作完成並投入使用歷經一年零兩個月時間,比原計劃多了近 5 個月。2020 年春那場突如其來的疫情使得原定於 6 月份在湖南雨花非遺館舉行的校企合作成果展示彙報會被取消,宣傳冊付印事宜也一再延期,產品正式印製出來交到委託人手上已近 2020 年底。首批宣傳冊印製了 300 份,投入使用後得到了用戶的肯定。因數量有限,面對的受眾僅限於一些特殊場合,從用戶和受眾的回饋意見來看,本宣傳冊產生了令人滿意的交際效果,達到了預期的目的。

當然,本宣傳冊也存在一些不足和遺憾,如頁 3 的英文文本出現了兩處紕漏(其一有一個引號標反了方向;其二有一句話漏了幾個單詞),項目組在校稿時未能發現,雖然在第二版中已及時更正,但這樣的錯誤實屬不該。另外,委託人在使用本宣傳冊一段時間後突然提出要把封面的大標題從漢字換成女書字,因為其中「湘楚女韻」幾個字與某一品牌撞臉,擔心引起不必要的麻煩。其實,專案組在擬定該標題時徵求過委託人的意見並反復溝通確認過,但在宣傳冊未投入使用之前都沒意識到這點,該問題的提出為以後應對類似情境提供了寶貴的經驗。

通過這次校企合作實踐,項目組師生獲益良多。首先,對我國的非遺文化有了更多更深刻的認識和瞭解,尤其是女書,讓師生們經歷了一場別樣的文化體驗,寫女書,做手工,探究女書的奧秘,彙報展示學習心

得等等,無一不讓師生沉浸其中。其次,「教學相長」在此次專案實施過程中得到了很好的印證。比如,在宣傳冊的設計以及版面佈局上,學生們接受新技術的能力遠超過指導老師,兩位指導老師從學生們身上學到了很多;同時,指導老師對宣傳冊語言文字尤其是中英文本的一次次修改打磨,使學生們感受到了導師嚴謹的治學態度。師生通力合作,共同探索出了女書外宣譯介的一條有效路徑,為我國非遺外宣譯介多模態語篇構建路徑提供了一個可行性參考。

非遺外宣譯介的目的是實現我國非物質文化遺產的國際傳播,能否產生社會效應,即在受眾中產生影響並引發關注是非遺外宣譯介應首要考慮的問題。直觀、令人愉悅是現代受眾對資訊傳播的要求,圖文並茂或視聽結合的多模態語篇才是他們樂於接受並產生共鳴的傳播方式。要實現我國非物質文化遺產的國際傳播,選擇怎樣的傳播路徑至關重要,本研究探討的多模態語篇路徑無論在符號意義建構還是資訊傳播效果方面都較傳統單一模態具有無可比擬的優勢,對我國非遺文化外宣譯介有一定的借鑒意義。

注釋

①⑧ 王建華、張茜:《多模態文化翻譯理論與傳播研究・多模態文化翻譯理論》,北京:中國人民大學出版社 2020 年版,頁 3-10。

② 2014 年 8 月 15 日晚,費城交響樂團在紐約州北部的薩拉托加溫泉小鎮(Saratoga Springs)的表演藝術中心演出了著名作曲家譚盾的《女書:為 13 部微電影、豎琴和交響樂隊而作》,在國際社會引起了很大的反響。

③④ 黃友義:《從翻譯工作者的權利到外宣翻譯——在首屆全國公示語翻譯研討會上的講話》,《中國翻譯》,2005 年第 6 期,頁 31。

⑤ 張健:《全球化語境下的外宣翻譯「變通」策略芻議》,《外國語言文學》,2013 年第 1 期,頁 19。

⑥ 朱義華:《外宣翻譯研究體系建構探索——基於哲學視野的反思》,上海:上海外國語大學博士學位論文,2013 年 5 月。

⑦ 牟宜武、吳贇:《企業超文字外宣翻譯與中國企業形象提升研究》,《外語電化教學》,2021 年第 3 期,頁 116。

⑨ Jewitt, C. *The Routledge handbook of multimodal analysis*,轉引自張德祿:《系統功能理論視閾下的多模態話語分析綜合框架》,《現代外語》,2018 年第 6 期,頁 732。

⑩ 康佳萍、薑占好:《國外多模態研究熱點與趨勢(1999-2018)——基於 Bibliometrix 的視覺化分析》,《外語教學》,2020 年第 3 期,頁 31。

⑪ Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*, London Routledge, 79.

⑫⑬⑰⑱⑲⑳㉑㉗ Kress, G. & T. van Leeuwen. (2001). *Mulitimodal discourse: The modes and media of* contemporary *communication*, London Arnold, 20-72.

⑭ 楊信彰:《多模態語篇分析與系統功能語言學》,《外語教學》,2009 年第 4 期,頁 12。

⑮ 李戰子:《多模式話語的社會符號學分析》,《外語研究》,2003 年第 5 期,頁 1。

⑯ 張德祿:《多模態話語分析綜合理論框架探索》,《中國外語》,2009 年第 1 期,頁 24。

㉒ 吳贇、牟宜武:《中國故事的多模態國家翻譯策略研究》,《外語教學》,2022 第 1 期,頁 76。

㉓ 辛紅娟、陳可欣:《多模態話語分析視角下外宣紀錄片翻譯研究——以〈四季中國〉為例》,《對外傳播》,2020 年第 2 期,頁 55。

㉔㉕ 張德祿:《系統功能理論視閾下的多模態話語分析綜合框架》,《現代外語》,2018 年第 6 期,頁 740。

㉖ 謝明堯、賀夏蓉:《女書習俗》,長沙:湖南人民出版社,2015 版,頁 25。

(Editors: Bonnie WANG & JIANG Qing)

Translating Chinese Texts of Intangible Cultural Heritage into English from the Perspective of an Integrated Strategy

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Abstract: This paper centers around exploring translating Chinese introductory texts into English concerning the intangible cultural heritage of Guangdong Province and Hainan Province. Based on analyzing the textual features of the Chinese texts, the paper puts forward the principles of two types of closeness and five Cs in terms of translating the original text that serves the informative and vocative functions. Then in accordance with the two translation principles, an integrated strategy has developed on the basis of alienation, adaptation and compensation for contextual and cultural default so as to render the source texts into perfect English. Specifically, with the guidance of the principles and the integrated strategy, this research focuses on how to translate text titles, sentences with unique culture-specific items and short passages by employing such methods as transliteration, transliteration plus literal translation, transliteration plus annotation, addition or supplement, interpretation, intra-text annotation, condensation, and substitution, etc. The integrated application of the strategies and methods does work to retain the original culture in the translated text, and on the other, makes the translated versions content-centered, culture-oriented, concise, clear and coherent both in form and in meaning, thus achieving the goal that the translated text should be closer to the cultural characteristics of the source text and closer to the thinking mode of target readers. It is hoped that this exploration will make contributions to the translation research into the texts in relation to the intangible cultural heritage of China.

Keywords: translation research; Chinese texts; intangible cultural heritage; principles of two types of closeness and five Cs; integrated strategy

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1 Introduction

China joined *the Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1985 and owned the first batch of world heritage in 1987. At present China has a total of 56 world heritage sites to date. Of these, 38 are cultural heritage sites, 14 are natural heritage sites, and 4 are cultural and natural (mixed) sites, ranking first in the world. Besides, China owns 1,372 representative intangible cultural heritage programs under state protection, including the 43 programs on the UNESCO World Intangible Cultural Heritage List. As of 2016, Hainan Province has one intangible cultural heritage on the World List, and 26 intangible cultural heritage programs under state protection. As of 2022, Guangdong Province possesses five intangible cultural heritage in the World List and 165 intangible cultural heritage programs under state protection.

As is known to all, intangible cultural heritage (shortened as ICH) is an indispensable and precious part of a nation's culture as well as a valuable part of the world. Yet, as for China, its publicity to the outside world is far from being enough due to the fact that translation research in this field was not given much attention in the past. Fortunately, Since the early 2000s, the research in this domain has been becoming noticeable in the translation field of China. So far, some research has been done in relation to culture-specific items in the Chinese texts of ICH and the translation strategies proposed by some scholars such as Chang Nam Fun (2004), Fan Xiangtao (2008), Chen Fangrong (2011), Xu Ming & Wang Junping (2016), Lu Zhiguo (2017), Gu Feng (2019), Jia Shaodong (2019), etc. These studies and explorations have, to a larger extent, promoted the development in the field of translation and enhanced the publicity of Chinese culture to the outside world. Nevertheless, translation research in this domain should be further undertaken because there is still something worth exploring to enrich China's translation theory.

2 What does intangible cultural heritage refer to?

According to UNSCO's definition, "Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. There are three types of heritage: cultural heritage (tangible and intangible cultural heritage), natural heritage and cultural and natural heritage (mixed)." However, the term 'cultural heritage' has changed content considerably in recent decades, partially owing to the instruments developed by UNESCO. "Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next. The social and economic value of this transmission of knowledge is relevant for minority groups and for mainstream social

groups within a State and is as important for developing States as for developed ones".

Furthermore, intangible cultural heritage is characterized by the following. First of all, it is traditional, contemporary and living at the same time; second, it is representative and unique; third, it is community-based and recognized as such by the communities, groups, or individuals that create, maintain and transmit it; last but not least, it is inclusive and contributes to social cohesion, encouraging a sense of identity and responsibility which helps individuals to feel part of one or different communities and to feel part of society at large.

3 Textual features of intangible cultural heritage

In view of linguistic and cultural transfer from the original text into the target one, studying and understanding the types and characteristics of the original text is an essential phase for translation work, and it is the basis for choosing and determining translation principles, strategies as well as methods, and then it ensures the high quality of the translated versions. Below are discussed and analyzed in detail the linguistic and cultural features of the Chinese texts concerning ICH.

3.1 Cultural features—culture-specific items

What is discussed here in terms of cultural features is about culture-specific items. ICH possesses features of uniqueness, exclusivity, irreplaceability and exceptional national value. In the text introducing ICH, there usually contains plentiful cultural elements and cultural concepts such as names of people, names of places, oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, historical events, mythology, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts, which can be categorized as so-called "culture-specific items" first developed by Javier Franco Aixelá, a Spanish translator. Chang Nam Fun (2004) was the first Chinese scholar to introduce it to the translation field in China. Aixelá (1996: 52-78) defined it as "translation difficulties occur when the meanings in the source text are transferred to the target text because there is no corresponding item in the cultural system of the target language, or they have different textual status in the item". Based on the definition, Aixelá gave a more detailed interpretation that a culture-specific item depends not only on the item itself but also on the function of the item in the text as understood by target readers. In other words, a culture-specific item is what the general readers of the target language or any person in power find ideologically or culturally incomprehensible or unacceptable.

Aixelá put forward his theory on culture-specific items according to his experience in literary translation studies, on the basis of which he developed eleven translation strategies. Chang Nam Fen (2004) introduced the strategies and discussed how to use each of them by giving examples. Compared with literary works, most types of Chinese texts regarding ICH undoubtedly have similar characteristics of cultural uniqueness and exclusivity and exceptional values. Therefore, the corresponding translation strategies and methods developed by Javier Franco Aixelá are more or less applicable to the translation of Chinese texts related to ICH. Some Chinese scholars take culture-specific items as one of the difficulties in translating ICH (Fan Xiangtao 2008; Chen Fangrong 2011).

3.2 Linguistic features—text type

Newmark, a famous translator, and translation theorist in the translation field in both the UK and the outside

world, categorizes texts into three types: expressive text, informative text and vocative text (2001: 40). Expressive text includes serious literary works, official proclamations, autobiographical literature and private letters, etc.; informative text covers reports, documents, newspaper articles, memorandums, meeting minutes concerning natural science, science and technology, business and economy, etc.; vocative text involves announcements, brochures, publicity materials, popular works, and so on. The text in relation to ICH should belong to both informative and vocative ones and are basically "an informative text with narrative characteristics". Put it in another way, the text of ICH contains both the function of conveying information and publicizing culture, so it has "both the informative and vocative functions" (Lu Zhiguo 2017).

According to Xu Ming et al. (2016), the text of ICH should be classified as "an informative text in which logical or indicative language is used". Studies on the text type and text description of ICH have shown that it is basically informative and vocative. In the frame of this informative text, there is the following information concerned with names of intangible cultural heritage, historic figures, places of origin, historical origins, values, cultural characteristics, and influences, etc., which have unique cultural status and distinctive cultural characteristics and may not exist at all in the cultural system of the target language text.

Apart from its text type, Xu Ming et al. (2016) argued that the introductory text in regard to ICH may be indicative, narrative, descriptive, objective and local; or rather, 'it should be content-centered, the information, knowledge, and views should be objective'.

4 Translation principles

4.1 "Two types of closeness"

The intention of translation is to convey information and exchange cultures. So, the cultural characteristics of the source text should be retained in the translated text as much as possible, the source culture be truthfully conveyed, and the names and sentences with national color be rendered into concise, clear and understandable ones. For this reason, it is necessary to follow the translation principle of "two types of closeness": one means that the translated text should be close to the cultural characteristics of the source text; the other refers to the translated text being close to the thinking mode of the target readers. As is mentioned above, the text related to ICH is usually full of cultural elements and concepts which need publicizing to the outside world. Therefore, the cultural features of the original text should be reflected through both "alienation" and "adaptation", and if necessary, the strategy of compensation can be applied to linguistic and cultural default in the process of translating.

