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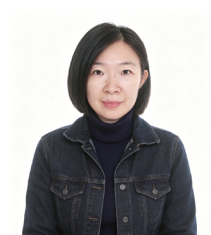
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[Special Contributions]

A Literary Force Worth a Thousand Soldiers: An Interview with Liang Jun

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Abstract: It is a writer's social responsibility to document unique life experiences and resonate with like-minded readers. Liang Jun writes when he is deeply moved and after careful reflection. This creative approach is evident in works such as *Daomadan*, as well as the novels *Migration Agent* and *Chasing Dreams in Sydney*. His fluent prose and subtle dry humor are vividly displayed in his essay collection *Sydney Capriccio*, which offers readers a sense of emotional release. Although Australia is a multicultural society, a “glass ceiling” of racial discrimination still persists. The generational gap within Chinese Australian artistic communities is also quite pronounced. Consequently, the development of Chinese Australian literature has faced considerable challenges.

Keywords: dry humor; *Migration Agent*; *Chasing Dreams in Sydney*; *Daomadan*; *Sydney Capriccio*

Notes on the contributors: WANG Zuyou, male, professor, he earned his Doctor of Literature degree from Xiamen University in 2006, under the supervision of Professor Yang Renjing, an internationally renowned Hemingway scholar. His primary research areas are English literature and literary translation. He has published 18 academic works and nearly a hundred papers in scholarly journals such as *Foreign Literature*. He has completed 7 research projects. His *Collected Poems of Wang Zuyou* (2025) has been collected by the Harvard University Library. His email is wangzuyou2012@163.com. LIANG Jun, originally from Guangdong, China, was born in Tianjin and currently resides in Sydney, Australia. He serves as Vice President of the Chinese Writers Association of New South Wales. His published works include: *Chasing Dreams in Sydney* (Tianjin Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House), the first novel in the “Immigrant Life Trilogy,” winner of the Novel Award at the 2nd World Chinese Literature Awards, *Migration Agent* (Australian Chinese Literature Press), the second novel in the trilogy, supported by a publication grant from the Nanming Foundation of Australia, *Daomadan* (Australian Chinese Literature Press), a collection of novellas and short stories as part of the trilogy, winner of the Novella and Short Story Award at the 5th World Chinese Literature Awards, and *Reflections in Sydney* (Australian Chinese Literature Press), a collection of essays.



文學良將抵千軍 ——梁軍訪談錄

¹王祖友 ²梁軍

¹泰州學院；²澳大利亞新南威爾士州華文作家協會

摘要：作家把自己經歷的不一樣的人生記錄下來，與同頻的人產生共振共情，是一種社會責任。他的文學故事就是內心有觸動、沉澱之後翻騰出來去寫的，如：《刀馬旦》，長篇小說《移民代理》和《悉尼追夢錄》更是這樣。梁軍流暢文風和冷幽默在隨筆集《悉尼隨想》中四處可見。讀罷讓人精神上的焦慮頓時釋放。澳洲雖是多元文化社會，但種族歧視的『玻璃天花板』是存在的。華人藝術家社團的斷檔情況也較為嚴重。澳華文學的發展並非坦途。

關鍵詞：冷幽默；《移民代理》；《悉尼追夢錄》；《刀馬旦》；《悉尼隨想》

王祖友：梁軍先生好！首先，對您的中短篇小說集《刀馬旦》剛剛獲得『第五屆世界華人文學獎·中短篇小說獎』表示熱烈祝賀！

梁軍：謝謝王教授！

王祖友：記得您有一部長篇小說也獲得過世界華人文學獎？

梁軍：2023年，我的長篇小說《悉尼追夢錄》獲得過『第二屆世界華人文學獎·小說獎』。

王祖友：您發來的電子書大致看完，隨筆集《悉尼隨想》的流暢文風和冷幽默令人叫絕，您的文風是如何養成的？與移民身份有關係嗎？

梁軍：我是天津人。文風這種東西往往是天生為主，後天養成為輔。與移民身份有點關係。身在海外，說話不用顧忌太多。我多次在各類研討會說，大家要維護珍惜自由寬鬆的創作環境，多出作品。

王祖友：『拔牙』（《悉尼隨想》362）一文，也是叫人忍俊不住，這樣場景在澳洲多嗎？

梁軍：幾乎天天發生。常事兒。

王祖友：那住澳洲，和在德雲社等地一樣喜樂多多？

梁軍：平心而論，沒有。澳洲是旅遊觀光勝地，真正討生活，尤其作為第一代移民，壓力很大。當然，也看個人心態。我們寫作的人就是要在光怪陸離的繁榮背後、瑣碎的日常和生活壓力當中發現被遮蔽甚至被扭曲了的人性本真。

王祖友：這是發揮藝術的娛樂和教育作用？

梁軍：至少我不這麼認為，寫作不能總想著教育別人。同頻的人也許能產生共振共情。用修行人的話說，得看緣分，把我們自己經歷的不一樣的人生記錄下來，指不定碰上哪個有緣人，能從中獲得讓我自己都意想不到的積極收效，客觀結果上，這也能算作一種社會責任吧。

王祖友：老舍的《我怎樣寫小說》主張：小說是對人生的解釋，只有這解釋才能使小說成為社會的指導者。也只有這解釋才能把小說從低級趣味中解救出來。所謂《黑幕大觀》一類的東西，其目的只在揭發醜惡，而並沒有抓住醜惡的成因，雖能使讀者快意一時，但未必不發生世事原來如此，大可一笑置之的犬儒態

度。更要不得的是那類嫖經賭術的東西，作者只在嫖賭中有些經驗，並沒有從這些經驗中去追求更深的意義，所以他們的文字只導淫勸賭，而絕對不會使人崇高。所以我說，我們應先選取平凡的故事，因為這足以使我們對事事注意，而養成對事事都探求其隱藏著的真理的習慣。有了這個習慣，我們既可以不愁沒有東西好寫，而且可以免除了低級趣味。客觀事實只是事實，其本身並不就是小說，詳密的觀察了那些事實，而後加以主觀的判斷，才是我們對人生的解釋，才是我們對社會的指導，才是小說。

您認為老舍的小說創作論有當代價值嗎？

梁軍：老舍先生這段話我覺得大致方向是不錯的，比如他說的『應選取平凡的故事……』這一段。

『小人物』的喜怒哀樂最能體現一個時代一個族群的本真。聖童博士是獨立學者，他在談『關於寫作問題』的時候就特別強調過作者接受現實世界『投喂』的重要性。『投喂』是 AI 用語，他借助這個術語形象地刻畫了寫作者與現實世界之間的倫理關係。把這個『投喂』行為上升為一個寫作上的『視閾投喂理論』，你接受的『投喂』視閾有多寬多廣，你寫作上所能關照到的方圓也就會有多大。他還給出了寫作上的第二步理論，叫『塔式認知層級理論』，說白了，你站在一層樓的話，就不可能認知到站在十層樓上的人所見識到的東西。現在網上流行的一句話說得比較好玩兒，『允許青蛙做青蛙』。但這恐怕只說了一半兒，還要『允許航海者去踏上他們的「巨鯨之路」』。海外的華文文學創作其實比較清晰地體現了這個『投喂』下的認知提升過程。初級階段免不了寫一些文化衝突，新移民的悲催，時間久了，特別是隨著對生活的深入，就會逐漸意識到還有不同種族文化融合的問題，人性的衝突問題，等等。大面兒上看，人就是人，誰也不比誰高尚，誰也不比誰卑微。但隨著『認知層級』的提升，你就會在這些平常的人事當中發現更深層、更本質的東西。而寫作者的這種認知提升就會直接影響閱讀者的體驗，他們再看你所給出的人物性格、人物關係、矛盾衝突，甚至對你語言的品味，都會有所改變。這不僅是小說的魅力，更是所有寫作所彰顯出的魅力。讀者和時間最有發言權。

另外，古希臘的犬儒主義（Cynicism），本義是主張摒棄世俗的欲望、財富和權力，遵循自然的生活，追求內心的美好，是對一種道家式的德行的一種強調。老舍先生所使用的『犬儒』觀，應該是十九世紀被變種了之後傳入的帶有明確貶損意義的『犬儒』。

王祖友：《刀馬旦》中徐衛國的故事很令人尷尬：『徐衛國堅守自己的道德底線，卻無法守住愛情，無法和寶貝女兒朝夕相處享受天倫之樂』（《刀馬旦》201），這個人物有現實生活原型吧？他和妻弟爭執的愛國問題、各執一詞，似乎都有道理？

梁軍：您聖明。尷尬的的確不是徐衛國本人，而應該是他周圍的這些『我們』。這就是我身邊朋友的事兒。他故去了，我才寫。他到臨終之前，生活習慣和價值觀都沒變，還是一個好兵。我寫他的時候，雖然盡力保持 0°C 的客觀，但我心裏，還是靠近他的。

各人身處不同的時代、種族、文化背景和社會階層，對相同的問題一定有不同的答案。這就是『塔式認知層級』下的差距。

其實，這個故事只是他人生的前半段，後半段我沒寫。

王祖友：後面的沒寫是有什麼特別原委？

梁軍：他後來回悉尼生活，做政府工，因對職場霸凌和對亞裔的不公正待遇不滿，把所在的政府部門告上法庭，幾年無果，後患肺癌，鬱鬱而終。

他的追悼會是我寫的悼詞。後來，他的親姐姐把悼詞給在國內外的親戚朋友看，說給了他最好的人生總結。

王祖友：他離婚之後先回到中國，然後為何又重返澳洲？再次回到澳洲，他是一個人生活的？

梁軍：他的父母是高幹，可能他已經不適應國內的人際關係了。出國沒有回頭路。後半段兒他擔保了一個國內來的女人，又生了孩子。



王祖友：徐衛國原型就是 A 先生？他最終不是『贏得了法庭的和解判決』（《刀馬旦》209）？

梁軍：是。他曾經跟我說，最難受的時候，是看到和澳洲白人前妻生的大女兒，耽誤學習照顧伺候後爸和她親媽生的幾個弟弟妹妹。做父親的，見不得自己的孩子寄人籬下，舔犢之情。這種人生況味，唉！

所謂和解只是賠了一點錢，工作、前途、健康，甚至於人生都毀了。我曾經勸他，去開大巴，怎麼不是活著。但他要的是政府部門道歉，讓他回去工作，得到該得到的工作職位。

王祖友：就是說正義最終缺席，個體還是輸給了州政府所表達的『群體』？

梁軍：當然，意料之中。少數族裔、移民，常常會遇到這種情況。

王祖友：這是非常具有典型意義的人物、事件，您能詳細談談嗎？

梁軍：小說嘛，就像我們寫劇本，總要有一個來源，真實的事件和人物，要他們這麼一個核兒——人物的一個原型。作為小說和劇本，你肯定要給它增加很多的情節和人設，但是這個事兒和人物是真實的，不能憑空捏造。

至於國外的種族歧視，其實很平常。像美國，前幾年有一個獲第 91 屆奧斯卡最佳影片、最佳原創劇本的電影《綠皮書》，講的是一個黑人音樂家的遭遇，故事背景是在上世紀六十年代。黑人音樂家要去南方，種族隔離還非常嚴重的地區，去巡迴演出。他要請個司機兼保鏢，找了個白人。編劇把黑人和白人兩個人物換了一下位置。這就有意思了，有看點。

白人助理帶著黑人老闆在南方旅行演出，遭到了很多歧視，這都是真事兒。最終，倆人成為朋友，達成了不同種族間的和解。

促成大的政策的改變一定是從小人物間的故事開始。

澳洲這個國家，過去，有一個白澳政策（White Australia Policy 澳大利亞聯邦在 1901 年至 1973 年間實行的反亞洲移民的種族主義政策的通稱，該政策歧視亞洲人）。現在，白澳政策廢除了，社會進步了，大家對這個問題也有了更加理性的認識。而且，移民越來越多。二戰後，歐洲的移民來的很多，像英國人、義大利人，然後就是越南難民，黎巴嫩難民。到了 90 年代呢，就是大量的中國留學生，還有印度和其他亞洲國家的留學生，然後，技術移民越來越多，大部分是亞裔，還有就是一些商業移民。這些移民的人口數量越來越大，就要求社會要有一個相對公平的環境，所以情況在一點點改變。但是，在一些看不見的地方，還是有一些種族歧視的情況。有個英文詞叫『玻璃天花板』。打開電視，你看聯邦政府的議會開辯論會，幾乎都是白人，當地的土著人——原居民的代表，成為聯邦議員的，人數也非常少，亞裔的更少，這些年也就幾個亞裔，而且都做不長。其實呢，我們中國人在澳洲有 150 萬了，兩千六百萬的澳洲人口總數中，這個比例已經很高了，但是我們在政治上還是相對弱一點兒。

所以，你作為一個亞裔，在公司裏邊兒，難免會遇到歧視的情況。我這個朋友 A 先生，他碰到什麼情況？他所在的政府部門，當時有一個高級職位的空缺，大家可以申請，要考試。結果，他幾次申請幾次考試都通過了，就是被拒。這就是歧視。理由不說，盡在不言中。

所以作為移民來說，要慢慢地被這個新的國家接受，民主政治要一點點的改善。作為新移民的第二代第三代，他們同化以後，就叫 banana，香蕉人兒，外皮兒是黃的，但是芯兒是白的了。同化以後，他們就沒有隔閡了，也會被當地人完全接受，他們變成了當地人，但是需要時間。有的時候可能兩三代人吧。我們的下一代好很多。

王祖友：少數族裔的文化藝術，比如：華裔作家的創作，也會受到歧視嗎？

梁軍：我沒有看到少數族裔畫家、作家、藝術家創作被歧視的事件。但是，因為你不是主流文化，不是電視、報紙或者政府對外的公開場合能夠出現的一種文化，對吧？那麼就被忽視。你就是不能發聲，或者你發聲了，沒人聽。你只能在你的小圈子裏搞一搞，不能說是他們的歧視，但這是一個現狀。你像今早您給我發

信息的時候，我正在參加我們作協作家的一個新書發佈會。我是新州華文作協的副會長嘛，我們作協 70 多位作家，每年總有各種由頭，新書發佈會、研討會、讀書會，我組織的比較多，所以我今天就去了。像這種新書發佈會，自己在幾個華人文學群發一發消息，圖書館借個地方，招呼幾十個人來一熱鬧，再在華文媒體發幾篇新聞稿，就是這樣。能說是主流歧視你嗎？也不是。只不過你沒有進入到人家的那個圈子裏。

我也跟朋友一塊兒玩影視。去年我們拍了個短片，在國際上幾個電影節都獲獎了。美國休斯頓電影節拿金獎。我們那個片子，跟我合作那個朋友，他自己掏錢，到藍山那兒去拍了三天。另外的朋友把自個兒的院子借出來，自己租挖掘機挖戰壕，吃住什麼的都是那個朋友自掏腰包，就是這麼一個狀態。你搞文化，沒人給你喝彩，沒人給你投資，沒人給你站臺，就靠你們自己個兒，不忘初心，慢慢兒地鼓搗這個東西。

拿悉尼來說，華人藝術家社團很多，有畫畫兒的，有詩詞的，有作協，有音樂的，有戲曲的，有跳舞的，反正什麼都有，中國老年人玩的社團，這兒都有。但是呢，其中一個現象就是參加這種文化活動的人年齡都偏大，都是退休以後跟著孩子從中國出來的，或者是在這兒退休以後參加這些社團，新一代斷檔還是比較嚴重。

我們作協來說，我 50 多歲了，算年輕的，平均都 60、70 歲了。我們一直想招新人加入作協。當然我們是有門檻兒的，就是你必須有作品，或者獲過獎，光愛好不行，這個標準定的不是很高，是吧？都是業餘寫作，還能怎麼樣呢？只要你寫，堅持華語創作。但是即使是這樣，沒有年輕人加入，三四十歲的也鳳毛麟角，這就是文化傳承的一個現實。我想其他國家和地區，美國、歐洲，情況也大抵如此。

王祖友：在澳大利亞這樣的民主國家，人民和政府也有矛盾的吧？

梁軍：在澳洲，人民和政府間的矛盾總是有，它本身就是一對兒矛盾體，就跟婆婆和兒媳婦兒似的，是吧？全世界這一對兒都是矛盾體。雖然澳洲政府是民選，但一個政府不可能所有的政策，尤其是國內有關民生的政策，得到所有選民的支持。但它一定要顧及大多數人的利益。這個利益包括你的工作權力、社會福利、住房、醫療、教育、市政建設，等等，這些是政府一定要考慮的。但沒有一個政府，即使它自認為是最好的政策，能夠得到所有人的支持。像前兩年疫情的時候，澳洲就跟英、美學。看著英美，英美幹什麼它就幹什麼，人家封城它就封，人家打疫苗它也打疫苗，人家開放它也馬上跟著開放，這就是澳洲這個國家的政治常態。人民呢，有的時候，普通的老百姓好像不太能夠談論政府的政策對於個人的影響。除非養老金多了少了，買房的印花稅賣房的增值稅多了少了，除非這個直接能感受到的，其他他們不關心的。

澳洲的政府是分級的，聯邦、州政府和地方政府。聯邦就是中央政府，坎培拉管外交，國防，各州政府間的資金分配，管大事兒。第二級州政府就相當於咱們的省政府。州政府自己管教育，醫療，市政建設，等等。第三級政府就是 Council，相當於中國的區政府吧，管當地的衛生，環境，管這些東西。

所以老百姓可能對區政府，當地政府或者是州政府的一些政策可能會有一些看法，但是上升到國家層面的，大部分人事不關己、高高掛起了。各人自掃門前雪，哪管別人瓦上霜，愛怎麼著怎麼著。是這種心態，不太關心政治。

但是呢，由於澳洲是一個多元文化的國家，移民來自於 200 多個國家和地區，所以，比如說：聯邦層面的外交政策，可能會使一部分國民對這個比較關注。前幾年，自由黨聯邦政府，莫里森政府，對中國不太友好，華人就覺得很憋屈，民間對政府的批評聲很大，針對這個外交問題的。

因為中國是澳洲最大的貿易夥伴，最大的旅遊遊客的來源國，留學生人數第一的來源國。說白了，中國是澳洲的金主，資源出口基本上都是到中國。你跟金主就是要保持一個友好姿態，相互尊重，別嘴裏沒把門兒的。現在這一屆政府，工黨對這個問題有所調整，跟中國的關係慢慢調回去——友好了，互利了，所以我們華人社區，至少這 100 多萬華人對這個問題就沒有什麼批評的聲音，都是贊同的聲音。

王祖友：用您小說中的一句話，作家的創作可以這樣描述——『所有的不經意，都是在潛意識裏精心籌畫過的』（《刀馬旦》81）。您的小說創作也是這樣的吧？可以結合您的移民生活三部曲談談嗎？



梁軍：咱們聊天說這些創作的時候，當然好像很隨意，看什麼寫什麼，實際上真不是那麼回事兒。因為，第一，您對國外生活也有一定程度的瞭解，因為您做研究，經常跑，聊的人也多。其實，國外生活很簡單、重複，它不像中國過去幾十年改革開放的時候，人民天天向上，社會天天有新鮮事兒出來，你會感到生活很有動力。國外不是這樣的。生活很平緩，人容易停滯，容易懶惰。文青們好像對寫作的興趣不是很大。我一般寫故事的話，尤其是小說、微小說，都是經過了很長時間的沉澱。比如說，我看到一個人一件事兒，我不會馬上寫，都是擱了很長時間在心裏，然後偶然間還總想起它，我覺得這個事兒就是真的對你內心有觸動，然後我把它再翻騰出來，再去寫的，我一般都是這樣的，長篇更是這樣。《移民代理》和《悉尼追夢錄》，是我前幾年出版的，一個是百花文藝出版社，一個是澳華文學出版社。這兩個長篇呢，幾乎是我前20年在澳洲生活的一個縮影，很多人生活的一個概括，它不是我自己的。因為，首先，我當年做過幾年移民代理，做了很多的case，有好多的人和事兒，對我觸動很大，因為我們每個人生活的環境都有一定的局限性。但是當我看到很多非常不同的人生故事的時候，對我是一種觸動。當時我就經常想這些人和事兒。幾年後，不做代理了，我還會經常回憶起這些人和事兒，找不到其他解脫的辦法，後來我就乾脆把它寫出來。當然，背景、人物的真實姓名等都需要模糊掉，這樣才好一點兒。寫完以後，精神上的那種焦慮好像一下子就釋放出來了，就沒有有了，就不想這些人和事兒了，就把生活這一頁和這些人翻篇兒了，釋懷了。嗯，我想這也是我們意識不到的寫作的一個功效吧。

《移民代理》中，我設計了很多人物，其中很多人物就是我們生活中的人，天津人，北京人，上海人，廣東人，福建人，東北人……這些不同地方的人，來到悉尼以後有自己的生存方式，有自己的道兒，我就把比較典型的這個謀生的手段部分摘了出來，然後把他們的語言提煉，把它們的人物關係架構好。所以呢，這部長篇是介於虛構文學和非虛構文學中間的一部小說。

當時我是按照劇本寫的。影視文學劇本兒，情景喜劇，在喜劇風格的框架下敘述一段沉重的生活經歷，把生活重壓下釋放出來的人性善惡美醜這一沉重的話題轉化為群眾喜聞樂見的表現形式。這是我的嘗試。

《悉尼追夢錄》講述了四個華人移民家庭和周圍人所經歷的生老病死悲歡離合。

這兩個長篇，在海外華人移民的生活軌跡中，表現了不同的階段性。《移民代理》就是我們準備出國啊，剛剛出國，人生地不熟，對於外國的生活文化，還有憧憬和嚮往，是這個狀態的時候。《悉尼追夢錄》是這些人到了這個陌生的國家這個城市開始生活以後，他們的狀態，不是一個人的生存狀態，是一群人的生存狀態，群像。這個階段的『視國投喂』還只是停留在有限的範圍之內的。

而我最近出的這個《刀馬旦》就明顯不同了，它不是只寫我們海外華人在國外生活的狀態，還寫了很多當地澳洲人的日常的生活狀態和精神狀態，就是說我們長期在這兒，安身立命以後，20年以後，我們對這個新的國家，對它的人民，對它的文化有了更新的更深刻的認識。從我們的這個新的認識的角度和眼光去看這個國家，慢慢地不自覺地被它所影響，被它的文化所薰陶同化，最終成為他們中的一部分，身不由己。

國際新移民華文作家筆會會長張奧烈先生給《刀馬旦》寫的序，是一篇專業、精準且富有文學溫度的導讀。

它比喻精妙，結構清晰，以『三道式西餐』比喻小說集的三個板塊（微型、中短篇、劇本），既貼合書中『華洋交集』的內容底色，又讓讀者對全書結構一目了然，是一個極具巧思的破題。它抓住本質，提煉精準，敏銳地指出了從『生存實錄』到『精神洗禮』的躍升，並點出在地書寫的核心——『講好澳洲的故事』。尤其對『二十年』時間跨度的強調，揭示了從『新移民』心態向『世界公民』視角轉變的關鍵。

序言沒有停留在技巧分析，而是上升到價值層面——指出這本書的超越性在於『站在世界公民的角度，為人類而表達』。這一判斷拔高了整本書的立意，也為海外華文文學的價值提供了有力的辯護。他寫的時候，沒跟我交流過任何觀點，大概一個月寫出來，但是他所寫的真正是我心中所想。

聖童博士在我這部小說的發佈會上的發言,則從他的中國哲學範式的詩學理論立場做出了我『敘事』行為的『詩意性』分析。他發言的題目就是『梁軍文學敘事的詩意性分析』。從理論和哲學思辨角度,把我的『敘事』行為提到了一種『意象』的高度,這一點很奇妙,完全不同於以往的小說分析。以往人們對小說的『敘事』,基本是從故事本身的內容以及內涵出發,認為作者寫的故事或者講的故事,就是作者所要表達的目標內容了。聖童博士不這麼看,他把我寫的或講的『故事』只是當成一個『意象材料』,他在看這些『意象材料』的時候只是把它們當成了我寫作目標的一個載體,而我真正想要表達的目標內容並不是這些故事本身,而是這些故事背後所隱含的生命本質的價值意義。他甚至認為唐代僧侶詩人賈島的絕句『松下問童子,言師採藥去。只在此山中,雲深不知處』直接就理解為『敘事』,他的這個比方可能就一下子讓人明白了他所謂的小說寫作的『意象材料』說法的實質。這還不是最叫人稱奇的,最叫人稱奇的是,他認為小說一旦以『意象材料』的立場寫『故事』,那麼作品的結果往往就能夠呈現出詩歌形式所擁有的『詩意』。這個『詩意』不是別的什麼說不清道不明的東西,就是老子『大道』恒定不改的那個屬性『善』。

聖童博士的這個理論,當時讓很多聽眾打了一個『激靈』,旋即又覺得他說得沒錯。對我而言同樣如此,因為我覺得我們寫作要表達的就是這個善意、善念的『善』,老子說的那個『上善若水』的『善』,這個『善』既然在『萬物之中』,也就當仁不讓地為我們『人』所擁有。咱們人性當中的這種寬容、互相支持啊,包容啊,愛呀,就是這個『善』的具體體現。我們中華民族的子孫走到海外以後,支撐我們度過各種難關的精神支柱,就是我們民族刻在骨子裏的幾千年形成的這種往往表現為內斂、堅毅、不屈、公正等等的『善』的精神,在我們每一個人身上發酵。在我們遇到困難的時候,這個叫做『善』的東西就會表現出來。

這麼多年,我周圍朋友只有一個心理產生了問題,他自殺了。其他幾乎所有的家庭都是和睦的,沒有離婚的。孩子都不錯,都成才,上大學,有很好的工作,進入政府部門。我們年過半百,都在工作,尤其是太太們,提出特殊表揚,婦女能頂半邊天。我們用自己的雙手在異國他鄉重建生活。至少我周圍的人是這樣兒的。

所以我覺得這三部小說,從時間線上,反映了海外移民二三十年間的人生的一個歷程。從人性上,表現了人性的不同與趨同。不一定全面,也不一定準確,但它是我眼中的這些人和事兒,我眼中的世界,每個人看世界的角度不一樣,是吧? 嗯。那我只能說我認識到的這個世界。

王祖友:隨筆集《悉尼隨想》中,您希望:希望政府別再擠兌老百姓,讓大家喘口氣兒,休養生息,把利息降下來。稅收嘛,盯著點國際大公司,他們的外國股東賺得盆滿鉢滿,給澳洲交了多少稅? 資本家吃肉,得給老百姓留口湯。治大國若烹小鮮,水至清則無魚。各行各業要摒棄『一切向錢看』,人是要有一點精神的。(《悉尼隨想》371)您認為這樣的理想國什麼時候或者條件下才能出現?

梁軍:哈哈,您聖明。資本主義國家,國家的政策都要保護偏向大企業和資本,如果能夠兼顧保障普通百姓的低稅收,教育,醫療,養老,已經阿彌陀佛了。澳洲的社會現實就是大家都向錢看,每個行業都把客人當成待宰羔羊,包括政府。目前,老百姓的生活負擔很重。理想很豐滿,現實很骨感。相比十年前,市政管理費上漲 61%。種族問題在移民國家,如美、加、澳、新會長期存在。這些都給我們寫小說的提供了取之不盡用之不竭的創作素材。

王祖友:願生活明天更美好!

梁軍:謝謝王教授!



[Area Studies]

欄目主持人語(應建華: 寧波大學科學技術學院副院長、教授)

Theory and Fieldwork in Area Studies

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Since its recognition as a first-level discipline in China in 2022, Area Studies, an interdisciplinary field dedicated to comprehensive, regionally focused scholarship, has sparked lively scholarly debate over its academic mission, core concepts, and methodological directions. It was against this intellectual backdrop that the Institute of Area Studies at the College of Science & Technology, Ningbo University was established. From the outset, the Institute has embraced a dual vision: to pursue the kind of “grand theorizing” and rigorous academic research that responds to national strategic needs in an era of profound global transformation, while also remaining deeply committed to grounded, micro-level inquiry: testing, enriching, and refining our existing analytical frameworks through close engagement with specific historical trajectories, cultural practices, institutional dynamics, and industrial changes. The five essays in this special feature take up this challenge, each offering a distinct perspective on how this dynamic interplay between theory and fieldwork unfolds within the context of Asia-Pacific Studies, spanning diverse domains such as disciplinary development, intellectual history, cultural transmission, digital governance, and county-level economies.

In “Reflections on Developing Area Studies Programs in Local Application-Oriented Universities,” Ying Jianhua tackles a central yet often overlooked question in the current wave of disciplinary expansion. Moving beyond conventional academic discourse, the essay adopts the lens of “locality” and “application-orientation” to examine how Area Studies can take root in regional contexts and contribute meaningfully to local socioeconomic development. It not only enriches the theoretical foundations of the field but also illustrates, through concrete cases, how theoretical insight and institutional practice can mutually inform and strengthen one another, offering valuable lessons for curriculum planning in regional colleges and universities.

He Yang’s “Intellectual Resonance Under Shared Crisis: Cultural Mutual Aid Between Chinese Reformists and Anti-Colonial Intellectuals in Southeast Asia” transports readers to the turbulent intellectual landscape of modern Asia. Drawing on meticulous archival research, the essay uncovers a largely forgotten history of cross-

border intellectual exchange, revealing how shared experiences of national crisis fostered a transnational “resonance field” and a network of mutual support that transcended geographic and political boundaries.

Cao Huanhuan’s “From Export to Co-Creation: Localized Innovation of Chinese Tea Culture in ASEAN, the Reconstruction of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and Pathways for Tourism Integration” traces the journey of a quintessentially Eastern cultural symbol across borders. Moving beyond simplistic narratives of “cultural export,” the essay draws on rich trade data to show how tea culture has been dynamically reimaged through interaction with local knowledge systems in ASEAN, integrated into heritage preservation frameworks, and woven into tourism development strategies: highlighting the transformative potential of cross-cultural co-creation.

Gu Xiang’s “Governing Cross-Border Data Flows Under RCEP: A Case Study of Ningbo’s Intelligent Manufacturing Enterprises Going Global” zooms in on the interface between international legal frameworks and on-the-ground business practices. Through the lens of Ningbo-based manufacturers expanding overseas, the essay reveals the tensions, compliance challenges, and strategic adaptations that emerge when abstract regulatory principles encounter real-world operational needs. It offers valuable empirical insights into the rapidly evolving landscape of digital governance in the Asia-Pacific region.

Song Yi’s “Seeking and Responding to Change: Cixi’s Foreign Trade Since Reform and Opening-Up” uses the microcosm of a county-level economy to illuminate the broader story of China’s grassroots integration into global markets. By tracing four decades of development through distinct phases, the essay shows how endogenous drives for transformation and institutional capacities for adaptation have worked in tandem. Notably, the sustained engagement with Southeast Asian markets emerges as a defining thread throughout Cixi’s foreign trade history: one that encapsulates the region’s dual logic of proactive exploration and responsive adjustment.

Together, these five contributions: spanning disciplinary reflection, intellectual history, cultural studies, digital governance, and local economic analysis, illuminate the multiple meanings of “theory and fieldwork” within Area Studies. The productive tension and dialectical interplay between these two poles are precisely what sustain the field’s vitality and continued relevance. We hope this collection inspires further scholarship that builds robust theory from grounded inquiry and advances Asia-Pacific Studies in both depth and scope.

Keywords: Area Studies; Interdisciplinary Research; Theory and Fieldwork; Disciplinary Development; Micro-Level Inquiry

區域國別學的理論與田野

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區域國別學作為一門致力於對特定區域進行綜合性研究的交叉學科，自 2022 年正式躋身我國一級學科目錄以來，其學科使命、核心範疇與方法論探索便成為學界熱議的焦點。在此背景下，寧波大學科學技術學院區域國別研究院應運而生。區域國別研究院成立後我們既希望有『仰望星空』的宏大理論構建和學術研



究,以回應『百年未有之大變局』下的國家戰略需求;也希望有『腳踏實地』的深耕細作的微觀研究,在具體而微的歷史脈絡、文化實踐、制度運行與產業變遷中,檢驗、豐富乃至修正我們既有的認知框架。在此,我們從學科建設、思想史鉤沉、文化傳播、數字治理與縣域經濟等不同維度切入,共同詮釋了這對核心範疇在亞太研究場域中的生動實踐與辯證關係。

應建華的《地方應用型高校區域國別學科專業建設幾點思考》,直面當前學科建設熱潮中的核心命題。文章敏銳地跳出傳統學術話語的藩籬,從『地方性』與『應用型』這一獨特視角出發,深刻探討了區域國別研究如何向下紮根、如何有效服務於地方經濟社會發展。這不僅是對區域國別學理論體系的有益補充,更以具體案例揭示了理論構建與辦學實踐之間相互滋養、彼此賦能的可能路徑,為眾多地方高校的學科布局提供了寶貴鏡鑒。

何楊的《共同危機下的思想共振:近代中國維新派與東南亞反殖知識分子的文化互助研究》,將我們帶回思想激蕩的近代亞洲。文章以紮實的史料鉤沉,挖掘了被主流敘事所遮蔽的知識分子跨國交往史,生動展現了民族危機如何催生出一個跨越地理邊界的思想『共振場』與『互助網』。

曹歡歡的《從輸出到共創:中國茶文化在東盟的本土化創新、非遺價值重構與旅遊融合路徑》,以一片東方樹葉為媒介,細膩描繪了傳統文化符號在跨語境傳播中如何歷程『再創造』與『意義新生』。文章以詳實的貿易數據為支撐,超越了簡單的『文化輸出』敘事,聚焦於『共創』機制下茶文化如何與東盟地方知識、非遺保護體系及文旅融合路徑發生深度互動。

顧鄉的《RCEP 跨境數據流動治理研究——以寧波智造企業出海現狀為例》,將敏銳的目光投向宏大貿易協定的制度文本與微觀商業實踐的真實接口。通過『寧波智造』這一製造業出海的前沿窗口,文章深刻揭示了抽象的規則框架在田野層面遭遇的現實挑戰、企業的合規焦慮與策略性調試。這為我們理解亞太地區方興未艾的數字治理複雜圖景,提供了紮實的實證支撐和深刻的政策啟示。

宋易的《求變與應變:改革開放以來的慈溪對外貿易》,以縣域經濟為精密切片,書寫了一部中國基層社會融入全球化的鮮活歷史。文章將四十餘年的發展歷程劃分為四個階段,揭示了『求變』的內生動力與『應變』的制度韌性如何共同作用。值得注意的是,對東南亞市場的持續開拓與深度融入,貫穿慈溪外貿發展的始終,成為其『求變』與『應變』能力的集中體現。

綜上,本專欄的五篇文章,從學科建設、思想史、文化傳播、數字治理到縣域經濟,共同演繹了『理論與田野』在區域國別研究中的多重意涵,它們之間的良性循環與辯證互動,正是區域國別研究保持生機與活力的源泉。我們期待這些研究能啟發更多學人,在深耕田野中構建具有解釋力與生命力的理論,以紮實的學術探索,共同推動亞太區域研究走向更深、更廣的境界。

關鍵詞: 區域國別學;交叉學科;理論與田野;學科建設;微觀研究

(Editors: Derrick MI & JIANG Qing)

Research on Cross-border Data Flow Governance Under RCEP: A Case Study of the Current Situation of Ningbo's Smart Manufacturing Enterprises Going Global

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Abstract: At present, data, as a new type of productive force, has greatly promoted the development of the global digital economy. However, it should also be noted that while digital trade promotes the integration of regional digital economies, it also brings multiple challenges such as privacy protection and cyber security. Therefore, different countries have successively formulated corresponding laws and regulations and established dispute resolution mechanisms for cross-border data flows within the region. Among them, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, in order to strengthen economic exchanges, signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which initially established the basic rules for cross-border data flows within the region in the e-commerce chapter, reflecting the attitudes of various countries towards data governance and being an exploration and attempt to balance the free flow of data and national security. As an important cluster area of smart manufacturing, Ningbo City in China is facing practical pressures and challenges in terms of cross-border data compliance, privacy, and security. Based on the relevant provisions of RCEP, this paper discusses the construction of a multi-center collaborative cross-border data governance model and puts forward policy suggestions from multiple levels such as regional organizations, countries, localities, and enterprises, with the aim of providing references for promoting the high-quality and safe development of the regional digital economy.

Keywords: Cross-border data flow; RCEP; digital governance; data risk identification; multi-center governance

Notes on the contributor: GU Xiang holds a doctorate degree in Law, and she is a lecturer and researcher in Area Studies at the College of Science & Technology, Ningbo University. Her major research interest lies in the intersection of Area Studies and Law. Her email address is guxiang1015@foxmail.com.



RCEP 跨境數據流動治理研究

——以寧波智造企業出海現狀為例

顧 鄉

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摘 要:目前,數據作為新質生產力,極大推動全球數字經濟的發展。但是也應注意到數字貿易在推動區域數字經濟融合的同時,也會帶來隱私保護、網絡安全等多重挑戰。為此,不同國家都紛紛制定相應的法律法規,並且構建區域內的數據流動的爭端解決機制。其中,東盟各國為了加強經濟交流,簽訂的《區域全面經濟夥伴關係協定》(RCEP)在電子商務章節初步確立了區域內數據跨境流動的基本規則,體現了各國治理數據的態度,是在促進數據自由流動與維護國家安全之間的平衡的探索和嘗試。中國寧波市作為重要的智能製造集聚區,面臨跨境數據合規、隱私與安全等方面的現實壓力和挑戰。本文基於 RCEP 相關條款,探討構建多中心協同的跨境數據治理模式,並從區域組織、國家、地方及企業多個層面提出政策建議,以期為推動區域數字經濟高質量與安全發展提供參考。

關鍵詞:跨境數據流動;RCEP;數字治理;數據風險識別;多中心治理

一、引言

在全球數字化轉型的浪潮中,數據是關鍵生產要素與戰略性資源,其跨境流動不僅推動經濟增長,也在重塑國際競爭與合作的模式。^[1] 傳統國際貿易主要圍繞貨物、資本和服務展開,而在智能製造、跨境電商、平臺經濟和全球供應鏈高度融合的背景下,數據已經成為連接研發設計、生產協同、物流調度、客戶服務和市場反饋的關鍵生產要素。然而,跨境數據流動在提升資源配置效率和推動區域數字經濟融合的同時,也帶來了隱私保護、網絡安全、商業秘密泄露、數據主權衝突和監管管轄權重疊等複合型風險。因此,如何在促進數據自由流動與維護數據安全之間形成制度平衡,已經成為國際經貿規則競爭和全球數字治理的重要議題。^[2]

《區域全面經濟夥伴關係協定》(RCEP)的簽署與生效,為亞太地區跨境數據流動的治理提供了新的制度框架與實踐契機。作為當前全球規模最大的自由貿易協定,其人口與經濟總量約占全球三成,也被視為推動區域內數字互聯互通、構建『數字絲綢之路』的關鍵機制之一。^[3] RCEP 不僅關涉貨物貿易、服務貿易和投資便利化,也在第十二章『電子商務』中對線上消費者保護、線上個人信息保護、計算設施位置和通過電子方式跨境傳輸信息等問題作出規定。該框架傾向於採取『有條件開放+合作治理』的路徑,^[4] 體現出亞太國家在數據主權與數字開放之間的務實平衡。RCEP 所代表的折中式治理嘗試,為區域內協調數據政策、深

[1] 洪永渺,張明,劉穎:《推動跨境數據安全有序流動引領數字經濟全球化發展》,《中國科學院院刊》,2022 年第 10 期,頁 1418-1425。

[2] 張學博,王智韜:《RCEP 數據跨境流動規則與中國數據跨境流動立法研究》,《特區實踐與理論》,2024 年第 1 期,頁 98-105。

[3] 馬文婷:《中國—東盟共建『數字絲綢之路』:問題表征及路徑選擇》,《經濟問題》,2025 年第 4 期,頁 23-31。

[4] 同註②,第 2 頁。

化數字貿易合作奠定了制度基礎,但其能否在實踐中妥善調和數據自由流動與安全管控之間的張力,^[1]仍有待進一步觀察與檢驗。

對中國而言,RCEP 既為國內數據跨境流動法律體系的完善提供了外部契機與對接框架,也為中國在亞太區域數字治理中發揮建設性引領作用、提升規則話語權創造了重要窗口。寧波作為我國重要的製造業基地、港口城市和外向型經濟重鎮,為觀察 RCEP 框架下跨境數據流動治理提供了具有代表性的地方樣本。2025 年,寧波市進出口總值達到 2.6 萬億元;其中,對東盟進出口 2162.2 億元,同比增長 15.2%,顯示出寧波與 RCEP 區域市場之間日益緊密的經貿聯繫。更重要的是,寧波的外貿結構與智能製造、機電產品、家用電器、通用機械設備、汽車零部件等產業密切相關,這些產業在出海過程中高度依賴數字化供應鏈管理、跨境售後服務、遠程設備運維和海外市場數據反饋。換言之,寧波企業參與 RCEP 區域合作的過程,不僅是貨物貿易擴張的過程,也是數據跨境流動頻率、規模和複雜性不斷提升的過程。^[2]

基於此,本文擬圍繞以下問題展開研究:第一,RCEP 電子商務章節中的跨境數據流動條款體現了何種制度邏輯,其與美國、歐盟及其他亞太數字貿易規則相比具有何種差異?第二,寧波智能製造企業在參與 RCEP 區域貿易和產業鏈協作過程中,主要存在哪些跨境數據流動場景和風險類型?第三,在 RCEP 柔性治理框架下,如何構建兼顧數據自由流動、企業合規成本和國家安全利益的多中心治理模式?

二、RCEP 數據條款的制度理論框架

跨境數據流動並非單純的技術傳輸問題,而是嵌入國際經貿秩序、國家監管權力、企業合規結構與區域制度協調之中的複合型治理問題。RCEP 框架下的數據條款不能僅從貿易自由化角度理解,而應置於制度經濟學、風險治理和多中心治理的交叉視野中加以分析。

從制度性質看,RCEP 數據條款體現出一種典型的『嵌入式自由化』邏輯:一方面,其通過跨境信息傳輸和計算設施本地化規則,推動區域數字貿易便利化;另一方面,又通過合法公共政策目標和基本安全利益例外,為成員國保留必要的監管空間。這種制度安排既不同於強調數據高度自由流動的市場優先模式,也不同於以隱私權和數據保護為中心的強監管模式,而是在成員國發展階段、監管能力和安全關切存在顯著差異的背景下形成的折中式制度選擇。由此,RCEP 跨境數據流動規則的理論解釋,應當圍繞三個問題展開:第一,制度差異如何影響數據跨境流動的交易成本;第二,數據流動如何生成跨國擴散性風險;第三,在規則柔性與風險複雜性並存的條件下,何種治理結構更能實現開放與安全之間的動態平衡。

(一) 新制度經濟學視角下的跨境數據流動

以諾斯為代表的學者指出,不健全或彼此衝突的制度設計會顯著推高交易成本,阻礙資源有效配置,從而制約經濟發展。同樣,在全球化貿易的背景下,各國政策不同是導致貿易摩擦的主要原因之一。就跨境數據流動而言,各國在數據出境、存儲與保護等方面的法律與監管政策各有不同,存在顯著差異,呈現碎片化的特征,這會加重企業合規負擔,產生顯著的『制度摩擦』。

跨境數據流動中的『制度摩擦』本質上是不同國家數據治理規則不一致所形成的制度性交易成本。對於寧波智能製造企業而言,這一問題尤為突出。智能製造企業的跨境經營並不只是出口產品,還涉及訂單

[1] 李瑤:《RCEP 框架下的數據跨境流動規製與中國立法調適》,《安徽大學學報(哲社版)》,2025 年第 5 期,頁 95-102。

[2] 寧波市人民政府辦公廳. 寧波市人民政府辦公廳關於印發中國(浙江)自由貿易試驗區寧波片區建設『樞紐自貿區』行動方案的通知(甬政辦發〔2023〕2 號). (20230119)[20260506]. https://www.ningbo.gov.cn/art/2023/2/21/art_1229716426_59451434.html.



管理、供應鏈協同、遠程設備運維、售後服務、客戶反饋和工業算法優化等連續性數據交換。如果 RCEP 成員國之間的數據規則缺乏協調,企業就必須在多個監管體系之間反復切換,進而削弱數字貿易的效率優勢。

(二) 風險社會理論對跨境數據流動的啟示

德國社會學家烏爾里希·貝克認為現代社會即風險社會,現代性在推動技術進步與工業發展的同時,也催生出大量難以預測、超越國界的系統性風險。這些風險往往具有全球擴散性,難以被傳統的民族國家治理體系所有效應對。

RCEP 數據條款所體現的核心張力在於:跨境數據流動需要開放規則以釋放數字經濟紅利,但數據風險又要求成員國保留必要監管權。二者並非簡單對立,而是需要通過比例原則、透明原則、非歧視原則和必要性審查加以協調。換言之,風險治理不能成為任意限制數據流動的理由,數據開放也不能以犧牲基本安全和公共利益為代價。RCEP 的制度挑戰正是在開放與安全之間建立可操作、可預期、可協調的平衡機制。

(三) 數字治理理論的應用

數字治理理論認為在面臨現代複雜的數據治理問題時,應突破傳統國家-政府的模式,轉向『多中心治理』模式。該模式認為,單一決策中心往往難以有效應對複雜局面,而多個相對獨立又相互關聯的決策主體,可通過協作、競爭與互補形成更富韌性的治理網絡,^[1]例如『國際區域組織-國家-政府-企業』這種多中心結構更能適應動態、跨域的政策環境,也有助於提升治理的整體效能與創新空間。具體而言,不僅包括國家、政府間的協議對接與政策協調,也需要企業切實承擔數據保護責任,同時離不開行業協會等組織在標準製定與合規指導方面的專業支持。^[2]

綜上所述,制度差異產生制度摩擦,制度摩擦提高企業合規成本;數據流動帶來風險擴散,風險擴散強化安全監管需求;RCEP 柔性規則提供基本協調框架,但其有效運行依賴區域、國家、地方和企業之間的多中心協同。跨境數據治理要結合多種理論共同搭建立體框架。新制度經濟學表明唯有通過國際協調與規則銜接,才能降低由此引發的合規與交易成本。風險社會理論則進一步指出,數據流動本質上嵌入了現代技術社會的系統性風險——數據泄露、網絡攻擊等威脅具有天然的跨國擴散性。而這些都是單一國家難以獨立處理的,必須依靠跨域協同的治理,推動國際組織、國家、政府、企業等多方主體共同參與,在動態平衡中實現跨境數據流動的有效治理。

三、RCEP 數據條款的制度及生成邏輯

RCEP 電子商務章節中的數據規則,是亞太區域數字貿易治理的重要制度嘗試。RCEP 第十二章明確提出,其目標包括促進締約方之間電子商務發展、創造可信任的電子商務環境以及加強締約方在電子商務發展方面的合作。

從制度性質看,RCEP 數據條款並非單純追求數據自由流動,也並非采取嚴格的數據本地化和安全優先模式,而是形成了一種『原則性開放、例外性保留、合作性協調、柔性化執行』的制度結構。其核心特征在於:一方面承認數據跨境流動對數字貿易和區域供應鏈協作的重要作用,另一方面又充分保留成員國基於公共

[1] 齊英程:《數據合規協同激勵體系的構建與完善》,《東方法學》,2024 年第 2 期,頁 98-108。

[2] 於清,石焱文,孫可欣,張兮:《數據要素市場發展影響因素組態分析——基於多中心治理的視角》,《科學學與科學技術管理》,2024 年第 4 期,頁 157-172。

政策、網絡安全 and 基本安全利益進行監管的空間。這種制度安排反映了 RCEP 成員國之間在發展階段、數字產業能力、監管能力和數據主權觀念上的差異，也體現了亞太區域數字治理的務實主義取向。

（一）RCEP 數據條款的核心內容與制度設計

RCEP 電子商務章節（第 12 章）專門規定了關於跨境數據流動的條款，^[1]其中包括關於數據傳輸、數據本地化及相關例外規則的內容。核心條款包括：

1. 基礎規則

RCEP 第十二章首先通過無紙化貿易、電子認證、電子簽名和電子傳輸免征關稅等規則，為區域數字貿易奠定基礎。無紙化貿易要求成員方努力接受電子形式貿易管理文件與紙質文件具有同等法律效力，電子認證和電子簽名規則則降低了跨境交易中的身份確認和合同締結成本。此類規則雖然並不直接規定數據出境條件，但其制度功能在於推動貿易流程數字化，使訂單、報關、物流、支付、售後等信息能夠在區域內更高效地傳輸和處理。

2. 消費者保護與個人信息保護規則

跨境數據流動能否持續發展，不僅取決於技術效率，也取決於交易主體對數據安全和隱私保護的信任。RCEP 第十二章第七條規定線上消費者保護，要求成員方採取或維持法律法規，以保護使用電子商務的消費者免受欺詐和誤導行為的損害；第八條則規定線上個人信息保護，要求每一締約方採取或維持保護電子商務用戶個人信息的法律框架，並在製定相關框架時考慮國際標準、原則、指南和準則。

3. 跨境信息傳輸與計算設施位置規則

RCEP 數據條款中最直接體現數據自由流動原則的是第十四條和第十五條。第十四條『計算設施的位置』規定，成員方不得將要求涵蓋的人使用或設置本地計算設施作為在其境內開展商業行為的條件；第十五條『通過電子方式跨境傳輸信息』規定，成員方不得阻止涵蓋的人為進行商業行為而通過電子方式跨境傳輸信息。

4. 合作、對話與柔性爭端處理規則

RCEP 數據條款的另一重要特征，是通過合作和對話機制處理成員國之間的制度差異。第十二章第四條規定成員方可以在幫助中小企業克服電子商務障礙、加強電子商務法律框架、開展能力建設、分享信息和最佳實踐等方面進行合作。第十六條進一步規定電子商務對話，成員方可就數字產品待遇、源代碼、金融服務中的跨境數據流動和計算設施位置等新興問題進行討論。

一般而言，數字化程度較高的發達國家更傾向於推動數據自由流動，以促進數字貿易與技術創新，例如日本和韓國；而部分發展中國家則更為關注數據安全、隱私保護及本土產業成長空間，例如柬埔寨和老撾可以在五年內暫不實施，允許適當延遲實施某些義務，體現了包容性。^[2]針對這一現實，RCEP 採取了『原則開放、例外靈活』的規範路徑，既確立了數據跨境流動的總體導向，也為成員國基於公共政策、安全等考量採取限制措施保留了空間。^[3]

[1] 中華人民共和國商務部. 區域全面經濟夥伴關係協定(RCEP):第十二章 電子商務. (2020-11-15)[2026-05-06]. http://fta.mofcom.gov.cn/rcep/rceppdf/d12z_cn.pdf.

[2] Bailey, Rishab & Parsheera, Smriti. (2018). Data localisation in India: Questioning the means and ends(NIPFP Working Paper No. 242). National Institute of Public Finance and Policy.

[3] 陳麗娜:《我國跨境數據流動規則的理論邏輯與體系重塑——基於圍獵博弈模型的分析》,《科技與法律(中英文)》,2023年第5期,頁61-72。



(二) 與其他國際協議的比較分析

為了準確理解 RCEP 數據條款的制度特征,有必要將其置於全球主要數據跨境流動規則模式中比較。總體而言,當前國際數據治理大致形成三種典型路徑:美國主導的自由流動優先模式、歐盟主導的隱私保護優先模式,以及亞太區域中較具折中性的開放—安全平衡模式。

1. 美國自由流動優先範式

美國在跨境數據流動治理上倡導高度自由化的模式,其主導的協議(如《美墨加協定》,USMCA)通常以推動數據完全自由流動為核心原則。這類協定往往嚴格限制成員國採取數據本地化措施,僅允許在極少數特定情況下對數據流動進行限制,並通過具有約束力的爭端解決機制保障條款執行。在此範式下,國家安全等理由難以構成設置數據流動壁壘的充分依據,成員國維護數據主權或加強隱私保護的國內舉措,容易被視為變相的貿易壁壘而受到約束。^[1]

2. 歐盟隱私與保護優先範式

歐盟則通過《個人數據保護條例》建立了一個嚴格的個人數據保護體系,相較於美國松散的管理模式,更強調個人信息和個人隱私保護,特別是對個人數據的跨境流動設定了高度的合規要求。歐盟模式下,數據流動受到強烈的隱私保護驅動,相較而言,RCEP 則更注重各國各自國家不同的法律規定,更具有包容性。^[2]

3. 亞太折中範式

CPTPP 與 RCEP 二者都規定了數據自由流動的規則,強調數據存儲本地化。其中 CPTPP 第 14.11 條要求允許跨境數據傳輸,且需『不構成任意或不合理歧視』並『不得較必要程度更嚴』。與 RCEP 相比,CPTPP 對『合法公共政策』這一例外原則做了更嚴格的限定,並未授權各國可以隨意使用此原因限制數據的自由流動。^[3] 另外,CPTPP 的數據條款對於各成員國而言更具有法定的效力,^[4] 而 RCEP 通過在條款中明確國家安全可作為跨境數據流動的例外原則,客觀上允許了成員以安全為由保留部分數據管制。^[5] 這種靈活性是基於 RCEP 成員國各國的現實需求所決定的,因為其多為發展中國家,更希望保護數字主權的完整。而同為成員國日本、澳大利亞、韓國等多個發達國家,更希望獲得自由貿易的機會。由此可見,這些國家在數據主權、技術標準和數字產業發展思路上各有不同,立場並不完全一致。RCEP 區域內的數據流動規則已經不僅僅是一個經濟或法律問題,還被附加了地緣政治的色彩,各方在數據跨境合作中更加謹慎,要製定一體化規則顯得較為困難。整體而言,RCEP 的數據治理制度具有鮮明的『亞洲特色』,注重靈活性、包容性和合作性。^[6]

四、跨境數據流動現狀與風險

RCEP 框架下跨境數據流動治理的現實意義,只有放置到具體產業和地方經濟場景中才能得到充分理

[1] Geist, M. (2018). Data rules in modern trade agreements: Toward reconciling an open internet with privacy and security safeguards. *CIGI Data Governance in the Digital Age: a CIGI Essay Series*. Waterloo: Centre for International Governance Innovation, 108-113.

[2] 熊光清,張素敏:《中國個人信息保護規範的域外適用:國際比較的考察》,《哈爾濱工業大學學報(社會科學版)》,2025年第5期,頁48-59。

[3] Canton, H. (2021). Organisation for economic co-operation and development—OECD. In *The Europa directory of international organizations* 2021 (pp. 677-687). London: Routledge.

[4] 宋俊榮:《我國數據跨境流動規製措施與 RCEP 服務貿易規則相符性及應對》,《當代法學》,2025年第2期,頁147-160。

[5] 蔣慧:《RCEP 背景下國際數字貿易規則的比較、挑戰與中國因應》,《廣西社會科學》,2024年第1期,頁77-84。

[6] 同註①,第3頁。

解。寧波作為我國重要的港口城市、製造業基地和外向型經濟高地,其智能製造企業在參與 RCEP 區域貿易過程中,已經形成高頻率、多類型、跨法域的數據流動結構。因此,寧波智能製造企業具有觀察 RCEP 跨境數據流動治理問題的典型樣本意義。

(一) 智能製造企業跨境數據流動的典型業務場景

寧波製造業長期具有外向型、集群化和供應鏈嵌入程度高等特點。隨著智能製造和數字化轉型深入推進,企業生產經營過程中的數據密度顯著提高。數據既可能服務於普通商業活動,也可能涉及個人信息、商業秘密、重要生產數據乃至潛在的重要數據。因此,寧波智能製造企業的跨境數據流動,不應被簡單理解為『數據能不能出境』的問題,而應理解為『哪些數據、在何種場景下、以何種路徑、向哪些主體、基於何種法律依據出境』的精細化治理問題。結合寧波智能製造企業的出海實踐,可以將其跨境數據流動概括為四類典型場景:供應鏈協同數據流動、客戶服務數據流動、遠程運維數據流動和技術輸出數據流動。

1. 供應鏈協作與管理

供應鏈協同是寧波智能製造企業跨境數據流動最基礎、最頻繁的場景。在智能製造模式下,企業往往通過數字平臺進行實時管理,供應鏈數據呈現連續化、結構化和平臺化特征。例如,境外客戶可能實時查詢訂單進度,境外倉儲物流企業需要接收庫存和發貨指令,境外售後服務商需要獲取產品批次和零部件信息。隨著數據共享範圍擴大,企業面臨的合規問題也由單一貿易單證管理轉向全鏈路數據治理。該場景中的主要風險並不必然來自個人信息,而是來自供應鏈數據的商業敏感性。訂單規模、客戶名單、核心供應商、生產周期和庫存信息,均可能反映企業經營狀況和市場競爭策略。一旦相關數據被境外合作方不當使用,或因第三方平臺安全能力不足而泄露,企業可能遭受商業秘密損失、客戶流失和供應鏈議價能力下降。

2. 客戶服務與數據傳輸

客戶服務場景主要出現在跨境電商、海外售後、會員管理和用戶反饋等過程中。寧波智能製造企業銷售產品後,通常需要收集境外消費者的姓名、聯繫方式、地址、購買記錄、維修記錄、使用偏好和產品反饋等信息。若產品具有智能化功能,還可能進一步涉及設備識別碼、位置數據或影像數據。該場景的風險核心在於個人信息保護。企業如果沿用國內統一模板處理所有境外用戶數據,可能無法滿足目的國監管要求。例如,在日本、新加坡、澳大利亞等個人信息保護制度較成熟的市場,企業通常需要更加重視隱私政策透明性、用戶授權有效性、數據最小化和第三方共享限制。RCEP 第十二章也要求成員方採取或維持保護電子商務用戶個人信息的法律框架,並鼓勵企業公布與個人信息保護相關的政策和程序。^[1]

3. 工業數據跨境傳輸與安全邊界模糊

遠程運維是智能製造企業區別於傳統製造企業的重要數據流動場景。遠程運維數據的法律屬性較為複雜。一方面,設備狀態、故障日誌和維護記錄通常服務於售後目的,可能屬於一般經營數據;另一方面,如果這些數據能夠反映生產工藝、產能水平、設備運行規律、算法模型或客戶生產安排,就可能具有商業秘密價值。尤其是當企業使用境外雲服務平臺進行數據存儲、分析和遠程訪問時,數據控制權、訪問權限、平臺安全責任和境外監管調取風險都需要進一步評估。該場景說明,智能製造企業的數據出境合規不能僅以『是否包含個人信息』為判斷標準。工業數據雖然未必涉及個人信息,但其可能具有產業競爭價值和安全敏感性。企業需要通過數據分類分級、訪問權限控制、加密傳輸、日誌留存、境外接收方安全評估和遠程運維協議等方式,建立更精細的治理邊界。

4. 商業機密和算法模型輸出

[1] 郭德香:《RCEP 數據跨境流動基本安全例外條款適用問題研究》,《當代法學》,2025 年第 4 期,頁 149-160。



技術輸出場景主要包括境外建廠、海外聯合研發、智能工廠建設、工業軟件授權、算法模型部署和工藝流程共享等。寧波智能製造企業在拓展 RCEP 市場時,可能需要向境外子公司、合作夥伴或客戶提供產品設計方案、設備參數、工藝流程、工業軟件、算法模型和生產優化方案。這類數據通常具有較高技術含量和商業價值,是企業核心競爭力的重要組成部分。^[1]

(二) 跨境數據流動的風險識別

基於上述業務場景,寧波智能製造企業在 RCEP 區域跨境數據流動中主要面臨四類風險:制度合規風險、個人信息與消費者信任風險、數據安全與網絡攻擊風險、商業秘密與產業競爭風險。

1. 制度合規風險

目前東盟各國數據法規之間的差異與監管要求的分歧,^[2]制度的不統一,是造成寧波智能製造企業數據合規的首要解決難題。各國基於本身國情、法律傳統和現實需求,正沿各自路徑推進數據立法:^[3]歐盟注重個人數據的保護,所以嚴格管理跨境數據,美國側重以市場為導向的數據自由流動,而中國則更強調數據主權與安全的優先地位。盡管 RCEP 在區域內倡導數據流動自由化,其條款仍允許成員國以『合法公共政策』和『基本安全利益』為由設置例外限制。

中國 2024 年《促進和規範數據跨境流動規定》實際上為企業提供了更加精細化的出境規則:部分國際貿易、跨境運輸、跨國生產製造和市場營銷活動中的一般數據可以適用便利化安排;達到一定個人信息數量或者涉及重要數據時,則需要履行更嚴格義務。這意味著企業合規能力的核心,正在從『是否申請審批』轉向『能否準確識別數據屬性並匹配適當合規路徑』。

2. 個人信息與消費者信任風險

在跨境數據流動過程中,個人數據的傳輸與存儲極易觸發隱私泄露風險。由於各國在個人數據的界定、保護標準及同意機制等方面存在明顯差異,例如中國的個人信息隱私與日本相關範圍就有所不同。所以,數據跨境行為可能因違反當地的消費者保護法規而造成侵權行為,從而影響企業聲譽與市場信任。例如,某升降桌企業就因未獲得用戶同意收集身高數據,而被罰款。^[4]

近年來,RCEP 各成員國持續加強個人信息保護立法,並對數據泄露事件采取日趨嚴格的執法措施。區域各國法律環境的不均衡,要求寧波企業在開展客戶數據跨境傳輸時,必須針對不同目的國的規定采取相應措施,如落實數據脫敏、遵循最小必要原則、獲取用戶明示同意等。若未能建立並執行這類技術與管理層面的高標準防護機制,企業將同時面臨合規處罰與客戶流失的雙重壓力。^[5]

3. 數據安全與網絡攻擊風險

跨境數據流動需要在不同司法管轄區域之間傳輸和存儲信息,這也使得數據面臨網絡攻擊與泄露的風險明顯上升。具體來看,在跨境傳輸過程中,數據容易遭遇中間人攻擊或惡意截取,導致敏感信息在傳送中被竊取或篡改。^[6] 具體而言,數據在跨境傳輸鏈路上易受到中間人攻擊或惡意攔截,導致敏感信息在傳輸過程中被竊取或篡改。^[7] 跨境數據流動,本質上是數據在不同法域之間的『遷移』。這個過程看似簡單,實則每一步都可能觸發不同的法律與安全機制。無論是供應鏈協同,還是客戶數據回傳,幾乎都離不開境外

[1] 劉洪槐,李欣波,許尚坤:《中美歐數字貿易發展戰略與政策比較研究》,《國際經濟合作》,2025 年第 5 期,頁 67-77。

[2] 許多奇:《個人數據跨境流動規制的國際格局及中國應對》,《法學論壇》,2018 年第 3 期,頁 130-137。

[3] 湯諍:《數據跨境流動國際規則碎片化與協調路徑》,《江西社會科學》,2025 年第 6 期,頁 112-124。

[4] 李姝卉:《數字貿易中的隱私權保護》,《華東政法大學學報》,2025 年第 1 期,頁 135-146。

[5] 梁燕妮:《數字經濟背景下的數據交易風險與合規治理研究》,《廣西科學》,2024 年第 2 期,頁 395-404。

[6] 文銘,李星熠:《「自由-規製」框架下跨境數據流動治理及中國方案》,《中國科技論壇》,2024 年第 4 期,頁 106-116。

[7] 廖麗,武子微:《國家安全例外條款在數據跨境流動中的適用研究》,《國際貿易》,2024 年第 8 期,頁 87-96。

雲基礎設施或第三方平臺。

4. 商業秘密與產業競爭

商業秘密與產業競爭風險是智能製造企業最容易被低估的風險。工業數據的風險在於，其價值往往不是單一數據本身，而是多組數據結合後形成的推斷價值。例如，單個設備運行參數可能並不敏感，但長期運行參數、故障日誌和生產節拍結合起來，可能反映企業核心工藝水平；單個訂單信息可能價值有限，但訂單頻率、客戶結構和交付周期結合起來，可能反映企業市場策略和供應鏈能力。因此，企業不能只按照傳統文件密級管理工業數據，而應關注數據聚合後的商業價值和安全敏感性。

五、RCEP 數據條款的制度『多中心治理』應對措施

面對跨境數據流動治理所呈現的複雜性與風險的多元性，急需一個多中心治理的模式，該模式應突破傳統政府為治理主體的思維模式，轉向『國際組織、國家、地方及企業』多元主體的協同治理模式，緩解因制度差異引發的治理衝突，從而抵禦風險。

（一）國際層面：加強規則協調與跨國合作

儘管 RCEP 已初步設定了數據流動框架規則，但各成員國的法律規定仍有不同，呈現碎片化的特點。制度的不銜接會導致貿易摩擦，所以有必要進一步細化相關規則，達成區域內的共識。例如可以在 RCEP 架構下成立專門的數據治理工作組，定期評估成員國相關法律法規的動態。該工作組還可為各國政府與企業提供政策解讀與操作指引，從而減少因規則差異引發的合規不確定性。

（二）國家層面：制度完善與政策創新

在 RCEP 框架指導下，各成員國需在國內層面加快完善國內立法與規則的銜接，為企業提供可預期的政策指引和良好的營商環境。

首先，健全分級分類的跨境數據監管法律框架。首先要建立數據分級標準，根據數據的性質和內容，將其分類為『一般數據—重要數據—核心數據』，並根據不同數據類別作出不同的法律規定和監管準則，實現精準化的管理。

其次，在自貿區中設立『沙盒監管』試點。可在自貿區或經濟特區建立建設監管點，幫助企業進行場景化的模擬和測評。同時，監管部門也可以實現實時的動態監測，並且及時調整政策。

（三）地方層面：地方試點與示範區建設

以寧波為例，在國家層面政策支持下，地方政府也應當積極探索體現地方產業特色的跨境數據治理實踐模式，履行服務型政府職能。

第一，『跨境數據流動綜合服務平臺』試點。寧波市政府可牽頭設立一站式服務平臺，整合政策諮詢、合規評估、風險預警等職能，為企業提供全流程輔導。

第二，構建『政產學研用』協同體系。可依托本地高校、研究機構及重點企業，聯合組建跨境數據治理研究中心，開展面向區域國別差異的政策研究。

第三，形成『行業自律+企業自查』的體系。鼓勵本地智能製造、跨境電商等主導產業的協會或聯盟，牽頭製定國家法規的行業數據保護公約與跨境流動操作指引。



(四) 企業層面:企業合規管理與技術創新

企業在參與跨境數據流動時,需主動提升數據合規意識,培養相關人才。

第一,建立常態化的數據合規體系。企業應設立專職團隊或崗位,負責跟蹤 RCEP 及各相關國家的數據法規動態,並據此完善內部跨境數據管理流程。通過定期的合規審計與風險評估,確保數據出境活動持續符合國際規則與目的地國法律要求。

第二,強化數據安全的技術保障與創新應用。在技術層面,應加大對傳輸加密、隱私計算等安全技術的投入。

第三,構建跨境數據風險應急體系。企業應提前製定跨境數據安全事件應急預案,一旦發生數據泄露、違規傳輸等事故,能夠迅速啟動處置程序,控制影響範圍。

六、總結:推動區域數字治理的可持續發展

RCEP 框架下的跨境數據流動治理,是一項長期的系統性工程。本文所構建的『國際—國家—地方與企業』多中心治理路徑,其核心在於承認沒有任何單一主體能夠獨立解決所有問題,必須通過各中心間的分工、協作與良性競爭,形成治理合力。國際層面著力於『建橋』以減少制度隔閡,國家層面致力於『立規』以穩定市場預期,地方與企業層面側重於『賦能』以激發內生動力。唯有如此,才能在享受數據跨境流動所帶來的巨大數字紅利的同時,有效駕馭其伴隨的各類風險,最終在 RCEP 區域內構建起一個開放、有序、安全且充滿韌性的數字命運共同體。

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Some Thoughts on the Construction of Regional and Country-specific Disciplines and Majors in Local Applied Universities

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Abstract: Against the backdrop of globalization and the Belt and Road Initiative, this paper explores the necessity and development paths for local application-oriented universities to develop area studies and country-specific studies. Faced with escalating national strategic needs and the deepening of local opening-up practices, such universities must break away from homogeneous competition. By taking advantage of geographical proximity, industrial relevance, and distinctive resource endowments, they can pursue a differentiated development path. Based on positioning logic, this paper demonstrates the threefold necessity of serving local development, realizing disciplinary specialization, and cultivating application-oriented talents. It further puts forward three major pillars: constructing a disciplinary system highlighted by interdisciplinary integration, regional focus, and dynamic openness, establishing a practice-oriented talent training model with industry-education integration, and building a teaching team with combined full-time and part-time teachers as well as cross-border collaboration. Finally, in view of the bottlenecks in resources, evaluation mechanisms, and featured development, it stresses achieving breakthroughs through university-government-enterprise coordination, evaluation reform, and brand refinement. Deeply rooted in local regions, local application-oriented universities can develop Area and Country Studies into a key underpinning for serving the national opening-up strategy and high-quality local development.