Eugene A. Nida, an American linguist, translator and translation theorist, advocates that the translated text should be target language culture oriented and adapted to target readers. He put forward the concept of "the closest natural equivalence". From the social and cultural perspective, he put target readers first and carefully analyzed the intention of the translated text. Nida (1993) argued that the translated text should basically be closest to the natural equivalence of the information that the source text has provided. He claimed that the purpose of dynamic equivalence (or functional equivalence) was such that the expression mode of the translated text

should be natural, and that the source language mode should be included in the cultural category of the target language as much as possible. When taking target readers into consideration, translators need to know that the translated text should create the effect of information transfer and functional equivalence in both form and meaning. Nevertheless, the source language culture as an indispensable part of the source text should be retained as much as possible in the target text in order to achieve the goal of exchanging cultures and arousing target readers' interest in the cultures of other nations.

4.2 Principle of the five Cs

The principle of the five Cs here refers to content-centeredness, culture-orientation, conciseness, clarity, and coherence, which the translated text should possess. Specifically speaking, content-centeredness requires that the translated text be rich in information and knowledge, and highlights its uniqueness, exclusivity and exceptional national value; culture-orientation means that the translated text should keep the unique culture of the original text as much as possible; conciseness refers to the language used for the translated version should be accurate and correct, and avoid redundancy and overstatement; clarity refers to the way of expression, in which the translated text should be objective and logical, less ambiguous or confusing; coherence calls for a well-organized paragraph or passage, and a chain of well-fit meanings and ideas, which is easy for target readers to understand. In a word, the principle of the five Cs followed by the translated text is closely interrelated in a linguistic and cultural way. Much importance should be attached to "the accurate use of words, fluent sentences, simple structure and reasonable discourse" (Jia Shaodong 2019).

Owing to the fact that the text related to ICH is usually characterized by unique cultural elements and concepts, the translated text needs to create an effect of information transmission on the one hand, and on the other, it needs to highlight its vocative function in order to arouse target readers' interest in the Chinese culture. The reason why the principle of the five Cs is proposed here is that the translated text should cater to target readers, which is determined by their needs, by the translator's needs, and by the need of the source text as well. With the guidance of the principle of the five Cs, a high-quality translated version can be produced to help those who have no knowledge of or have never been exposed to the intangible cultural heritage of China to understand Chinese culture.

5 An integrated strategy

In the light of the two principles discussed above, an integrated strategy is created with the combined application of alienation, adaptation and compensation of contextual and cultural default in the hope of acquiring a perfect English version of the Chinese texts regarding ICH. It is well-known that alienation or foreignization is a translation strategy as opposed to an adaptation or domestication strategy. The two strategies are usually taken as two different ones as to how to deal with the transfer of linguistic and cultural differences in translation. The former aims to retain the original culture of the source text and to highlight the cultural characteristics of the source text in the translated text, while the latter is intended to make the translated text more oriented to target readers and their way of thinking (Guo Jianzhong 1998). In the circle of translation studies, the two strategies

are often separated to explore and seem to be conflicting with each other because of the dualistic way of thinking in the Western circle of translation. There is indeed a clear-cut distinction between them, yet it is possible that they can be used together to tackle complicated problems with translation. In this research, an attempt to integrate alienation and adaptation into one strategy is made for the sake of obtaining an ideal English version. The integrated use of alienation and adaptation, whatever it may be defined, aims at helping achieve the objective of cultural exchange and intercultural communication.

In the process of translating the text related to ICH, much importance should be attached to the strategy of compensation for mending contextual and cultural default. More often than not, when written or spoken communication takes place, if two parties want to achieve the expected goal, they must have a shared background or knowledge or pragmatic presupposition. With their common presupposition, they can eliminate something self-evident and familiar to each other so as to have efficient and effective communications. According to Wang Dongfeng (1997), in a conversation between two sides, the part that is omitted by both parties as shared background or knowledge is known as "situational default"; the part related to the information omitted in the text is referred to as "contextual default"; and the part related to the cultural background omitted in the text is called "cultural default". There is a lot of contextual and cultural default in the text related to ICH. To bridge the contextual and cultural gap, the strategy of compensation is employed in order to make the translated text readable and communication effective. Furthermore, in the course of translating, the integrated use of the strategies of compensation, alienation, and adaption may ensure that the translated text retains the original culture and adapt to target readers. In this sense, the contextual and cultural default that causes the vacuum for target readers should be paid great attention to and appropriately compensated, along with alienation and adaptation being considered.

To make the translated text content-centered, culture-oriented, concise, clear and coherent in meaning, based on the integrated strategy, researchers can utilize such methods as transliteration, transliteration plus literal translation, transliteration plus annotation, addition or supplement, interpretation, intra-text annotation, condensation and substitution.

6 Translating Chinese Texts of Intangible Cultural Heritage into English

This paper revolves around the research into translating Chinese texts in relation to intangible cultural heritage in Guangdong and Hainan provinces, where there is a great variety of intangible cultural heritage of all levels. In this paper, some texts related to intangible cultural heritage in the world list and under state protection are taken as examples. In view of translating the text from Chinese into English, specifically, the exploration focuses only on three aspects: how to translate titles, how to translate sentences with unique culture-specific items, and how to translate short passages with the guidance of the principles and the integrated strategy by using the translation methods mentioned above.

6.1 Translation of titles

The title of a Chinese introductory text concerning ICH is one of the key points that must not be neglected in

translation. It is usually concise, brief and comprehensive in form and meaning, and mostly it is a culture-specific item composed of proper nouns (a person's full name, or name of place, or an ethnic name) plus one or more general words. More often than not, alienation and the methods such as transliteration plus literal translation are applied to translating the titles. For example,

媽祖信俗: Mazu Beliefs and Customs

黎族服飾: Li Nationality Costume

粵劇: Yueju Opera/Guangdong Opera

廣東皮影: Guangdong Shadow Puppetry

Besides, some Chinese titles are made up of many words. If translated literally into English, their versions as a title may be long. So, it can be condensed by using the methods of literal translation plus condensation. Take 黎族傳統紡染織繡技藝 for example, its first English version is as follows:

"Li Nationality Traditional Technology of Weaving and Dyeing and Spinning and Embroidering"

Then it is condensed as "Li Nationality Traditional Technology of Making Brocade", in which the four words "weaving and dyeing and spinning and embroidering" are actually the process of making brocade, so they are condensed into two words "making brocade".

Next, some Chinese titles are short in form, but it is unclear in meaning. For translators, it is rather difficult to determine what they mean. In this case, the translator should read the original text carefully to find the clues in it. Take 花瑰藝術 for example. The original text says "'花瑰藝術'是海南民間對七彩木雕藝術的俗稱,是以木為主材,手工雕刻並髹(xiū)漆的藝術"。In the light of the explanation, 花瑰藝術 is actually 七彩木雕藝術, and then it can be literally rendered into Hainan Wooden Carvings Painted with Seven Colors, which contains a concise and clear meaning.

Finally, some have an implicit meaning which requires a translator to find it out. Take 中國針灸 for example. When it comes to 中國針灸, it usually involves three things: traditional Chinese medicine, acupuncture and moxibustion. In this case, by using adaptation, free translation and supplements, it should be put into Acupuncture and Moxibustion of Traditional Chinese Medicine instead of Chinese Acupuncture.

6.2 Translation of sentences

Guangdong and Hainan are rich in intangible cultural heritage, which has a wide range of types, different and irreplaceable contents, distinctive regional and national uniqueness, and exclusivity as well. The Chinese introductory texts are usually written in the language with local cultural characteristics. That is to say, they have a large number of cultural concepts or culture-specific items with local ethnic colors. In the course of translating sentences filled with culture-specific items in such texts, much attention should be paid to coherence in form and meaning. Very often, an integrated strategy is applied together with the methods like transliteration, transliteration plus annotation, intra-text annotation, addition or supplement, and interpretation. The following three long sentences full of culture-specific items are rendered into English by means of the integrated strategy of alienation, adaptation, and compensation of contextual and cultural default. It is generally believed that translation work needs recreation, recreating new words and expressions, which can make the translated text interesting to target readers. Take a close look at each of the following three examples.

Example 1

黎锦上面的各類圖案是氏族識別字號,也是區別黎族哈、杞、美孚、潤、賽五大方言族系的重要標誌。

The translated version:

On the Li nationality costume, there are various types of patterns woven as symbols of the tribes. These patterns are an important means of distinguishing the five main tribes from each other who have their dialects known as Ha, Qi, Meifu, Run and Sei.

Example 2

黎族竹木器樂非常獨特,主要有:鼻簫、口弓、唎咧(口蕭)、口拜、嗶嗟、獨木鼓等等。

The translated version:

Li nationality music is unique in that it is played with woodwind instruments such as Bixiao, the flute yet played with the nose; Kougong, the mouth organ; Lilie or Kouxiao, the suona horn; Koubai, the clarinet in shape but simple and short; Bida, the dual pipe flute. The music is also played with percussion like Dumugu, a kind of wooden drum.

Example 3

「古代羅盤,將羅盤圓周的二十四個字,分別從『子』和『午』兩字開始,把『子、壬、亥、乾、戌、辛、酉、庚、申、坤、未、丁』和『午、丙、巳、巽、辰、乙、卯、甲、寅、艮、醜、癸』分成對稱的兩部分。」

The translated version:

"The ancient compass has twenty-four characters which are well arranged around its circumference. The twenty-four characters are equally divided into two groups. One starts from Zi (the first of the Twelve Earthly Branches), and the other starts from Wu (the seventh of the Twelve Earthly Branches).

Starting from Zi follows 'Ren (the ninth of Ten Heavenly Stems), Hai (the last of Twelve Earthly Branches), Qian (one of the Eight Diagrams), Xu (the eleventh of Ten Heavenly Stems), Xin (the eighth of Ten Heavenly Stems), You (the tenth of Twelve Earthly Branches), Geng (the seventh of Ten Heavenly Stems), Shen (the ninth of Twelve Earthly Branches), Kun (one of the Eight Diagrams), Wei (the eighth of Twelve Earthly Branches), Ding (the fourth of Ten Heavenly Stems).

Starting Wu follows 'Bing (the third of Ten Heavenly Stems), Si (the fourth of Twelve Earthly Branches), Xun (one of the Eight Diagrams), Chen (the fifth of Twelve Earthly Branches), Yi (the second of Ten Heavenly Stems), Mao (the fourth of Twelve Earthly Branches), Jia (the first of Ten Heavenly Stems), Yin (the third of Twelve Earthly Branches), Gen (one of the Eight Diagrams), Chou (the second of Twelve Earthly Branches), Gui (the last of Ten Heavenly Stems)."

The translated version of Example 3 is taken from Yang Ling's MIT thesis (2017). This original sentence is concerned with the interpretation of the ancient compass used for fishing boats by fishermen in ancient China prior to the invention of steam engines for ships. The original sentence is rather complicated not because of its structure, but because it has a number of culture-specific items, which are closely related to the Chinese culture of the Ten Heavenly Stems and the Twelve Earthly Branches. They are often viewed as untranslatability because there is no English equivalent vocabulary for such Chinese culture-specific items. To translate such items, an

integrated strategy is preferred for the purpose of acquiring a good English version, in which the unique culture of the SL is retained while the TL readers are able to understand without difficulty. Therefore, translation techniques such as transliteration (Chinese Pinyin) plus annotation and compensation of cultural default are preferable. That is why the translated version is much longer than the source sentence.

6.3 Translation of short passages

Translating short passages is more complicated than rendering titles and sentences. In general, a short Chinese passage regarding ICH is richer in culture-specific items. Accordingly, it requires, to a larger extent, an integrated strategy, that is, an integrated application of alienation and adaptation and compensation of cultural default. In accordance with the integrated strategy, such translation methods as transliteration, intra-text annotation, supplement, interpretation, substitution, literal translation, free translation, etc. can be used to acquire perfect English versions so that target readers are able to understand the source language culture, or rather, to know about the intangible cultural heritage of China. Look at the following two examples and observe how they are rendered into perfect English by employing the integrated strategy and the related methods.

Example 4

每年的農曆二月期間,人們都自覺聚于冼夫人廟前舉行隆重的祭祀、慶典等紀念活動。由於此間仿當年冼夫人軍隊出征儀式的裝軍巡遊最為壯觀,俗稱「裝軍」,久之相沿成俗,形成「軍坡節」。

The translated version:

In February of the lunar calendar every year, the local people usually gather on their own initiative in front of Xian Furen Temple to join in a grand ritual and commemorative activity for Xian Furen (522–602AD, a famous woman general and heroine). During this event, a big parade takes place. The most spectacular is that participants are attired as Xian Furen's army moving toward the frontline, popularly known as "Zhuangjun", which means that participants disguise themselves as soldiers for fun. The event has continued for generations as a tradition and is known as "Junpo Festival".

What should be noted here in Example 4 is the translation of 冼夫人 as a culture-specific item which must not be rendered as Madan Xian because 夫人 was the title bestowed by the Emperor of the Sui Dynasty (581~681AD) upon the lady who had made great contributions to the country. Hence it is transliterated with Chinese Pinyin into Xian Furen plus intra-text annotation.

Example 5

粵劇是中國最年輕的「老」歌劇,已成為中國文化景觀中的璀璨明珠。粵劇,又稱「廣東劇」,起源於佛山,是廣東省的一種傳統戲曲,用廣東方言演唱。流行於珠江三角洲、粵西、香港、澳門和廣西東南部。它也偶爾在海外粵語華人社區演出。它的起源可以追溯到明朝嘉靖年間。粵劇是在益陽戲、昆劇、漢劇、徽劇、秦腔等劇種的影響下發展起來的。它吸收了每一部歌劇的優點,形成了自己的風格。它既繼承了傳統戲曲文化,又具有濃郁的嶺南文化特色。

The translated version 1:

As the youngest "old" opera in China, Yueju Opera becomes a fixture in China's cultural landscape. Yueju opera, also known as "Cantonese Opera", originated in Foshan, is a traditional opera in Guangdong Province, which is sung in the Guangdong dialect. It is popular in the Pearl River Delta, western Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao, and the southeast of Guangxi. It is also performed occasionally in overseas Cantonese Chinese communities. Its origin can be traced back to the Jiajing period of the Ming dynasty. Guangdong opera was developed under the influence of Yiyang Opera, Kun Opera, Han Opera, Hui Opera, Qin Opera and other operas. It takes the advantage of each opera and forms its own style. It not only inherits from the traditional opera culture but also has the strong cultural characteristics of the Lingnan Regions.

The Translated version 2:

As the youngest "old" opera in China, Yueju Opera becomes a shining pearl of the Chinese cultural landscape. Yueju Opera, also known as "Guangdong Opera", originated in Foshan, and is a traditional one sung in the Guangdong dialect. It is popular in the Pearl River Delta, western Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macao, and southeastern Guangxi Province. It is also performed occasionally in overseas Chinese communities. Its origin dates back to the Jiajing period of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Yueju Opera develops under the influence of some other Chinese traditional operas from which it learns and inherits, and as a result, has formed its own style with the strong cultural features of the Lingnan Region, which covers Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Hong Kong and Macao.

Compared version 2 with version 1, one may find the former is far clearer, more concise and more coherent both in form and in meaning. That is to say, in version 2 words and phrases are accurately used, redundancy and ambiguity are avoided, and contextual and cultural default is properly compensated. Therefore, it is more readable and more oriented to target readers.

What should be noted here is that"粤劇"is rendered as Yueju Opera or Guangdong Opera in the form of Chinese Pinyin plus a general word instead of Cantonese Opera. In fact, Cantonese Opera is not in conformity with the regulations stipulated in the official document issued by the four Chinese government organs concerned in September, 1978[①]. For instance, "京劇"is officially translated into Beijing Opera rather than Peking Opera, even though the latter is still used by some English speakers.

Besides, the Lingnan Region can be regarded as a culture-specific item and there is cultural default that should be compensated by using a non-restrictive attributive clause.

7 Conclusion

This paper explores the translation principles and the integrated strategy applied to translating texts of ICH, including titles, sentences, and short passages. In translation studies, alienation and adaptation are usually discussed and explored in a separate and conflicting way. According to our exploration, no single strategy like alienation or adaptation can meet the needs of translating ICH introductory texts into English, but they can be integrated with the compensation of contextual and cultural default as an effective strategy for translating culture-specific items and other cultural concepts in the texts with regard to ICH. The perfect English versions have

demonstrated that it is feasible and practical. Along with the application of the integrated strategy, such methods as transliteration, transliteration plus literal translation, transliteration plus annotation, addition or supplement, interpretation, condensation, substitution, etc., are properly utilized for the translation of the Chinese texts of ICH. Thanks to the integrated strategy and the integrated application of the translation methods with the guidance of the principles of two types of closeness and the five Cs, the target text (the English version) shows that the cultural elements and features of the source text remain a lot unchanged; on the other, it conforms to target readers' way of thinking and satisfies their demand for knowing and appreciating the Chinese culture, thus achieving the aim at cross-cultural communication.

As is discussed above, ICH covers almost all types of national history, traditions and culture. As a result, it is out of the question to have everything involved in this paper, so only a few striking examples are selected from the Chinese texts introducing ICH of Guangdong and Hainan to explore, for the sake of drawing more attention to the translation studies of Chinese culture.

Notes:

① "The proper names of Chinese people and places, in principle, should be transliterated with Chinese Pinyin, and the general Chinese words such as provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities, rivers, lakes and seas, etc. can be translated into a foreign language" stipulated in Term Three of the Appendix *Regulations Concerning the Use of Chinese Pinyin as Roman Alphabet Spelling for the Proper Names of Chinese People and Places*, the attachment of the Chinese government document *Report on the Unified Standards for the Use of Chinese Pinyin as Roman Alphabet Spelling for Chinese Names and Place Names.* The document was officially issued by the Chinese Character Reform Commission, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Administration of Surveying and Mapping, and the China Geographical Names Commission in September 1978.

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C-E Translation of Cantonese Culturally Loaded Words from a Perspective of Eco-Translatology

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Abstract: According to eco-translatology, a translator, the focus and crucial part in a translation eco-translation chain, should adapt fully to the translation environment, which contains a series of elements including languages, societies, cultures, economy, communication and so on. Moreover, the translator will make a proper choice in constructing a translation in the target language. In the above-mentioned process of adaption and choice, eco-translatology claims that linguistics, communication and culture are the three dimensions which the translator is expected to consider about. In addition, this article describes the current existing situation and eco-translation environment and, then makes a tentative translation of some Cantonese culturally loaded words from the perspective of eco-translatology and of interpreting translators' responsibilities. The article claims that only if achieving the three dimensions of linguistics, communication and culture, the translator can provide the best translation version. Hopefully, the translation study based on eco-translatology will provide academic support for traditional Chinese cultural communication.

Keywords: Eco-Translatology; Cantonese culturally loaded words; translator; choice; adaption

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生態翻譯學視域下的粵語文化負載詞英譯

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摘　要:生態翻譯學強調譯者在翻譯過程中的「中心」地位,認為譯者需要適應生態翻譯環境,進而在目標語中選擇譯文。翻譯生態環境不單純指的是語言環境,更包括了社會、文化、經濟、交際等各方面的來源語言世界和目標語世界。生態翻譯學的翻譯原則是一種集多維度的選擇性與適應性選擇於一體的方法,即,語言維、交際維、文化維(簡稱「三維」)轉化。立足於當今國際大環境和國家相關方針政策,本文基於生態翻譯學的視角描述了粵語文化負載詞的生存狀況和翻譯生態環境,並選取了典型的粵語文化負載詞為實例,闡釋如何從三維轉換的角度進行英譯和踐行譯者的責任,指出譯者只有做到「三維轉換」才能達成最高程度的整合適應選擇度,進而得到最佳的譯文;期冀基於生態學視域的英譯研究能為傳播中國傳統文化提供學術支撐。

關鍵詞:生態翻譯學;粵語文化負載詞;譯者;選擇;適應

基金專案:廣東省教育廳 2022 年度高校認定類專案「新文科背景下粵港澳大灣區應急語言服務人才協同培養模式研究」(專案編號:2022WTSCX146);2022 年度中國外文書局翻譯院國際傳播與翻譯人才評價國際化研究課題「應用型翻譯人才培養模式創新研究」(專案批准號:FYYJ013)

一、引言

文化自信是中國在世界軟實力競爭中的基石之一,也是中國為建設和平安定的世界格局的信心來源之一;新冠疫情以來,中國力量、中國文化再次吸引了全世界的目光。新時代顯現出的這些特徵共同構成了譯者從事翻譯活動時的生態翻譯環境。作為翻譯活動的主體,譯者如何在該生態翻譯環境中適應和選擇、充分意識並展現自身的譯者責任,同時擔當踐行文化自信的主體角色,關乎到能否構建一個健康和諧的翻譯生態鏈,進而助力中國展現大國文化風采與自信,並讓中國文化成為和平交流溝通的媒介。粵語文化負載詞蘊育于中國傳統文化,有效的粵語文化負載詞英譯有益於促進中西文化交流;然而對於其學術研究並不全面和深入,首先這表現在和粵語文化負載詞英譯相關的學術文章數量不多,其次其英譯策略缺乏系統的理論支撐,多從歸化異化角度提出翻譯策略,並沒有系統的理論基礎。本文以生態翻譯學為理論基礎,考察了目前粵語文化負載詞的生存狀況、翻譯生態環境,並從生態翻譯學的角度提出可行的英譯策略,指出譯者應該如何踐行譯者責任,促使譯文與生態系統和諧統一。

二、粵語文化負載詞生存狀況及翻譯生態環境

(一)粵語文化負載詞的生存狀況

1980 年,許國璋先生發表了 *Culturally loaded words and English language teaching* 一文,提出了

culturally loaded words(文化負載詞)的概念,也給中國外語界拉開了詞語文化差異研究的序幕;該文的觀點和視角具有里程碑的歷史意義,為後人在翻譯、跨文化交際等相關領域奠定了理論基礎。文化負載詞是具有隱藏文化含義的詞語,是中國文化的重要組成部分;粵文化擁有源遠流長的歷史、也是中國傳統文化重要的組成部分。作為粵文化的典型代表和漢語的重要方言,粵語對漢語普通話和英語均有較為明顯的植入影響,例如「美女」一詞已成為當下普通話中頗受歡迎的社交稱謂語,其形成深受粵文化中「靚女」一詞作為社交稱謂語的影響;又如英文中大量的、原本屬於對應空缺的詞彙,「dim sum」、「wonton」、「ketchup」、「bok choy」、「chow mein」等等亦早已成為英語中的一部分,豐富了英文詞彙量。同時,粵文化對於《粵港澳大灣區發展規劃綱要》的實施和推進也有其特殊作用,特別是「建設宜居宜業宜遊的優質生活圈」和「共建人文灣區」,粵港澳三地文化同根同源,保護和弘揚粵文化不僅是增進三地民眾文化認同之舉,更是增強中國文化凝聚力的表現,是中國在世界多元文化競爭中的一抹亮色。本文所錨定的粵語文化負載詞是指粵文化中能直接或間接表達粵語文化的詞語,比如,「艇仔粥」、「鑊耳屋」、「灰塑」、「河南」、「沙灣飄色」等等,它們廣泛地存在粵文化的產品、實踐、團體、人物、意識形態等不同維度之中,更密切地融入到了人們的衣食住行中,傳遞了濃郁的粵文化色彩。隨著中國人民文化自信的不斷增強,粵語文化負載詞更是吸引了學者們的目光;以粵語文化負載詞「鑊耳屋」為例,根據知網統計,2008-2011 年間,僅兩篇相關文獻;而 2017-2022 年間,以鑊耳屋為主題的相關學術文獻累計 16 篇,其中僅 2022 年一年共計 7 篇相關學術文獻。

(二)粵語文化負載詞的翻譯生態環境

生態翻譯學將原文、譯者和譯文視為翻譯生態環境。以下圖 1 所示,虛線框內即為翻譯生態環境。

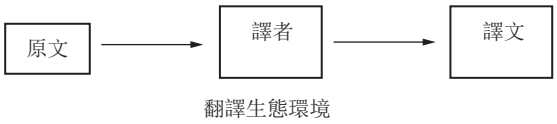

圖 1　翻譯生態環境

同時,原文、譯者和譯文三者背後所衍生的語言、文化、交際、社會、讀者、委託者、評論者等等均可被納入翻譯生態環境。本文在考察粵語文化負載詞的翻譯生態環境時,將譯者、讀者、委託者、評論者等歸為主觀翻譯生態環境,將原文、譯文、社會、交際、語言等歸為客觀翻譯生態環境。

首先,主觀生態翻譯環境。除了上文中所陳述的國際大環境的嬗變、國家方針政策的支持以外,廣州地方政府歷來十分注重廣州的文化建設工作。早在 2012 年,前任市長陳建華在十四屆人大一次會議舉行的市長記者招待會上談及關於廣州的三個夢想,第一個夢想即為爭創廣州歷史文化名城的新輝煌;溫國輝市長在 2018 年市十五屆人大三次會議荔灣區代表團分組會議中指出「推動文化產業發展和歷史文化保護」;2015 年,廣州市政府正式對廣州民俗博物館進行建設,並於 2017 年年底竣工;荔灣區旅遊推廣中心曾向廣大市民推出「西關美食譯名大徵集」的活動,為「艇仔粥」、「娥姐粉果」、「竹升面」、「幹蒸」、「腸粉」等特色廣州小吃和「蓮香樓」、「陶陶居」等老字型大小茶樓徵集譯名,據相關負責人介紹,過去飲茶點心的英文名多數由酒樓隨便翻譯,多數用拼音直譯,這樣就算服務員手腳並用,也很難向非母語顧客解釋清楚地道廣州小吃到底是什麼。此外,隨著互聯網和新媒體的發展,許多文化愛好者也通過視頻號和抖音等方式積極傳播粵文化,對粵文化的保護和傳承也起到了積極的促進作用。