Keywords: Local application-oriented universities; Area and Country Studies; discipline construction; integration of industry and education; characteristic development; application-oriented talents

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地方應用型高校區域國別學科專業建設幾點思考

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摘要:在全球化與『一帶一路』背景下,地方應用型高校發展區域國別學科的必然性與路徑。面對國家戰略需求與地方開放實踐的深化,這類高校需擺脫同質化競爭,依託區位貼近性、產業關聯性和資源獨特性,開闢錯位發展道路。文章從定位邏輯出發,論證其服務地方發展、實現學科特色化及培養應用型人才的三重必然性;進而提出構建『交叉融合、區域聚焦、動態開放』的學科體系、『實務導向、產教融合』的培養模式及『專兼結合、跨界協同』的師資隊伍三大支柱;最後,針對資源、評價與特色瓶頸,強調通過校政企協同、評價改革與品牌凝練實現突破。地方應用型高校通過深植區域沃土,能夠將區域國別學建設成為服務國家開放大局與地方高質量發展的關鍵支撐。

關鍵詞:地方應用型高校;區域國別學;學科建設;產教融合;特色發展;應用型人才

一、引言

全球化進程的深化與『一帶一路』倡議的全面實施,將中國與世界前所未有地緊密聯結。在此進程中,國家對兼具全球視野、精深區域知識、卓越跨文化能力與扎實實務技能的複合型人才需求變得空前迫切。2022年,區域國別學正式列入交叉學科門類下的一級學科,標誌著這一長期處於邊緣地帶的領域走向學術研究與人才培養的中心舞臺,成為服務國家戰略決策、參與全球治理、推動文明互鑒的關鍵學術支撐。這一重大調整引發了高等教育界的廣泛佈局,其中,頂尖研究型大學憑藉其深厚的學術積澱、龐大的國際網路與雄厚的資源稟賦,迅速在理論建構與全球宏觀議題研究中佔據主導。

然而,中國高等教育的龐大底座與活力源泉,在於數量眾多、分佈廣泛的地方應用型高校^①。它們是連接國家高等教育體系與地方經濟社會發展的『毛細血管』與『神經網路』。傳統上,這類高校的學科建設重集中於工程技術、應用商貿等直接服務地方產業的領域,區域國別研究往往成為短板或盲區。但現實發展正在顛覆這一認知:隨著地方經濟外向度持續提升,中小企業『出海』步伐加快^②,自貿區、跨境合作區等開放平臺遍地開花,地方政府與企業對國別區域知識的需求已從宏觀抽象轉向具體而微、從理論探討轉向前沿的實務操作。^③例如,沿海製造企業需要精準研判東南亞產業鏈政策與勞工法律;邊境地方政府亟須深化對周邊國家政治生態與跨境治理機制的理解;文旅產業則渴求能將地方文化進行跨文化闡釋與國際化傳播的專業力量。這些具體而迫切的需求,為地方應用型高校的區域國別學科建設提供了不可替代的現實土壤與發展動力。但是,當前關於地方應用型高校如何開展區域國別學學科建設的成果並不多,代表性僅有德州學院馬應心、宋霽在這方面有專門的論述^④。

因此,一個核心命題擺在我們面前:在『雙一流』高校已然佔據先發優勢的既定格局下,資源相對有限、學術積澱相對薄弱的地方應用型高校,為何以及如何發展區域國別學科?是亦步亦趨地追隨,還是開闢一條嶄新的道路?這是必須系統回應的時代之問。我們將圍繞三個環環相扣的核心問題展開論述:第一,從價值理性層面,論證地方應用型高校投身區域國別學科建設的深層邏輯與獨特必要性;第二,從工具理性層

面,探索構建契合應用型高校辦學基因與區域稟賦的學科體系、培養模式與師資團隊的可行路徑;第三,從實踐操作層面,針對可能遇到的資源約束、評價梗阻與同質化風險,探討突破策略與特色塑造方案。通過對這一系統性工程的深入剖析,期望為眾多地方應用型高校發展區域國別學科提供參考,在服務國家開放大局與地方高質量發展的進程中,實現自身的轉型升級與價值昇華。

二、定位邏輯:地方應用型高校發展區域國別學科的重重必然性

地方應用型高校的區域國別學科建設,絕非盲目跟風或『為學科而學科』的學術擴張,而是基於內在發展邏輯與外部環境變遷的必然戰略選擇。其必要性根植於國家與地方需求的同頻共振、高等教育錯位競爭和特色發展的客觀規律,以及人才培養範式變革的時代要求。

(一) 服務國家戰略與地方發展需求

區域國別學以『全球視野、區域深耕交叉融合、經世致用』為學科本質。當前,我國正處於推進高水準對外開放、構建新發展格局的關鍵時期。『一帶一路』倡議走深走實、RCEP(《區域全面經濟夥伴關係協定》)全面生效、全球治理體系深度變革,無不要求對特定區域的政治脈動、經濟規律、社會文化有更精準、更動態、更可操作的認知並做出科學決策,為國家層面的戰略決策提供智庫支持。^⑤

國家戰略的落地生根,最終依賴於地方層面的生動實踐。地方應用型高校作為區域高等教育的『主力軍』與『服務站』,其核心使命是『服務地方經濟社會發展』。區域國別學科恰好成為聯結國家宏大敘事與地方具體實踐的橋樑與轉換器。實踐層面具體體現在三個方面:

賦能企業『走出去』。歷史上,企業出海往往面臨『水土不服』的困境,特別是隨著全球產業格局重塑,大量地方中小企業投身跨境貿易、投資與產能合作,但普遍面臨目標市場資訊不對稱、規則不明、文化隔閡等『出海』困境。地方高校的區域國別研究致力於為企業提供定制化、精細化的智力支持。為了助力企業出海,需要深度研究東南亞、歐美等主要出口市場的商貿習慣、消費心理、電商平臺規則與供應鏈物流特點,高校研究團隊提供有針對性的市場分析報告,為企業提供『一國一策』的市場准入指南與風險預警,將學術研究直接轉化為企業的競爭力和訂單量。

支撐政府從『經驗決策』轉變為『循證決策』。地方政府在推進自貿試驗區建設、國際友城交往、跨境經濟合作區管理、涉外公共事件處理等工作中,對專業、及時、可靠的區域國別情報與政策分析需求激增。地方高校扮演『地方外腦』或『區域智庫』角色,通過長期追蹤各國政策動態,形成專題報告,推動學術成果向治理效能高效轉化。

促進文化『走進去』,實現『雙向共鳴』。區域國別學不僅關注政治經濟,也深植於文化理解與文明互鑒。地方高校可以挖掘本地獨特的僑鄉文化、非物質文化遺產、特色產業文化等歷史文化資源,研究其在特定海外區域的傳播路徑、接受機制與創新轉化。研究地方歷史文化在華人社群中的傳承、變異與當代意義,為『世遺』品牌的國際傳播提供學術支撐。^⑥通過聯合研學、文化創意產品共同開發等形式,促進與海外各國民眾深層次的情感聯結與價值共鳴,切實提升國家文化軟實力在區域層面的感召力。

由此可見,對於地方應用型高校而言,發展區域國別學絕非『錦上添花』的學術點綴,而是高校社會服務功能的延伸^⑦,是其服務職能在全球化與地方化交織時代下的必然升級與核心體現。

(二) 學科差異化競爭與特色化發展

在高等教育分層分類、鼓勵特色發展的大趨勢下,地方應用型高校與『雙一流』高校在資源稟賦、學術傳



統、國際網路上的客觀差距。若盲目效仿後者致力於全球性理論建構或大國關係等宏觀議題，勢必陷入資源不逮、特色湮沒的同質化競爭困境。然而，這絕不意味著應退出這一重要領域。相反，明智的選擇在於『錯位競爭、特色取勝』，利用自身無可替代的『區域』優勢，^⑧開闢一片屬於自身的『藍海』。

地方應用型高校的核心優勢在於其區位貼近性、產業關聯性與資源獨特性，這恰恰是頂尖大學難以複製或不願深耕的領域。

區位貼近性：雲南、新疆、黑龍江等沿邊高校可天然聚焦周邊國家與跨境區域研究；廣東、浙江、山東等沿海高校可深耕海洋經濟、港口合作與海上絲路研究；河南鄭州、湖北武漢等內陸交通樞紐高校則可聚焦『陸上絲綢之路』經濟帶沿線的物流、能源與產業合作研究。以區域優勢助力學科建設。

產業關聯性：地方主導產業往往與全球特定區域形成緊密的產業鏈、供應鏈聯結。蘇州、東莞的製造業優勢學科高校可聚焦德國、日本的隱形冠軍企業研究或東南亞製造業轉移研究；重慶的物流類優勢學科高校可深耕中歐班列沿線國家的通關政策與物流樞紐研究；杭州的數字經濟類優勢學科高校可側重研究東南亞數字市場生態與平臺規則。

資源獨特性：許多地方高校坐擁獨一無二的地方性知識寶庫，如僑批檔案、地方外經貿史志、特色產業企業出海案例庫、民族文化遺產等。這些『冷門』資源恰恰是構建特色研究方向的基石，有助於形成獨具一格、有國際學術影響力的特色領域。

通過聚焦『小而精』『專而深』『接地氣』的領域，地方應用型高校打造出具有高度辨識度和不可替代性的學科品牌，從而在廣闊的區域國別學研究版圖中，牢牢佔據屬於自己的生態位。^⑨

（三）應用型、複合型、國際實務型人才培养的時代要求

當前，我國對外開放邁向高質量發展，市場對人才的需求發生了深刻變化。傳統人文社科培養模式的人才供給與國家和社會需求之間存在結構性缺口。^⑩政府部門、外向型企業、國際組織分支機構等，迫切需要不僅熟練掌握外語或國際知識，而且精通特定區域國情、兼具跨學科分析能力和實務操作技能的『區域通』『國別通』式複合型人才。^⑪

應用型高校的人才培養要以『下得去、用得上、留得住』為導向，其人才培養邏輯與區域國別學的實踐導向具有較高的契合度。通過建設區域國別學科，有效回應對這類新型人才的迫切需求。地方應用型高校的區域國別學人才應該具備哪些核心素養是我們首先要回答的問題。

一方面，是應用型高校區域國別人才培養有區域國別學人才素養的共性。其一，不僅掌握對象國的語言、歷史、文化常識，更能理解其政治運作邏輯、經濟結構特徵、社會變遷動力與法律體系框架的系統性區域知識體系。其二，靈活運用政治學、經濟學、社會學、人類學、數據科學等多學科工具，對複雜的區域性問題進行綜合分析，提出系統性見解的跨學科的整合分析能力。另一方面，應用型高校區域國別學人才培養要有自己的個性素養。其一，要具備扎實的跨境市場調研、國際商務談判、涉外法律文書撰寫、跨文化溝通與衝突管理、政策調研與評估、新媒體國際傳播等實務操作技能。其二，既深刻理解全球發展趨勢與區域動態，又能緊密結合中國國情與地方發展實際，提出具有可操作性的解決方案，即兼具開闊的國際視野與深厚的本土關懷。

地方應用型高校通過構建『學科—專業—產業』深度聯動的培養機制，致力於培養出『既懂世界，更懂地方；既有理論素養，更有實戰能力』的特色區域國別學人才，有效填補地方涉外實務領域人才空白，讓人才培養紮根對外開放的最前沿。

三、構築應用型高校區域國別學科專業建設的『三大支柱』

在明確『為何而建』的同時,『如何構建』成為關鍵。地方應用型高校的區域國別學科建設,必須摒棄傳統文科的建設範式,圍繞應用型特質,著力構築三大核心支柱。

(一) 構建『交叉融合、區域聚焦、動態開放』的三位一體的學科體系支柱

區域國別學作為典型的交叉學科,其學科知識體系必須打破外國語言文學、經濟學、政治學、社會學等傳統學科的森嚴壁壘,以『區域』為組織核心,以『真實問題』為導向,構建一個層次分明、有機融合的知識生態系統。^⑫

掌握基礎理論和方法,強調應用轉化。基礎理論和方法的學習旨在培養學生基本的學科思維與研究方法。課程設置應避免純理論灌輸,突出『應用型理論』的選取與講授。核心課程包括:《區域國別學導論》、《全球治理與區域合作理論》、《跨文化研究理論與方法》、《國際政治經濟學》、《區域研究方法論》等。專題課程建設上必須強調跨學科融合。例如,融合平臺經濟、電商運營、數據合規、社交媒體等多學科知識開設『東南亞數字經濟』專題,邀請來自相關企業、政府部門的實務專家參與課程設計與片段教學,確保課程內容與前沿實踐同步。教學方法上,推行『案例教學法』,將地方企業出海案例、地方政府涉外決策案例、跨境文化交流案例等融入理論講解,使學生直觀感受理論的實踐價值。

打造區域特色研究方向,實現精深聚焦。立足區域特色開展研究決定學科的獨特性和生命力。地方高校必須基於自身區位與資源優勢,堅持『問題導向』和『需求導向』,選擇 1—2 個重點區域進行集中研究,形成深度積累。在聚焦的同時,應用型高校區域國別學人才的培養必須強化實務技能訓練,對接真實應用場景,培養學生解決實際問題的能力是關鍵。課程設計必須突出『工具性』和『实操性』。

應用型高校區域國別學學科的建設應保持動態開放性,建立與地方政府、行業協會、重點企業的定期需求調研機制,根據區域形勢變化與地方發展新需求,及時調整和更新課程內容與研究方向^⑬,確保學科知識體系的時效性與生命力。應與地方合作單位的真實專案緊密結合,多方合作開設《區域田野調查實務》《區域大數據挖掘與分析》《跨文化溝通與談判實務》《涉外政策分析與模擬》《海外投資風險管理實務》等核心課程,讓學生在『幹中學』,產出有實際應用價值的調研報告、數據分析產品或諮詢方案。

(二) 打造『產教融合、全程協同、在地國際化』的人才培養支柱模式

人才培養是應用型高校區域國別學學科建設的最終落腳點。^⑭必須徹底扭轉傳統人才培養慣性,推動實現三個根本性轉變。

建立『校地協同』的實踐教學體系,構建區域國別人才培養的實踐生命線。一方面,系統性地將學習場景從教室延伸到地方政府、涉外企業、國際展會、跨境社區等一線現場。另一方面,多部門協同共建多元化實踐基地,與地方商務或外事部門共建『涉外事務實踐基地』;與跨境電商或製造企業共建『跨境商務實踐基地』;與文旅集團或博物館共建『跨文化傳播實踐基地』;利用友好城市資源、與海外合作院校共建『海外研學基地』等等。以上都是非常有效的區域國別學應用型人才實踐教學途徑。

全面實施產教融合『雙導師制』,推行專案式學習(PBL)。學校通過為區域國別學相關學生配備一位校內學術導師以及一位具有較高實務造詣的行業實務導師來助力學生提升應用能力。學術導師負責學業規劃與理論指導,實務導師負責實踐技能傳授、職業規劃與產業資源對接,實現培養環節的全覆蓋與深度融合。在深入合作的基礎上圍繞真實問題設計實踐專案,學生以團隊形式,在雙導師指導下,完成從調研、分析到



提出解決方案的全過程,成果直接服務委託方。

深化『在地國際化』,視角從本土轉向全球。在地研究是區域國別學學科建設的必然要求^⑮。國際視野不能僅靠書本和講座獲得,還需要拓展『在地國際化』與『跨境流動』管道。一方面,充分利用校內師生資源,組織中外短期交流以及長期的聯合研究、文化專案;邀請目標區域國家的駐華外交官、企業家、學者來校舉辦工作坊、短期課程;舉辦模擬東盟峰會等品牌活動。另一方面,依託友城關係、合作院校,組織短期海外研學營,深入對象國進行田野調查與企業參訪;爭取與國際組織地方辦事處、企業海外分支機構的實習名額;探索與海外高校的『3+1』、『2+2』聯合培養專案,拓展海外流動機會,讓學生獲得沉浸式的區域體驗。

(三) 組建『專兼結合、跨界協同、能力複合』的教學科研團隊

師資是決定地方應用型高校區域國別學學科建設成敗的最關鍵變數^⑯,必須打破常規師資引進與培養模式。組建一支適應區域國別學科人才培養的師資團隊,為應用型高校的區域國別學科建設提供師資隊伍支撐

首先,大力引進『雙棲型』領軍人才與骨幹。人才招聘向兼具深厚學術造詣與豐富實務經驗的人才傾斜。優先考慮有海外相關區域研究背景且參與過政府或企業諮詢專案的學者,具有長期駐外工作經驗的跨國企業前高管、國際組織前官員、資深外交官或記者轉型從教者以及擁有跨學科學位背景和實證研究能力的青年博士等人才。借助『實務特聘教授』、『產業教授』等柔性崗位,在評價標準、薪酬待遇上體現對其獨特價值的認可。^⑰

其二,系統性培育和提升校內現有教師的區域國別學研究和實踐能力。實施『師資能力重塑計畫』,支持外語、經濟、歷史等專業教師赴國內外頂尖區域國別研究機構訪學,系統補充跨學科理論與方法。建立教師赴地方政府涉外部門、重點涉外企業定期掛職鍛煉的剛性制度,積累一手產業海外發展經驗。鼓勵並資助不同院系教師圍繞特色區域方向,組建跨學科『研究工作室』或『工作坊』,^⑱通過共同申請課題、合作授課、編寫案例,自然形成跨學科教學科研團隊。

其三,大規模、規範化延聘『實務型』兼職導師隊伍。建立開放的『兼職教師庫』,動態吸納地方政府涉外業務骨幹、成功出海企業家、知名涉外律師、駐外記者、資深國際導遊等擔任課程講師、實踐導師或畢業設計指導老師。並邀請他們參與專業和學科建設,在人才培養方案制定、課程評價等環節發揮實質性作用,以行業前沿需求和實踐成果引導人才培養。^⑲通過『引進一批、轉型一批、外聘一批』的組合拳,逐步打造出一支學術基礎扎實、瞭解中國國情、熟悉區域國別產業、精通區域國別事務、善於跨學科合作的新型師資隊伍。^⑳

四、區域國別學科專業建設的實踐路徑

地方應用型高校在推進區域國別學科建設過程中必須突破資源、評價、特色三大瓶頸,要求應用型高校必須創新思路,以體系化策略謀求突破。

(一) 整合資源,構建『校政企』『國內國外』協同創新育人生態

應用型高校僅僅依靠自身資源無法支撐一個強國際視野、多學科交叉融合且具有深遠影響力的區域國別學科建設。因而,必須打開校門社會化、國際化辦學,構建一個資源彙聚、價值共創的開放育人生態系統。

深化校政合作,共建地方高端涉外智庫。整合高校智力與研究能力以及政府政策需求、經費、數據資源和實踐場景等與省市商務廳(局)、外辦、發改委、自貿區管委會等共建實體或虛擬『區域國別研究智庫平臺』。^㉑通過『承接委託課題、提交政策簡報、舉辦高端論壇、培養人才』為主要職能,力求建成地方政府在相關

區域國際事務上『離不開、信得過、用得上』的核心智庫。

強化校企聯動,共築企業出海智庫平臺。實際運用中與地方龍頭涉外企業、行業協會、跨境電商園區等合作設立『企業出海諮詢中心』或『跨境創新實驗室』等機構。採用『企業出題、高校解題、學生做題』的模式^②,將企業面臨的具體國別市場、法律、文化、管理問題,轉化為師生的研究課題、實踐專案和畢業設計選題。高校以優質解決方案獲得研究經費、實踐案例和數據回饋,學生獲得真實的鍛煉機會的同時企業也以低成本獲得了高質效的智力支持與潛在人才。與此同時,還要積極探索『服務換股權』、『諮詢收入反哺學科』^③等可持續合作模式。

拓展國內國際校際聯盟,建立學術與教育資源網路。橫向聯合國內同類地方應用型高校,成立『區域國別學院應用型人才培養研究聯盟』,在課程互選、學分互認、師資共用、實踐基地共用、聯合研究等方面開展合作,形成集群優勢。縱向與國內外頂尖大學的相關研究機構建立『結對』關係,獲取學術指導與交流管道。通過聯盟化發展,化小為大,提升整體資源獲取能力與學術影響力。

(二) 建立『應用導向、分類評價、多元認可』的評價體系

區域國別學是多學科交叉融合的學科,必須改革評價體系構建一套能夠真正適應應用型高校區域國別學人才培養的『新尺規』^④。

突出跨學科知識實踐運用能力評價。降低傳統課程考試分數在學生評價中的權重,大幅提高實習、專案、競賽、創業等實踐環節在評價中的占比。學生的優秀調研報告被政府採納、諮詢方案被企業採用、跨文化專案產生良好社會影響,應等同於甚至高於發表學術論文的價值,在推優、保研、獎學金評定中予以充分體現。建立畢業生職業發展追蹤機制,將就業品質、用人單位評價作為專業評估的核心指標之一。

以國際視野評價教師科研與社會服務成效。通過拓寬成果認定範疇,對區域國別學相關教師實行教師分類評價。應用型高校區域國別學相較於綜合性研究型大學,更多是從事實際應用研究的教師,面向產業的應用型要求最高。重點考核相關研究報告被省部級以上政府部門採納,獲得領導批示的情況以及被企業採納並產生顯著經濟效益的諮詢方案、技術服務合同。引導他們牽頭建設的具有影響力的區域資料庫、案例庫;在主流媒體發表的重要區域評論文章;成功組織的大型國際交流活動等。這些成果在職稱評聘、績效分配中應與學術論文、縱向課題享有同等甚至更高的權重。探索引入『用戶評價』機制,由服務對象對教師的應用研究成果進行背對背評價。

引入第三方與長效評估,建立與區域國別學相適應的學科與專業評價指標。在學科評估和專業認證中,大幅增加『國家視野』『學科交叉融合度』『產教融合深度』『畢業生雇主滿意度』等指標的權重。邀請涉外部門、行業協會、重點企業、地方政府部門代表參與區域國別學的建設和評價。由於區域國別學屬於新興學科,其評價不能僅看一時數據,更關注學科建設對區域對外開放的長期推動效果,建立一種動態的、長期的、成效導向的評價。

(三) 凝練特色打造區域標識性學科品牌

全球化時代分工細化是必然要求,^⑤區域國別學的學科建設和人才培養也是如此。全世界 200 餘個國家和地區,面面俱到等於面面不到。必須堅持『有所為、有所不為』集中優勢兵力,在關鍵領域實現突破,鍛造屬於本校的學科品牌。^⑥

立足高校所處區域,深挖『區位地緣』特色,建立應用型高校區域國別學科建設最天然、最穩固的特色來源。沿海高校可聚焦海洋產業、港口合作、海島旅遊等藍色經濟^⑦;沿邊高校可深耕邊境經濟合作區、跨境民族、非傳統安全等跨境治理^⑧;重要交通樞紐城市高校可側重中歐班列、陸海新通道等『通道經濟』與沿線區



域研究。向上服務國家戰略,向下服務『地方產業』出海,實現學科建設與產業海外發展的同頻共振,獲得持續的資源投入和發展動力。

應用型高校還需要根據自身實際,制定差異化發展策略。製造業重鎮的高校,學科方向應緊密對接並服務當地產業集群的海外拓展,深入研究目標國的產業鏈配套、技術標準、勞工政策等對企業具有實際裨益的領域。^②商貿旅遊類高校側重研究主要客源國或貿易夥伴國的消費市場、商貿規則、文旅融合等領域。農業類高校,可聚焦農業國際合作、糧食安全、農業技術跨國推廣等方向^③。

與此同時,需要長期的戰略定力與持續的資源配置助力特色凝練和品牌形成。進而吸引特定的生源、師資、專案與合作夥伴,形成良性迴圈,最終使區域國別學科成為應用型高校在某一特定領域一張閃亮的『地方名片』。

五、結語:從學科建構到生態賦能——地方應用型高校的時代擔當

地方應用型高校投身區域國別學科建設,它超越了單純的學科增設或專業調整,本質上是對『紮根中國大地辦大學』^④這一時代要求的回應,是高校將自身發展融入國家戰略和區域脈搏的生動實踐。

應用型高校區域國別學建設要求管理者必須以戰略眼光,打破傳統路徑依賴。教師也要走出舒適區,擁抱跨學科與實踐轉型。高校的社會服務職能由國內擴展至國際,主動與外部世界建立更開放、更緊密、更富建設性的聯結,其回報亦必將是豐厚的。應用型高校的區域國別學科建設不僅能為國家在複雜國際環境中提供來自基層的、鮮活的『地方智慧』與『區域方案』,也能為地方經濟社會的高水準開放注入持續的『知識動能』與『人才活水』,更能從根本上推動地方應用型高校自身的內涵昇華與特色重塑,使其在高等教育高質量發展的宏大敘事中,找到不可替代的價值座標。

未來,隨著更多地方應用型高校基於自身稟賦,探索出各具特色的區域國別學科建設模式,一幅『百花齊放、百舸爭流』的生動圖景將會呈現。這不僅是區域國別學生態的豐富與拓展,更是中國特色應用型高等教育體系走向成熟的重要標誌。地方應用型高校唯有以服務為宗旨,以應用為靈魂,以特色為生命,深植區域沃土,才能在這片充滿希望的交叉學科田野上,培育出既具有中國根基、又洋溢世界情懷的學術之花與人才之果,最終在中華民族偉大復興與構建人類命運共同體的偉大征程中,書寫下屬於自己的、堅實而輝煌的篇章。

注釋

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Intellectual Resonance in Times of Shared Crisis: A Study on the Cultural Mutual Assistance between Modern Chinese Reformists and Anti-Colonial Intellectuals in Southeast Asia

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Abstract: From the mid-19th to the early 20th century, China and Southeast Asian nations were both subjected to the shocks of Western colonial expansion. Driven by the common goal of “national salvation and survival,” intellectuals from both regions engaged in cultural mutual assistance through channels such as newspapers and journals, overseas studies, and folk networks, fostering a cross-regional and transnational resonance of anti-colonial thought. This paper focuses on the interactions between Chinese reformists and anti-colonial intellectuals in Southeast Asia, exploring the historical context, dissemination pathways, and practical impact of their intellectual resonance. It aims to reveal the unique value of cultural mutual assistance in modern anti-colonial struggles and provide historical insights for the contemporary cultural exchange and mutual learning between China and Southeast Asian countries.