其次,客觀生態翻譯環境。粵語文化負載詞的客觀生態翻譯環境可用利弊共存來形容。有利於其生存和發展的要素包括後疫情時代世界格局轉變,中國文化的厚重與包容,國家政策對大灣區發展的促進,廣東

地區是改革開放的前沿陣地更是對外進行經濟、文化、科技交流的視窗,各級政府、機構、學術團體等對粵文化的保護、研究和資助等等。然而不利於其生存和發展的生態翻譯環境則包括目前粵文化中的諸多項目均為非物質文化遺產,「非遺」並不是一種「榮耀」,更是一種對瀕臨滅絕的「警示」和記錄留住的「責任」;同時,諸多粵語文化負載詞英譯不統一,以廣州美食和廣州景點中的文化負載詞為例:首先,廣州小吃「娥姐粉果」。相傳在明代,廣州某官僚雇傭的娥姐把曬乾的大米飯磨成粉,用開水和麵做皮,以炒熟的豬肉、蝦、冬菇、竹筍末做餡料,包好上蒸籠蒸熟,稱為粉果。目前「娥姐粉果」至少有三種不同的譯法:「Ejie Fenguo」、「Lady E's Dim Sum」、「Steamed Dumplings with Pork, Mushroom and Bamboo Shoots」。又如家喻戶曉的「艇仔粥」,在廣州市人民政府官網的英文版中其譯文為 Sampan Porridge,百度百科上英文為 Boat son porridge,其他五花八門的譯文,如 Assorted seafood congee with peanuts,Tingzai porridge,Mixed seafood congee 等來自各種渠道,包括酒樓餐廳的功能表和英語學習網站等等。其次,廣州景點名稱的英譯。白雲山景區的摩星嶺是白雲山的最高峰,是白雲山三十多座山峰之首,得名于康熙修《廣東志》描繪白雲山圖時,在其卷首稱此山峰為「摩星嶺」。然而在白雲山景區的官方網站英文版中,出現了三種不同的英譯:Moxingling, Moxing Ridge, Moxing Summit。又如又如「陳家祠」的英譯也不盡相同。陳家祠地鐵站和公交站的英譯為 Chan Clan Academy, 景點指示牌的英譯則為 Chen's Lineage Hall, 導遊地圖上的英譯又變成了 The Chen Clan's Academy, 網路上的英譯又包括 Ancestral Temple of the Chen Family, Chan Clan Temple 等。不同的譯文反映了不同的譯法,不同的譯法根植于不同的翻譯策略,而不同的英譯策略反映了譯者所意識到的和所踐行的譯者責任不盡相同。譯文無法呈現文化負載詞的信息量,這無疑對粵文化的保護和對外交流毫無裨益,只有建立統一、合理、標準的翻譯規範,粵文化在翻譯的過程中才能煥發生命、為跨文化交流做出貢獻,並為不斷湧現出的、由新興文化孵化的新民俗文化提供翻譯規範參照。

三、粵語文化負載詞的譯者責任

譯者責任是生態翻譯學中的重要倫理原則之一,是指「譯者要在翻譯過程中、在翻譯行為中以及在整個翻譯活動中的『全責』理念,即由譯者具體負責統籌協調『翻譯群落』(人)、『翻譯環境』(境)、『翻譯文本』(本)三者之間的相互關係,從而通過『譯者責任』來體現『人、境、本』關聯互動、平衡和諧的翻譯生態整體觀。」(嶽中生,2018)由此可見,生態翻譯學和傳統的譯學觀念不一樣,將研究重心從文本轉移至譯者,並強調譯者在整個生態翻譯鏈中的重要責任,因為「只有譯者或通過譯者,才能切實踐行『生態整體主義』;只有譯者或通過譯者,才能真正彰顯生態理性。」(嶽中生,2018)下文立足于生態翻譯學視域,分別從譯者翻譯的過程(適應和選擇)和譯者翻譯的策略(三維轉換)兩個方面闡述粵語文化負載詞的英譯。

(一) 譯者的「適應和選擇」

胡庚申(2008)從生態翻譯學的視域將翻譯的本質定義為「一個譯者適應于譯者選擇的不斷交替迴圈的過程」。「適應」意為譯者對翻譯生態環境的適應,「選擇」是譯者以翻譯生態環境適應者的「身份」對譯文進行的選擇。具體而言,翻譯過程可分為兩個階段:第一階段,譯者需要首先瞭解並適應翻譯生態環境,同時生態翻譯環境也會對譯者進行選擇;第二階段,在譯者適應了翻譯生態環境以後,進而選擇譯文並產生了最終的譯文。以上過程映射到粵語文化負載詞的英譯過程如圖 2 所示。

在翻譯粵語文化負載詞的過程中,譯者在第一階段必須適應翻譯生態環境。這表現為譯者必須充分意識到以粵語文化負載詞為典型要件,對其生存狀況、歷史含義、英譯目的等等有全面且深刻的認識。例如,

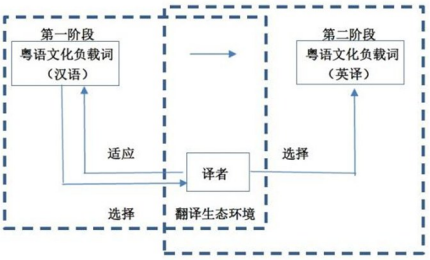

圖 2　譯者對粵語文化負載詞的「選擇與適應」

以「鑊耳屋」為例，譯者在適應原文的過程中需至少掌握以下要素：鑊耳屋是粵文化中傳統民居的代表，「鑊」在中國古代指一種大鐵鍋。「鑊耳」是指房頂牆上豎立起來的像鑊耳一樣的擋風牆，從側面看像一個凸字。鑊耳屋中的「鑊耳」部分往往用灰塑封固，工藝難度大、造價高。在古代，僅功成名就的鄉紳才有實力居住鑊耳屋，「鑊耳」也象徵了官帽的兩隻耳朵。目前許多傳統的鑊耳屋群已遭到自然災害破壞或是因保護不周而遭到拆除，不少學者已發出呼籲制定政策保護這些粵文化中的建築代表。同時，譯者也受到原文的選擇和制約。在第二階段，譯者成為典型要件，對譯文進行選擇。這表現為譯者代表翻譯生態環境選擇譯文，做出「整合適應選擇度」的選擇，尋求一個最佳翻譯。在生態翻譯學的視域下，只有「整合適應選擇度」最高的譯文才是最佳的譯文，因為只有「整合適應選擇度」最高的譯文才能經受得住翻譯生態環境的考驗，最終「生存」甚至「長存」下來，至此，整個翻譯生態鏈的狀態達成平衡。仍以上文中的「鑊耳屋」為例。目前對「鑊耳屋」的英譯普遍採用 Wok Ear Room；對此英譯可以肯定的是該譯文反映了譯者在第二階段裡僅在某種程度上適應並滿足了語言和原文的翻譯生態環境，這表現為譯者在英譯時強調了「鑊耳」一詞的語義，且 Wok Ear 和粵語中「鑊耳」一詞發音十分接近。然而，Wok Ear Room 這一英譯僅僅採用了音譯法，只做到了最大程度上保留了發音上的相似性，並未適應並滿足翻譯生態環境中其他重要的要素，如文化、交際、社會、讀者、委託者等，因此沒有做到「整合適應選擇度」最高，使得 Wok Ear Room 這一英譯無法將其文化功能、交際功能發揮到最高；許多英文讀者第一次聽到 Wok Ear Room 時甚至很難進行該詞和所指建築意象上的關聯、更無法理解鑊耳屋的歷史含義。因此，Wok Ear Room 並不是一個「整合適應選擇度」最高的譯文。綜上所述，鑒於譯者在第一階段和第二階段的適應和選擇，筆者建議將「鑊耳屋」英譯為 Ancient Cantonese Building of Stir-frying Wok Ear Style，綜合文化、社會、交際等因素，力求盡最大可能滿足最高的「整合適應選擇度」。

（二）譯者的「三維轉換」

生態翻譯學認為：「譯者在翻譯過程中只有真正做到『多維』地適應特定的翻譯生態環境和至少『三維』（語言維、文化維、交際維）的選擇轉換，才有可能產生恰當的譯文。」（劉豔芳，2009）所謂「語言維的適應性選擇轉換」是指譯者從不同方面、不同層次對語言形式進行的適應性選擇轉換；「文化維的適應性選擇轉換」是指譯者在翻譯過程中不僅要進行源語與譯語之間的轉換，還要關注文化差異，儘量清除文化交流上的障礙，最終達到兩種語言文化內涵的傳遞。文化維的適應性轉換要求譯者對源語文化中的特色語言等進行相對應的處理，避免那些容易引起讀者產生誤解或使讀者用譯語文化的視角曲解原文想要傳遞的文化內涵的表達。「交際維的適應性選擇轉換」是指譯者在翻譯過程中需要關注兩種語言的交際意圖，交際維的適應性轉換要求譯者的翻譯要體現原文的交際意圖（李帥，2015）。從某種意義而言，在英譯粵語文化負載詞的過程中，譯者只有做到「三維轉換」才能達成最高程度的「整合適應選擇度」，進而得到最佳譯文並使得整個翻譯生態鏈達到平衡。

首先,語言維的適應性選擇轉換。在英譯粵語文化負載詞時,譯者應把握英漢兩種語言的差異和各自的語言特點,在譯文中體現目標語的語言特徵。如上文中提到的 Wok Ear Room,該英譯只是簡單地尋求從漢語到英語字到字的形式對等,然而,漢語和英語本身就屬於兩種不同的語言符號,漢字屬於表意文字,而英語則屬於表音文字,因此,Wok Ear Room 是譯者沒有恰當把握語言維的適應性選擇轉換的產物。又如廣州道路名「河南路」,目前對應的英譯為 South Pearl River Road。筆者認為這是一個從語言維角度而言,適應性選擇轉換較成功的譯文。譯者在英譯過程中,適應了原文中「河」一字所指的生態翻譯環境,在轉換成英文時跳脫了字面對等,並從語言維的角度在譯文中做出了適度的補償,準確傳遞了原文中「河」字所含的語義所指。

其次,文化維的適應性選擇轉換。「文化是翻譯生態的主要規範環境,翻譯要在文化中發展,就會受到文化環境中多種生態因素的影響」。(許建忠,2009)對於粵語文化負載詞而言,和其他詞語相比,文化負載資訊本身就是其最重要的特徵,因此,譯者必須注重文化維的適應性選擇轉換。以粵語文化負載詞「灰塑」一詞為例,目前其英譯有 clay figure, plaster sculpture, clay sculpture, plaster moldings。然而這些譯文並沒有做到文化維的選擇性適應轉化,無法在譯文中再現其文化負載資訊。在英譯「灰塑」一詞之前,譯者必須適應其翻譯生態環境,瞭解「灰塑」是粵文化中的民間傳統美術,國家級非物質文化遺產;它是嶺南地區的一種傳統建築裝飾工藝;「灰塑」中的「灰」指三種原料:一是「草筋灰」,由幹稻草和石灰膏混合;二是「紙筋灰」,由玉扣紙和石灰油混合;三是「色灰」,由製作好的紙筋灰摻入顏料;以上三種原料加紅糖和糯米攪拌後,摻入鐵線、沙子和鐵釘,即為「灰塑」的材料。譯者在選擇譯文時,必須從文化維轉換出發,可以考慮採用音譯、意以加注釋的方式將其譯為 Traditional Cantonese Architectural Decoration of Hui Molding (*Hui* means a comprehensive material which contains lime, dry haulm, hand-made paper, glutinous rice power, brown sugar, sand, iron wire, nail and so on.)。對於粵語文化負載詞的英譯,譯者更應該意識到自己的譯者責任,重視文化維的適應與轉換;否則,這就是譯者的一種「瀆職」表現。

最後,交際維的適應性選擇轉換。由於漢英兩種語言承載的文化又巨大差異,東西方人們的意識型態、社會制度、思維習慣和宗教文化等也有很大的不同,因此有時譯文讀者的文化系統或認知結構中找不到與源語文化相同的表達,這就給跨文化交際造成了很大的障礙。(張麗紅、劉祥清,2014)因此,譯者在英譯粵語文化負載詞時應關注語言形式的適應性轉換的同時,也應關注漢、英兩種語言文化內涵的闡釋和交際意圖的傳遞,並運用靈活多樣的翻譯方法去適應原文的交際意圖、選擇符合譯語表達和交際的譯文。「如果將翻譯本身作為目的,則翻譯就是一個整體的交際過程,即原來的單語交際過程擴展為包含譯語接收者在內的雙語交際過程。在這一過程中存在著能夠在沒有任何額外補充(注釋、釋義等)的情況下使人洞察原文的認知意義、語言形式和交際功能(張杏玲,2018)。以粵語文化負載詞「沙灣飄色」為例,它是粵文化中傳統的民俗活動,距今已有 100 多年的歷史。「沙灣」指廣東沙灣鎮;據說清朝咸豐年間,廣東各地的流浪藝人會在酬神廟會期間,打扮成戲曲中婦孺皆知的人物造型,展現神話和歷史典故等,進行巡遊表演。(盛海輝,2008)巡遊隊伍會呈現出立體的舞臺,凌空而起的人物造型為「飄」,浩蕩的巡遊隊被視為一個有機的整體,稱為「飄色」。「沙灣飄色」一詞體現了傳統的中國人的思維方式特點,即擅長形象思維,「在思維時重視直覺、體驗、類比和象徵,善於把不同的東西結合在一起,然後進行整體性思維。這種思維方式與西方重視理性和邏輯的思維方式有明顯區別。」(秦曉華,2016)直覺體驗源自人體的五官感受,尤其是視覺和聽覺。「飄色」一詞就是以直覺體驗的命名表現。目前,「沙灣飄色」的英譯之一為 Sha Wan Floating Colors,從交際維的適應性選擇轉換來看,該譯文沒有考慮到漢英兩種語言的思維方式差異,如果不作必要的額外補充注釋和釋義,譯文必定為跨文化交際帶來阻礙。筆者建議考慮到英語思維方式的特點,並兼顧文化維和語言維

的適應性選擇轉換,可將其英譯為 Historical Action Figures Parade of Sha Wan。

四、結語

生態翻譯學在現有譯學理論研究的局限性與缺失性的大背景下,借助中國古代生態智慧靈感、相關領域學科以及譯學界生態取向的發展應運而生,將它運用于粵語文化負載詞的英譯彰顯了東方生態智慧和西方生態哲學的完美結合,也彰顯了中國作為歷史文化悠久的文明古國生生不息的力量;同時,依託粵港澳大灣區經濟發展的背景,生態翻譯學視域下的粵語文化負載詞的英譯勢必能為加強人文交流、促進文化繁榮發展、推進區域旅遊發展提供可參考的理論範式。譯者在踐行文化負載詞的英譯時,應意識到譯者責任,適應原文的生態翻譯環境,對粵語文化負載詞的英譯從「三維轉換」的角度進行選擇,進而使得譯文在整個生態翻譯環境中「適者生存」,也使得整個生態翻譯鏈達到平衡。

注釋

① 許國璋: *Cultural loaded words and English language teaching*,《現代外語》,1980 年第 4 期。

② 嶽中生著:《生態翻譯學理論應用研究》,北京:水利水電出版社 2018 年版。

③ 胡庚申:《生態翻譯解讀》,《中國翻譯》2008 年第 6 期,頁 11-15。

④ 劉艷芳:從翻譯適應選擇論看新聞報道中隱喻習語的翻譯,《上海翻譯》,2009 年第 4 期。

⑤ 許建忠著:《翻譯生態學》,北京: 中國三峽出版社, 2009 年版,頁 42。

⑥ 秦曉華:《南海諸島礁名稱的中國傳統文化內涵及其意義》,《南海學刊》,2016 年第 2 期。

⑦ 張麗紅,劉祥清:《生態翻譯論對外宣翻譯的啟示》,《中國科技翻譯》,2014 年第 2 期。

⑧ 張杏玲著:《生態翻譯學視域下彝族文化的外宣翻譯研究》,北京:中國社會科學出版社 2018 年版,頁 119.

⑨ 李帥:《生態翻譯學指導下的〈飲冰室文集點校〉(節選)翻譯報告,北京交通大學 2015 年碩士學位論文。

⑩ 盛海輝:《沙灣飄色》,《中國老區建設》,2008 年第 6 期

⑪ 中國知網: https: //kns. cnki. net/kns8/defaultresult/index

⑫ http: //www. baiyundshan. com. cn/bysen/introduction/list_tt. shtml

⑬ http: //www. gz. gov. cn/guangzhouinternational/visitors/whattodine/snacks/

⑭ CHEN Dongyan & TANG Guoping. (2021). The C-E translation of Guangxi ethnomedicine works from the perspective of eco-translatology: Take the selected edition of Zhuang medicine as an example. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(3), 190-196.

⑮ YU Yesheng. (2021). A study of Authur Waley's *The Nine Songs* from the perspective of the translator's subjectivity. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(2), 39-49.

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[Pedagogy]

Exploration of Teaching Practice on the Integration of the Chinese Discourse into Foreign Literature Curriculum Against the Background of Integration of Ideology and Politics into Courses

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Abstract: As one of the core foreign language courses in colleges and universities, the foreign literature curriculum serves as an important window into foreign cultures that foreign language learners need to understand and absorb. Learning and appreciating foreign literature classics is helpful for foreign language learners to enhance their ability in language application, cultivation of humanistic quality and inter-culture communication ability. As foreign literature curriculum involves such content as foreign social system, ideological system, religious beliefs and others, it is of significance to educate students to adhere to Chinese people's own belief, cultivating patriotism and establish correct values when two cultures meet. It is the teachers' job to seek and highlight the key points in ideological and political education in foreign literature teaching, especially when the campaign for integration of ideology and politics into courses is underway. Guided by Xi Jinping thought on socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era. Teachers should implant the Chinese discourse into foreign literature curriculum, teaching students to be virtuous and kind-hearted. This paper intends to illustrate approaches in teaching practices to integrate the Chinese discourse in the new era into foreign literature curriculum, giving a deep thought to the question of how to cultivate men.

Keywords: Foreign literature; integration of ideology and politics into courses; new era; Chinese discourse

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課程思政背景下在外國文學課程中植入「中國話語」的教學實踐探索

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摘　要:外國文學課程作為高校外語類專業核心課程之一是外語學習者瞭解和吸收外來文化的重要視窗,學習和鑒賞外國文學經典有利於提高學生的外語應用能力、人文素養以及跨文化交際的能力。由於外國文學課程涉及國外的社會制度、思想體系、宗教信仰等諸多方面內容,在中西文化碰撞的過程中,教育學生堅守中國信仰,厚植家國情懷,樹立正確的價值觀意義重大。在當前課程思政背景下,教師應當在外國文學課程中積極探索課程思政的著力點,以習近平新時代中國特色社會主義思想為指導,在教學中適時植入「中國話語」,積極引導學生崇德向善。本文就如何在外國文學課程中植入新時代「中國話語」的教學實踐策略進行了探討,對高校外語教育「如何培養人」這個問題進行了深入思考。

關鍵詞:外國文學;課程思政;新時代;中國話語

引言

習近平總書記在全國高校思想政治工作會議和全國教育大會上著重強調了「課程思政」的重要性,為高校人才培養指明了方向,明確了路徑。課程思政在本質上是一場教育理念的深度變革,目的在於落實立德樹人的根本任務,提倡將專業教育與思想政治教育進行有機融合。教育部在《高等學校課程思政建設指導綱要》中明確指出,所有專業課程必須與思政課程同向而行,形成協同效應,也就是說課程思政是高校教育工作者需要共同承擔的育人使命和嚴肅的政治任務。外國文學課程作為高校外語類專業核心課程之一,是中外思想、文化、價值觀交流的前沿陣地,外語教師既要關注學生在語言技能、專業知識、人文素養方面的成長,也要重視學生在意識形態方面的問題,築牢思想防線,警惕外來文化的滲透和入侵,要運用中國智慧,使用「中國話語」指導學生開展外國語言文學的學習,要教育學生堅守中國立場,拿出中國態度對待一切人類文明優秀成果,以「四個自信、四個意識、兩個維護」武裝頭腦,形成高度的思想自覺和文化自信。

一、外國文學課程植入新時代「中國話語」的必要性

2018 年出版的《外國語言文學類教學品質國家標準》明確指出,「外語類專業學生應具有正確的世界觀、人生觀和價值觀,良好的道德品質,中國情懷和國際視野,社會責任感,人文與科學素養,合作精神,創新精神以及學科基本素養」。[①]塑造學生的價值觀是對新時代高校外語教育工作者提出的新要求,外語教師既要會教書,還要肩負起崇高的育人使命,在教學實踐中將立德樹人這一根本任務貫徹落實好。「育人」是為國育人,為黨育人,為中華民族的偉大復興育人,外語教育工作者要攜手共同推動課程思政建設,加強對大

學生的思想政治教育。外國文學作為西方文化和意識形態的重要輸出視窗,必然會對學生的思想產生潛移默化的影響,我們要教育學生在欣賞學習外來文化的同時,也要抱有「去粗取精,去偽存真」的態度,切忌「拿來主義」,應當結合本國的黨情、國情、世情、人情對他國文化進行吸收和剔除。「堅定中國特色社會主義道路自信、理論自信、制度自信、文化自信」,這是習近平總書記對我們的諄諄教導,外語教師要在課堂教學中用「中國話語」指導學生的思想,用黨和國家的創新理論武裝學生頭腦,對學生開展愛國主義教育、傳統文化教育、社會主義核心價值觀教育,努力將其培養成為兼具家國情懷、國際視野、品德高尚的優秀人才,用實際行動回答「如何培養人」的問題。

二、外國文學課程思政存在的問題

在習近平新時代中國特色社會主義思想的指引下,我們積極推進外國文學課程思政建設,著力提高人才培養品質。在這幾年來的實踐過程中我們認真梳理了教學過程中存在的問題,以便老師們在日後的教學工作中能夠引起重視,對照自身的教學行為進行反思和改進。

(一) 重語言知識輕人文關懷

過去幾年,外國文學課程重教學,輕教育,重工具性,弱人文性的現象比較普遍。人文性是外國文學課程的靈魂,離開了人文性,外國文學課程也將失去光澤和活生命力。外國文學課程蘊含豐富的人文元素,如勇敢、善良、無私、團結、互助、奉獻等,我們應當讚美這些高貴的人文精神,也應當批判如貪婪、自私、享樂、拜金、虛無等錯誤思想。用健康的人文精神滋養學生的心靈,關懷學生的成長成才,豐富學生的精神世界,將學生培養成為有理想、有信仰、有追求、有情操的人,使外國文學成為學生人文精神引領的高地是外語教師的職責所在。

(二) 課程思政缺乏整體的規劃和設計

從課程思政實施之初至今,老師們也曾經歷了一段迷惘期和陣痛期。首先,他們對思政內容到底該融什麼、何時融、怎麼融等問題感到十分困惑, 教學內容和教學進度缺乏協調和統一,大家各自按照自己的想法進行設計和教學,教學隨意性較大。其次,不少老師對課程思政的內涵理解不夠透徹,無法在高度、深度和廣度上給予學生指引,再加上不積極研究、主動學習,最終使課程思政流於形式。第三,有些老師在授課時習慣一切以自己為中心,將自己認為有用的思政內容一股腦兒地灌輸給學生,完全沒有考慮到學生的學習需求,導致學生學習興趣降低,教學效果不甚理想。

(三) 課程思政育人模式單一

通過觀察,我們發現在教學過程中有些教師沒有將專業課內容與課程思政進行深度融合,專業課教學和課程思政處於相互割裂的「兩張皮」現象非常嚴重。而且課程思政教學模式過於簡單化、機械化、教條化,有些教師只會照本宣科,生搬硬套一些思想政治理論,對學生進行「大而空」的說教,師生之間缺乏有效的互動,課堂氣氛變得十分沉悶。實際上,課程思政既可以是顯性的,也可以是隱性的,相較於顯性教育,隱性教育的效果則更好,因為隱性教育不易讓學生察覺教育目標,教師可以讓學生在生活環境或活動參與的過程中自然受到某種道德力量的感召,自覺接受某種價值觀的引領,從而形成積極樂觀的人生態度、提升人文素養。如何將專業與思政有機融合、顯性教育與隱性教育相互結合還有待深入探討。

三、在外國文學課程中植入「中國話語」的教學實踐策略

黨的十八大以來,習近平總書記在很多重要場合的講話中提及並使用「中國」二字,「中國夢」、「中國道路」、「中國理論」、「中國制度」,「中國文化」、「中國方案」等,旨在人類文明話語體系中構建厚植中國話語優勢,構建成熟的中國話語體系。「新時代意識形態『中國方案』根植於中國特色社會主義實踐沃土,是對中國特色社會主義道路、理論、制度、文化從意識形態話語這一維度進行的總體性『概括』和『表達』」,具有「統一思想、增進共識、彙聚人心、凝聚力量等重要功能」。[②]在外國文學課程中植入「中國話語」實質上是引導學生樹立家國意識和文化自信,培育和踐行社會主義價值觀。

(一) 深入挖掘外國文學課程思政元素,重構課程思政知識體系

課程思政最終是以培養人、塑造人為落腳點,所以教師首先要考慮的是要把學生培養成為一個怎樣的人以及為誰培養人這一根本問題,再深入思考怎樣培養人。在人才培養問題上,學校教育要始終以黨和國家的發展需要、社會需求為導向,「一個由社會主義高等學校培養出來的優秀的外語人,他的內核必須具有中國特色」,[③]對中國共產黨和中國特色社會主義應該形成政治、思想、理論、情感認同。外國文學是異國文化「信仰和傳統」的載體,是異國精神文明發展的產物。因此,在外國文學課程教學實踐中,教師要形成意識自覺,對蘊含于外國文學中的價值觀要進行價值過濾和價值引導,應當秉承科學研究精神,在客觀分析的基礎上,結合我國的國情以及社會主義核心價值觀對其進行批判性吸收,做到「入乎其內,出乎其外」。教師要帶領學生在學習中發現,在發現中反思,在反思中成長。