Keywords: Modern China; Reformists; Southeast Asia; cultural mutual assistance

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共同危機下的思想共振： 近代中國維新派與東南亞反殖知識份子的文化互助研究

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摘 要：19 世紀中葉至 20 世紀初，中國與東南亞國家同處西方殖民擴張的衝擊。在『救亡圖存』的共同訴求下，兩地有識之士通過報刊、留學、民間網路等管道展開文化互助，形成了跨區域國別的反殖思想共鳴。本文以中國維新派與東南亞反殖知識份子的互動為中心，探討其思想共鳴的歷史語境、傳播路徑與實踐影響，揭示文化互助在近代反殖鬥爭中的特殊價值，並為當代中國-東南亞國家文明互鑒提供歷史鏡鑒。

關鍵詞：近代；維新派；東南亞；文化互助

一、引言

19 世紀是西方殖民主義全球擴張的時代，也是亞洲文明劇烈轉型的時期。中國自鴉片戰爭起逐步淪為半殖民地半封建社會，東南亞國家則先後被荷蘭、法國、美國等國殖民統治。共同的殖民壓迫境遇催生了兩地知識份子『保種保教』『救亡圖存』的共同訴求，推動其突破地理與政治邊界，通過思想交流與文化互助探索反殖路徑。其中，中國近代維新派與東南亞反殖知識份子的互動，是這一進程中極具代表性的文化現象。

既有研究多聚焦於中國與東南亞的殖民經濟關係或政治博弈，對其文化互動的深度挖掘不足。本文以『文明互鑒』為視角，通過梳理維新派與東南亞反殖知識份子的思想共鳴，揭示近代亞洲文明在危機中的互助邏輯，為理解區域文明互動提供新的分析維度。

二、共同殖民危機：『救亡共識』的歷史語境

（一）殖民壓迫的相似性與差異性

中國與東南亞國家的殖民遭遇雖同屬『西方衝擊』，但具體形態存在顯著差異。中國自 1842 年被迫簽訂《南京條約》起，逐步喪失關稅自主權、司法裁判權與領土主權，至 1901 年《辛丑條約》簽訂，完全淪為半殖民地半封建社會。列強對中國殖民壓迫的核心是『制度性侵蝕』。在經濟層面，列強通過控制海關、壟斷航運與金融，將中國經濟納入全球資本主義體系。英國人赫德（Robert Hart）任海關總稅務司近半個世紀（1863-1908）。^①怡和、太古等英資輪船公司佔據長江航線 70% 以上份額，還獲得內河航行權。^②匯豐銀行發行紙幣流通於華南，並通過政治貸款控制清政府財政。^③而在文化層面，列強推行『基督教化』與『西學東漸』，動搖儒家文化的社會根基。據《教會新報》統計，1860 年至 1900 年間，新教傳教士在華建立教會學校 2000 餘所，學生超 4 萬人。^④同時，新式學堂課程全面採用西方學科分類，儒家經典課時壓縮至 15%。^⑤

東南亞國家的被殖民模式更具多樣性。荷蘭對荷屬東印度（今印尼）實行『種植園-壟斷貿易』體制，通



過『強迫種植制度』強制農民種植甘蔗、咖啡，剝奪本土經濟自主權；法國對法屬印度支那（今越南、老撾、柬埔寨）推行『同化政策』，廢除越南科舉考試，強制推行法語教育；美國對菲律賓的殖民則以『軍事佔領-自治過渡』為特徵，通過『菲律賓人治菲律賓人』策略分化反抗力量。儘管形式各異，殖民統治的共同後果首先是本土王權瓦解。越南阮朝 1884 年《巴德諾條約》被迫承認法國『保護權』，君主淪為傀儡。印尼蘇門答臘亞齊蘇丹國 1903 年戰敗投降，到 1910 年全境蘇丹國消亡。其次是文化認同斷裂與傳統價值體系崩潰。菲律賓強行推行西班牙語，他加祿語書寫系統遭禁；而印尼『阿班甘文化』被荷蘭歸類為『低級迷信』，基督教傳教士系統性破壞聖地。

（二）思想資源的共通性：傳統與現代的雙重聯結

面對殖民危機，兩地知識份子均從『傳統思想資源』與『西方啟蒙思想』中尋找救亡出路，形成跨區域國別的思想共鳴基礎。

1. 傳統思想的紐帶

傳統思想體系在東亞-東南亞區域的文化融合中扮演了重要角色。儒家『天下興亡，匹夫有責』的擔當精神與『天下大同』的理想追求跨越地理疆域成為不同族群的倫理紐帶。在越南阮朝（1802-1945），儒家倫理被確立為國家意識形態的核心支柱，以『三綱五常』為治國綱領。其科舉考試以《四書》《五經》為核心內容，使程朱理學成為精英階層的必修課。印尼華人社群雖受殖民壓迫，仍保留『耕讀傳家』傳統，通過宗族祠堂、私塾教育傳遞儒家倫理。這種文化堅守不僅塑造了社群凝聚力，更成為抵抗文化同化的精神堡壘。

佛教思想則為反殖民鬥爭提供了獨特的道德資源。『眾生平等』的哲學觀與『慈悲救世』的實踐精神，在兩地抵抗運動中轉化為革命動力。中國維新思想家譚嗣同在《仁學》中創造性轉化佛教『無我』觀，以此解構封建專制的精神枷鎖。印尼民族主義者在反抗荷蘭殖民統治時，巧妙運用佛教中反對壓迫的教義，將殖民者對寺廟徵收重稅的行為闡釋為對信仰自由的侵犯，有效動員了廣大信眾。

2. 西方啟蒙思想的共同吸收

西方啟蒙思想的跨區域傳播催生了變革共識。中日越菲知識份子通過譯介主動吸納進化論、民權思想等新知。嚴復譯介的《天演論》所宣揚的『物競天擇，適者生存』理論，深刻重塑了中國知識界的危機意識。^⑥越南愛國志士潘佩珠在 1907 年翻譯《哲學原理》時，系統引入盧梭的社會契約論與孟德斯鳩三權分立學說，為越南革新運動奠定理論基礎。^⑦菲律賓民族英雄何塞·黎薩爾在小說《不許犯我》中，通過伊拉加曼迪尼奧之口發出『自由與平等』的時代吶喊，其思想內核明顯承襲自法國啟蒙運動的理性主義與人道關懷。^⑧這種對變革必要性的共同認知突破了『東西方對立』的思維桎梏。當康有為疾呼『能變則全，不變則亡』，潘佩珠宣導『適應時勢，革新救國』，黎薩爾警示『沉睡的民族終將被歷史淘汰』時，一條跨越文明界限的變革共識已然形成。正如史華茲所指：『19 世紀末東亞知識份子在回應西方挑戰時，展現出驚人的思想趨同性』^⑨，這種趨同性植根於對傳統價值的批判性繼承與對普世理性的開放態度。

三、思想傳播的管道：報刊、留學與民間網路

（一）報刊與出版

近代報刊作為新型資訊傳播媒介，構建了超越地理疆界的『文字同盟』，成為維新派與東盟反殖知識份子思想交鋒的核心場域。這種傳播不僅實現了政治理念的跨區域國別流動，更塑造了東亞知識份子共同的現代性想像空間。

1. 中國維新派報刊的東盟輻射

中國維新派報刊通過華僑網路形成對東南亞的知識滲透。《時務報》(1896—1898)作為維新運動的思想中樞,梁啟超主筆時期刊發的《變法通議》《論中國積弱由於防弊》等文,系統闡述『伸民權、設議院』的制度改革方案。該報通過新加坡中華總商會建立的發行網絡,在馬來亞各埠設立分銷點,據《叻報》廣告顯示,1897年南洋群島訂閱量達1200份。^⑩新加坡《叻報》主編葉季允在1897年10月社論中明確宣稱:『中國變法之成敗,實系東亞全局安危』^⑪,充分顯示出殖民地精英對中國改革的戰略關注。而在法屬印度支那的特殊語境下,《嘉定報》(1865—1908)作為殖民地唯一中文報刊,承擔著知識過濾與再傳播功能。該報選擇性轉載《飲冰室自由書》中《愛爾蘭獨立記》等篇目,將殖民地反抗納入全球民族主義敘事框架。這種『去語境化』處理雖削弱了原文的革命色彩,卻為越南知識界提供了可資借鑒的反殖話語資源。

2. 東盟反殖刊物的反向輸入

東盟反殖刊物通過跨國出版網路實現知識流動。潘佩珠創辦的《南風雜誌》(1907—1908)以『恢復國粹』為旗號,批判法國殖民教育的『文化滅絕』政策,其《論漢喃文字之價值》一文被《新民叢報》第15號全文轉載。^⑫這種知識流動並非單向輸出,而是呈現出『中心—邊緣』互動特徵。正如梁啟超指出:『安南志士之憂患意識,恰為我輩前車之鑒』^⑬,體現出知識精英的跨文化反思。

前文提及的菲律賓民族英雄何塞·黎薩爾的中譯本著作《不許犯我》在中國知識界引發強烈反響。該書通過具體案例揭露西班牙殖民暴行,梁啟超在《新大陸遊記》中評價其為『東方民族主義的覺醒先聲』^⑭。值得注意的是,廣智書局作為維新派重要出版機構,其選題策劃明顯帶有政治考量,反映出知識傳播背後的權力博弈。

(二) 留學生與知識社群:『師徒—同窗』的雙向聯結

留學生群體作為『流動的知識階層』,構建起跨區域國別的『師徒—同窗』關係網絡,推動思想傳播從文本閱讀轉向實踐對話。這種雙向互動既包含制度借鑒,也涉及身份認同的重構過程。

1. 中國維新派的東盟人才吸納

維新派領袖通過海外活動建立跨國知識社群。康有為1901—1903年流亡北美期間,在溫哥華華僑社團中結識多位東南亞國家留學生,其《大同書》手稿曾在這些群體中傳閱。梁啟超1905年在東京主持『東亞青年會』時,專門設立『南洋支部』,吸引越南、印尼學生參與討論。潘佩珠1905年赴日考察期間,在日本橫濱與梁啟超進行的『徹夜長談』,被其寫入《越南亡國史》等文章,成為中越思想交流的重要見證。同時,知識轉移呈現制度化特徵。印尼留學生溫雄飛1906年進入兩湖書院後,系統學習維新派憲政理論,歸國後參與組建『印尼中華黨』,將『君主立憲』主張本土化為『有限自治』訴求。這種適應性轉化表明,思想傳播需經歷在地實踐的調適過程。

2. 東盟反殖領袖的中國經驗借鑒

東盟革命者主動來華尋求思想資源。潘佩珠1905年參與制定的《亞洲和親會宣言》,明確採納孫中山『驅逐帝國主義』的政治綱領,但其『大亞洲主義』構想又融入越南傳統夷夏觀。^⑮其著作《越南亡國史》直接模仿黃遵憲《日本國志》的體例結構,通過中日變革對比論證改革必要性,這種『以他者為鏡』的寫作策略,體現了後發國家知識份子的普遍焦慮。

(三) 秘密結社與民間網路:文化互助的『隱性通道』

民間組織的互通在很大程度上突破了殖民當局的資訊封鎖,構建起『去中心化』的反殖網路。他們主張隱蔽的傳播方式,依託傳統文化符號,實現政治動員與文化認同的有機結合。



1. 秘密會社的話語轉化

天地會在東南亞的分支機構創造性轉化中國傳統反清話語。越南洪順堂將『反清復明』口號改造為『抗法復國』,通過『斬白雞』盟誓儀式強化組織凝聚力。其傳唱的《反洋歌》保留天地會『官逼民反』的傳統母題,同時注入『抗捐抗稅』的現實訴求,形成獨特的反殖話語體系。1901年南圻起義中,起義軍使用的『大明旗』與天地會旗幟存在明顯譜系關聯,印證了秘密會社的組織延續性。

2. 佛教僧團的道德動員

佛教團體通過宗教網路進行反殖宣傳。太虛法師(1890—1947)與緬甸吳佩芒法師(1878—1952)的合作具有典型意義:1913年在仰光舉辦的『佛教救國大會』上,二人共同譴責殖民政府對寺廟財產的掠奪。^⑥這種『宗教-民族』雙重動員策略,將佛教戒律中的『護國』思想轉化為政治抵抗依據。據《海潮音》記載,會後三個月內緬甸佛教徒捐款支持反殖運動者增加三倍。^⑦泰國高僧佛使比丘(1906—1993)在《和平之路》^⑧中提出的『非暴力抵抗』理念,明顯受到中國佛教革新派的影響,這種跨國宗教對話為反殖運動提供了新的思想資源。

四、思想共鳴的實踐:從『變法圖存』到『民族獨立』的理念互鑒

(一) 政治變革路徑的討論:改良與革命的碰撞

19世紀末至20世紀初,中國與東南亞反殖知識份子圍繞『變革路徑』展開激烈論爭,形成『君主立憲』與『暴力革命』兩種模式的理論對話與實踐互鑒。這種碰撞並非簡單的對立,而是在殖民壓迫背景下對『國家出路』的差異化探索,折射出兩地社會結構的深層差異。

1. 改良路徑的嘗試與局限:以『君主立憲』為中心

維新派提出的『君主立憲』主張,本質是主張保留傳統政治外殼,希冀引入西方憲政元素,以減少變革阻力。梁啟超在流亡日本期間(1898—1912)與潘佩珠的通信中,明確提出『越南可效仿英國君主立憲,保留國王以減少殖民阻力』。^⑨這一建議被潘佩珠納入《越南維新策》的改革方案,主張『先設議院,後廢殖民』,試圖通過有限的政治參與削弱法國殖民統治的合法性。^⑩然而,越南的殖民環境與中國存在顯著差異,法國殖民當局通過『分而治之』政策強化控制,1908年『安沛起義』的失敗表明,在殖民暴力高度集中的背景下,單純依賴議會改革難以撼動殖民體系。而中國的『戊戌變法』則為君主立憲的實踐提供了反面鏡鑒。維新派試圖通過光緒帝推行『百日維新』,但缺乏軍事支持與社會基礎,最終被慈禧太后發動政變扼殺。這一事件證明,在半殖民地半封建社會結構中,若無法突破帝國主義與封建勢力的雙重枷鎖,『君主立憲』只能成為空中樓閣。

2. 革命路徑的借鑒與調適:以『民族革命』為旗幟

東南亞國家反殖運動的『暴力革命』經驗為中國革命派提供了重要參照。菲律賓黎薩爾領導的『卡蒂普南起義』(Katipunan Revolt, 1896—1898)雖未成功,但其『武裝反抗殖民統治』的主張深刻影響了孫中山的民族主義思想。孫中山在《革命方略》中明確將『驅除韃虜,恢復中華』列為首要目標,並在《建國方略》中坦言:『菲律賓之獨立運動,予吾人以極大之教訓——殖民統治必以武力打破,方有真正之解放。』^⑪這種對『暴力革命』的肯定,突破了維新派『改良優於革命』的思維定式。

然而,革命路徑的選擇亦需結合本土實際。康有為在《答南北美洲諸華商論中國只可行立憲不可行革命書》中批評革命派『不知種族革命之害,將使中國糜爛』^⑫,認為暴力會破壞社會秩序,導致列強瓜分。這種分歧的本質在於兩地殖民化程度的不同:中國當時處於『半殖民地』狀態,尚有通過改良爭取自主空間;而越

南、菲律賓等國已被直接殖民統治，殖民當局通過軍事佔領、經濟掠奪與文化同化徹底摧毀了傳統社會結構，故革命成為更現實的選項。²³

（二）文化主體性的建構：『保教』與『保種』的共通邏輯

面對殖民文化的侵蝕，兩地知識份子不約而同地將文化認同作為反殖鬥爭的精神武器，形成『保教』與『保種』的共通邏輯。這種努力不僅是文化傳承的需要，更是對殖民主義『文化滅絕』政策的直接回應。

1. 『保教』與『保種』：文化認同的雙重維度

中國維新派以『孔教救國』為核心，試圖通過重構儒家文化的現代價值抵禦殖民意識形態。康有為在《上清帝第二書》中提出『孔教為國民精神之本』，主張將儒學定為『國教』，並參照基督教模式建立全國性教會組織。²⁴他認為：『泰西之所以富強者，不在炮械軍兵，而在窮理勸學……中國數千年文明之教，實足以救今日之弊。』²⁵這種『文化救國論』本質上是通過啟動傳統文化以凝聚反殖共識。東南亞國家知識份子則更強調『語言獨立』與『民族意識覺醒』。潘佩珠在《越南亡國史》中痛斥法國殖民當局『欲滅其國，先滅其文』，批判強制推行法語教育的政策破壞了越南的文化傳承。²⁶為此，他發起『國語運動』，推廣拉丁化的越南語，主張『語言獨立是民族獨立之基』。²⁷印尼民族主義領袖迪爾托·蘇庫爾托提出『傳統習俗現代化』，主張保留『蘇丹制』作為文化符號，但限制其政治權力，同時在基層引入現代行政體系。這種『選擇性繼承』策略，體現了反殖知識份子對『文化主體性』的辯證理解——既反對全盤西化，也拒絕復古倒退。

2. 傳統與現代的調和

在應對現代性挑戰時，兩地知識份子均採取了『在傳統框架內引入現代性』的折衷策略。中國洋務派提出的『中體西用』被維新派發展為『中西會通』，即在保留傳統制度（如科舉、宗法）的同時引入西方技術與思想。例如，梁啟超在《變法通議》中主張『變法之本在育人才，人才之興在開學校』，試圖通過教育改革調和傳統倫理與現代科學。²⁸東南亞知識份子的實踐同樣體現了這一思路。緬甸昂山（Aung San）在領導獨立運動時提出『緬甸式社會主義』，主張保留佛教文化的主導地位，同時借鑒蘇聯計劃經濟模式。這種『傳統與現代的平衡』，反映了反殖知識份子對『變革限度』的清醒認知，認為過度激進可能導致社會失序，而固守傳統則無法應對殖民主義的衝擊。

五、歷史影響與局限性

（一）對兩地反殖實踐的推動

維新派與東南亞國家反殖知識份子的文化互助，不僅提供了思想資源，更推動了反殖運動的國際化與組織化，形成了東亞-東南亞反殖網路的雛形。

中國維新派的『君主立憲』主張為東盟反殖提供了『非暴力改良』的參考路徑，而東南亞反殖的『激進抗爭』經驗則為中國革命派提供了『暴力革命』的另一種選擇。這種雙向借鑒打破了『東方主義』話語下的文明等級論，證明不同社會背景的反殖力量可以通過思想交流找到適合自身的道路。文化互助的直接成果是反殖運動的跨國聯合。1905年，由孫中山、黃興、潘佩珠等發起的『亞洲和親會』，明確將『反抗帝國主義殖民』作為共同綱領，會員涵蓋中、越、菲、印等國志士。該組織在上海、東京、河內設立分支機構，通過出版《民報》、舉辦演講會等方式，推動反殖思想的跨國傳播。《民報》曾連載潘佩珠的《越南亡國史》，引發中國知識界對越南問題的廣泛關注。²⁹這種『思想共鳴』向『組織聯合』的跨越，標誌著東亞-東南亞反殖力量開始形成協同作戰的意識。



（二）歷史局限性分析

儘管文化互助取得了一定成效,但其影響仍受限於殖民當局的壓制、內部矛盾的分化與文化傳統的制約,未能從根本上改變反殖運動的分散狀態。

殖民當局通過嚴格的文化審查與暴力手段遏制反殖思想的傳播。法國殖民政府對越南反殖刊物《南風雜誌》(Nam Phong Magazine)的查禁、清朝海關對《越南亡國史》等書籍的扣押,嚴重限制了思想傳播的廣度與深度。此外,殖民當局還通過『分而治之』政策挑撥各地反殖力量關係,例如法國在越南扶持保皇派對抗革命派,加劇了內部矛盾。^③

此外,兩地反殖力量均存在嚴重的內部分裂。中國維新派內部『保皇』與『革命』的決裂、東南亞反殖力量的碎片化(如越南保皇派與革命派的鬥爭、印尼伊斯蘭教派與世俗民族主義的衝突),使互助難以形成合力。這種分化本質上是不同階層、地域利益訴求的衝突:維新派代表士紳階層的改良訴求,革命派反映新興資產階級的激進主張;東南亞國家保皇派試圖借助傳統權威恢復君主制,革命派則主張徹底推翻殖民統治。

文化傳統對變革路徑的選擇產生了深遠影響。儒家『忠君』思想使部分東南亞知識份子對君主立憲抱有幻想,例如潘佩珠後期轉向支持阮朝復辟,認為『君主立憲仍是過渡時期的必要選擇』^④。中國『天下中心』的傳統觀念則導致對東南亞反殖經驗的忽視,例如維新派未充分吸收菲律賓革命經驗,仍將『中學為體』視為不可動搖的原則。這種認知偏差反映了固有思想對現代反殖意識的束縛,使得兩地知識份子難以完全超越自身的歷史局限性。

六、當代啟示

近代東亞與東南亞知識份子在殖民危機中的文化互助實踐,不僅揭示了文明交往的內在規律,更為當代構建中國-東盟命運共同體提供了超越時空的經驗鏡鑒。

（一）『共同歷史記憶』對構建中國-東盟命運共同體的價值

近代反殖互助史構成了中國與東南亞共用的『集體創傷記憶』(Collective Traumatic Memory)。這種記憶並非簡單的歷史事件複現,而是通過『共患難』的情感根基,形成了跨越國界的身份聯結。根據阿斯曼(Jan Assmann)的文化記憶理論,集體記憶通過儀式化實踐被不斷啟動,成為維繫群體認同的黏合劑。2023年中國-東盟文化遺產周的實踐活動,如中越聯合修復『友誼關』、中印尼合作整理『海上絲綢之路』文獻等,正是通過具象化的歷史符號再生產,將抽象的『反殖精神』轉化為可感知的文化資本,為化解南海爭端等現實矛盾提供了情感緩衝。

進一步而言,這種記憶的政治價值在於其去等級化的敘事特質。不同於殖民時期『文明等級論』的話語霸權,近代互助史呈現的是平等主體間的互助協作。這為當代區域治理提供了重要啟示:中國-東盟命運共同體建設需超越『中心-邊緣』的傳統認知框架,通過共同歷史記憶的挖掘與闡釋,構建『責任共擔、利益共用』的新型區域認同。

（二）文化交流的『雙向性』與『本土性』原則

歷史經驗表明,有效的文明互鑒絕非單向度的文化輸出,而是基於雙方主體需求的雙向意義建構(Bidirectional Meaning-making)。這種建構遵循兩大原則:其一,問題導向的共同性,即交流需圍繞雙方共同關切的現實議題;其二,本土主體性的堅守,即尊重不同文明的具體實踐,避免以單一文明標準裁剪多元

實踐。以中國-東盟影視合作為例,《流浪地球 2》在東南亞市場取得 18% 的票房占比,其成功在於影片『人類命運共同體』的主題與東盟『區域共同體』建設的訴求形成價值共振。這恰恰印證了霍爾(Stuart Hall)的編碼/解碼理論:文化傳播的效果取決於接收方能否在自身文化框架內完成意義的再生產。反之,若忽視本土語境,則可能導致『文化誤讀』。因此,當代合作需確保文化交流能夠『雙向奔赴』。

(三) 青年與民間網路的作用

近代反殖互助的實踐主體多為青年知識份子與民間團體,其跨區域流動構建了非正式的知識傳播網路。這些網路具有去中心化、高滲透性的特點,能夠突破官方外交的層級限制,在草根層面培育互信基礎。當代青年交流專案的設計可從中汲取靈感。2024 年中國-東盟青年非遺論壇中,越南水上木偶戲與中國皮影戲的聯合展演,正是通過青年藝術家的跨界協作,實現了傳統技藝的『創造性轉化』。這類實踐表明,民間網路的價值不僅在於資訊傳遞,更在於實踐共同體的培育——當青年群體在共同的非遺保護、環保行動中產生情感共鳴與價值共識,便能夠為區域合作注入持久的內生動力。未來需進一步擴大民間組織的參與空間,如設立『中國-東盟青年創新基金』,推動學術交流、藝術共創與社會服務的深度融合。

七、結論

近代中國維新派與東盟反殖知識份子的文化互助,本質上是一場共同危機驅動下的文明對話實踐。它打破了『西方中心論』預設的文明衝突敘事,證明不同文明完全可以在承認差異的前提下,通過平等協商實現共同發展。其歷史經驗可凝練為三重範式啟示:以共同歷史記憶消解認同隔閡,以雙向建構原則超越文化霸權,以青年網路啟動代際活力。

當代中國-東盟合作正處於從『功能性互補』向『價值性認同』升級的關鍵階段。唯有以史為鑒,在尊重文明多樣性的基礎上構建『雙向互動、本土適配、青年主導』的交流機制,才能將『中國-東盟命運共同體』從理念轉化為實踐,為人類文明新形態的探索貢獻亞洲智慧。這一過程不僅是區域合作的深化,更是對『文明何以共生』這一永恆命題的時代回應——真正的文明互鑒,從來不是優績主義的競賽,而是不同文明在相互照亮中實現的精神成長。

注釋

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(Editors: Derrick MI & Andy ZHANG)

From Export to Co-creation: The Localized Innovation of Chinese Tea Culture in ASEAN, the Reconstruction of Its Intangible Heritage Value, and the Pathways of Tea Cultural Tourism Integration

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Abstract: With the continuous deepening of the “Belt and Road” Initiative and the implementation of the RCEP agreement, the dissemination of Chinese tea culture to ASEAN is undergoing a paradigm shift from unidirectional export to bidirectional co-creation. This paper integrates theories of cross-cultural communication, intangible cultural heritage (ICH) living transmission, and tourism management to explore the localized evolution, value reconstruction, and integration pathways of tea-cultural tourism in Chinese tea culture within ASEAN. The study finds that ASEAN societies engage in deep interaction with Chinese tea culture through the innovation of tea-drinking forms, the reshaping of social functions, the reinterpreting of cultural meanings, and the embedding of this culture into tourism experiences. This process has expanded the manifestations of tea ICH, elevating its value from national heritage to a shared regional resource. Furthermore, it provides a cultural bond and industrial interface for the development of China-ASEAN tea-cultural tourism themed routes and the construction of a community with a shared future.

Keywords: Chinese tea culture; ASEAN; localized innovation; value co-creation; tea cultural tourism integration

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從輸出到共創： 中國茶文化在東盟的本土化創新、 非遺價值重構與旅遊融合路徑

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摘 要：隨著『一帶一路』倡議的持續深化及 RCEP 協定的落地實施，中國茶文化對東盟的傳播正經歷從單向輸出到雙向共創的範式轉變。本文融合跨文化傳播、非遺活態傳承與旅遊管理理論，探討中國茶文化在東盟的在地化演變、價值重構及茶文旅融合路徑。研究發現，東盟社會通過創新飲茶形式、重塑社交功能、再造文化意義及嵌入旅遊體驗，與中國茶文化形成深度互動。這一進程拓展了茶非遺的表現形式，推動其價值從民族遺產向區域共享資源躍升，並為中國—東盟茶文旅主題線路開發與人文共同體建設提供了文化紐帶與產業接口。

關鍵詞：中國茶文化；東盟；本土化創新；價值共創；茶文旅融合

中國茶文化在東南亞的傳播正經歷深刻轉型：由歷史上的單向輸出演進為當代的雙向共創。茶葉經海上絲綢之路傳入東盟，奠定了文化交流基礎；而今，泰式奶茶的全球風靡與馬來西亞拉茶的技藝創新，標誌著茶文化已融入當地土壤並實現創造性轉化。

東盟社會基於自身生活習慣、審美取向與價值體系，對茶文化進行持續的本土化再造——從飲品形態延伸至飲用方式、社交功能乃至文化意義。正是這種在地實踐，使中國茶文化突破原有邊界，在東盟煥發新生，完成了從單一輸出到多元共創的根本轉變。

一、歷史脈絡與範式轉型

中國茶文化在東盟的傳播，呈現出一條從物質交換到文化融合的演進路徑。這一過程伴隨著交流深度的拓展與互動模式的革新，為當代的『價值共創』奠定了歷史基礎。

首先，早期貿易往來依托海上絲綢之路展開。明州（今寧波）等東南沿海港口憑借其優越的地理位置，成為茶葉外銷的重要樞紐。據《寶慶四明志》記載，當時商船往來頻繁，貨物集散繁榮，茶葉與瓷器、絲綢共同構成了對外貿易的主要商品^⑤。在這一階段，茶葉主要作為大宗商品進行流通，其價值主要體現在物質層面。輸往東南亞地區的茶葉以浙東綠茶和福建烏龍茶為主，通過官方朝貢和民間商船販運流通。此時，茶葉消費主要集中在華僑社群，飲茶更多體現為維繫文化認同的鄉愁實踐^⑥。這一以物質流動為主的貿易模式，為茶文化傳播奠定了基礎，但尚未觸及深層文化互動。

繼而，商業網絡的拓展推動了茶文化傳播的深化。明清以來，『寧波幫』等商幫群體在東南亞建立了完善的商業體系，他們的經營活動超越了單純的商品貿易^⑦。現存的僑批檔案提供了史料依據：華僑常囑托家鄉親人寄送武夷巖茶等名品至南洋，除解慰鄉愁外，還用於節慶饋贈本地商伴，維繫商業情誼。這表明，茶



葉功能已從華僑內部消費拓展為構建本地社交網絡的『文化資本』。通過僑批所維繫的跨國社會空間，中國飲茶習俗被系統地植入東南亞市井生活，為後續本土化創新提供了可能，標誌著茶文化傳播進入從『物質』向『文化』過渡的新階段。

最終，當代制度性合作為雙向互動創造了條件。隨著中國-東盟自由貿易區的建成和區域全面經濟夥伴關係協定的實施，雙方茶文化交流進入了機制化、平臺化的新階段。中國-東盟博覽會、茶文化論壇等官方平臺的建立，為雙方提供了平等的對話空間。這些平臺不僅推動了茶葉貿易的便利化進程，更催化了茶藝展演、製茶技藝切磋等深層次文化交流的常態化^⑥。在此背景下，東盟社會的文化主體性得到充分彰顯，其角色定位從既往的文化接受者，逐步轉變為文化的主動創造者。泰國、馬來西亞等國的本土茶飲創新，借助這些平臺反向輸入中國市場，實現了真正意義上的文化雙向流動^⑦。與此同時，以茶為主題的旅遊活動也日漸成為雙向交流的新興載體。

回顧中國茶文化在東盟的傳播歷程，演進脈絡清晰可見：從早期的商品流動，到商業網絡推動的文化實踐，再到制度保障下的雙向互動。這一軌跡不僅折射出中國與東盟關係的歷史性變遷，更揭示了文化傳播從單向輸出走向雙向共創的內在邏輯，為理解當代茶文化的創新發展提供了重要的歷史參照。

二、本土化創新的多維實踐

中國茶文化在東盟的紮根，是一場由東盟社會作為主體進行的創造性轉化，深刻體現了『文化共創』機制。這一轉化過程在物質形態、行為習俗與精神理念三個維度展開，共同賦予中國茶非遺嶄新的生命力。其背後有著堅實的經濟數據作為支撐，使其從一種文化適應現象，升華為被廣泛驗證的成功範式。東盟社會對茶文化的接納與再造，涉及經濟理性、社會結構、審美偏好與文化心理等多重因素，其多維實踐共同勾勒出一幅生動的文化創新圖景。

在眾多創新維度中，物質形態層面的變革最為直觀且影響深遠。以泰式奶茶和馬來西亞拉茶為代表的飲品，其本土化改造緊密契合了區域內的自然條件、消費需求與經濟邏輯^⑧。近年來中國與東盟主要國家的茶葉貿易數據（表1），為衡量這一本土化趨勢的實際規模與發展動能提供了有力的實證支撐。

國家	2020 年(噸)	2021 年(噸)	2022 年(噸)	年均增長率(%)	主要用途
泰國	4,850	5,620	6,380	14.7	奶茶原料
馬來西亞	3,210	3,650	4,120	13.3	拉茶原料
越南	11,520	10,890	10,350	-5.2	再加工出口
印度尼西亞	3,980	4,210	4,450	5.8	本地消費
新加坡	890	1,020	1,150	13.6	轉口貿易

表1 中國與東盟主要國家茶葉貿易情況(2020—2022)

表1數據揭示了一個顯著趨勢：以泰式奶茶和拉茶為主要用途的茶葉原料，在泰國與馬來西亞的進口量持續攀升，年均增長率分別達到14.7%和13.3%。這一數據充分說明，本土化茶飲已超越地方性習俗的範疇，成長為驅動區域茶葉貿易增長的核心力量，是一種被市場廣泛認可且持續擴張的經濟業態^⑨。在此貿易基礎上，其實踐創新更具深意。例如，泰式奶茶為適應熱帶氣候並形成獨特風味，創造性地選用深度發酵的CTC工藝紅茶碎作為基底。這種茶碎出湯快、茶湯濃度高、色澤深，既能承受大量冰塊的稀釋而不失風味，又能與濃郁的煉乳和香料形成平衡，這與中國傳統講究芽葉完整、追求清雅原味的條形茶審美形成了功能性上的分野^⑩。同時，煉乳和淡奶的廣泛使用，既提供了順滑口感，也體現了對本地經濟條件與供應鏈的

理性選擇,因為這些乳製品比鮮奶更耐儲存且成本更低。甜味的顯著增強,從社會文化視角看,是對高溫環境下體力消耗快、需快速補充能量這一生理需求的回應,也契合了東南亞地區長期以來形成的甜食偏好。而拉茶過程中極具觀賞性的『拉』的動作,則超越了混合原料的物理功能,將茶飲製備從後臺操作轉化為一種大眾娛樂表演,滿足了現代消費中對視覺奇觀與體驗經濟的追求,成為吸引年輕消費群體的重要手段。