外國文學課程雖然蘊藏著極其豐富的思政資源,但是分佈零散,缺乏梳理。為了能有效開展課程思政建設,教師需要打破外國文學原有的知識結構,深入挖掘課程所隱含的思政元素,從學生的成才訴求出發,找准契合人才培養目標的思政發力點,以思政為線,重構課程,使思政教育和專業教育能夠有機融合,實現知識傳授、能力培養和價值引領的同步發展。教師需要在吃透弄懂教學素材的基礎上,從文學作品中提煉出不同的主題,並按主題重組教學資源,開展教學。大學生正處於價值觀形成的關鍵階段,具有一定的可塑性,面對理想信念、倫理道德、文化信仰、人文精神等一系列人生選擇時容易遭遇迷惘和困惑,教師要緊緊圍繞與學生成長有關的主題,來教育和引導學生成人成才,在課堂教學中植入「中國話語」,以中國智慧涵育英才。比如,中國文化的最高理想是儒家的人文主義,若將儒家思想融入外國文學教學,施行「儒式」審美意識和審美能力的植入,則有利於大學生的人文精神和人文素質的培養。基於這樣的價值考慮,可以對外國文學課程所蘊藉的德育元素進行梳理、整合、歸類,構建有章可循、有據可依的外國文學課程的中國人文美育話語體系,比如從生命、生態、德行、人倫、人格等不同視角切入,將思政理念融入外國文學課程並貫徹始終。

(二) 找准外國文學課程思政教育的方式方法,增強教育實效

外國文學課程屬於文學鑒賞課,集思想性、藝術性於一體,旨在教育學生如何審美,深入理解美的真正涵義。同時在鑒賞美的過程中,能夠使學生得到潛移默化的影響,真正達到「以美感人」、「以美化人」的教育目的。教師要引導學生以理性的思維對西方話語進行批判性思考,在中西思想鬥爭和文化博弈的外國文學課堂,教師要從弘揚本民族文化的戰略高度出發,在課堂中適時引入「中國話語」,讓「中國話語」滋養學生的心靈。教育的最高境界是「於無色處見繁花,於無聲處聽驚雷」的德育境界,那麼,教師如何使富有教育意義的「中國話語」通過學生喜聞樂見的形式悄然融入學生的心靈,是一個值得深入探討的話題。

（1）嵌入式教學法

在外國文學課堂植入「中國話語」實質上就是要求教師在外國文學課堂傳播中國文化、講好中國故事。教師不僅要善於講中國故事，還要知道何時引入中國故事，捕捉課程思政的恰當時機，使「中國元素」能以最自然的方式嵌入外國文學課堂，這也是對教師教學能力和教學藝術的考驗。例如，在講到美國作家蕾切爾·卡遜的生態文學作品《寂靜的春天》時，可以從尊重自然，敬畏生命的角度出發，把中華文化所提倡的「天人合一」生態哲學思想在外國文學課堂進行宣揚和傳播，讓學生意識到萬物同源，眾生一體的生命互聯關係，讓人與自然的生命共同體思想入腦入心。在談及普希金的《假如生活欺騙了你》這首詩歌時，詩中所表達的樂觀主義人生態度也正好契合了中國古代哲學中的儒家思想，正所謂「達則兼濟天下，窮則獨善其身」（《孟子》的《盡心章句上》），當面臨人生失意的窘迫境況時，要學會超曠的胸襟來消解悲觀的情緒，積極面對人生中的艱難挫折，在憂患艱危中練就強大的內心，不斷提高個人的修養和品德，終將迎來生命中的曙光。中國古代大學士蘇東坡，一生歷經宦海沉浮，他的入世精神和出世姿態就非常值得世人學習，若以此作為生動的思政教學案例對課堂教學內容加以補充，定能使外國文學課堂更富生命力。

（2）語境遷移教學法

在外國文學課堂植入「中國話語」也要注意話語的傳承和發展的關係。由於中華文化的傳統語境已經發生了根本性的變化，只有將其移入現代語境，結合現實情況進行創造性的解讀，才能使其充分體現時代價值；只有發揮中華文化在現代社會的思想指引作用，才能使其得以不斷傳承和發展，擁有源源不斷的活力。比如英國作家狄更斯的《霧都孤兒》是狄更斯藉以宣揚他的「仁愛」思想的經典文學作品，這部作品對當時的英國社會具有重大的現實意義。無論是西方的基督教所提倡的「平等、博愛、救世」思想還是中國的儒釋道學說都將「仁愛」視為生命的最高境界，「仁愛」體現的是人類普遍的共同價值，以「仁愛」作為思政教學的發力點銜接中西文化是可取的。「仁者」在中國古代可以被詮釋為愛人者，指的是既能堅守人道又具有理性的價值判斷的人，在人際交往中能夠尊重、關愛他人；在處世態度上，亦能夠明辨是非、曲直、善惡。儒家正是以「仁」為核心思想構建了它的道德範疇體系，堪稱中華文化精髓，傳承至今，影響深遠。隨著時代的變遷，「仁愛」思想的內涵也日漸變得豐富與厚重。在現代語境中，仁者愛人的思想需要通過具體情境體現出來，誠如童強在《現代語境中的儒學發展》一文中所言，「儒家觀念的優先權本質上在於它源於它深層次上的人性洞察與現代情境的理解這兩者之間的契合」。[④]顯然，「仁愛」思想作為人類社會的崇高價值與當代中國所取得的巨大成就有著內在的緊密聯繫，它在治理國家、安定社會、團結民族、建設家庭、處理人際關係以及提升個人修養等方面給予了重要的指引作用，是現代中國培育和踐行社會主義核心價值觀的思想根基。「仁愛」思想體現為親仁善鄰，可以化解國與國之間的矛盾，人民內部的矛盾、人與人之間以及人與物之間的矛盾，它的終極意義指向是「和諧」。

綜上所述，「仁愛」思想既可以是宏闊的，也可以是微小的；既可以指向外部環境，也可以對內自省；雖然抽象，但也可以具化。「仁愛」思想是《霧都孤兒》這部作品中可以挖掘到的最積極的元素，通過對「仁愛」思想進行追根溯源，再結合現代語境對其進行深耕與拓展，將中國元素與時代元素一併注入外國文學課堂，一定能使外國文學課堂更加立體、生動、飽滿、深刻。當代大學生思想活躍，喜歡與現代社會接軌，與時代發展同步，因此，教師在思政教育方面要懂得革除陳舊，儘量滿足其求新求變的心理訴求。

（3）問題式教學法

教師在與學生共同品鑒外國文學時要有意識地通過創設問題情境的方式引導學生逐步發現問題、分析問題和解決問題，以多元、廣闊的視角對文本進行深度的學習和探討，使學生感受到「經典無盡的生命力與闡釋空間，與自身的生活、感受和思考建立血脈聯繫，在語言、美學、政治、歷史、哲學、倫理等方面把素質、精

神、品德、修養提升到更高的層次」。[5]

但是,在問題式教學法的實踐過程中我們也要考慮以下幾個方面:首先,細讀文本,從細節處發現問題,因為優秀的作家往往在細節處頗費筆墨和心思,這些細節之間的張力往往啟人深思,從中可以尋找到一些有價值的問題。其次,問題的創設要符合學生的認知規律由淺入深,層層深入,體現其層次性並使之形成體系。第三,問題的創設應該是「雙向」的,而非「單向」的,鼓勵師生之間,生生之間進行充分交流,發散思維,延伸思考,開展研討式學習。第四,問題式教學法主張教師主導,學生主體的實踐模式,教師要掌好舵,不要讓課堂討論過於散亂無序,要引導學生就核心話題進行有效討論,避免毫無無意義的空談和泛泛而談。第五,教師要明確思政教學目標,並圍繞思政教學目標精心設計問題,在問題討論的過程中適時介入,有意識地將引導學生將注意力聚焦到課程思政的要點。

我們可以菲茨傑拉德的小說《了不起的蓋茨比》作為教學案例,來探討問題式教學法在外國文學課堂中的應用。小說中作者對花園酒會場面的細緻描寫令人印象深刻。20 世紀 20 年代的美國,伴隨著自由經濟的迅猛發展,消費主義在美國盛行並逐漸成為當時主導的生活觀念,人們一味追求物質,享樂主義氾濫成災,年輕人在時代浪潮的裹挾下漸漸迷失了自己,他們縱情聲色,恣意飲酒,無節制的生活一步步讓年輕人陷入了道德的深淵。教師在講授這個經典文本的時候要善於抓住花園酒會這個敘事細節,將問題放大,教會學生透過現象看本質,能夠從花園酒會的陳設佈置、喧囂熱鬧的氛圍中嗅出潛藏其中的危險氣息。教師通過提問的形式讓學生認真思考如下問題:1. 作者為何對花園酒會進行如此詳細的描述 2. 你是否認同文中美國年輕人的消費觀念和生活模式? 3. 消費主義的盛行因何而起? 4. 美國年輕人否需要在精神上補鈣? 5. 年輕一代的道德失范、行為失准,價值真空會給個人、社會和國家帶來怎樣災難性的後果? 6. 作為新時代的年輕人應該怎樣做才能書寫無愧於時代的青春華章? 教師通過追問的方式,逐步將核心問題拋出,讓學生在批判性思考的過程中拷問靈魂,發現自我,重塑自我,堅定正確的價值取向。實踐證明,以問題為導向闡發文本的教學方法,可以讓學生通過自主研討達到自我喚醒、自我教育的目的。

(三)寓教於樂,增強外國文學課程思政的趣味性和吸引力

成功的課程思政除了挖掘和利用教育資源,創新教育教學方法以外,教師應當採取「寓教於樂」的教育理念,增強課程思政的趣味性和吸引力,讓「中國話語」以最接地氣的方式走進學生的心靈。朱振武教授在「外國文學與課程思政」學術研討會上就曾說到「思辨和思政應該在自然、自如和自在的情況下進行,應該避免呆板說教、生搬硬套甚至簡單僵化」。[6]教師要學會依託豐富的教學載體,拉近學生與課程思政的心理距離,將複雜變簡單,艱深變淺顯,枯燥變有趣,抽象變具體,讓原本高、大、上的課程思政變得可感、可知、可親。在近幾年的課程思政教學實踐中,我們也摸索出了一點經驗:

首先,在「互聯網+教育」的背景下,教師可以應用現代化教育資訊技術手段將外國文學課程思政變得有趣而生動。比如將課程思政內容製作成短小精悍的微課,利用微課活潑的形式、通俗的語言、直觀而又生動的畫面來調動學生的學習興趣,學生在接受知識的同時也完成了價值重塑,讓微課在知識傳授和價值引領之間架起一座橋樑,幫助教師實現求知與立德相統一的教學目標。但是,教師在製作微課時要把握好兩點:1. 微課內容必須具有明確的目標指向,再活潑的形式最終還是要落腳於價值傳遞。2. 找到各個思政元素之間的關聯點,串珠成線,推出微課系列,形成課程思政的體系化教育。體系化教育能讓課程思政更精准、更深入。比如,在學習外國文學課程時,我們難免會將外國文化與中國的傳統文化進行聯繫和對比,比如從飲食、習俗、服飾等,教師可以就外國文學課程中所關涉的這些文化要點進行梳理,引出中西文化差異,介紹和傳播中國傳統文化,將中國傳統文化製作成系列微課。

其次,構建第一課堂和第二課堂的思政聯動機制,實現顯性教育和隱性教育的相融通。課程思政不僅僅限於第一課堂,它還可以延伸到第二課堂。第二課堂是外國文學課程思政建設在校園環境中的完美舞臺,是工具性、人文性目標導向並舉的外國文學課程教育的重要抓手。教師要本著「知行合一」的教育思想,鼓勵學生積極參與校園活動和社會實踐,通過組織志願服務,文化交流等不同類型的活動,營造良好的課程思政學習氛圍,在輕鬆愉悅的環境中提升學生的文化修養和思想道德水準,落實習近平總書記所說的「把立德樹人融入教育教學的全過程,實現全程育人和全方位育人」的課程思政理念。同時,還要改革現有的教育教學評價體系,將學生在第二課堂的表現作為思政教育成果的重要檢驗指標,突出課程思政在教育教學中的重要性,鞏固和深化思政教育成果。

四、結語

學習和欣賞外國文學本身就是一種文化交流,學習者應當本著拓寬視野、欣賞藝術之美、吸收文化精髓的態度與之開展一場平等的對話。文化無優劣之分,每個國家都有其獨特的文化優勢,值得相互借鑒和學習,廣大教師在課程思政的育人實踐中,要以「中國話語」厚植「中國精神」,喚醒學生的家國情懷、民族意識、文化自信、責任擔當,讓每一個學生都成為中國文化的守護者、傳承者和傳播者。

注釋

① 宋紅波、陳堯著:《高校外語課程思政理念與實踐研究》,武漢:武漢大學出版社 2022 年版,頁 11。

② 陳建兵、王明:《論新時代意識形態的「中國話語」及其意義》,《北京工業大學學報(社會科學版)》2021 年版, 頁 106-113。

③ 嚴文慶著:《大學英語課程思政教學指南》,上海:華東師範大學出版社 2021 年版,頁 3。

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⑤ 羅益民:《閱讀經典與英國文學教學》,《外國文學研究》2004 年版,頁 141-146。

⑥ 王影君:《以中國話語推進外國文學課程思政——「外國文學與課程思政」學術研討會述》,《上海理工 大學學報》(社會科學版)2022 年版,頁 54-58。

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Curriculum Innovation of University Fine Arts Major Under the Strategy of "Double-Carbon": Take the Comprehensive Art Major Curriculum as an Example

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Abstract: Taking the analysis of the fine arts course in colleges and universities as a start, this paper proposes solutions to the problems like generalization, fragmentation and closure problems that are found in the course. The development of the art theory of green and low-carbon materials is taken as the carrier, and this paper expounds the basic paradigm and value orientation of comprehensive art major courses in colleges and universities, which breaks the traditional discipline barrier and puts forward the course cultural assumption of creating a multi-ecological civilization. This study expands the development horizon of art disciplines and provides valuable reference for the course setting of integrated arts majors in colleges and universities under the practice of "double carbon" strategy.

Keywords: "double-carbon" strategic; fine arts; curriculum innovation

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「雙碳」戰略下高校美術學專業的課程創新
——以綜合藝術專業課程設置為例

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摘　要:以剖析高校美術學專業課程設置為起始,對於課程設置中出現的泛化、割裂和封閉問題提出解決思路。以綠色低碳材料的藝術理論發展為載體,闡述高校綜合藝術專業課程基本範式及價值取向,打破傳統的學科壁壘,提出創建多元生態文明的學科文化設想。此研究拓寬藝術學科的發展視野,為我國踐行「雙碳」戰略決策下高校綜合藝術專業課程設置提供有價值的參考。

關鍵詞:「雙碳」戰略;美術學;課程創新

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引言

「雙碳」戰略是我國重大戰略決策,2020 年 9 月,我國提出「2030 年前實現碳達峰、2060 年前實現碳中和」的目標和願景,簡稱為「雙碳」戰略。這是我國立足於全球低碳化轉型的背景,借鑒世界發達國家推進碳中和工作的舉措與經驗,踐行綠色低碳的戰略規劃與政策,這事關中華民族永續發展和構建人類命運共同體,意味著我國將堅定地貫徹新發展理念,構建新發展格局。綜合藝術課程作為高校美術學專業的重要組成部分,其中的課程設置直接關係到藝術人才的培養。現有的課程設置中所存在的問題,同當今世界美術學專業教育及藝術發展動向明顯脫節,同國家所提出的現行重大戰略決策相割裂,既無法融入生態環境保護戰略的目標願景,也難以反映當代世界美術教育的最新動向和狀況。在「雙碳」戰略決策下,對現行高校美術學專業課程設置所存在的問題,將學校課程建設與國家重大決策背景相聯繫,吸收課程設計中先進的教育理念。在探索高校美術學專業課程設置中,以綜合藝術課程設置為具體案例,用綠色低碳的材料作為課程的實踐基礎,以人與自然和諧共存的理念構建現代課程範式,加快形成節約資源保護環境的藝術創作方式。在課程設計中分析現行課程的主要問題與成因,明確課程系統建設的前瞻性,提出設想課程設置的理論依據、策略與方法,從前沿性、整體性、可操作性三個特徵進行課程優化。本研究將課程的頂層設計、課程整合與開設的課程進行深入剖析,提出新的設想與方案,重置高校綜合藝術課程的專業結構模式,為探索「雙碳」戰略下高校美術學專業的課程創新提供思路。

一、高校美術學專業課程設置之弊

學校課程系統設計是落實教學目標的重要步驟。近 20 年來,中國的課程改革,從中小學的基礎教育到高等教育領域,本著以學生核心素養為目標的課程育人導向性原則得到了充分的貫徹。但在高等教育領域

中專業性培養要求與基礎教育有著截然不同的課程目標,特別是高校各學科專業方向的細化,對課程系統設計要求有獨特的針對性問題,因此,大多數高校都是按照自身學校傳統及專業發展的規劃制定課程,從而造成了缺乏統一的課程體系及評價標準現狀。良莠不齊的課程設置與缺乏學科交流,成為阻礙高等教育發展的問題。

我國高校美術學專業不同於其他專業性美術院校,美術學專業是培養具有深厚文化底蘊,具有較強的社會責任、較高的文化自覺和開闊的國際視野,能深度理解中華優秀傳統文化,融合美術專業素養、教師職業素養和教學科研能力,適應新時代智慧學習、未來人才素養需求的 21 世紀社會發展的高素質、複合型卓越美術教師。美術學專業的學生在教育素養、藝術思維與方法論、美術專業知識與技能、綜合素養四方面面臨著新的挑戰。當前中國高校美術學專業處於大改革、大發展的歷史時期,課程建設面臨諸多缺陷,課程設置中出現泛化性、割裂性和封閉性等問題引起廣大教育者關注。

(一) 課程設置泛化

高校美術學專業課程設置中雖然專業方向較齊全,一般每個院校都是實行學分修讀,課程類型有通識課程、專業核心課程、專業工作室課程、教師教育類課程與實踐教學課程。每個學生必須修完規定的學分。整體上分析,課程設置大而全,特別是專業工作室課程設置了按材料分類的專業方向:分為中國畫、油畫、版畫、水彩、綜合等。而在日常教學中會發現,這些看似齊全的課程,恰恰反映出美術學課程設置中泛化。課程泛化指的是什麼課程都有,例:通識必修課程約有 20 門左右,還不包括選修課程;專業核心必修課程有 20 門左右;專業工作室必修課程 15 門左右;另加上教師教育課程與實踐教學課程,每個高校美術學專業的學生在本科階段必須學習 70-80 門左右的課程,課程科目設置繁冗,導致學生疲于被動接受知識,挫傷學習積極性。整個本科階段學習結束,雖然學習科目很多,但由於缺乏學科間內在關聯而形成了知識割裂的碎片化狀態。特別是專業工作室的細化學習,更是讓學生不知所以然,形成對美術學專業的認知偏差,由此,反而使學生對以後的職業規劃缺少一種內在的發展動力。

美術學課程設置泛化的本質是對課程設置目標的偏離,課程內容越來越單一、精細,對於學生個體要求趨於完美型的人格塑造,形成學生學習中缺乏個性特徵訴求的動力,寬而泛、大而全成為課程設置的障礙。從社會學視角分析,課程學習的主體應該是學生,因此,課程設置建構必須充分考慮調動學生積極性,在設置過程中應該容許學生挑選能激發自身學習興趣及發展的課程,課程在完整的基礎上除了考慮內在關聯性外,還必須去除課程內容的窄化及重複的實踐課程,對專業發展無關的課程可合併精簡,以此避免課程設置泛化。

(二) 課程設置割裂

高校美術學專業課程設置中有別於專業美術院校的培養目標,美術學專業的學生在教育素養、藝術思維與方法論、美術專業知識與技能、綜合素養等方面,是一個相互關聯的知識鏈,特別是專業知識與技能不能依照專業美術院校的標準要求,最終的培養目標不是職業型藝術家,而是高素質、複合型卓越美術教師。現階段高校美術學專業畢業的學生大部分就業方向是中小學美術教師,是高校美術學專業培養學生的主要教育目標,只有少數學生通過繼續求學後成為從事高校美術教育者或專職藝術工作者,極少數學生則通過不同途徑從事與中小學美術教育無關的職業崗位。因此目前美術學專業在本科階段專業課程的設置,要求的不是專而精,而是寬口徑、厚基礎。那麼在課程設置中如何做到寬口徑、厚基礎,重要的是明確教育目標,不能「模糊」與專業美術院校課程設置的差異。清晰的梳理不同科目間的內在經緯邏輯,遵循嚴密的課程結

構體系,切忌課程設置中每門課程相互割裂。每門課程之間應該有相互遞進與交叉互補關係,既不能有相類似的內容重複設置,也要避免課程互不關聯,以此帶來學生在學習過程中形成對專業知識全面認知的障礙。

(三)課程設置封閉

現行的高校美術學課程設置在大的教育目標下,是每個院校按照實際情況自行修訂,現在國家雖然實行師範認證的標準進行考核,但整體上每個院校還是閉環式的狀態進行課程設置與教學,現實中存在著課程設置的封閉問題,特別是具體的課程實施與認證標準缺乏對應性。分析原因是由於對高校美術學課程設置的研究歷史較短,不同於其它學科課程思想和研究體系具有悠久的歷史。特別是新中國成立後,各個學科的課程理論研究發展迅速。20 世紀 80 年代課程論建設成一個獨立的教育學分支學科,李俠、李秉德、董遠騫、王策三、鐘啟泉等學者的研究為建構現代範式課程觀產生了深刻影響,從根本上變革了「課程觀」,從而形成了「校本課程」、「研究性學習」、「發展性評價」等角度來探索素質教育的現代範式課程體系。而美術學的課程體系發展一直滯緩於其它學科的課程,雖現階段對高校美術學專業課程改革推進力度較大,教育部實施師範認證的標準條例就是課程改革的組成部分。但認證標準的資料化模式是否適合美術學專業實踐課程是值得認真研究,院校間的課程設置資訊交互的缺失,課程設置中每門課之間的割裂等,形成了當前課程設置中的封閉性問題仍是值得關注。要改變這個現狀,每個院校應該加強資訊交流,並應該建立校際間的縱向結構,從各個院校獨立的封閉系統中移向開放式課程群。同時院校自身應該發揮教師的積極性,促進相互交流,並根據學科的邏輯性和相關性進行融合,在保留學科價值和基本體系的前提下,通過橫向統整解決課程設置中封閉性所帶來的片面化和碎片化的問題,形成完整的美術學橫向組合的統整式課程群。

二、高校綜合藝術專業課程基本範式及價值取向

高校綜合藝術課程是美術學專業課程的有機構成,它是社會與文化藝術連結的基石。綜合藝術課程是人類開發智慧與心靈健全的系統工程,它不是簡單的技法傳授與實踐,而是提高人類對於自身存在的關注,並不斷提高洞察力、理解力、表現力、交流能力和解決問題能力等人的綜合性素養,以期人與社會及自然環境的高度和諧與發展。從古希臘及中國先秦時期一直到現代課程在西方和中國的誕生。從培養「完美的人」作為西方古典人文主義的課程設計思路,到現代課程學者推出各式各樣的課程模式。無論是西方教育思想還是受中國儒學教育體系影響下的中國教育理念,中西方當代課程變革都呈現出日益多元的發展態勢。從課程思想及其理論的發展史表明,高校綜合藝術專業課程有著其它課程所無法替代的教育功能和地位。課程設置中美育與實踐教學是課程的重要內容和最基本的實施框架,課程結構模式體現了高校美術學專業教育能否落實美育職能的有效性。毋庸諱言,隨著我國生態環境保護戰略決策的踐行,高校美術學專業教育面臨著挑戰與機遇,而其中綜合藝術專業課程的設置也必將迎來重大的變革。

高校美術學專業教育課程的構建及設置必定跟當前的社會經濟、科學技術及文化教育發展相適應。高校綜合藝術專業課程作為美術學專業教育的重要組成部分,是美術學專業教育發展過程中的必然途徑,但現有的綜合藝術課程更多的只是對藝術材料的綜合探索,對科學與藝術的關係,對藝術未來的想像與展望,對創作實踐中工具的感知,人和自然世界中物的關係,表現內容與形式在當下發展的新趨勢等等,這些問題是當前高校綜合藝術專業課程設置中都未涉及的。在資訊交互高度發展的今天,高校美術學專業教育面臨著挑戰與機遇。美術學專業教育的開放性與教師專業化發展要求在不斷提高。在提高基本技能的基礎上

提高學生藝術綜合表達素養,在生態環境保護戰略決策的契機中探索新的藝術表現形式,解碼中國低碳發展中藝術創新之路,加快建構清潔低碳的藝術創作課程體系勢在必行。在此戰略下剖析高校綜合藝術專業課程設置的結構模式,成為一種可借鑒的研究範式,具有積極而深遠的現實意義。