這種物質形態的創新,是東盟社會將中國茶元素與本地資源、技術和市場需求成功『組裝』的成果,是『共創』在物質層面的堅實體現。從理論視角看,這一創新可解讀為深層的『文化轉譯』——將中國茶的符號與技藝置於東南亞的自然生態與社會經濟語境中,進行創造性『翻譯』與重組,形成符合本地消費語法的新文化『文本』^⑨。依據布爾迪厄的『文化資本』理論,茶葉在此實現了資本形態轉換:從源自中國的『文化資本』,通過本地產業實踐與市場接納,轉化為具有顯著『經濟資本』與『社會資本』價值的複合型資本。

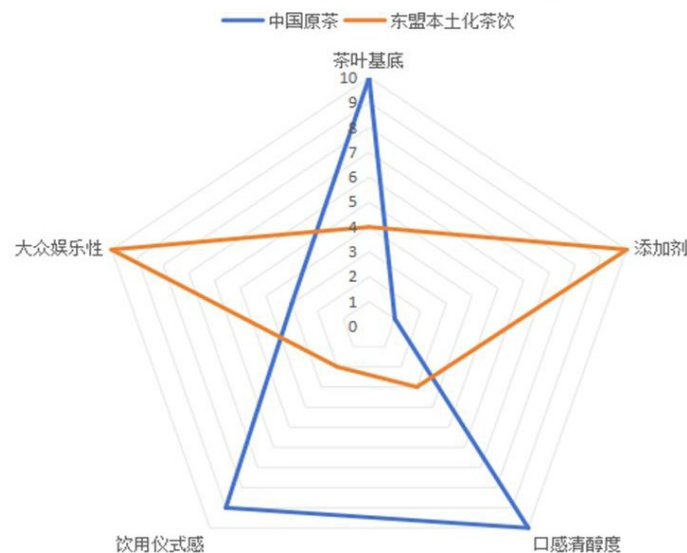


圖 1 基於典型特征的概念化對比(分值代表在該維度上的風格強度)

從圖 1 可以清晰看到,中國原茶與東盟本土化茶飲在不同維度上呈現出鮮明的風格分化。中式茶藝在『飲用儀式感』與『口感清醇度』上占據主導,體現的是『茶禪一味』的精神追求。反觀東盟本土化茶飲,雷達圖顯著偏向『大眾娛樂性』與『調味強度』,同時『口感濃郁度』突出。這一對比映射出東南亞真實的飲茶生態:從街巷咖啡茶座到現代購物中心,茶已從靜默品鑒的雅物,蛻變為與社交緊密相連的日常快消品。飲茶空間從私密茶室拓展至公共場域,時間也從完整修養壓縮為工作間隙的社交節點。本質上,這是茶文化社會功能的深度拓展——它已融入東南亞市井生活,成為構建公共互動的重要媒介。

雷達圖所揭示的鮮明分野,實質上是飲茶實踐在跨文化流動中產生『混雜性』的直觀體現。源自中國的茶飲習俗,與東南亞本土的市井文化、殖民歷史遺留的咖啡店空間以及現代消費主義相遇,催生出一種兼具多源特質、既熟悉又嶄新的公共生活形態。這種『混雜』的茶空間與實踐,為文化活態傳承與創新提供可能。

在超越物質與習俗層面後,中國茶文化與東盟本地信仰體系在理念層面發生深層互滲。中國茶文化中『天人合一』『道法自然』的哲學觀,與東南亞社會普遍存在的對自然之『靈』的敬畏之心產生共鳴。在泰國、緬甸等上座部佛教文化圈,自然界被認為擁有內在靈性,中國茶文化中對茶葉『山場氣息』的重視、對製茶『順應天時』的講究,恰好契合這種世界觀。因此,茶開始在一些社區儀式或日常祈福中作為供奉品或淨化媒介出現,完成了『共創』在理念層面的升華。

在新加坡,茶文化的演進更為系統和深刻。源自中國的『茶』與西方的『咖啡』、馬來族的『香料』在 Kopitiam 實現共生,孕育出『茶與咖啡混合飲品』等本土產物,成為新加坡多元文化身份的味覺隱喻。更重

要的是,茶文化被納入國民教育體系,中小學組織學生參觀茶坊、體驗茶藝,將其作為理解亞洲傳統、培養種族和諧與國家認同的實踐課程。這標誌著茶文化已從『外來文化』,經由理念融合與社會化再造,蛻變成爲塑造本地精神生活的文化符號。

綜上所述,東盟社會對中國茶文化的本土化創新是一個由表及裏、由物質到精神的系統性工程。它在物質形態上以市場數據為支撐,實現了功能性、經濟性與審美性的統一;在行為習俗上完成了從精英內省到大眾社交的轉向,激活了其公共屬性;在精神理念上則通過與在地信仰的融合,實現了文化意義的深度紮根。這三個維度的實踐共同構成了中國茶文化在東盟『價值共創』的生動現場,也為我們下文進一步分析其如何觸發非遺價值的重構與升華提供了具體的現象基礎。

三、非遺價值的重構、升華與旅遊融合路徑

中國茶文化在東盟的本土化創新,其意義不止於文化形式的豐富,更觸及非遺在全球流動時代價值體系的深刻變革。當源自中國的茶文化在東盟社會被能動地接受、轉化並賦予新意時,一場關於非遺價值主體、價值內涵與保護範式的靜默革命也隨之發生。這一進程挑戰了基於靜態『所有權』和固化『原真性』的傳統保護觀念,推動茶非遺的價值從民族文化遺產向區域性、共享性活態資源升華。而旅遊業的融入,則為這種價值的實現與傳播提供了具體路徑。

（一）價值主體的轉向：從靜態『所有權』到動態『發展權』

中國茶非遺在東盟的傳播歷程,首先引發了對價值歸屬與核心主體的再思考。在非遺保護領域,一種對文化『所有權』和『起源地』的靜態執著長期存在。然而,東盟社會的實踐揭示了一個更具生命力的理念:非遺保護的核心應從排他性的『所有權』主張,轉向開放性的『文化發展權』共享。

『中國傳統製茶技藝及其相關習俗』成功列入人類非遺代表作名錄,其意義不僅在於對歷史淵源的追認,更在於為全球茶文化的交流與再創造搭建了一個具有廣泛影響力的高層次平臺。借助這一平臺,東盟社會所展現的創造力——無論是泰式奶茶的配方革新,還是拉茶的表演性技藝——均彰顯了源頭文化強大生命力的延續與再生。

這些實踐充分表明,東盟社會正以其鮮明的文化主體性,與源頭文化共同行使對茶非遺進行當代闡釋、本土發展與創新享用的權利。這種發展權的共享,推動茶非遺從僅供觀照的『文化標本』,蛻變為能夠在多元文化土壤中持續生發新內涵的『活態基因庫』。

（二）價值內涵的流動：從固有屬性到創新裂變

價值主體的擴展,必然帶來價值內涵的突破。茶非遺在東盟的傳播中展現出鮮明的『流動性』特征——這一過程並非簡單的價值轉移,而是在新的文化語境與經濟土壤中持續融合、裂變,衍生出全新的價值形態。

價值維度	傳統價值體現(中國)	創新價值裂變(東盟)	價值流動特征
經濟價值	農產品銷售、禮品消費	新式茶飲全球產業(泰式奶茶)、收藏投資市場(普洱茶)、深度茶旅體驗	從產品價值到產業價值與金融價值
社會價值	文人雅集、家庭待客	社區茶會(強化社會資本)、拉茶師傅(新職業)、公共社交空間(咖啡茶座)	從精英修養到大眾社交與社區凝聚

續表

價值維度	傳統價值體現(中國)	創新價值裂變(東盟)	價值流動特征
文化價值	『茶禪一味』的哲學內涵	影視文化符號(塑造現代認同)、教育內容、與本地信仰儀軌融合	從哲學思辨到大眾文化認同與精神象征

表 2 中國茶非遺在東盟的價值流動與創新案例

從表 2 可見,源自雲南的普洱茶在東南亞市場被賦予了『收藏與投資』的金融屬性,其『越陳越香』的特質與增值邏輯結合,形成了活躍的交易市場。同時,在泰國清萊、越南沙巴等地,茶旅融合從觀光升級為涵蓋製茶體驗、茶飲調配、茶 SPA 的深度文化體驗遊,創造了全新的『體驗經濟價值』^⑩。

上述現象共同印證:非遺的價值並非與生俱來的固有屬性,而是在持續的流動、傳播與再創造中被不斷激活與重構。它從一個相對單一的價值體系,逐步演化為一個多元、立體且動態延展的價值網絡。

(三) 保護與發展的協同:從『文化生態』到『文旅融合』

上述價值主體與內涵的深刻變化,必然要求對既有的非遺保護範式進行建設性的拓展^⑪。國際非遺保護中強調的『原真性』原則,在防止文化異化方面具有基石作用^⑫。然而,對於茶文化這類活態傳承項目,若將『原真性』等同於形態的絕對固化,則可能難以適應其動態演進的內在需求。我們並非否定『原真性』作為非遺保護基石的重大意義,而是認為,對於茶文化這類活態傳承項目,若將『原真性』簡單地等同於形態的絕對固化,則可能難以適應其動態演進的內在需求。因此,我們主張從追求一個標準化的『文化定本』,轉向培育一個富有彈性的『文化生態系統』。這一重構後的範式,其核心理念對比如下圖:

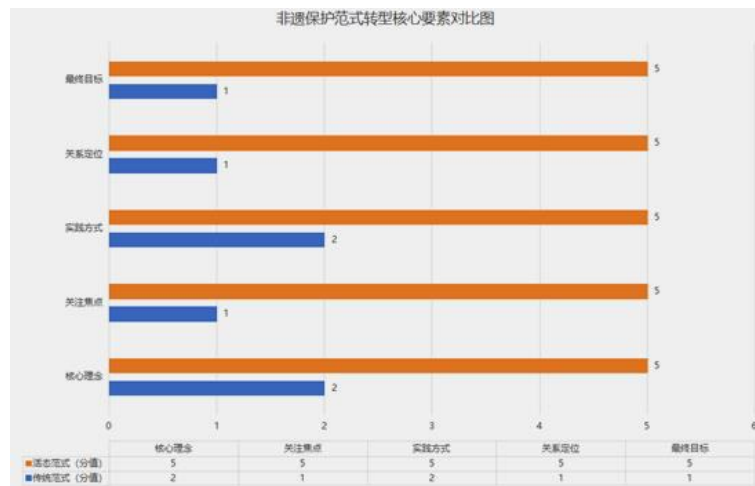


圖 2 非遺保護範式轉型核心要素對比

這一新範式要求我們在恪守核心技藝(如殺青、發酵、揉撚)所承載的文化基因的前提下,充分承認並鼓勵其在不同的社會文化語境中進行良性調適與創新。在這一系統中,茶文化既能在其源生地得到連續性傳承,也能在傳播所及的區域內,衍生出多樣化的本土實踐,共同構成其當代生命力的多元體現。

在東盟各國,茶非遺與旅遊產業的融合已展現出多樣化的實踐路徑,為『價值共創』开辟了生動的場域^⑬。其一,在以生態與文化體驗為核心的深度茶旅之中,在泰國清萊、越南沙巴等地從茶園觀光升級為沉浸式文化體驗遊。這種深度參與模式,不僅創造了全新的『體驗經濟價值』,更使遊客在親身實踐中成為茶文化活的傳播媒介。其二,表現為對城市特色茶飲空間的旅遊化整合。吉隆坡、曼谷、新加坡等都市裏充滿煙火氣的『咖啡茶座』(Kopitiam)以及新興的創意茶飲空間,正被逐步納入城市旅遊的『必體驗』清單。這些



本土化的社交樞紐,是觀察和體驗茶文化如何融入現代生活的鮮活窗口,以其獨特的氛圍極大地吸引了年輕遊客,成為展現目的地城市市井魅力的文化地標。其三,茶主題研學旅行的發展,可依托新加坡經驗,設計面向中國及國際學生的東盟茶文化專題研學線路,深化青年文化交流^⑤。為增強落地性,可設計具體產品:如『拉茶技藝工作坊+社區茶會』沉浸式體驗、『數字茶旅護照』平臺、『一杯茶裏的東盟故事』主題 Citywalk 等。

上述多元化的旅遊融合路徑,系統地拓展與實現了茶非遺在東盟地區的重構價值。為了更清晰地呈現這一價值體系的全貌,本文將茶非遺在東盟的價值重構維度、具體表現及其對應的旅遊融合路徑歸納如下(見表3)。

價值維度	在東盟的具體表現	對非遺保護的啟示	旅遊融合路徑示例
經濟價值	1. 新式茶飲產業:泰式奶茶、拉茶形成區域及全球產業鏈。 2. 收藏投資市場:普洱茶等被賦予金融屬性,交易活躍。 3. 茶旅融合體驗:茶園觀光與本土文化結合,催生深度體驗經濟。	非遺經濟價值需依托現代產業實現躍升,保護應關注市場活力與創新動能。	1. 開發茶主題精品旅遊線路。 2. 設計茶文化創意衍生品。
社會價值	1. 社區茶會:以茶為媒的社區聯誼,強化社會資本。 2. 職業技能:拉茶師傅等新職業提供就業與技藝展示平臺。 3. 公共社交空間:咖啡茶座成為大眾社交與公共議事樞紐。	非遺是社會凝聚的寶貴資源,活化其社會功能是活態傳承的關鍵。	1. 社區茶會向遊客開放。 2. 咖啡茶座納入城市微旅行地圖。
文化價值	1. 影視符號:茶元素頻繁出現,塑造現代文化認同。 2. 教育滲透:茶知識進入學校課程,成為文化教育載體。 3. 信仰融合:茶與本地信仰結合,獲得新的精神象征。	非遺文化價值在傳播中通過與在地文化對話得以豐富升華。	1. 開發茶文化研學旅行產品。 2. 節慶中設置茶儀軌體驗環節

表3 中國茶非遺在東盟的價值重構維度與旅遊融合路徑

如表3所示,這一重構體系既尊重非遺作為歷史遺存的本源價值,更凸顯其作為活態文化資源,能夠積極參與並塑造當代社會經濟與文化進程的實踐能力。為增強上述路徑的落地性與吸引力,可設計更為具體細化的旅遊產品。例如:一、『拉茶技藝工作坊+社區茶會』沉浸式體驗:在馬來西亞,將半天拉茶技藝學習與參與當地社區傍晚茶會相結合,讓遊客在掌握技能後立即融入真實社交場景。二、『數字茶旅護照』平臺:開發一款小程序或APP,整合東盟各國特色茶空間、茶體驗工坊、茶節慶活動,遊客可線上獲取信息、預約、打卡集章,線下消費體驗,形成跨境聯動的茶文化主題旅遊網絡。三、『一杯茶裏的東盟故事』主題 Citywalk:在曼谷、新加坡等都市,設計以茶為線索的城市漫步路線,串聯起歷史悠久的華人茶莊、本土創新的 Kopitiam、現代茶飲品牌旗艦店,由文化使者講述茶在本地的流變故事。

四、結語

中國茶文化在東盟的傳播,完整呈現了從『單向輸出』到『雙向共創』的演進路徑。這一歷程始於物質流動,經由商業網絡推動的文化實踐深化,最終發展為東盟社會充分發揮文化主體性的本土化創新。在實踐層面,這種共創體現為物質形態的重塑、飲茶習俗的功能轉向、文化理念的深度融合,並拓展至茶旅融合的



產業創新,共同構成茶非遺在地活化的生動圖景。

這一實踐對跨文化傳播與旅遊地文化管理理論提供了重要修正^①。它表明,文化的影響力並非源於中心向邊緣的單向擴散,而更多地取決於文化在接收地被賦予新意義、煥發新生命的『在地化共創』能力。換言之,原產地的文化資源能否轉化為持久的軟實力,關鍵不在於輸出者如何推介,而在於接受者如何基於自身需求進行篩選、改造與再創造。非遺的價值同樣如此:它不是靜態封存的遺產,而是在跨境流動中不斷被激活、重組與增值的動態體系。從固守『所有權』到共享『發展權』的視角轉換,有助於化解『原真性』與『創新性』之間長期存在的張力,為全球化時代非遺的活態傳承提供更具彈性的保護範式^④。

上述發現也具有明確的政策與實踐含義。對中國而言,茶文化『走出去』的策略可進一步優化:在堅持核心技藝傳播的同時,積極支持東盟社會的本土化創新,並主動吸納其反向創造成果,形成雙向互動的良性循環。可考慮設立『中國—東盟茶文化共創基金』,資助茶藝師互訪、調飲賽事以及聯合申遺項目。對東盟各國,茶文化的在地轉化應進一步嵌入鄉村發展、青年就業與文化旅遊業,例如借鑒馬來西亞拉茶師傅的職業化路徑,建立本土茶飲技能培訓與認證體系,使茶文化成為可持續的社區生計資源。在區域合作層面,建議依托 RCEP 與中國—東盟博覽會平臺,推動建設『亞洲茶文化遺產廊道』,聯合開發跨國茶文旅線路,並發布年度合作報告,形成制度化的協作機制。

需要指出的是,本文的分析主要集中於泰國、馬來西亞、新加坡、越南與印度尼西亞,對緬甸、老撾等國的茶文化本土實踐涉及有限。同時,數字技術(如短視頻、社交電商、虛擬茶藝)在茶文化跨境傳播中的角色尚未充分展開。未來研究可在以下方向深化:東盟各國本土化模式的比較分析;數字媒介如何重塑茶消費與茶文化共創;以及茶文旅協同發展的效益評估,涵蓋遊客體驗、經濟乘數效應與文化外交成效等維度。這些議題的持續探討,將有助於進一步揭示非遺在全球化時代活態傳承的動態機制與未來走向。

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Seeking Change and Adapting to Change: Cixi's Foreign Trade since China's Reform and Opening-Up

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Abstract: This paper systematically examines the evolutionary trajectory of foreign trade in Cixi, Zhejiang Province, spanning the period from 1978 to 2024. Employing a three-dimensional analytical framework of “policy-industry-market” interaction, the study divides Cixi's foreign trade history into four distinct phases: Ice-Breaking and Institutional Exploration (1978–1991), Scale Expansion and Private Sector Dominance (1992–2001), Transformation-Upgrading and Global Embedding (2002–2012), and Innovation-Led Model Reconfiguration (2013–2024). Research findings indicate that driven by the synergy of “policy continuity, industrial cluster resilience, and iterative innovation capacity,” Cixi has realized a transformative progression—from “relying on external channels to access global markets” (“borrowing a ship to sail overseas”) to “independent market navigation” (“sailing one's own ship overseas”), and further to “smart connectivity with the world.” This has fostered an open economic system characterized by private enterprises as the core and global market coverage. Notably, the consistent deepening and expansion of markets in ASEAN and Southeast Asia run through the entire process, serving as a pivotal manifestation of Cixi's capabilities in “seeking change” and “adapting to change.” The Cixi experience reveals that the positive interaction between the vitality of the private economy and institutional innovation constitutes the key to county-level economies' integration into globalization, thereby offering a typical case for understanding regional economic development in China.

Keywords: Cixi; foreign trade history; industrial clusters; Southeast Asia; the Belt and Road Initiative

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求變與應變： 改革開放以來的慈溪對外貿易

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摘 要：本文梳理了 1978 年至 2024 年間浙江省慈溪市對外貿易的發展歷程。以『政策-產業-市場』三維互動為分析框架，將慈溪外貿史劃分為破冰啟航與制度探索（1978—1991）、規模擴張與民營主導（1992—2001）、轉型升級與全球嵌入（2002—2012）、創新引領與模式重構（2013—2024）四個階段。研究顯示，慈溪憑借『政策連續性、產業集群韌性與創新迭代能力』的協同驅動，實現了從『借船出海』到『駕船出海』，再到『智聯全球』的轉型，形成了以民營企業為主體、市場覆蓋全球的開放型經濟體系，其中對東盟及東南亞市場的深耕與拓展貫穿始終，是其『求變』與『應變』能力的重要體現。慈溪經驗揭示了民營經濟活力與制度創新良性互動是縣域經濟融入全球化的關鍵，為理解中國區域經濟發展提供了典型樣本。

關鍵詞：慈溪；對外貿易史；產業集群；東南亞；一帶一路

慈溪，地處杭州灣南岸的縣級市，2024 年位列全國百強縣第六，其對外貿易發展歷程是中國縣域經濟融入全球體系的生動縮影。自 1988 年撤縣設市時自營出口額僅約 2 萬美元，至 2024 年進出口總額高達 1355.4 億元人民幣，經濟外向依存度持續攀升，慈溪以『農村工業化、主體民營化、市場全球化、製造智能化』的獨特路徑，塑造了縣域發展的『慈溪現象』^{①②}。作為中國縣域開放型經濟的典型樣本，其演進軌跡不僅印證了制度創新、產業韌性與企業家精神的共生價值，更體現了制度創新所激發的民間活力，以及面對變化時主動『求變』和精準『應變』的智慧和勇氣。

既有研究多聚焦國家層面的宏觀敘事^③，針對慈溪的專門研究相對零散，主要集中在家電產業出口競爭力分析^④、特定政策演進^⑤以及歷史溯源研究^⑥上，尚缺乏貫通性、系統性的歷史梳理。本文試圖通過考察慈溪外貿四十余年的發展脈絡，揭示其外貿發展的內在邏輯與理論意涵。

慈溪外貿傳統由來已久，新中國成立後，出口商品逐年增加，為國家創匯和工業化建設做出貢獻。早在 20 世紀 50 年代，土產與金絲草帽等工藝品已通過上海口岸進入東南亞市場。^⑦1965 年下半年起，出口供貨模式有所調整，除土畜產品、糧油食品、手工藝品仍由商業、供銷部門收購調撥外，工業品開始由生產企業直接向上海口岸公司供貨結算。1973 年縣級外貿機構建立，至 1987 年，累計外貿收購額達 3.8 億元，為國家創匯約 1.03 億美元。^⑧1949 年至 1978 年間，慈溪縣產業結構由 67.6：20.8：11.6 調整為 36：46.1：17.9，出口商品結構也逐步由初級產品向工業品過渡，為改革開放後的外貿起步奠定了基礎。其中，金絲草帽作為傳統出口產品，在民國時期即已遠銷東南亞，這一歷史淵源為此後慈溪與東盟的長期經貿合作埋下了伏筆。

一、破冰啟航：計劃經濟向市場經濟轉型期的外貿探索（1978—1991）

1978 年至 1991 年是慈溪對外貿易從計劃經濟統購統銷模式向市場經濟自營出口轉型的破冰期。這一

階段以『政策松綁-產業萌芽-市場試探』為主線,形成了制度突破與產業實踐的良性互動,為後續發展奠定了關鍵的制度與產業基礎。

改革開放初期,慈溪外貿總體上仍沿襲國有外貿企業統一收購的傳統模式。然而,草根層面的變革已然萌動。1978年,一個具有象徵意義的轉折點出現:慈溪鄉鎮企業產值首次超過國有和集體企業之和。基於此,縣委縣政府審時度勢,實施『放水養魚、養雞生蛋、借腦生財、藏富於民』策略,形成『四輪驅動』模式(鄉辦、村辦、聯戶辦、個體辦),為民營經濟萌芽提供制度土壤。^⑨微觀層面的外貿探索也在同步進行。1979年4月6日,慈溪縣外貿公司組織新浦公社腰塘大隊社員試挖活沙蠶,作為樣品試運日本。4月19日,收購活沙蠶46千克,用專車送至上海虹橋機場空運日本試銷。^⑩

1988年成為慈溪外貿改革的里程碑。當年2月,縣委縣政府出臺首部外向型經濟專項政策《關於大力發展外向型經濟的若干規定》,從資金、稅收、人才等方面給予支持。3月18日,國務院為貫徹實施沿海地區經濟發展戰略,充分發揮沿海地區的優勢,將慈溪同余姚、奉化、寧海、象山、鄞縣列為擴大沿海經濟開放區。同年5月,寧波市慈溪進出口公司獲批成立並實現自營出口2.37萬美元,標誌著慈溪從『外貿收購型』向『自營出口型』的根本性轉變^⑪。1988年,慈溪外貿交貨值1.90億元,比1987年10094萬元增長88.2%。^⑫

產業層面呈現出『傳統技藝+鄉鎮企業』雙輪驅動的特征。長河草帽業傳承百年草編技藝,在政府扶持下形成『百里灘塗無閑女,家家都有編帽人』的景象,1987年產金絲草帽3.73萬頂,出口總值1034.25萬元,產品行銷59個國家和地區。^⑬慈興軸承通過『技術嫁接』模式,於1984年與上海軸承技術研究所合作,借助其技術力量提升產品質量,1987年首年出口即突破100萬美元,並於1988年被國務院批准為擴大外貿自主權企業,走上快速發展軌道^⑭。

農業領域的外向化轉型同樣開始啟動,其對東南亞市場的開拓尤為值得關注。市政府根據當地特點和農民傳統習慣,確立了『一蔬兩水』(蔬菜、水果、水產)的農業產業發展方向。到1992年,面對市場競爭,慈溪總結了慈溪冷凍廠(海通食品集團前身)『內聯基地和農戶,外拓日本市場』的經驗,確立了外向化的現代農業發展模式。與此同時,一個標誌性的歷史事件揭示了東南亞市場在慈溪農業貿易中的分量。1988年,慈溪作為浙江省最大的辣椒產區,發生了一場大規模的『乾辣椒收購戰』。由於辣椒乾主要銷往東南亞、東亞,在外貿體制改革初期,各路資本競相擡價搶購,導致市場一度混亂^⑮。這一事件雖暴露了轉型期的陣痛,但也從側面印證了慈溪農產品與東南亞市場之間長期存在的、深度的供需依賴關係。

總體而言,這一時期,慈溪在『人多地少、資源匱乏』的先天約束下,走出了一條獨特的發展路徑。1991年,全市出口商品總值達44240萬元,位列寧波市第二位,占全市出口商品總值的12%^⑯。與同期全國多數縣域相比,慈溪率先完成了外貿主體的初步多元化轉型。

二、乘風破浪:外向型經濟戰略下的規模擴張(1992—2001)

1992年至2001年,是中國社會主義市場經濟體制確立和深化改革的時期,也是慈溪外貿實現規模快速擴張並確立民營經濟主導地位的重要階段。政策的有力引導、制度的創造性突破與民營企業的群體性崛起,共同塑造了此階段慈溪外貿的基本面貌。

鄧小平南方談話後,慈溪外向型經濟進入體制機制突破期,形成國有、集體、鄉鎮、個私『四個輪子一起轉』模式,民營企業借此從國企獲取技術資源,實現了早期積累。1993年6月,慈溪市委、市政府出臺《關於加快發展個體、私營經濟的若干意見》,提出『六個不限』和『六個堅持』,『凡無明文規定禁止、限制的一律放開,均與集體企業一視同仁,平等競爭』,積極鼓勵、放手發展個體私營經濟,創造民營經濟良好發展環境。當年慈溪外貿交貨值便突破10億元大關,外貿產業初具規模。1995年慈溪外貿出口突破1億美元。

1997年,面對亞洲金融危機的挑戰,慈溪市委、市政府逆勢而上,提出了『千家萬戶辦企業、千家萬戶奔外向、千家萬戶搞招商』的『三外』聯動戰略,並大力開展『外貿啟蒙』運動。政府每年出臺鼓勵外貿發展的政策,自1998年起連續九年在深圳舉辦地方出口產品展銷會,並在1999年首次包機赴德國科隆家電展,強力推動企業從『借船出海』的間接出口向『駕船出海』的直接出口轉變。在進出口經營權上,慈溪創造性地採用了私營企業通過掛靠集體單位(即『戴紅帽子』)方式,較全國提前約3年打通了直接出海通道。^①在金融支持領域,慈溪市積極響應寧波在全國首創的『出口退稅賬戶托管』質押貸款,有效緩解了企業的現金流困境。

市場多元化戰略在這一時期成效顯著,東南亞市場在經歷金融危機後,依然是慈溪企業重點耕耘的對象。除了鞏固傳統市場,慈溪企業開始將目光投向更廣闊的天地。1993年,觀城塑料市場的三位農民經紀人啟程赴綏芬河,與俄羅斯商人洽談業務,小安鄉農民陳長苗則直接向韓國、德國和東南亞出口辣椒乾500余噸,直接創匯40余萬美元^②。更值得一提的是,1998年,8位臺灣客戶采取合股方式承包了周巷鎮188畝梨園,引進臺灣先進技術,旨在將產品銷往東南亞等地^③。同年,由臺商投資的寧波臺逸農業有限公司成立,其在黃花梨栽培上的『十項革新』,包括嚴格分級、冷藏保鮮等,直接瞄準了東南亞等高端國際市場^④。這種『引進來』與『走出去』的結合,極大地提升了慈溪農產品的國際競爭力。

在政策的不斷催化下,一大批民營企業成長為外貿主力軍。宏一公司在1995年前還是一個家庭作坊,轉型生產歐式插座後,其產品90%以上用於出口。新海打火機則從最初的兩個貨櫃起步,成功打入技術要求嚴格的歐洲市場^⑤。至2001年,慈溪培育自營出口實績企業273家,出口供貨企業874家,出口上億美元企業1家,上千萬美元企業12家。^⑥與此同時,家電、軸承、打火機、化纖、輕工等六大特色產業集群初步形成,產品遠銷全球169個國家和地區,慈溪製造的國際影響力初步顯現。

這一階段,慈溪通過強有力的政府引導、精準的政策激勵和充分發揮企業主體作用,成功實現了外貿規模的快速擴張和民營主導格局的最終確立,為加入WTO後更深層次、更寬領域的全面騰飛奠定了堅實的基礎。

三、品牌攻堅:入世後全球價值鏈嵌入與產業升級(2002—2012)

2001年中國加入世界貿易組織(WTO),為慈溪外貿開啟了長達十年的『黃金增長期』。這一階段,慈溪外貿實現了從『量』的擴張到『質』的提升的關鍵轉型,並深度嵌入全球價值鏈。2011年,慈溪進出口總額首次突破百億美元大關,達到101.68億美元,成為浙江省首個出口額超過50億美元的縣(市、區)。參與國際競爭的企業主體從2002年的274家激增至2012年的1626家,出口市場從139個國家和地區擴展至206個,形成了『千家企業、百國市場』的宏大格局。應對國際規則、提升產品附加值、構建自主品牌與渠道成為此階段的核心議題。

政府的引導、服務與市場機制形成了更為精細化的良性互動。2003年7月,時任浙江省委書記的習近平為浙江面向未來發展提出了『八八戰略』,也為慈溪發展指明了方向,提供了根本遵循。隨著杭州灣跨海大橋的奠基,慈溪市委、市政府忠實踐行了『八八戰略』,率先提出『接軌大上海、融入長三角、建設新慈溪』的大橋經濟理念,主動拓展海外市場,全面加速創新發展、開放發展與科學發展的進程。這一理念也契合了省委、省政府提出的主動接軌上海、積極參與長三角區域合作與交流,以推動長三角經濟一體化的重大戰略決策。^⑦面對歐盟RoHS指令等綠色壁壘,政府通過設立外貿公共服務網站和公平貿易專項資金等措施,為企業提供信息預警、技術諮詢與法律支持,助力企業轉型升級。2003年至2006年間,慈溪家電對歐盟出口占比雖從70%下降至28.17%,但對中東、拉美等新興市場的出口占比則上升至32.5%,成功實現了市場多元化^⑧。在品牌推廣方面,政府連續多年組織企業赴深圳、廣交會參展,並創新地在廣交會對面舉辦『中國慈溪



家電展』,集中展示區域品牌形象,取得了顯著效果。至 2006 年,慈溪在境外設立的企業已達 100 余家,有效帶動出口近億美元。

產業集群通過持續的技術升級與專業化分工,在全球價值鏈中占據了越來越重要的位置。家電產業的表現尤為突出。其中電熨斗產業集群占據全球市場份額約三分之一,飲水機產業集群全球銷量占比高達 50%,取暖器產業集群規模位居世界首位,慈溪成為名副其實的『全球小家電工廠』。骨幹企業在應對國際挑戰中錘煉競爭力。慈興集團在 2002 年成功應對美國反傾銷訴訟,捍衛了市場權益,並於 2010 年在德國設立工廠,直接生產高端汽車軸承,實現了從『賣產品』到『本地化運營』的跨越。

外向型經濟成為慈溪經濟增長的核心引擎。2002 年至 2006 年,慈溪地區生產總值(GDP)從 195 億元增至 453 億元,年均增幅達 18.5%;財政收入從 15.6 億元猛增至 62 億元。強勁的經濟表現推動慈溪穩居全國百強縣前列。2008 年杭州灣跨海大橋的正式通車,極大地提升了慈溪的區位優勢,使其從交通末梢轉變為連接上海、融入長三角的橋頭堡。2003 年至 2008 年,慈溪自營出口額增長了 3.7 倍,整體完成了從『貼牌代工』(OEM)向『設計生產』(ODM)和『品牌製造』(OBM)的集群轉型。進口貿易成為慈溪對外貿易新的增長點。2011 年慈溪進出口突破百億美元,累計進口 18.21 億美元,同比增長 38.4%,增幅位居寧波大市第一。^⑤

面對日本肯定列表制度(2006 年)等技術性貿易壁壘,慈溪農業企業通過構建全鏈條質量管控體系實現了突破。徐龍集團投入巨資建立水產科技示範園區,實施全程追溯管理,在日本嚴苛要求下率先恢復對日出口權。^{⑥⑦}至 2012 年,徐龍集團累計出口創匯超 8 億美元,鰻魚產品出口量占全國總量的 50%。^⑧全市層面,永興食品等企業通過 HACCP 體系認證,2004 年慈溪水產品加工企業累計通過 ISO9001、HACCP 等國際認證 12 項,較上年增長 200%,推動水產品出口額從 2003 年的 5689 萬美元增至 2012 年的超億美元規模。^⑨

這一階段,慈溪企業普遍遵循『引進來—消化吸收—自主創新』的技術學習路徑。方太集團通過持續的技術積累,成功從貼牌生產轉向自主創新,其吸油煙機產品成為行業『單打冠軍』,品牌價值凸顯。卓力電器自 2006 年起,其電熨斗產銷量連續十余年穩居全球第一,2012 年出口額突破 10 億元人民幣^⑩,是慈溪製造向慈溪智造轉型的傑出代表。這種『政府搭臺、企業唱戲、集群升級』的協同模式,通過政策引導與市場機制的深度耦合,形成了縣域經濟在國際化進程中實現品牌化突圍的獨特範式。

四、智聯全球:數字貿易時代的產業生態與價值躍遷(2013—2024)

2013 至 2024 年,全球貿易環境複雜多變,單邊主義、保護主義浪潮湧動,疊加新冠疫情等衝擊,對傳統外貿模式構成嚴峻挑戰。慈溪外貿以『智聯全球』為核心,通過市場重構、模式創新與技術賦能,構建起獨特的產業韌性與競爭新優勢。其中,依托 RCEP 等協定對東南亞市場的戰略深耕,成為此階段最重要的增長極。

2013 年『一帶一路』倡議提出後,慈溪積極布局,對外貿易形成了『跨境電商+海外倉+產業帶』協同共生與技術升級雙輪驅動的發展格局。盡管面臨諸多外部挑戰,慈溪出口總額從 2013 年的 87.9 億美元波動攀升至 2020 年的 112.4 億美元,市本級自營出口於 2020 年首次突破 100 億美元大關,展現出強大的抗風險能力。^{⑪⑫}

市場多元化戰略是慈溪外貿應對風險的關鍵舉措,而東南亞(東盟)市場的崛起尤為突出。慈溪對『一帶一路』沿線國家出口占比保持強勁增長,其中對東盟國家的出口扮演了重要角色。企業層面,慈星股份 2015 年起在孟加拉國、越南等地設分公司,月立集團將美國市場占比從 40%降至 20%以下,形成『歐美穩盤、新興拓量』的健康格局^{⑬⑭}。2025 年一季度,慈溪家電對中東歐國家出口額達 5.3 億元,同比增長 50%^⑮。慈



溪小家電憑借其適應性創新——如瑞卡電器針對東南亞潮濕炎熱氣候開發的防潮防水卷發棒,2025 年一季度訂單量已超過 50 萬臺——成功搶占了當地市場份額^③。

持續優化的政策體系為外貿韌性提供了堅實的制度保障。2015 年至 2020 年間,慈溪不斷加碼專項資金,推出穩定外貿、支持跨境電商的系列舉措^{③③③}。2020 年,海關推出『春雷計劃』,實現跨境電商 B2B 試點出口 19.04 億美元,同比增長 21.9%^④。2024 年出臺的《慈溪市電子商務高質量發展新十條政策意見(試行)》,對企業在海外開展自主品牌跨境銷售給予分檔獎勵,最高達 30 萬元,並設立專項資金支持跨境電商產業集聚發展^④。這套精準的政策體系有效推動了跨境電商生態的繁榮。全市跨境電商出口額從 2023 年的 22 億元躍升至 2024 年的 27.8 億元,同比增長 26%^④。截至 2024 年,慈溪已培育省級跨境電商出口知名品牌 7 個。^{③④}

商業模式與出海模式的創新成為此階段最鮮明的特征。針對家電產業存在『規模偏小、自主品牌較少、數智轉型率低』等問題,慈溪市推出了『慈溪優品館』項目,通過構建『技術研發+海外倉+本地化運營』的一體化出海生態,甄選 1500 款智能小家電產品重點布局東南亞市場,2024 年實現直接出口 3000 萬元,並帶動關聯出口超億元^⑤。全市累計建成 8 個公共海外倉,總面積達 12 萬平方米。其中,泰國、老撾分館通過分期付款、酒店定製等符合當地消費習慣的本地化策略^⑥。這種『產業帶整體出海』模式通過『跨境電商與產業集群』的深度融合,實現了縣域層級在全球價值鏈中的實質性升級。^⑦

區域貿易協定與『地瓜經濟』模式釋放協同效應。RCEP 關稅紅利下,2025 年前 5 個月對東盟出口增長 28.3%,中塞自貿協定生效後簽發原產地證書涉及貨值 6305 萬元,卓力、華裕對塞爾維亞訂單增長超 40%^⑧。全球供應鏈布局呈現『雙循環』特征:民營企業出口占比 91.6%,8 個海外倉總面積 12 萬平方米,覆蓋美俄墨市場;^{⑨⑩}慈興集團在 5 國設生產基地,軸承出口印度、東南亞市場份額提升^⑪。

此階段的產業生態躍遷體現為『三鏈融合』:創新鏈上,2024 年,慈溪家電行業研發投入達 13.3 億元,『新三樣』產品出口快速增長,其中鋰電池出口額激增 63.5%,創新驅動特征日益明顯;供應鏈上,賽億明弘數字平臺服務 9000 家供應商,智慧物流降低運費 10%^⑫;價值鏈上,空氣炸鍋、咖啡機出口分別增長 28.1%、84.2%^⑬。這種轉型使慈溪從『製造輸出』向『生態賦能』升級,2025 年前 5 個月進出口增速 14.7%,出口機電產品占比 82.7%,彰顯數字貿易時代的產業韌性^⑭。

五、結論

慈溪四十余年的對外貿易發展史,構成了中國縣域開放型經濟從無到有、從弱到強、從被動跟隨到主動創新的完整範例。從制度變遷理論的視角審視,這一歷程並非線性演進的自然結果,而是多重制度邏輯——國家宏觀開放戰略、地方政府的適應性治理、民營經濟的草根創新與產業集群的自組織演化——在特定歷史節點上相互耦合、衝突、調適與沈澱的過程。慈溪外貿的制度演化呈現出鮮明的『實驗性治理』與『漸進式突破』特征,其核心動力機制可概括為政策連續性、產業集群韌性與創新迭代能力三者之間的動態協同,而這種協同本身正是制度變遷在縣域層面的具體實現形式。在此過程中,對以東南亞為代表的多元國際市場的持續開拓與深度融入,既是慈溪『求變』的動力源泉,也是其精準『應變』能力的集中體現。

(一) 制度變遷的路徑創造與路徑依賴:慈溪外貿的階段性邏輯

基於歷史制度主義的『關鍵節點』與『路徑依賴』框架,慈溪外貿的制度演化可被理解為一系列制度突破、制度擴散與制度沈澱的往復過程。

第一個關鍵節點:1988 年——從『外貿收購型』向『自營出口型』的根本性制度轉換。1988 年慈溪被列

入沿海經濟開放區,同時獲批成立首家自營進出口公司,這標誌著國家層面的放權讓利與地方層面的體制探索實現了歷史性相遇。在此之前,盡管存在金絲草帽、活沙蠶等零星出口實踐,但整體制度框架仍是計劃經濟的統一收購模式。1988 年的制度突破打破了這一格局,開啟了『制度實驗期』(1978—1991)。地方政府通過『放水養魚』『四個輪子一起轉』等政策,實質上承擔了制度企業家的角色——在中央政策模糊地帶創造性地構建有利於民營經濟萌發的制度空間。

第二個關鍵節點:1997 年——『三外聯動』戰略與民營企業直接出海通道的制度化。面對亞洲金融危機的衝擊,慈溪政府逆勢提出『千家萬戶辦企業、千家萬戶奔外向、千家萬戶搞招商』戰略,並通過私企掛靠集體等變通方式,在正式制度尚未允許的情況下提前打通了民營企業直接出口的通道。這反映了制度變遷中的制度置換機制——新興的制度形式在舊制度的縫隙中生長,逐漸替代原有的制度安排。到 2001 年,民營主體在外貿中的主導地位已完全確立,制度實驗成果轉化為穩定的制度結構,形成了路徑依賴。此後,政府的角色從『直接推動者』逐漸轉向『規則提供者』與『風險緩沖者』。

第三個關鍵節點:2002—2012 年——嵌入全球價值鏈的制度調適。入世後,慈溪外貿面臨國際規則的強製性制度壓力(如 RoHS 指令、反傾銷訴訟)。制度變遷的驅動力從『地方政府主動創新』部分轉向『外部規則倒逼內部調適』。慈溪的應對體現了制度轉化能力——將國際規則和地方產業實踐相結合,通過設立公平貿易專項資金、外貿公共服務平臺等舉措,將外部約束轉化為產業升級的契機。這一時期,制度變遷呈現出『路徑強化』特征:產業集群因適應國際規則而變得更加強韌,形成了『千家萬戶、百國市場』的路徑鎖定效應。

第四個關鍵節點:2013—2024 年——『一帶一路』與數字貿易時代的制度重構。面對全球貿易保護主義擡頭與新冠疫情衝擊,慈溪外貿的制度安排再次發生深刻重組。跨境電商、海外倉、『慈溪優品館』平臺出海等新型制度形式湧現,標誌著從『單一出口促進』向『全鏈條生態賦能』的制度躍遷。這一階段的制度變遷具有鮮明的制度疊層特征——新的制度要素(如 RCEP 紅利利用、跨境 B2B 試點)被附加到既有制度結構之上,而非對舊制度的完全替代。慈溪的制度體系由此呈現出高度的制度冗余與功能互補性,增強了應對外部不確定性的制度韌性。

(二) 制度連續性的微觀基礎:地方政府與民營經濟的協同演化

慈溪經驗的一個核心理論啟示在於,制度連續性並非靜態鎖定,而是在動態調適中對核心制度內核的堅守。這一制度內核可歸納為三組穩定的制度安排:一是『民營主體+直接出海』的產權激勵結構;二是『塊狀經濟+專業分工』的產業組織形態;三是『政策扶持+風險分擔』的政府服務模式。這三者之間的穩定匹配構成了慈溪外貿路徑依賴的制度基礎。

制度變遷理論通常強調『路徑突破』或『制度斷裂』,但慈溪案例顯示,在縣域層面,漸進式的制度疊層與制度轉化可能比激進的重構更具適應性優勢。地方政府『一任接著一任幹』的戰略定力,其本質是制度內核的跨期維持機制。這種維持並非消極的延續,而是通過持續的政策微調、選擇性激勵和制度實驗,將外部衝擊轉化為制度升級的契機。例如,20 世紀 90 年代的『外貿啟蒙』運動、2000 年代的品牌推廣與綠色壁壘應對、2010 年代後的跨境電商扶持,均體現了同一種制度邏輯:在不觸動基本產權結構與產業組織模式的前提下,不斷擴展制度的功能邊界。

與此同時,民營經濟在這一制度演化的角色的核心是制度使用者與制度共創者的雙重身份。慈溪民營企業家利用『戴紅帽子』參與深圳展銷會、包機參加國際展會等行為,本質上是一種制度套利與制度賦形的實踐——他們敏銳地捕捉到制度空間中的孔隙,通過自發的組織創新(如合股承包梨園、跨境線上銷售)倒逼正式制度的調整。地方政府與民營企業之間形成了典型的協同演化關係:制度既約束和激勵企業行為,

企業的實踐又不斷重塑制度的實際效力與演化方向。這種動態平衡打破了『國家—社會』二元對立的傳統敘事,揭示了縣域治理中『實踐導向的務實主義』與『發展至上的治理哲學』的制度生命力。

(三) 產業集群韌性、創新迭代與制度支持的三維耦合

制度變遷理論需要落實於具體的經濟社會結構之中。慈溪產業集群的韌性與創新迭代能力,正是制度安排的『經濟後果』,也是制度得以持續的重要支撐。

產業集群韌性本質上是制度韌性在產業層面的投射。慈溪擁有 2000 多家家電整機企業、近萬家配套企業形成的『半小時配套圈』,這種高效協同的產業網絡降低了交易成本,但也產生了路徑依賴的潛在風險——即鎖定於低附加值環節。制度層面的持續幹預起到了打破鎖定的作用。此外,市場多元化戰略(從過度依賴歐美轉向深耕東盟、中東歐等新興市場)被證明是一種有效的風險分散制度,它通過貿易的地理分散對沖了特定市場的制度風險(如貿易戰、技術壁壘)。

創新迭代能力則是制度激勵結構的直接產物。從早期的『技術嫁接』(慈興軸承與上海軸研所合作),到方太、卓力的『引進—消化—再創新』,再到數字貿易時代的『智聯全球』與產業帶整體出海,慈溪企業的技術學習路徑始終鑲嵌在制度安排之中——包括出口退稅賬戶托管貸款、自主品牌獎勵、研發費用加計扣除、跨境電商業績獎勵等政策工具。2024 年家電行業研發投入達 13.3 億元,鋰電池出口增長 63.5%,高新技術企業達 995 家——這些數字背後是一套穩定的創新產權制度(允許企業保留創新收益)與風險分擔機制(公共平臺降低試錯成本)的組合。

制度變遷理論強調,制度韌性不僅依賴於正式規則的設計,還依賴於非正式的認知框架與行動協調機制。慈溪『藏富於民』『放水養魚』『實踐優先』的地方治理文化,構成了非正式制度層面上的制度互補性。這種文化降低了制度執行中的交易成本,使得正式規則能夠被迅速內化為企業行為準則。因此,制度連續性的真正來源,不只是政府的政策文件,更是一種地方化的制度共識——政府與市場主體之間長期互動所形成的高度信任與預期穩定。

(四) 理論啟示:縣域開放型經濟的制度變遷密碼

慈溪的對外貿易史為理解中國縣域經濟的全球化融入提供了一個典型的制度變遷案例。其核心理論啟示可歸納為以下三個相互關聯的命題。

第一,縣域制度變遷具有『實驗性治理』的內在屬性。相比於國家層面的宏觀制度設計,縣域層面的制度創新往往表現為『幹中學』的試錯過程。慈溪的『戴紅帽子』『包機參展』『跨境 B2B 試點』等實踐,均是在正式制度尚未充分供給的情況下,由地方政府與企業聯合進行的制度實驗。這些實驗的成功,不僅降低了全國性制度改革的試錯成本,也為後續的制度擴散提供了地方性知識。

第二,制度連續性與制度適應性之間並非零和關係。傳統觀點認為,制度一旦形成路徑依賴,就會陷入鎖定與僵化。慈溪的案例表明,路徑依賴可以同時具備穩定性和可塑性:核心制度安排(如民營主體直接出口)保持了長達三十年的連續性,但政策工具(從出口獎勵到跨境電商扶持)不斷迭代,市場結構(從中東、歐美到東盟、『一帶一路』)持續多元化。這種『內核穩定、外圍靈活』的制度結構,是縣域經濟應對全球化波動的優勢所在。

第三,地方政府與市場主體的協同演化是制度變遷的真正引擎。慈溪的經驗表明,一個具有發展意願和治理能力的地方政府,與一個充滿活力、善於創新的民營經濟部門之間的良性互動與共同演化,是理解慈溪乃至中國眾多縣域經濟崛起不可或缺的政治經濟學密碼。這種互動不是單向的『政府主導』或『市場自發』,而是制度供給與制度需求之間的動態匹配——政府通過試點、激勵和風險分擔降低制度創新的門檻,



企業通過市場反饋和利潤信號為制度調整提供信息。

(五) 結語

慈溪的求變之智與應變之勇,不僅書寫了縣域外貿的輝煌歷史,也為未來中國開放型經濟的高質量發展提供了寶貴的實踐參照與理論啟示。從 1978 年鄉企產值首超國企,到 2024 年進出口總額 1355.4 億元並穩居全國百強縣第六,慈溪的制度變遷歷程印證了一個樸素而深刻的道理:制度的生命力不在於設計的完美,而在於它在面對變化時持續調整、學習與適應的能力。在一個充滿不確定性的全球化時代,這種制度韌性——即政策連續性、產業集群韌性與創新迭代能力三者之間的協同演化——正是縣域經濟最寶貴的無形資產。

注釋

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[Translation Studies]

The World and the English Translations of Mao Zedong's Poems Since 1949

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Abstract: This paper examines the book *The Complete Collection of English Translation of Mao Zedong's Poems since 1949*. This book is a comprehensive anthology devoted to the English translations of Mao Zedong's poetry produced between 1949 and 1976. It assembles fifty-three poems together with every published English version that has hitherto been traced—rather than attempting to cover the entire corpus of seventy-two poems Mao Zedong composed after 1949. The epithet “complete” signals an effort to exhaust all extant English renderings of these works and to arrange them systematically according to chronology, translator, textual recension, and medium. The aim is to present the full ecology of Mao's poetic translations during this period. The fifty-three poems exhibit marked disparities in the number of their English versions: 1. Single-version poems: only one English translation is known. 2. Multiple-version poems: two or more English translations exist, which may be the work of Chinese or foreign translators acting independently or collaboratively. 3. Untranslated poems: despite extensive searching, no English rendering has yet surfaced. These divergences illuminate not only the translators' selective interests and aesthetic preferences but also their political positions, cultural identities, ideological commitments, and the objectives and strategies that inform their practice. Consequently, the book organizes its material around three mutually implicative coordinates—text, translator, and context—thereby furnishing a corpus that invites close comparison. Undoubtedly, the publication of this book reveals the profound meaning and unique value of Mao Zedong's poems since 1949.

Keywords: world background; Mao Zedong's poems; English translation

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1. Introduction

1949 was a pivotal year of New China and a Reshaped World. This book is titled *The Complete Collection of English Translation of Mao Zedong's Poems since 1949*. This paper will first discuss the major Sino-foreign events of 1949 and their impact on China and the world, followed by a brief introduction to the history of English translations of Mao Zedong's poems. Finally, it is important to unveil the significant meaning and unique value of the poems since 1949.

Obviously, 1949 was a milestone year in the course of human history. In this year, a new regime where the people were masters of their own destiny was born on the Mainland China, and a series of major events that reshaped the international environment occurred globally. These events not only profoundly altered China's historical trajectory but also had a far-reaching impact on the post-World War II global order, the balance of international power and the path of human development. Naturally, Mao Zedong's poetry since 1949 was also influenced by major domestic and international events and documented the process of social development.

2. Major Events in China in 1949 and Their Impact on China

The most significant event in China in 1949 was the founding of the People's Republic of China. Revolving around this central event were key occurrences such as the liberation of most of the country by the People's Liberation Army and the convening of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, all of which constituted a historic turning point of earth-shattering change in Chinese history.

2.1 Core Event: Founding of the People's Republic of China

On October 1, 1949, Chairman Mao Zedong solemnly declared on Tiananmen, "The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is established today." This moment marked the end of China's 109-year history as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society since the Opium War of 1840, "and opened the door to the comprehensive realization of China's modernization and its entry into socialism, ushering in a new epoch in Chinese history." (Wang 413) The impact of this event on China has been fundamental and decisive, permeating all aspects of politics, economics, society, and culture:

(1) Political Level: Ending "A Century of Humiliation" and Establishing an Independent and Unified People's Government

Since 1840, China had been subjected to aggression from powers including Britain, France, the United States and Japan, and was forced to sign a series of unequal treaties such as the *Treaty of Nanking* (1842), the *Treaty of Shimonoseki* (1895), and the *Boxer Protocol* (1901). National sovereignty was severely trampled, and territory was divided (e. g., Hong Kong and Macau leased, Taiwan occupied by Japan), making China a "semi-colony" contested by imperial powers. Concurrently, internal warlordism and frequent regime changes (neither the Beiyang Government nor the Nationalist government achieved true national unity) left the people oppressed by the "three mountains" which are imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China first achieved the complete and independent sovereignty

of the nation—all unequal treaties were thoroughly abolished, and sovereign rights over customs, concessions, and inland river navigation controlled by foreign powers were reclaimed, ending the humiliating history of weak nations having no say in diplomacy. Secondly, it achieved the basic unification of the national territory—except for Taiwan and a few offshore islands, Mainland China was, for the first time, brought under unified administrative, military, and judicial management by a single central government, ending the fragmentation caused by warlords since the late Qing Dynasty. Even more importantly, it established a new type of regime—the people’s democratic dictatorship. Through the *Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference*, it was clearly stated that “the People’s Republic of China is a New Democratic country, i. e. , a People’s Democratic country, which carries out the people’s democratic dictatorship led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and uniting all democratic classes and the people of all nationalities within the country.” For the first time, “the people being masters of their own destiny” was enshrined as a fundamental national system. The broad masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other laborers transformed from the oppressed to the masters of the country, enjoying fundamental rights such as the right to vote, the right to education, and the right to work, fundamentally altering the political structure of traditional Chinese society, which was characterized by the rule of the minority over the majority.

(2) Economic Level: Destroying the Old Economic System and Laying the Foundation for a Socialist Economy

Before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the Chinese economy exhibited typical “semi-colonial and semi-feudal economic” characteristics: the industrial base was extremely weak. In 1949, industrial output value accounted for only 17% of the total national economic output, and it was mainly light industry and mining, without a complete industrial system. Agriculture had long been under the system of feudal land ownership. Landlords and rich peasants, accounting for less than 10% of the rural population, owned 70%–80% of the land, and peasants suffered from land rent exploitation, leading to low production enthusiasm. The national economy was monopolized by bureaucratic capital, which was represented by the four major families, controlling 90% of the national banking capital and 70% of industrial output and foreign capital, resulting in the hardship of ordinary people’s lives.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, immediate steps were taken to dismantle the old economic system and construct a new economic order. On the one hand, confiscation of bureaucratic capital led to state ownership of enterprises controlling the lifeline of the national economy, transforming them into socialist state-owned enterprises, and rapidly gaining control over the nation’s industrial, financial, and transportation lifelines. On the other hand, the *Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference* clearly stipulated the “implementation of land reform, abolition of the feudal land ownership system of exploitation, and the institution of a land system where the tiller owns the land.” Starting in 1950, land reform was promoted nationwide (already carried out in old liberated areas like Northeast and North China in 1949). By the end of 1952, the feudal land ownership system was thoroughly abolished, and over 300 million landless or land-poor peasants received approximately 700 million mu of land, completely freeing them from land rent exploitation and significantly boosting agricultural production enthusiasm, laying the groundwork for subsequent agricultural collectivization and industrialization. Simultaneously, by stabilizing prices and unifying finance and economy (achieving a balance of national revenue and expenditure in March 1950), hyperinflation left by the



Kuomintang government (prices in Shanghai in 1949 had risen 3.6 trillion times compared to 1937) was rapidly curbed, restoring order to the national economy and creating conditions for the commencement of the “First Five-Year Plan” and socialist industrialization in 1953.

(3) Social Level: Promoting Social Revolution and Reshaping Social Structures and Values

Before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Chinese society was long plagued by severe class oppression, gender discrimination and backward customs: the personal dependence of landlords on peasants, the constraints of feudal etiquette on women, the partitioning by clan influence, and social ills such as prostitution and opium. Social stratification was rigid, and people at the bottom lacked upward mobility.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, a profound social revolution was propelled by the core principles of “equality” and “liberation”. In terms of class relations, through land reform, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and other movements, the ruling status of the feudal landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie was thoroughly destroyed, forming a new social class structure dominated by workers, peasants and intellectuals, eliminating class oppression. In terms of gender equality, the *Marriage Law* was promulgated (May 1950; although implemented in 1950, its legislative basis was laid in 1949), stipulating the “abolition of the feudal marriage system of arranged and forced marriages, male superiority and disregard for the interests of children, and the institution of a new democratic marriage system characterized by freedom of marriage between men and women, monogamy, equal rights between men and women and the protection of the legitimate rights and interests of women and children.” It prohibited concubinage and child brides and encouraged women to leave the home to participate in work. The concept of “women hold up half the sky” gradually became widespread, and women’s literacy and employment rates significantly increased (the female illiteracy rate in 1949 exceeded 90%; the number of primary school female pupils in 1952 was more than double that in 1949). In social governance, social ills such as prostitution, opium and gambling were quickly eradicated. Grassroots political power—sub-district offices, residents’ committees, township people’s governments—covering urban and rural areas was established. Mass vaccination programs and literacy campaigns were promoted. From 1949–1952, over 10 million people were made literate nationwide, greatly improving public health and education. People’s national identity and collective consciousness significantly strengthened, transforming from “subjects” into “citizens,” and social cohesion reached an unprecedented height.

(4) Cultural Level: Constructing the Culture of People and Reshaping National Spirit and Cultural Confidence

Since modern times, China had experienced a predicament of cultural inferiority under the impact of Western powers. From the debate between “Chinese learning for substance, Western learning for application” to “total Westernization,” the dominant position of traditional Confucian culture was broken, but a new cultural system could not be established. The cultural sphere was filled with a mixture of imperialist, feudal and semi-colonial cultural content, leading to a crisis of “loss of voice” for the national spirit.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the cultural direction of “serving the people and serving socialism” was established, and a new cultural system was constructed, guided by Marxism and integrating excellent traditional national culture with revolutionary culture. On one hand, “revolutionary culture” was vigorously promoted (e. g., literary and artistic works like *The White-haired Girl* and *The Red Detachment of Women*, glorifying worker-peasant revolution and people’s heroes), shaping the national spirit of hard

struggle, self-reliance and collectivism and transforming the history of the Chinese revolution into spiritual resources for uniting the national strength. On the other hand, traditional culture underwent a process of critical inheritance, discarding feudal dross and excavating its excellent components, combining them with Marxism to form a new cultural identity. Simultaneously, simplified Chinese characters and Mandarin were promoted, and national education was popularized, breaking cultural monopolies, making culture truly “the people’s culture.” This greatly enhanced national cultural confidence and provided spiritual impetus for subsequent socialist construction.

2.2 Important Supporting Event: Convening of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference

From September 21st to 30th, 1949, the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference was held in Beiping (present Beijing). The attending representatives included delegates from the Communist Party of China, various democratic parties, individuals without party affiliation, people’s organizations, the People’s Liberation Army, various regions, various ethnic groups, and overseas Chinese, totaling 662 people. They represented the will of the people of all ethnic groups across the country, hence it was called the “Provisional People’s Congress.”

The core achievements of this conference were laying the institutional foundation and legal basis for the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. First, the *Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference* was adopted, defining state system (people’s democratic dictatorship), political system (the people’s congress system, temporarily acting through the CPPCC), and basic policies (economic, cultural, diplomatic, ethnic, etc.), serving as the “provisional constitution” for PRC in its early days. Second, it decided on state name (People’s Republic of China), national flag (the Five-Starred Red Flag), national anthem (*March of the Volunteers*), and capital (Beiping renamed Beijing). Third, the Committee of the Central People’s Government was elected, with Mao Zedong elected as Chairman of the Central People’s Government, and Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Soong Ching-ling, Li Jishen, and Gao Gang elected as Vice Chairmen, providing organizational guarantees for the establishment of the regime.

In terms of impact, this conference was not only a model of political consultation between the Communist Party of China and various democratic parties and non-party individuals but also marked the formal formation of the “Chinese People’s Democratic United Front,” establishing China’s characteristic party system (the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation led by the Communist Party of China), laying the foundation for the subsequent development of China’s political system. At the same time, the *Common Program* adopted by the conference combined the proposals of the Communist Party of China with the wishes of the people nationwide, forging the broadest social consensus and providing legitimacy and support for the stability of the regime and the implementation of policies after the founding of New China.

2.3 Military Background: The People’s Liberation Army Liberated the Whole Country

1949 was the year of the final victory for the Chinese People’s War of Liberation (the Third Revolutionary Civil War). In January 1949, Beiping was peacefully liberated and the Pingjin (Beiping-Tianjin) Campaign ended. On April 21st, Mao Zedong and Zhu De issued the *Order to Advance to the Whole Country*, and the People’s Liberation Army launched the Yangtze River Crossing Campaign. On April 23rd, Nanjing was



liberated, marking the downfall of the Kuomintang regime on the mainland. Subsequently, the People's Liberation Army successively liberated major cities such as Shanghai, Wuhan, Guangzhou and Chongqing. By the end of 1949, except for Taiwan, China, Xizang (peacefully liberated in 1951), and a few coastal islands, Mainland China was largely liberated.

The military victory of the People's Liberation Army was a prerequisite for the establishment of the People's Republic of China. On the one hand, the military struggle thoroughly destroyed the Kuomintang's military power, eliminating the largest armed opposition force domestically and providing military security for the stability of the new regime. On the other hand, the process of military liberation was also a process of regime takeover. The People's Liberation Army established provisional regimes in the liberated areas, implemented land reform, and stabilized social order, laying the foundation for the unification of the national regime after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Simultaneously, the military victory greatly enhanced the prestige of the Communist Party of China, making "the Communist Party of China leading the people to achieve national independence and liberation" a national consensus, thereby strengthening the regime's cohesion and legitimacy.

3. Major Global Events in 1949 and Their Impact on the World

The world in 1949 was at a critical juncture in the formation of the post-World War II "Cold War pattern" and it was also a year of flourishing national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies. "After the brutal warfare, the people of all countries around the world experienced a significant elevation in their consciousness for peace and their awareness of national democracy. Consequently, they increasingly yearned for an international environment of peace and independence, and an international order that was stable and orderly." (Yang 105) Events that occurred this year, such as the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Soviet Union's first atomic bomb test, the division of Germany and the victory of the Chinese Revolution, collectively shaped the post-war global order and had a profound impact on the world's political, military and economic landscape.

3.1 The Formal Formation of the Cold War Pattern: Establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

On April 4, 1949, 12 countries—the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal and Italy—signed the *North Atlantic Treaty* in Washington, declaring the formal establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The core clause of this treaty was "collective defense"—stipulating that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all" and that the contracting parties should "take such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

The establishment of NATO was a crucial step for the United States in implementing its "containment strategy" and building a Cold War military alliance system. Its impact on the world was mainly reflected in three aspects:

First, it marked the escalation of the Cold War from "political confrontation" to "military confrontation".

After World War II, the contradictions between the US and the USSR in Europe gradually intensified (e. g. , the Berlin Crisis in 1948) but previously focused mainly on political and economic spheres (e. g. , the US pushing the Marshall Plan, the USSR establishing Comecon). The formation of NATO created a formal military alliance between the United States and Western European countries, bringing Western Europe into the US military protection system. To counter this situation, the Soviet Union also rapidly adjusted its foreign strategy, reorganizing governments in Eastern European countries, purging dissenting elements, and accelerating the pace of revolutionary transformation, thereby forming the socialist bloc. (Wu 66) The confrontation between the two major blocs, the US and the USSR, directly transformed the Cold War from “covert antagonism” into an “overt military confrontation,” marking the beginning of over four decades of US-Soviet military bloc rivalry.