綜合藝術實踐作為社會活動中一種用藝術表現的方式,它的內涵隨時代發展被不斷豐富與擴展。從柏拉圖(Plato):「藝術即模仿」,亞里斯多德(Aristotle):「藝術即認識」,到道格拉斯・大衛斯(Douglas Davis):「藝術即虛擬」等不同時期哲學家、藝術家對藝術本質的闡述中可以發現,藝術的本質與內涵它自身具有複雜且開放的性質。綜合藝術實踐是視覺藝術的一個組成部分,它的實踐活動自然脫離不了藝術具有的性質。德國藝術史家格羅塞(Ernst Grosse)曾對藝術的發展同社會經濟結構、人的精神生活需求之間的密切關係,有過深入的考察及闡述。他認為藝術作為社會現象和社會機能的組成部分,藝術家所從事的藝術實踐活動包含著藝術品、公眾和作者三個元素,而這三個元素往往是相互制約、相互促進並以此來投射出社會徵候。[①] 自 20 世紀以來,視覺藝術的樣式及態勢超出了人們以往單一形式的認知,視覺藝術不再是舞臺藝術、建築、繪畫等單一的樣式,藝術家逐漸拋棄了 19 世紀末、20 世紀初發展起來的藝術準則。藝術既不是純粹的智識追求,也不是廉價的自我說明技巧的集合,而是一種不斷訓練及感知的過程,由此來讓人自覺成長,使之成為具有獨立批判性且與社會融合的、負責任的藝術創作主體。藝術創作的過程是藝術家對自在世界的觀照,而這種觀照必須符合人類認識和改造自然的生態觀思想,並在人類-自然全球生態系統中建立有利於人類與自然和諧相處的生態世界。簡而言之,綜合藝術實踐成為一種觀照自在世界的方法,而不是簡單描述現實世界的現象。

當前,在綜合藝術實踐創作中生態環境保護意識已被人們廣泛接受,綜合藝術實踐創作正以新理念、新模式全面融入人類藝術活動中。從單一的、以人自身為主體的、封閉性秩序系統逐漸移向開放的、以人與自然和諧共存的、多元性構建系統發展,生態藝術實踐、超圖像、表現性媒介等成為生態環境保護戰略重要的藝術表現方式。隨著人工智慧、虛擬實境與增強現實、區塊鏈、腦機介面等技術的發展,生態環境保護戰略為綜合藝術實踐創作表現樣式提供了契機,新的科學技術、傳統材料的環保轉化和手工技藝的再利用,成為突破傳統表現模式,取得新的藝術風格及審美價值。2022 年清華大學科學博物館展示的「非物質/再物質:電腦藝術簡史」,將人類的藝術創作引領向嶄新的資訊科技時代,這也為生態環境保護戰略目標的實現,開闢了新的機遇,也開闢了綜合藝術實踐創新的典範。

三、「雙碳」戰略決策下重構高校綜合藝術專業課程

國外高校藝術課程設置從 20 世紀 60 年代始,就嘗試打破按材料分科設置專業的教程安排,在教學中重視藝術創造精神的培養,逐漸形成了綜合藝術課程結構形式。國內高等專業美術院校從 20 世紀 90 年代開始,對綜合藝術專業課程設置進行了探索。例,中國美院設置綜合繪畫系;中央美院在中國畫系和油畫系成立材料研究表現工作室;同時,各大專業院校也相繼對綜合藝術專業課程設置進行了探索與研究。進入 21 世紀,綜合藝術成為視覺文化中極為重要的藝術表現樣式,是國內外藝術界高度關注的物件,專業院校及許多高校美術專業相繼設置了綜合藝術課程。國內外高校對綜合藝術專業課程設置所採用的教學內容、教學流程及結構模式等,由於中西方教育傳統及教育理念不同,因而也形成了各具特色的綜合藝術課程體系。高校重視綜合藝術課程設置的外在客觀原因,是源于現代藝術形態的影響及藝術觀念的轉向;另一客觀內因,是 20 世紀以來社會科學的發展使課程從一種封閉觀點的現代範式,逐漸轉變為一種開放觀點的後現代範式,以此建構一種適合解決問題的課程模體。「課程不再是跑道,而成為跑過程自身。而學習則成為意義

創造過程之中的探險。」[②]

（一）高校綜合藝術課程設置的總體目標

課程是教育的核心，高校綜合藝術課程是基於培養具有廣泛文化視野，深度理解中華優秀傳統文化，具有較強的社會責任和較高的文化自覺，有良好的專業素養和開闊的國際視野，能適應新時代發展，成為 21 世紀未來社會發展所需的高素質、複合型卓越藝術人才。生態環境保護戰略決策下高校綜合藝術專業課程的設置，其中重要的是課程結構與知識體系如何能合理的體現，專業技能、人文素養、教學內容多元化以及技術創新與師資知識更新等，將是課程設置中必須考量的關鍵問題。具體的課程設置總體目標（見圖 1）。

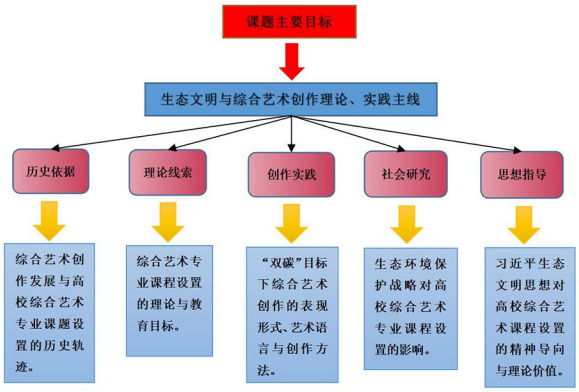

圖 1　課程設置主要目標

從上圖中可以發現，本課程設置主要目標是貫穿一條生態文明與綜合藝術創作理論、實踐為主線，即由藝術歷史依據進入理論線索，由理論線索進入創作實踐，由創作實踐進入社會研究，由社會研究進入思想指導。使課程設置遵從豐富性、回歸性、關聯性和嚴密性為核心的課程觀。其豐富性來自於它從歷史的維度出發，在感知歷史和文化背景基礎上發展起來的，從理論與實踐兩方面，探索課程需要解決的當下人類社會與自然和諧的秩序。

（二）高校綜合藝術專業課程設置框架

通過對部分高校現行綜合藝術課程設置的調研，並進行大量的資料分析和現行課程結構比較，結合國內具體的教育環境現狀及生態環境保護戰略決策的目標，借鑒國外美術教育模式，構想了符合當前高校美術學課程設置中綜合藝術專業課程的結構圖。（見圖 2）

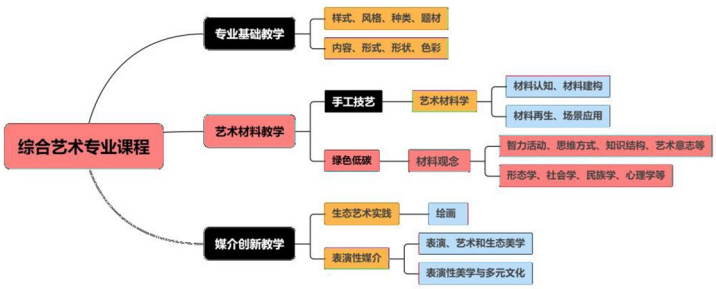

圖 2　綜合藝術專業課程結構圖

上圖是高校美術學課程設置中的綜合藝術專業課程的結構,採用了並列組建的課程群模式。此課程設置框架以及課程結構是在雙碳決策背景下對「生態文明」理念的具體建構,課程結構圖中以生態文明與綜合藝術創作理論、實踐為主線,在生態科學所提供的基本概念、基本原理和基本規律的基礎上,進行高校美術學專業課程設置。在此結構圖中分專業基礎課程、藝術材料課程與媒介創新課程三個模組,而這三個模組可以形成許多教師組合的教學團隊,相互間不分核心與非核心,每個模組在人才培養中地位都相等、作用都等值。並且每個模組下的科目學習可在工作室裡,在不規定時間下隨時創作實踐 ,注重課程的整體性,並使學生在課程學習中具有實踐的可操作性,教師可隨時輔導,以此充分激發學生的學習主動性。在尊重學科的獨立性和價值性的基礎上,注重當前藝術發展中生態環境及科學技術、藝術之間的關聯,凸顯學科設置中對前沿性問題的關注,探索將「生態觀」「進步觀」「和諧觀」等邏輯納入至高校美術學專業的評價體系建構中,形成更為合理的高校美術學專業課程結構。

四、結語

綜上所述,高校美術學專業的課程創新是長期的教育規劃,課程設置必須跟上國家發展戰略與政策規劃的步伐,生態環境保護戰略決策是關乎國家發展的方針政策,高校美術學專業是培養國家教育人才的搖籃,因此,必須在嚴肅、科學的基礎上探索專業課程的設置。綜合藝術專業課程設置的研究是順應時代發展,雖在具體的探索中會面臨許多難題,但這也是創建多元文化的重要組成部分。本研究所探討的高校美術學專業綜合藝術課程設置,拓寬了該專案研究的學術發展路徑,理論研究和實踐成果所形成的學科秩序與結構,將為我國踐行生態環境保護戰略決策下高校綜合藝術課程設置提供有價值的參考。

注釋

① 格羅塞:《藝術的起源》,商務印書館 2019 年版,頁 3。

② 小威廉・E. 多爾:《後現代課程觀》,教育科學出版社 2020 年版,頁 57-62。

(Editors: LENG Xueyuan & JIANG Qing)

[Scholar Profile]

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[Scholar Profile]

李正栓：

河北師範大學外國語學院二級教授，博士研究生導師。北京大學文學博士，英國斯特靈大學榮譽博士，河北師範大學學術帶頭人，河北省中青年骨幹教師，河北省高校教學名師，河北省社會科學優秀青年專家，河北省中青年社科專家五十人工程人員，河北省有突出貢獻中青年專家，教育部外國語言文學類專業教學指導委員會英語專業教學指導分委員會委員，教育部高等學校翻譯專業教學協作組成員。

主要研究方向為英美文學、翻譯學和英語教育，在英美詩歌、中英詩歌互譯及譯評等領域學術成果頗豐。主持國家社科基金項目 1 項，教育部人文社會科學研究規劃基金項目 1 項，省部級、廳級項目若幹項，參與國家社科基金項目 3 項、教育部項目 2 項。出版專著 5 部、英美文學教材 12 部。在《外語與外語教學》《中國外語》《外語教學理論與實踐》《當代外國文學》《外國文學研究》等刊物發表高水平學術論文 180 余篇，出版編著 5 部、譯著（如毛澤東詩詞英譯、樂府詩英譯、藏族格言詩英譯等）20 余部，翻譯羅伯特・彭斯全部詩歌共 500 余首。主講國家級精品在線課程《英美詩歌欣賞》，多次獲得河北省教學成果獎，河北省社會科學優秀成果獎等獎項。擔任中國翻譯協會常務理事、中國英漢語比較研究會典籍英譯專業委員會會長、河北省高等學校外語教學指導委員會主任委員、河北省高等學校外語教學研究會會長、河北省莎士比亞學會會長、河北省翻譯學會會長等職務。

FULL NAME: LI Zhengshuan
AFFILIATION: Hebei Normal University, China
INTRODUCTION:

LI Zhengshuan, doctoral supervisor, is a level-two professor of Hebei Normal University. He received his Doctoral Degree in Literature in Peking University in 1999, and Honorary Doctoral Degree in the University of Stirling in 2016. As one of outstanding scholars in Hebei Normal University, He has been awarded a number of professional titles such as young and middle-aged backbone teacher in Hebei province, distinguished teacher in universities of Hebei province, excellent young expert of social sciences in Hebei province, one of the fifty young and middle-aged social science experts in Hebei province, young and middle-aged expert with outstanding contributions in Hebei province, a member of Teaching Guidance Sub-committee of English Major in Teaching Guidance Committee of Foreign Language and Literature Major of Ministry of Education of PRC, and a member of China National Committee for BTI Education, etc.

His research focuses on such areas as English and American literature, translatology, English education and among others, and he has made great academic achievements in the fields of English and American poetry, inter-translation and mutual evaluation of Chinese and English poetry. As a prolific scholar, he has published five monographs, 12 English and American literature textbooks, and more than 180 high-level papers in scholarly journals such as *Foreign Languages and Their Teaching, Foreign Languages in China, Foreign Language Learning Theory and Practice, Contemporary Foreign Literature, Foreign Literature Studies,* etc. He is the leader of two projects respectively sponsored by the National Social Science Fund of China and Ministry of Education of People's Republic of China. In addition, he has fulfilled more than ten national and provincial academic projects. Professor Li also published five compiled works and more than 20 translation works concerning the English translation of Mao Zedong' s poems, Yuefu poems, Tibetan gnomic verses, etc., and translated more than 500 poems by Robert Burns.

Due to his outstanding academic achievements, he has been awarded many honors. The online course "Appreciation of English and American Poetry" he taught has been awarded as a national excellent course. Moreover, he has won many awards such as "Hebei Teaching Achievement Award" and "Hebei Social Science Outstanding Achievement Award".

Professor Li has actively devoted himself to promoting the educational and teaching development of translation and English and American literature. He is an executive member of Translators Association of China, the president of Professional Committee for English Translation of Classics in Association for Comparative Studies of English and Chinese, the director of Foreign Language Teaching Steering Committee of Colleges and Universities in Hebei Province, the president of Foreign Language Teaching Research Institute of Colleges and Universities in Hebei Province, the president of Institute of Shakespeare in Hebei Province, the president of Hebei Translation Society, etc.

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