Second, it reshaped the European security landscape. After World War II, Western European countries generally faced “security anxieties”—with Germany defeated, Western Europe lost its “buffer zone” against the Soviet Union, and the military strength of Western European countries themselves was severely weakened by the war, making them unable to cope with the Soviet military threat individually. The establishment of NATO provided “security guarantees” for Western Europe through “US troop deployment in Europe”, for example the US deploying troops in Germany, Italy and other countries. At the same time, it made Western Europe long-term dependent on the US for security, forming a “US-led, Western Europe-following” European security architecture, which continued even after the Cold War.

Third, it promoted the diffusion of global military alliance systems. After NATO’s establishment, to counter the perceived threat, the Soviet Union, together with Eastern European countries, formed the “Warsaw Treaty Organization” in 1955, marking the formal global confrontation between the two major US-Soviet military blocs. Simultaneously, the US used NATO as a template to establish a series of military alliances in Asia and the Americas, building a global military alliance network. This extended the Cold War pattern to various regions worldwide, escalating global tensions.

3.2 The Beginning of US-Soviet Nuclear Parity: Successful Detonation of the Soviet Union’s First Atomic Bomb

After the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, it became the only country in the world to possess nuclear weapons, establishing a “nuclear monopoly.” On August 29, 1949, the Soviet Union successfully detonated its first atomic bomb [code-named “First Lightning” (RDS-1)] at the Semipalatinsk test site in Kazakhstan, becoming the second country in the world to possess nuclear weapons and breaking the American nuclear monopoly. This event had a revolutionary impact on the world military landscape and international security order.

First, it ended the American nuclear monopoly, creating “nuclear deterrence balance”. Before the successful Soviet nuclear test, the United States, with its nuclear monopoly, held a “nuclear blackmail” advantage in international affairs (e. g. , it considered using nuclear weapons during the Berlin Crisis). After the Soviet Union acquired nuclear weapons, a “Mutually Assured Destruction” (MAD) nuclear deterrence balance formed between the US and the USSR—both sides knew that any party initiating nuclear war would lead to its own destruction, thus deterring them from easily using nuclear weapons. This “balance of terror” largely prevented the outbreak of a third world war, becoming a “double-edged sword” for global security during the Cold War (both curbing all-



out war and exacerbating the risk of nuclear proliferation).

Second, it accelerated the nuclear arms race. After the Soviet Union broke the nuclear monopoly, the US and the USSR immediately launched an intense nuclear arms race—the United States successfully tested its first hydrogen bomb in 1952, with the Soviet Union following closely in 1953. Thereafter, both sides engaged in comprehensive competition in the quantity and quality of nuclear weapons. By the 1980s, the US and the USSR possessed over 90% of the world's total nuclear weapons, leaving the world under a “nuclear shadow” for a long time, while also driving the rapid development of nuclear weapons technology.

Third, it sparked the initial concept of an international nuclear non-proliferation system. Following the success of the Soviet nuclear test, the risk of nuclear weapons proliferation caused international concern—countries such as the United Kingdom and France also began to develop nuclear weapons (the UK tested an atomic bomb in 1952, France in 1960). The international community realized the need to curb nuclear proliferation through international mechanisms. Although the actual *Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons* (NPT) was not signed until 1968, the successful Soviet nuclear test in 1949 was an important starting point for promoting international discussions on nuclear non-proliferation, laying the groundwork for the subsequent establishment of an international nuclear order.

3.3 The Solidification of European Division: The division of Germany into “West Germany” and “East Germany”

After World War II, Germany was divided into four occupation zones by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union (the United States occupying the southwest, the United Kingdom, the northwest, France the west, and the Soviet Union the east). Berlin, the capital, was also divided into four sectors of occupation. With the intensification of the US-Soviet Cold War, the contradictions between the US, UK, France and the Soviet Union over the German issue grew increasingly sharp: in 1948, the US, UK and France announced currency reform in their occupation zones, issuing the “West German Mark.” The Soviet Union immediately issued the “East German Mark” in East Germany and East Berlin, and blockaded West Berlin, triggering the “Berlin Crisis.” In 1949, the US, UK and France decided to establish an independent state in their occupation zones, while the Soviet Union established a corresponding state in its eastern occupation zone, leading to the formal division of Germany.

On May 23, 1949, the “Federal Republic of Germany” (commonly known as “West Germany” or “Federal Germany”), formed in the US, UK and French occupation zones, was formally established, with its capital in Bonn. On October 7, the “German Democratic Republic” (commonly known as “East Germany” or “Democratic Germany”), formed in the Soviet occupation zone, was formally established, with its capital in East Berlin. The division of Germany marked the “materialization” of the Cold War in Europe. Its impact on the world was primarily reflected in the following aspects.

On one hand, it created the frontline of division of Europe into “capitalist camp” and “socialist camp”. After West Germany's establishment, it joined NATO in 1955, becoming a “bridgehead” for the US to confront the Soviet Union in Europe. East Germany, on the other hand, joined the Warsaw Pact in 1955, becoming a “security barrier” for the Soviet Union in Europe. The division of Germany explicitly divided Europe into two camps. The two sides formed a long-term military confrontation on the German border, especially after the

construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, becoming one of the tensest areas in Europe during the Cold War, a situation that ended only with German reunification in 1990.

On the other hand, it influenced the divergence of the European economic landscape. Under the assistance of the Marshall Plan, West Germany, relying on its pre-war industrial base and the support of the United States, implemented market economy reforms, which led to rapid economic recovery and development, becoming a major economic power in Europe in the 1950s. East Germany, influenced by the Soviet Union, implemented a planned economy. It initially experienced rapid economic development with the support of Soviet resources, but in the long run, due to the rigidity of the planned economy and its isolation from the West, its economy gradually lagged behind West Germany. The economic divergence in Germany became a “testing ground” for two different economic systems in Europe and also influenced the subsequent process of European economic integration.

Finally, it became the focal point of “human rights diplomacy” and “ideological confrontation” during the Cold War. After East Germany’s establishment, due to economic and political reasons, a large number of East German citizens fled to West Germany through West Berlin (approximately 2.6 million people fled to West Germany between 1949 and 1961). To prevent citizens from fleeing, the Soviet Union and East Germany constructed the “Berlin Wall” in 1961, dividing Berlin into eastern and western parts. The construction of the Berlin Wall became a symbol of ideological confrontation during the Cold War—the West viewed it as a “symbol of tyranny” while the East saw it as a “barrier against Western infiltration.” The struggles surrounding the Berlin Wall (such as the Berlin Crisis in 1961 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989) became the focus of international attention during the Cold War and reflected the fierce confrontation between the two ideologies in Europe.

3.4 Climax of National Liberation Movements: Booming Independence Movements in Asian and African Colonies

In 1949, against the backdrop of the post-World War II decolonization movement, “western colonial empires rapidly disintegrated, and imperial barriers that had previously hindered global economic integration were dismantled.” (Qian 165) Multiple colonized nations in Asia and Africa launched independence movements. Among the most representative were Indonesia’s independence and the crucial progress of the Vietnamese resistance against French rule.

(1) Independence of Indonesia

Indonesia was a former colony of the Netherlands (“Dutch East Indies”) and was occupied by Japan during World War II. In August 1945, Indonesia declared independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. However, the Netherlands returned after World War II, attempting to restore colonial rule and engaging in a four-year war with Indonesia. In December 1949, the Netherlands was forced to sign the *Round Table Conference Agreement* with Indonesia in The Hague, recognizing the independence of the Republic of Indonesia (except for West Irian, which returned to Indonesia in 1963). Indonesia became the first former colony in Southeast Asia to achieve independence through armed struggle.

Indonesia’s independence played a significant role in promoting national liberation movements in Asia. On the one hand, it demonstrated that colonized nations could defeat old colonial empires through armed struggle, greatly inspiring independence movements in other Southeast Asian colonies, such as Malaysia, Singapore, and



the Philippines. On the other hand, after gaining independence, Indonesia adopted a policy of “non-alignment” (later becoming an important member of the Non-Aligned Movement), providing a model for subsequent Asian, African, and Latin American countries to break free from US-Soviet bloc control and pursue independent development.

(2) Turning Point in the Vietnamese War of Resistance Against France

Vietnam was a former colony of France. In August 1945, Vietnamese Communist Party leader Ho Chi Minh declared the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. “The French refused to recognize the new regime, and war ensued. Laos and Cambodia were easily reoccupied by the French, but an exhausting struggle dragged on in Vietnam.” (Stavrianos 165) In 1949, the victory of the Chinese Revolution provided crucial support to Vietnam’s resistance against France. The Communist Party of China established close ties with the Communist Party of Vietnam, beginning to provide military aid and allowing Vietnam to establish rear bases on the Sino-Vietnamese border.

The support in 1949 transformed the Vietnamese war of resistance against France from an “isolated struggle” into a “protracted war with external support,” laying the groundwork for Vietnam’s decisive defeat of the French forces at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, which forced France to recognize Vietnamese independence. The progress of the Vietnamese war of resistance against France not only propelled the national liberation movement in Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) but also became the first significant case of “supporting Asian, African, and Latin American national liberation movements” after the founding of the People’s Republic of China, marking China’s emergence on the international stage as a player in “anti-imperialist and anti-colonial” roles. This had a significant impact, such as the proposal of the “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence” on China’s subsequent foreign policy.

4. The Interactive Impact of Major Events in China and Abroad in 1949: The Mutual Shaping of China and the World

In 1949, China and the world were not isolated but deeply interconnected—the victory of the Chinese Revolution influenced the global landscape, while changes in the world order also shaped China’s development path. At the same time, the major events of this year collectively propelled the restructuring of the global order after World War II.

4.1 The Impact of the Victory of the Chinese Revolution on the World: Changing the Balance of International Forces and Promoting the Global Wave of Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Colonialism

The founding of the People’s Republic of China was one of the most significant events in world history after World War II and its impact extended far beyond China itself. At the beginning, it disrupted the initial balance of the U. S. -Soviet-led “bipolar structure” and strengthened the socialist camp. In the early post-World War II period, the world initially exhibited a “U. S. -Soviet bipolar” pattern. However, the socialist camp, primarily composed of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, was relatively weak in strength. The inclusion of China, the world’s most populous country (with a population of approximately 540 million in 1949, accounting for 25% of the global population), into the socialist camp significantly enhanced the camp’s total population,

territorial area and resource reserves. This led to the formation of a socialist camp system centered on the “Soviet Union-China-Eastern Europe,” which created a more balanced confrontation with the U. S. -led capitalist camp and fundamentally altered the early post-war international balance of power characterized by U. S. dominance.

Then, it provided a “New Path of Development” for colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victory of the Chinese Revolution served as a successful example for colonial and semi-colonial countries to achieve liberation through “armed struggle led by a proletarian party, encircling the cities from the countryside, and seizing political power by force.” This approach differed from the Soviet Union’s model of “urban armed uprising” and was better suited to the conditions of many Asian, African and Latin American countries, which had large agricultural populations, weak industrial foundations, and severe colonial oppression. As a result, the success of the Chinese Revolution provided both ideological inspiration and practical templates for national liberation movements in India, Burma, Indonesia, Cuba and various African nations. Many political parties in these regions, such as the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of Indonesia, and African national liberation movements, began studying the experiences of the Chinese Revolution to advance their own struggles against imperialism and colonialism. This significantly accelerated the collapse of the global colonial system (from 1949 to 1960, more than 40 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America gained independence, a period known as the “high tide of decolonization”).

Finally, it promoted the diversification of the global economic system. After its founding, the People’s Republic of China neither aligned itself with the U. S. -led capitalist world economic system nor entirely copied the Soviet Union’s planned economy model. Instead, it explored a “New Democratic Economy with Chinese characteristics”, which later transitioned to a socialist economy. This exploration provided a reference for other developing countries seeking to break free from the economic control of developed nations and pursue independent development paths. Simultaneously, through economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries (such as the economic aid clauses in the 1950 *Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance*), China contributed to economic integration within the socialist camp. This led to the formation of a socialist economic system that paralleled the capitalist world economic system, transforming the global economy from a “single capitalist system” to a “dual-system coexistence” of diversification. This structure persisted until the end of the Cold War, after which the two systems gradually began to integrate.

4.2 The Impact of the World Order on China: How the Cold War Environment Shaped China’s Diplomacy and Development Path

The global landscape in 1949, particularly the intensification of the Cold War, profoundly influenced the diplomatic strategies and development choices of the newly established People’s Republic of China.

First, it caused the formation of the “Leaning to One Side” foreign policy. At the founding of the People’s Republic of China, “the US leveraged the international order it led, NATO, and the UN to contain China,” thereby impeding China’s development. (Zhao, 9) The People’s Republic of China adopted the “Leaning to One Side” foreign policy to safeguard its national sovereignty and security. This meant firmly aligning with the socialist camp and forming an alliance with the Soviet Union. This policy enabled the new China to gain critical support from the Soviet Union in its early years. It also helped China avoid isolation during the early Cold War period. However, it somewhat restricted China’s engagement with capitalist countries, a limitation that persisted



until the normalization of Sino-American relations in the 1970s.

Second, it enhanced the urgency of national defense construction. The success of the Soviet nuclear tests and the U. S. military deployments in Asia exposed the newly established People's Republic of China to severe external military threats, particularly nuclear threats. Consequently, from its inception, China placed high priority on national defense, aiming to build a powerful defense force as a key national goal. In the 1950s, China focused on developing heavy industry (the First Five-Year Plan emphasized steel, machinery and military industries), and in 1955, it initiated its nuclear weapons program (the "Two Bombs, One Satellite" project). These decisions were closely linked to the Cold War security environment and laid the foundation for China's subsequent emergence as a nuclear power, safeguarding its national sovereignty.

Third, it planned economy orientation in economic development. Amid the Cold War, the newly established People's Republic of China faced economic blockades from capitalist countries, preventing its integration into the capitalist world economic system. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union, as the core of the socialist camp, provided China with a "template" for a planned economy and substantial assistance. Thus, China adopted a planned economy system for its economic development—formulating unified national economic plans and concentrating resources to develop heavy industry, rapidly establishing an independent industrial system. This approach initially met the need for "self-reliance" in the Cold War context but later revealed inherent rigidities, ultimately leading to its transformation after the 1978 reform and opening-up policy.

4.3 1949: The "Year of Restructuring" in the Post-World War II Global Order

The major events in China and abroad in 1949 collectively propelled the restructuring of the post-World War II global order, resulting in three key characteristics.

(1) Transition from a "Post-War Peace Order" to a "Cold War Confrontation Order". In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the international community attempted to establish a "collective security system" through the United Nations. However, events in 1949—such as the formation of NATO, the division of Germany, and the U. S. -Soviet nuclear confrontation—diminished the role of the UN. The standoff between the two major camps, led by the U. S. and the Soviet Union, became the core of the global order, persisting until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

(2) Transition from a "Colonial System" to a "National Independence System". The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, along with Indonesia's independence and the turning point in Vietnam's war against French colonialism, spurred a wave of national liberation movements across Asia, Africa and Latin America. The global colonial system began to collapse, and by the 1960s, most colonized nations had gained independence. The world's political map shifted from "a few colonial empires ruling over numerous colonies" to "sovereign nations coexisting as equals." The number of UN member states increased from 51 in 1945 to 99 by 1960.

(3) Transition from a "Single Development Path" to "Diverse Development Paths". Before World War II, the development paths of major countries were largely limited to "capitalism" or "colonial dependency." In 1949, the establishment of the socialist People's Republic of China and the success of the Soviet nuclear tests demonstrated the technological prowess of socialist states. Meanwhile, countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America began exploring "third paths" (such as the Non-Aligned Movement). This shift transformed the global development landscape from a "singular capitalist path" to a diversified structure encompassing capitalism,

socialism and nationalism—a framework that continues to this day.

4.4 The Historical Legacy and Contemporary Significance of 1949

As a pivotal year marking “China’s rebirth and global restructuring,” the historical legacy of 1949 continues to exert a profound influence on contemporary China and the world. For China, the major events of 1949 laid the foundation for modern China’s “institutional framework”, “economic base”, and “national spirit”. It serves as the historical starting point for understanding China’s development path—from “standing up” in 1949, to “becoming prosperous” through the reform and opening-up in 1978, and to “growing strong” in the new era. China’s development has always been a continuation and evolution of the historical logic that began in 1949.

For the world, the major events of 1949 shaped the framework of the global order after World War II. Its legacy continues to influence the contemporary international landscape—from NATO’s ongoing expansion and nuclear non-proliferation issues to the rising influence of developing countries on the global stage, all of which are closely linked to the historical processes of 1949.

From a broader perspective, the history of 1949 demonstrates that a country’s development path must be aligned with its national conditions and the construction of a global order must respect the sovereignty and autonomous choices of all nations. These historical lessons hold significant relevance for contemporary China as it adheres to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and promotes the building of a community with a shared future for mankind. They also offer valuable insights for countries worldwide in addressing the challenges of globalization and forging a more just and equitable international order.

5. A Brief History of the English Translation of Mao Zedong’s Poems

Mao Zedong’s poems, “which not only highly condense Mao Zedong’s life’s pursuits and rich experiences but also bear witness to the arduous journey of the Chinese revolution led by the Communist Party of China,” (Deng 82) have become valuable documents for studying Mao Zedong’s military thought, appreciating his literary talent, exploring the spirit of Chinese soldiers, and understanding Chinese history through their international dissemination. As early as the 1930s and 1940s, some European and American journalists, writers and scholars who visited the revolutionary base areas in northern Shaanxi introduced Mao Zedong’s poems to Western readers through various means and channels. In the 1950s, European and American countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Italy began to officially publish translations of Mao Zedong’s poems. From the founding of the People’s Republic of China to the end of the “Cultural Revolution”, the number of English translation versions of Mao Zedong’s poems abroad increased significantly, and the translator groups showed a diversified characteristic, which can be roughly divided into three categories: foreign translator groups, joint translator groups of foreign and Chinese translators, and Chinese translator groups. Next, a brief introduction to the foreign English translation versions and translator groups is given in chronological order.

The 1930s saw the beginning of the English translation of Mao Zedong’s poems. In 1937, American journalist Edgar Snow attached his translation of *The Long March* at the end of the “Long March” section in the English-language version of *Red Star Over China*. Published by large-scale publishing houses such as Gollancz in the UK and Random House in the US, it was reprinted many times. “It was through his poem *Seven-word-line*



Poem: The Long March that Mao Zedong's stature as a poet was first recognized by the Western world." (Zhuang 65) This was the first translation and introduction of Mao Zedong's poems. British writer and journalist Robert Payne, who once taught at the Southwest Associated University, published his diary *China Awake* in New York in 1947, which recorded his life experiences in China and showed the Chinese society in a state of war and revolution to the Western world.

The 1950s marked a pivotal period for the translation and global dissemination of Mao Zedong's poetry. Chen Kui, recognized as the first Chinese translator of Mao Zedong's poems into English, published his translations in the July–September 1957 issue (Volume 3) of *The Asia-Africa Review*, an Indian quarterly journal. As one of the earliest Chinese associates of American journalist Agnes Smedley, Chen Kui laid the groundwork for introducing Mao Zedong's poetic legacy to the English-speaking world.

In 1957, the *Poetry Journal* (China's premiere literary publication) debuted with 18 of Mao Zedong's poems. These were translated by Ye Junjian (Deputy Editor of *Chinese Literature*), Qian Zhongshu and Yu Baoju, with final polish by British sinologist Andrew Boyd. The English version was published globally in the May-June 1958 issue (No. 3) of *Chinese Literature*, followed by the first standalone English edition, *Mao Tse-tung: Nineteen Poems*, released by the Foreign Languages Press in September 1958. The first 18 poems retained the *Chinese Literature* translation, while the 19th poem, *Die Lian Hua: Reply to Li Shuyi*, was translated by British scholar Gladys Yang. "From the perspective of its format and execution, the publication of this English translation was the first official English version of Mao Zedong's poems, with extensive annotations and interpretations that provided a practical basis for understanding the poetry." (Zhang 21) Notably, the book's preface attributed the translation solely to Andrew Boyd, streamlining the translator credit despite collaborative efforts. The enthusiastic translation and introduction of Mao Zedong's poems by numerous scholars, writers, and poets both domestically and internationally, coupled with the active publication and dissemination of English translations and interpretive articles by various publishing houses and journals, "all indicated that the cross-cultural dissemination of Mao Zedong's poetry was burgeoning and gaining strong momentum." (Qi and Hu 7)

In the 1960s, translation efforts became institutionalized. The Mao Zedong Poetry Translation Finalization Team was established in 1961, led by Yuan Shuipai and including Qiao Guanhua, Qian Zhongshu, Ye Junjian, and later Zhao Puchu. American scholar Sol Adler provided linguistic expertise. In 1965, British-Chinese historian Jerome Chen published *Mao and the Chinese Revolution with Thirty-seven Poems by Mao Tse-tung*, featuring translations co-authored with British poet Michael Bullock. Based on the statistics compiled by relevant scholars, this book also boasted the largest number of global library holdings for an English translation. (He 34) Another significant work was Wong Man's *Poems of Mao Tse-Tung*, published in 1966 by Hong Kong's Oriental Horizon Press.

Throughout the 1970s, dissemination activities heated up following Nixon's visit to China, gradually reaching a peak of intensity in Western countries, including the United States. (Qi and Hu 8) In 1972, Mao Zedong's poems stepped into the international spotlight at a faster pace, and four translations and works related to Mao Zedong's poems or the Chinese Revolution were successively published—a move that testified to the rapid rise of China's international status. New American Library in New York published *Mao Tse-tung: An Anthology of His Writings*, a monograph by Anne Fremantle. Jonathan Cape in London published *The Morning Deluge: Mao Tsetung and The Chinese Revolution 1893–1954*, written by Han Suyin. The English version of *Poems of*

Mao Tse-tung, co-translated by Nieh Hua-ling “who was a world-renowned Chinese-American writer” (Li and Tao 105) and her husband Paul Engle, was published by Simon & Schuster in the United States. *The Poems of Mao Tse-tung*, co-translated by American poet and translator Willis Barnstone and Chinese translator Ko Ching-po, has a detailed introduction about Mao’s life and the revolution as well as the poems he translated, published by Harper & Row in New York. (Barnstone 3)

In 1975, Wang Hui-Ming, a Chinese-American, published *Ten Poems and Lyrics by Mao Tze-tung* with the University of Massachusetts Press. The book was reprinted by Jonathan Cape in London in 1976, with the same content.

In 1976, Foreign Languages Press and the Commercial Press published the English translation of *Mao Zedong’s Poems* in five formats, containing 39 of Mao Zedong’s poems. This translation is widely regarded as the most authoritative English translation of Mao Zedong’s poems to date. It is not only related to the image construction of Mao Zedong and the country, but also generally recognized by the international community as the “official translation” and has become the blueprint for translations in other languages. (In 2004, Foreign Languages Press reprinted this translation, uniformly changing the Wade-Giles romanization of the tune names of *ci* poems to Hanyu Pinyin. This revision distinctly reflected the enhancement of China’s cultural confidence.) In August 1978, *Thirty-Nine Poems of Chairman Mao (English Translation)*, translated by Wu Xianglin, a scholar from the Department of Foreign Languages, Nanjing Normal University, was published as part of the journal series of Nanjing University.

The 1980s saw continued enthusiasm for English translations of Mao Zedong’s poetry, with four notable works published during this period. In 1980, Lin Nancy T. released *Reverberations: A New Translation of Complete Poems of Mao Tse-tung* through the Hong Kong Joint Publishing Company, offering a comprehensive annotated translation of Mao Zedong’s entire poetic corpus. In May 1980, Hunan People’s Publishing House published Zhao Zhentao’s *Poems of Mao Zedong*, which was reprinted in 1992. In 1981, Xu Yuanchong’s *Earth-Shaking Songs (Epic of Chinese Revolution)*, a collection of revolutionary poetry including Mao Zedong’s poems, was published by The Commercial Press (Hong Kong). In 1986, Ma Wen-yee’s *Snow Glistens on the Great Wall: A Translation of the Complete Collection of Mao Tse-tung’s Poetry with Notes and Historical Commentary* was released by the University of California, Santa Barbara Press, combining literary translation with historical analysis.

The 1990s held special significance, particularly 1993—the centenary of Mao Zedong’s birth—when four major translations emerged. Zhao Hengyuan and Paul Woods’ bilingual *Mao Zedong’s Poems* was published by Tianjin People’s Publishing House. In the preface, Zhao Hengyuan stated that while translating Mao Zedong’s poems requires ensuring elegant and beautiful foreign language wording and sentence structure, “the primary importance lied in the correct understanding and accurate grasp of the profound thought and romantic descriptions within his poetry.” (Zhao and Woods 1) This assertion established the tone of the translation. In August 1993, Jiangsu Education Press released Huang Long’s *An English Version of Mao Zedong’s Poesies*. October saw Peking University Press publish Gu Zhengkun’s *Poems of Mao Zedong: with Rhymed Versions and Annotations*, while China Translation & Publishing House issued Xu Yuanchong’s commemorative *Selected Poems of Mao Zedong (Sino-English Parallel Text)*. (In 2020, China Translation & Publishing House reissued Xu’s work, expanding it by 24 additional poems to reflect evolving scholarly and cultural perspectives.)



The 21st century has witnessed a renewed enthusiasm for English translations of Mao Zedong's poetry. In 2002, Professor Zhang Chunhou of Yan'an University partnered with C. Edwin Vaughan, an American sociologist and professor at the University of Missouri, to release *Mao Zedong as Poet and Revolutionary Leader: Social and Historical Perspectives* in New York. This work "featured 89 poems and incorporated social and historical interpretations, citing both Chinese and Western scholarly sources." (Zhang XI) "It was said that this was the most extensive and detailed collection of Mao Zedong's Poems in the US. (Zhang 75) In 2007, Zhang Chunhou's book *World Perspectives on 100 Poems and Ci of Mao Zedong in English and Chinese, A Comprehensive Political, Social and Historical Research* was published in Hong Kong. In 2010, Li Zhengshuan's translation of Mao Zedong's poems: *Selected Poems of Mao Zedong in Chinese and English* was published by Hebei People's Publishing House. In 2011, Li Zhengshuan's new book: *Poems of Mao Zedong in Chinese and English* was published by UCANDU Learning Centers Publishing. Also in 2011, Wang Hongyin's *Zhu Mo's Collected Works (Translated Volume)* was published by World Publishing Xi'an Co., LTD. This book includes 73 translations of Mao Zedong's poems and verses. These translations of poems and verses all embody the translator's principle of "Westernizing Chinese poetry, modernizing ancient poetry, and beautifying with subtleties". In this year, Huan Ran's *Poems of Mao Zedong in Chinese and English* was published by Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House. Li Zhengshuan published *A Refined Translation of Select Poems of Mao Zedong* in 2018, *A Refined Translation of Select Poems of Mao Zedong in Chinese, English and Spanish* 2020, *Gems of Mao Zedong's Poems (in Chinese, English and Portuguese)* and *A Selected Translation of Poems of Mao Zedong (in Chinese, English and Tibetan)* in 2021 respectively. And Li Zhengshuan published *Selected Comparative Reading of English Translation of Mao Zedong's Poems* in 2022, which is used as a textbook for elective courses in English and Translation majors, as well as for general education courses across the university.

The external dissemination of Mao Zedong's poetry transmitted the authentic image of a great leader to foreign readers, prompting resonance and not only benefiting the shaping of his personal image but also providing an opportunity for the propagation of traditional Chinese culture. (Wei 26) Although the early efforts of foreign translators were a product of information asymmetry under specific historical conditions, they also reflected the unique charm of Mao Zedong's poetry as a cross-cultural symbol. With the strengthening of China's national power and the growth of its translation capabilities, domestic translations had gradually become mainstream due to their "more accurate and comprehensive understanding of Mao Zedong's original poems, reflecting the latest achievements in Mao Zedong poetry studies." (Li 3) Nevertheless, early foreign translations retained irreplaceable significance in promoting the international spread of Chinese culture.

6. Unique Significance and Value of Mao Zedong's Poetry Since 1949

Mao Zedong's poetry is a brilliant pearl in the treasure trove of modern Chinese literature and an important milestone in the history of Chinese poetry. It is not only an artistic expression of Mao Zedong's personal thoughts and emotions, but also "embodies the immense courage and passion of communists and the broad masses of the people to innovate in the cause of revolution and construction" (Zhang et al. 89), possessing profound ideological content, unique artistic style, and far-reaching historical significance. His poetry since 1949 represents a continuation and evolution of Mao Zedong's personal sentiments, a statesman's broad vision, and a

philosopher's contemplation in the new era. These works transcend mere literary texts, becoming unique "codes" for interpreting the social atmosphere of the early days of PRC, the inner world of the leader, and the changing spirit of the times.

After 1949, China experienced a series of upheavals, including the Liberation War, the War to Resist U. S. Aggression and Aid Korea, the restoration of the national economy, the Three Great Transformations, the upsurge of socialist construction, and the "Great Leap Forward". Situated at the core of decision-making, Mao Zedong's poetry writing often closely follows the pulse of history, brimming with the heroic spirit of victors and the aspirations of builders. "The cock's clarion brings the world broad daylight" vividly symbolizes the end of the old era and the birth of New China, while "Our poet's zeal has never reached such a great height" genuinely expresses post-victory joy and anticipation for the rebirth of cultural endeavors. These poems no longer sing of war but of construction, transforming the philosophical concept of "man will conquer nature" into an ardent praise for socialist industrialization, thus becoming the most poetic national archive of that passionate era of construction.

As China stepping onto the international stage, the themes of Mao Zedong's poetry also broaden to encompass the globe and focus on the world. With the magnificent imagination of "And cut you into three parts?/One part I would give to Europe,/Another part I would give to America,/The rest I would return to the country in the East," he artistically expresses his grand conception of breaking the old-world order and establishing a new international order. This ideal pursuit of "a world of peace,/Might share your warmth and cold" shares a lineage with the contemporary concept of a shared future for humankind, demonstrating foresight that transcended its era. Moreover, the prevailing global situation of surging national independence and liberation movements is also a theme in his poetry, reflecting Mao Zedong's expansive vision and broad-mindedness as a great leader. These poetic works are not only a strategist's profound insights into international affairs but also a revolutionary's earnest hopes for the common future of humanity.

In sum, Mao Zedong's poetry written since 1949 is neither casual verse composed in times of prosperity nor mere personal literary remnants; rather, it constitutes a record of the mental and emotional journey of a poet-statesman embarking on a new historical course. These poems function simultaneously as "epics" celebrating the achievements of socialist construction, preserving the emotional temperature of the early years of the People's Republic of China; as "heroic songs" expressing international ideals; and as "splendid chapters" of artistic exploration. They are "consistently infused with revolutionary heroism and optimism characterized by active engagement with the world, unrelenting struggle, an indomitable spirit, and contempt for all hardships and obstacles" (Li 133). With their majestic momentum, rich imagination, and profound reflection, these works have secured an unshakable position in the history of modern Chinese literature. At the same time, they are deeply intertwined with China's socialist exploratory practices, providing a valuable avenue for understanding mid-twentieth-century Chinese history from literary and philosophical perspectives and for apprehending the pulse of the era. Their significance lies not only in their literary and historical value, but also in the enduring reflections they continue to inspire.

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A Study on the Peritext of Wing-tsit Chan's English Translation of *Chuan Xi Lu* from the Perspective of Thick Translation

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Abstract: Wing-tsit Chan's English translation of *Chuan Xi Lu* contains 18 peritexts, including the cover, author's name, title, title page, publication information, introduction, a portrait of Wang Yangming, a foreword by William Theodore de Bary, a preface by Wing-tsit Chan, the translator's notes, a glossary, an index, etc., highlighting its characteristics of thick translation. Based on Genette's theory of paratexts, this article examines the illustrations, prefaces, notes, and appendices of Wing-tsit Chan's English translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*, explores the path of thick translation by interpreting traditional Chinese concepts from a Chinese perspective, and also comments on the historical status and contemporary value of Chan's translation. It is found that Chan's translation adopts the thick translation strategy, reconstructs the image of Wang Yangming, and recreates the historical context of the source language through a large amount of peritexts, thus forming an effective paradigm for the translation and dissemination of Chinese philosophical texts.

Keywords: thick translation; Wing-tsit Chan; English translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*; peritext

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Chuan Xi Lu is the culmination of Confucious thought since the pre-Qin period in China, which was compiled by Wang Yangming's disciples based on his sayings and dialogues, covering the mature thoughts of Wang Yangming and almost all aspects of his philosophy of mind. It focuses on the core ideas of Wang's philosophy, such as “the mind is the principle”, “the extension of innate knowledge”, and “the unity of



knowledge and action”. To date, there are only two complete English translations of *Chuan Xi Lu*. The first is *The Philosophy of Wang Yangming*^[1] (1916) by Frederick G. Henke, an American professor of philosophy and psychology, and a missionary, which pioneered the Western dissemination of *Chuan Xi Lu*. The second is *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings by Wang Yang-ming* (1963) by Wing-tsit Chan, a Chinese-American scholar known as the “pioneer of Confucian studies in North America”. Other translations by Léon Wiegier (1930), Julia Ching (1972), and Philip J. Ivanhoe (2009) focus on Wang Yangming’s letters and poems but do not include the main content of *Chuan Xi Lu* and are generally not considered complete translations. The current state of English translations and research on *Chuan Xi Lu* is far from prosperous, which is extremely disproportionate to its historical significance and the demand for translation.

At present, research on Wing-tsit Chan’s English translation mainly focuses on three aspects. First, evaluations and discussions of Chan’s translation, such as those by Conrad M. Schirokauer (1964), David S. Nivison (1964), Vincent Yu-chung Shih (1965), Liu Xianghui (2019), Liu Kongxi (2019), and Wu Wennan (2021), who highly praised the strengths of Chan’s translation. Second, the introduction and dissemination of Chan’s translation, as seen in the works of Larry Israel (2015, 2018), Wang Yu (2017), Xin Hongjuan and Fei Zhouying (2017, 2019), Cao Leiyu (2018), Liu Kongxi and Xu Mingwu (2018), Xu Saiying (2020), and Liu Kongxi (2022), who have sorted out the translation and dissemination of Chan’s work in the West. Third, comparative analyses of the two English translations of *Chuan Xi Lu*, such as those by David S. Nivison (1964), Li Chusheng (2012), Wang Yu (2018), Xin Hongjuan (2019), Fang Xian (2021), Yang Limiao and Wen Bing (2023), who have conducted comprehensive comparative studies of the translations by Henke and Chan from different perspectives. It is evident that research on Chan’s translation covers both macro-level studies on translation and dissemination, as well as micro-level studies on linguistic equivalence. These studies not only employ relevant theories for in-depth exploration but also conduct specific discussions from a practical level. However, apart from Zhao Huifang and Shi Chunrang (2023), who studied Chan’s English translation of *Chuan Xi Lu* from the perspective of paratexts, few scholars have conducted related research from this perspective. Based on Genette’s theory of paratexts, this article examines the illustrations, prefaces, notes, and appendices of Chan’s translation, explores the path of thick translation by interpreting traditional Chinese concepts from a Chinese perspective, reconstructs the image of Wang Yangming in the West, emphasizes the otherness of Chinese philosophical discourse, and fully analyzes the historical status and contemporary value of Chan’s translation.

1. Peritext: A New Approach to Thick Translation Research

1.1 Peritext

The term “peritext” was first introduced by the renowned French literary critic and narratologist Gérard Genette at the end of the 1970s. In his 1982 book *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré*, Genette defined peritext as the material immediately surrounding the text. In 1987, Genette published the French monograph *Seuils*, extending the concept of paratext to cover extratextual material as well. This book was translated into English as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* in 1997, which detailed the types of paratexts, their positions

in the text, and their functions, proposing the formula $\text{paratext} = \text{peritext} + \text{epitext}$ ^{[2]5}. Peritext mainly includes the cover, an author's name, a title, publication information, a preface, notes, appendices, afterword, illustrations, etc. These productions might be regarded as belonging to the text, surrounding and extending the text, precisely in order to present the text or to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world^{[2]1}. In 1996, Finnish scholar Urpo Kovala emphasized the role of paratexts as part of the interpretive frame through which the reader approached and in fact comprehended the text, whether they immediately surrounded the text or appeared elsewhere, in the "hors-texte"^{[3]142}. This pioneering research on translation paratexts made paratexts "an indispensable organic part of the translation and the main carrier of Sino-Western translation ideas"^{[4]106}, offering a new perspective for translation studies.

1.2 Thick Translation

Drawing on Clifford Geertz's theory of "thick description", American cultural theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah first proposed the concept of "thick translation", which sought "its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context"^{[5]817}. In 2003, British translation theorist Theo Hermans applied thick translation to translation studies, arguing that "thick translation should be able to counter the flatness and reductiveness of the prevailing jargon of translation studies and their structuralist heritage, and foster instead a more diversified and imaginative vocabulary, thus flaunting the translator's subject position, counteracting the illusion of transparency or neutral description, and arming it with an explicit viewpoint"^{[6]386-387}. In recent years, research on thick translation has grown, mainly focusing on two aspects: the relationship, types, functions, and significance between thick description and thick translation (Duan Feng, 2006; Zhao Yong, 2010; Wang Xueming & Yang Zi, 2012; Li Yan, 2014; Yin Yanchuan, 2017; Cai Ruizhen, 2022), and the exploration of theoretical models and translation strategies of thick translation (Zhang Peiyao, 2007; Zhang Yan & Hu Weiping, 2011; Wen Jun & Wang Bin, 2016; Xu Mingwu & Wang Yanmeng, 2017; Lin Jiaxin & Xu Kunpei, 2022). These perspectives elaborate on the connotation of thick translation from different angles and clearly point out that thick translation is an effective compensatory translation strategy. Through peritextual information such as illustrations, prefaces, notes, and appendices, thick translation avoids cultural misunderstandings, interprets cultural imagery, compensates for cultural omissions, and negotiates cultural untranslatability, thereby expanding the frontiers of translation studies.

2. The Paratextual Surroundings: An Examination of the Peritexts in Wing-tsit Chan's Translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*

Wing-tsit Chan's translation of *Chuan Xi Lu* was published by Columbia University Press in 1963, titled *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings by Wang Yang-ming*. In addition to conventional elements such as the cover, author's name, title, title page, and publication information, its peritexts include a 23-page introduction, a portrait of Wang Yangming, a foreword by William Theodore de Bary, a preface by the translator, translator's notes, a glossary, an index, and other peritextual materials totaling 18 items and 88 pages, accounting for 21.89% of the entire book's 402 pages, with an additional 987 notes, making it a substantial translation.

2.1 Portrait: Reconstructing the Image of Wang Yangming Overseas

In addition to textual peritexts, there are also visual peritexts, which can be referred to as “iconotexts”, mainly including cover illustrations, illustrations, and photographs, whose function is to “supplement what the text cannot fully express”^{[7]32}. Images not only directly point to the connotations of the main text but also extend beyond the entire text, effectively participating in the meaning generation and image construction of the main text. The first page of Chan’s translation features a portrait of Wang Yangming, labeled “WANG YANG-MING”, with an accompanying description: “MING DYNASTY PORTRAIT IN THE COLLECTION OF HUANG CHIEH (1874–1935): PHOTOGRAPH BY PROFESSOR KUSUMOTO MASATSUGU”. The attire depicted in the portrait reflects the Ming Dynasty’s dress code, encapsulates complex emotions of reconstruction and reverence, and provides a strong visual impact to the reader. Through delicate lines and brushwork, the portrait interprets and reconstructs the image of Wang Yangming as a sage who “engaged in politics, military affairs, and education, and established virtue, merit, and discourse”. It is a historical reenactment of Confucian sage worship. The boundary between the sacred and the secular becomes blurred with the integration of linguistic and visual symbols^{[8]156}. Chan’s translation of *Chuan Xi Lu* sketches an overseas image of Wang Yangming that is constantly being mythologized. The visual presentation of the portrait corroborates the authenticity and historicity of the textual narration. The interplay between text and image stimulates the reader’s interest, guiding them to cross the threshold of Sino-Western cultural differences and forming an effective paradigm for the dissemination of Chinese philosophical texts.



WANG YANG-MING
MING DYNASTY PORTRAIT IN THE COLLECTION
OF HUANG CHIEH (1874-1935); PHOTOGRAPH BY
PROFESSOR KUSUMOTO MASATSUGU

Picture 1 WANG YANG-MING

2.2 Preface: The Key to the Translator’s Inner World

Prefaces are generally located before the main text, highlighting the importance and novelty of the text while emphasizing its unity and authenticity^{[2]199–206}. The prefaces in Wing-tsit Chan’s translation of *Chuan Xi Lu* are rich in content, including a foreword by William Theodore de Bary, the translator’s preface, translator’s notes, and an introduction, totaling 31 pages. De Bary’s foreword points out that “this volume containing the major

works of Wang Yangming is one of a group of publications, the Translations from the Oriental Classics, through which the Committee on Oriental Studies has sought to transmit to Western readers representative works of the Oriental traditions in thought and literature”^{[9]ix}. It also clarifies that the book’s target audience is not only scholars but also general readers, highly praising Wang Yangming’s ideas on human morality, inner motivation, and the unity of knowledge and action in Japan, Korea, and China, and calling on Western readers to understand Wang Yangming through Chan’s faithful translation. As a renowned Western scholar of Chinese thought, especially in the field of Confucian studies, de Bary’s endorsement opens the door for Western readers to enter the mysterious Eastern philosophical hall of *Chuan Xi Lu*. In the translator’s preface, Wing-tsit Chan states that it “has been chosen for translation for the simple reason that no one can adequately understand Chinese thought without having read this work in its entirety”, and considers “this embodiment of Wang Yangming’s philosophy is indisputably the most important Chinese philosophical classic since the early thirteenth century”^{[9]xi}. He briefly outlines the differences between the Lu-Wang school and the Cheng-Zhu school of Neo-Confucianism, emphasizing its significant impact on Chinese intellectuals and socio-political leaders. The translator’s notes introduce the Chinese manuscript used for translation, the translation strategy, and its differences from Henke’s translation. The 23-page introduction elaborates on the three stages of Wang Yangming’s philosophical development, the evolution of Neo-Confucianism, and its significance in the history of Chinese philosophical thought. It provides detailed explanations of the core ideas of Wang’s philosophy, such as “the mind is the principle”, “the extension of innate knowledge”, and “the unity of knowledge and action”, guiding readers to uncover the mysteries of Eastern philosophy and enter the culture of the other.

2.3 Notes: Reconstructing the Historical Context of the Source Text

In addition to reflecting the unique social realities, customs, institutions, and other aspects of a country, literary works also contain unique modes of expression, such as narrative styles, literary imagery, historical allusions, and aesthetic psychology. These implicit pieces of information shared between the author and readers of the source culture often become barriers to understanding for readers of the translated text when they enter a new cultural environment during cross-cultural dissemination, thus frequently requiring annotations for explanation^{[10]4-5}. In Wing-tsit Chan’s translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*, thick translation is mainly presented through footnotes, totaling 987 notes. Currently, the academic community classifies notes based on different research objects and principles. For example, Wang Hui categorizes notes in English translations of the *Analects* into eleven types, such as proper nouns, chapter themes, and citation notes^{[11]40}; Wang Xueming and Yang Zi classify notes in the English translation of *Selected Translations of Chinese Translation Discourse* into six types, namely proper nouns, background information, and intertextuality within the text^{[12]105}; Zhou Lingshun and Qiang Hui classify notes in the English translation of the *Doctrine of the Mean* into five types, such as interpretative notes, directional notes, and questioning notes^{[13]106-107}; Zhang Guangfa and Wen Jun classify notes in the English translation of *Zhuangzi* into six types, namely chapter themes, phonetic and semantic notes, and internal cross-reference^{[14]87}; Cai Ruizhen classifies notes in the English translation of *Reflections on Things at Hand* into four types, namely citation sources, internal cross-reference, semantic explanations, and proper noun explanations^{[15]65}. Combining research needs and the actual situation of the English translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*, this article categorizes notes into background information, proper nouns, internal cross-reference, and external

citations. Background information introduces relevant historical knowledge and sources to help readers understand the background; proper nouns explain terms such as names of people, places, books, and philosophical terms; internal cross-reference indicates the specific locations of the same content within the text; external citations explain quotations and specify their sources for easy reference by readers. The specific numbers are shown in the table below.

Statistical Table of Notes in Chan's Translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*

Types	Background Information	Proper Nouns	Internal Cross-reference	External Citations	Total
Introduction	7	1	55	28	91
Part I: Conversations Recorded by Hsü Ai	11	9	1	41	62
Part I: Conversations Recorded by Lu Ch'eng	19	12	7	62	100
Part I: Conversations Recorded by Hsüeh K'an	10	14	14	63	101
Part II: Preface by Ch'ien Te-hung	6	3	7	0	16
Part II: Letter in Reply to Ku Tung-ch'iao	20	5	8	66	99
Part II: Letter to Chou Tao-t'ung	8	3	2	19	32
Part II: Letter in Reply to Lu Yüan-ching	14	6	6	30	56
Part II: Letter in Reply to Ou-yang Ch'ung-i	3	1	5	22	31
Part II: Letter in Reply to Vice-Minister Lo Cheng-an	2	3	2	13	20
Part II: Letter in Reply to Nieh Wen-Yü	4	3	1	21	29
Part II: Another Letter in Reply to Nieh Wen-Yü	5	1	4	14	24
Part II: Instructions for Liu Po-sung and Others on Fundamental Ideas on Elementary Education	0	0	0	1	1
Part III: Conversations Recorded by Ch'en Chiu-ch'uan	9	6	6	16	37
Part III: Conversations Recorded by Huang I-fang	2	2	2	12	18
Part III: Conversations Recorded by Huang Mien-shu	2	2	1	10	15
Part III: Conversations Recorded by Huang Mien-chih	25	17	24	50	116
Part III: Conversations Recorded by Huang I-fang	18	10	14	32	74
Part III: Preface to Chu Hsi's Final Conclusions Arrived at Late in Life	4	6	2	1	13
Inquiry on the Great Learning	14	0	2	13	29
Some Social and Political Measures	9	6	1	7	23
Total	192	110	164	521	987
Proportion	19.45%	11.14%	16.62%	52.79%	100%

From the statistical data, it is evident that external citations account for the largest proportion, at 52.79%, indicating that Wing-tsit Chan placed great emphasis on academic norms, fully referenced sources, and indicated

their origins, “showing a tireless spirit of thoroughness: all names mentioned in the original texts are carefully identified as far as is possible; all original quotations are painstakingly checked and documented; expressions and phrases which must have been common in the literary and intellectual world at the time but are not so common now are traced to their source; and cross references with respect to important terms are given to show how they change in their conceptual content when used by different thinkers”^{[16]293}. For example, in “Letter in Reply to Ku Tung-ch’iao”, terms such as “pure intelligence and consciousness (虛靈知覺)”, “the test of the mind (心之量)”, and “matters pertaining to the sage (聖人之事)”^{[9]95} are mentioned. Chan used three notes to indicate that “pure intelligence and consciousness” is quoted from Chu Hsi’s Preface to the *Chung-yung chang-chü*, while “the test of the mind” and “matters pertaining to the sage” are from *Meng Tzu chi-chu*. Chan translated “父母全而生之, 子全而歸之” as “as parents give the son his body in its completeness and the son returns it in its completeness”, citing the source as the *Book of Rites – The Meaning of Sacrifices*, and provided James Legge’s translation for comparison^{[9]96–97}. *Chuan Xi Lu* covers almost the entire theoretical system of the philosophy of mind, with innovative ideas, complex content, and numerous figures, hence the notes include 19.45% background information and 11.14% proper nouns. For example, for the names mentioned in the text, Chan provided detailed notes and information, situating the reader in the historical context. In the preface to Ch’ien Te-hung, nearly an entire page is devoted to introducing Ch’ien Te-hung’s journey from disbelief to firm belief in Wang Yangming, ultimately becoming a leading figure in Confucian philosophy of mind and further elaborating and developing the philosophy of mind. For other figures such as Hsüeh Shang-ch’ien, Ts’ai Hsi-yüan, Po-i, I-yin, Yang Shih-te, Ou-yang Ch’ung-i, Huang Ch’eng-fu, Liang Jih-fu, and Chi Wei-ch’ien, the translator also provided detailed notes on their lives. For historical figures who could not be verified, such as Te-chang and Fu-ying, were also annotated one by one, demonstrating the translator’s rigor.

In his article “*Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy Abroad*”, Wing-tsit Chan summarized the principles of annotation-based translation into seven guidelines: First, to consult as many commentaries as possible; second, all terms must be explained; third, all sets like the Five Constant Virtues of Humanity, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Faithfulness must be itemized; fourthly, all titles of books and articles must be translated; fifth, to identify or account for all places and persons; sixth, to trace all quotations; seventh, to make brief comments on certain significant passages to alert the reader of the significant role the passage has played in the history of Chinese philosophy^{[17]2–3}. In his translation practice, Chan consistently adhered to these seven principles, striving to maintain consistency in the translation of all terms, verifying different semantic changes, and widely referring to works by Japanese scholars. For example, in Chan’s note of the phrase “empty, tranquil, and without any sign, and yet all things are luxuriantly present (沖漠無朕, 而萬象森然已具)” in “Conversations Recorded by Lu Ch’eng”, he referred to many Japanese scholars’ research, who asserted that this is of Buddhist origin but none has given any direct reference. Yamazaki Ansai listed all quotations of this saying and discussions on it by Neo-Confucians but did not say a word about its Buddhist origin in his essay. The *Daikanwa jiten*, the fullest dictionary of its kind so far, gives Ch’eng I, rather than any Buddhist, as its author. While Ōta Kinjō has pointed out that the second half of the sentence is virtually the same as that in the *Cheng-tao ko* by Zen Master Chen-chiao of Yung-chia.^{[9]27} A similar situation was encountered in the rendering of a subsequent phrase “everyone will become self-contained and everyone will be perfectly realized (人人自有, 個個圓成)”^{[9]68} in “Conversations Recorded by Hsüeh K’an”. In Chan’s translation, a note of nearly 300 words



was used to trace its origin in detail, stating Miwa Shissai said that the saying is by Bodhidharma and comes from the *Liu-men chi*. Other Japanese annotators have followed him. But Chan also referred to different opinions from scholars such as Azuma Keiji and D. T. Suzuki, and verified works such as *Denshū roku kōgi*, *Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i Ch'an-shih yü-lu* and *Zokuzōkyō*. The translator's intellectual rigor is clearly evidenced here. Such a comprehensive annotation-based translation method and seven translation principles fully demonstrate Wing-tsit Chan's thick translation concept, which is steeped in both Eastern and Western philosophical traditions. This study has reconstructed a distinctive image of Wang Yangming and, in doing so, shaped his multifaceted overseas persona.

2.4 Appendices: An Effective Means of Supplementary Information

The appendices in Chan's translation consist of four parts, effectively supplementing the insufficiencies of the main text and footnotes over 48 pages, facilitating readers' reading and verification, and reflecting the translator's painstaking efforts. Appendix I, "Bibliographical and Historical Notes on *Chuan Xi Lu*", meticulously lists relevant documents on Wang Yangming, such as Wang Chang-chih's *The Moral Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, Henke's *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, and Fung Yu-lan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, forming a systematic knowledge network of Yangming studies and providing Western readers with a documentary foundation to approach Wang Yangming. Appendix II, "A Checklist of Chinese and Japanese Works", details 154 works by title, along with cross-references and version information, constructing a three-dimensional and systematic framework for Yangming studies for Western readers from a diachronic perspective. Appendix III, "Glossary", alphabetically arranges the philosophical terms and key vocabulary mentioned in the text, matching the Wade-Giles romanization with Chinese calligraphy, allowing readers to quickly locate key terms while showcasing the unique beauty of Chinese calligraphy. Appendix IV, "Index", systematically organizes important words and phrases in the text, along with their corresponding page numbers in the translation, providing detailed guidance for readers to easily locate information.

3. Using Chinese Traditions to Interpret China: The Path to Thick Translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*

3.1 Harmony in Diversity: From "Absence" to "Voice"

For a long time, the Western philosophical community has "ignored" Chinese philosophy, with the concept of "using Western frameworks to interpret China" deeply rooted in the dissemination of Chinese philosophical texts. This has led to the "absence" of Chinese philosophy, which is not commensurate with the current national strength. The existence of this "absence" is mainly due to the insufficient construction or imperfection of the Chinese philosophical discourse system. For Chinese philosophy to truly "find a voice", an important prerequisite is that ancient Chinese discourse must be communicable and commensurable^{[18]22}. The correct English terms should not only express the Chinese concepts in a specific text but also be applicable throughout the history of Chinese thought, although sometimes alternative translations are inevitable^{[19]52}. Chinese and Western philosophies belong to different categories, with distinct logics and structures. The unique history and cultural

background of China have given rise to its own philosophy, and the commonly used philosophical terms in Western philosophy cannot accurately express the special connotations of Chinese philosophy^{[20]85}. Therefore, Chinese philosophy must sort out its intellectual lineage, philosophical framework, and modes of expression, thereby elucidating its legitimacy, richness, and uniqueness.

To this end, in the translation of *Chuan Xi Lu*, Wing-tsit Chan consciously avoided using Western philosophical concepts to interpret Chinese philosophy. Instead, he persisted in exploring the unique characteristics of Chinese philosophical concepts, situating the translation within the dynamic and diachronic development of Chinese philosophy. He narrated Chinese philosophy using its own discourse, providing an associative description from both theoretical and doctrinal perspectives. Through the thick translation strategy of “paraphrase + transliteration + annotation”, he highlighted the unique charm and contemporary value of Chinese philosophical terms. The following are two examples:

[Source Text] 見其牝牡驪黃,而棄其所謂千里者。(From *Conversations Recorded by Hsü Ai* in *Chuan Xi Lu*)

[Target Text] Seeing, as it were, only the sex and color of the horse while overlooking its capacity of a thousand li.^{9 [9]5}

⁹ A *li* is about one third of a mile. The story about the horse is found in the *Huai-nan Tzu*, 12: 9a-b. According to the account there, Duke Mu (r. 659–621 B. C.) of Ch’in, on the recommendation of his minister, sent an expert in search of a steed. After three months the expert returned, saying that he had found a yellow male. When the horse came, it proved to be a black female. The duke was displeased and asked his minister about it. The minister replied, “What the expert saw was the secret of Nature. He grasped the essential factor and ignored the coarse element.” The horse proved to be a horse of a thousand *li*. See Evan Morgan, trans. , *Tao, the Great Luminant* (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1934), p. 119.

Here, the allusion to the story of 牝牡驪黃 (Looking Beyond the Horse’s Color and Sex) from the *Liezi – Shuofu* is directly translated in the main text. However, in the footnote, the Chinese unit of measurement “*li*” is separately explained, along with the underlying implication of the story, that is, one should not only look at the surface but also see through the phenomenon to grasp the essence. It also indicates that the reference is from Evan Morgan’s translation of the *Huai-nan Tzu*, enhancing the interactive relationship of mutual construction, supplementation, and amplification between the main text and the notes, guiding readers to obtain more detailed cultural information.

[Source Text] 天子之學曰辟雍, 諸侯之學曰泮宮。(From *Letter in Reply to Ku Tung-ch’iao* in *Chuan Xi Lu*)

[Target Text] The national university at the national capital was called pi-yung (literally “surrounded jade”).⁷⁸ The college of feudal lords was called p’an-kung (literally “half palace”).^{79 [9]115}

⁷⁸ Alluding to a building surrounded by a moat.

⁷⁹ Only one side was surrounded by water.



“Pi-yung” and “p’an-kung” are both ancient Chinese institutions of higher learning with distinct cultural characteristics. Based on transliteration, Wing-tsit Chan added the literal meaning of the characters in parentheses and further explained their connotations in the notes. While enhancing the interaction between the main text and the paratext, he preserved the authenticity of Chinese traditional culture and allowed readers to experience the profound and enduring nature of Chinese culture. Other examples include translating “良知” as “innate knowledge of good (*liang-chih*)”, “格” as “rectify (*ko*)”, “格物” as “investigation of things (*ko-wu*)”, “親民” as “loving the people (*ch’in-min*)”, “新民” as “renovating the people (*hsin-min*)”, “禮” as “meaning propriety, ceremonies (*li*)”, “理” as “meaning principle (*li*)”, “正” as “rectify (*cheng*)”, “事” as “event (*shih*)”, “文” as “literature (*wen*)”, “精” as “refinement (*ching*)”, “一貫” as “one thread (*i-kuan*)”, “敬” as “seriousness (*ching*)”, and so on.

“The White Deer’s torch, a master of our time; in bringing Chinese wisdom West, his feat remains unparalleled.”^{[21]138} He neither wanted Chinese philosophical thought to be misunderstood by Western ways of thinking nor did he advocate that Chinese philosophy is superior to Western philosophy. Instead, he relied on the introduction of commonalities to emphasize the differences between the two heterogeneous cultures in comparison, encouraging Western readers to willingly and actively begin to understand and appreciate Chinese culture, laying the foundation for the acceptance and recognition of Chinese culture^{[22]168}. In the context of the integration and collision of ancient and modern, Chinese and Western cultures, some translators’ attempts to explain ancient Chinese philosophy through Western learning are not without merit. However, Wing-tsit Chan broke the mold of “using Western frameworks to interpret China” through a wealth of paratextual information. His translation, steeped in Chinese culture, allowed Chinese philosophy to speak with a Chinese voice. He consciously disseminated Chinese philosophical discourse to the Western philosophical community, seeking an effective path of harmony in diversity and integration of Chinese and Western cultures through his voluminous works. The transition of the Chinese philosophical discourse system from “absence” to “voice” is a process of mutual integration between other cultures and philosophical commonalities. Grounded in the wisdom of Chinese philosophy, it situates Chinese philosophical texts within the global historical context, meeting the global demand for the translation and dissemination of Chinese philosophical texts.

3.2 *Civilizational Exchange: From “Marginality” to “Integration”*

With the resurgence of classical Chinese studies and growing interest in Confucianism, the sense of identification with Chinese traditional culture has continuously strengthened, and the collision between Chinese and Western heterogeneous thoughts has intensified. Some translators have begun to actively explore using Chinese traditions to interpret China. The thick translation strategy, which carries rich paratextual information, makes the long-invisible textual phenomena visible. It inspires Chinese philosophy to discard the shackles of Western philosophical discourse in the process of going global, to interpret Chinese philosophy using its own discourse system, and to interpret Chinese philosophy from a Chinese standpoint, allowing Chinese philosophy to speak in its own language. Chinese and Western philosophies, as the outcomes of different civilizational traditions, constitute the intellectual resources for contemporary philosophical thinking and are also important intellectual backgrounds for deeply elucidating their respective traditions. The advocacy of “using Chinese traditions to interpret China” reflects a trend in intellectual thinking^{[23]37}. Wing-tsit Chan always advocated and

implemented the concept of “using Chinese traditions to interpret China”. In the translation process, he almost entirely remained faithful to the question-and-answer format of *Chuan Xi Lu*. According to the author’s statistics, “the Teacher said” appears 339 times in the text, with 42 instances added by the translator. “I asked” appears 86 times, “I said” appears 84 times, and “your letter says” appears 41 times. The high-frequency words “said” and “asked” appear 797 and 180 times respectively. With his profound philosophical background and unique linguistic advantages, Chan effectively elucidated the connotations of the core concepts of Wang’s philosophy of mind, such as “the mind is the principle”, “the extension of innate knowledge”, and “the unity of knowledge and action”. The Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming dynasties’ “心即理(the mind is the principle)” differs from the Cheng-Zhu school’s “性即理(the nature is the principle)”. After Wang Yangming’s enlightenment at Longchang, he realized that all heavenly principles originate from within the mind and do not need to be sought externally. Chan translated “心” as “mind”, emphasizing the rational meaning of the brain, and “理” as “the principles of things”, focusing on the principles and reasons of things. “致良知(the extension of innate knowledge)” is the essence of Wang Yangming’s philosophy of mind and its main theme. “致知” means to realize the innate knowledge within the mind, that is, the moral essence. “致良知” means to apply this innate knowledge to all things and actions, bringing the innate knowledge to its fullest extent and achieving the unity of knowledge and action. Chan translated “良知” as “innate knowledge” and “致良知” as “the extension of innate knowledge”, focusing more on epistemology and lacking an interpretation of ontology. He did not express the concept of the unity of knowledge and action in the dynamic process of “extension”, and translating it as “to realize” might be more appropriate. Wang Yangming’s “知行合一(the unity of knowledge and action)” is not a general relationship between cognition and practice. “知” refers to perception, not knowledge in the sense of information. “知” is the inner knowledge, and “行” is the inner action. Chan translated “知行合一” as “the unity of knowledge and action”, which resonates with “the mind is the principle” and “the extension of innate knowledge”. It is worth noting that for many Chinese classical works mentioned in the book, Chan used transliteration with notes to preserve Chinese cultural elements as much as possible. For example, *Lü-lü hsin-shu* (New book on pitch pipes) is translated with a footnote explaining that the book is an ancient Chinese document on musicology, authored by Ts’ai Yuan-ting, with Chu Hsi offering much praise for Ts’ai Yuan-ting and his *Lü-lü hsin-shu*. However, according to the *Ssu-k’u ch’üan-shu tsung-mu t’i-yao*, Volume 38, Chu Hsi may have been involved in its co-authorship. Other works such as *Lien-shan* (Mountain range), *Kuei-ts’ang* (Reservoir), *Chiu-ch’iu* (Nine mounts), *Pa-su* (Eight inquiries), and *Tso chuan* (Tso’s commentary) are all translated using a thick translation strategy to preserve the cultural characteristics of the source language as much as possible.

The exchange between Chinese and Western civilizations has a long history. However, “the mainstream philosophical tradition in the West stands profoundly unmoved by the prospect of incorporating Chinese philosophy”^{[24]12}. Chinese philosophy has long been on the periphery of world philosophy. In her 2001 report, Professor Jiang Xinyan, Chairman of the Asian Committee of the American Philosophical Association, pointed out that although there is still a long way to go for Asian philosophy to be widely accepted and respected in American universities, Asian philosophy is no longer as marginalized as it used to be^{[25]108}. More than 20 years have passed, and in the process of modernization, phenomena of seeking profit and avoiding harm, as well as competing for power and profit, have filled society with competition and distrust. In contrast, Chinese philosophical wisdom interprets a new way of dealing with the world, that is, emphasizing the inherent goodness



of human nature and promoting a heart of benevolence, allowing great ideas such as morality and rationality to be coordinated and extended. Represented by *Chuan Xi Lu*, Chinese philosophical wisdom is rich in ideological connotations and life philosophies. It is not only a translation or a knowledge system but also a guide for real life. Through internal shaping and supplementation, it perceives the objective existence of things, senses one's own value, and how to coexist equally with others and the world. Only by being rooted in Chinese traditional culture can we preserve the linguistic characteristics and cultural connotations of the Chinese language as much as possible, "making the Western academic community realize the profound connotations of Chinese philosophy, allowing Chinese philosophical texts to exert a global influence, and promoting mutual dialogue and communication between Chinese and Western civilizations"^{[26][87]}. In today's globalized context, dialogue between Chinese and Western civilizations is becoming increasingly close, and Chinese philosophy can provide more Chinese propositions and wisdom for the exchange and cooperation of global culture and philosophy.

4. Conclusion

As an important carrier of Wang Yangming's philosophy of mind, *Chuan Xi Lu* plays a significant role in the dissemination of Chinese philosophy to the West and in the mutual learning between Chinese and Western civilizations. Wing-tsit Chan's humble and profound translation ethics, his comprehensive understanding of both Chinese and Western cultures, his extensive knowledge of ancient and modern times, his annotation-based translation style, and his pursuit of the origins of translation have made significant contributions to the dissemination and popularization of Wang Yangming's philosophy in the West. The power of translation is truly far-reaching. Through the translation and dissemination of Wing-tsit Chan's English version of *Chuan Xi Lu* over the past six decades, Wang Yangming's philosophy has been widely spread worldwide, promoting cultural exchange and integration between different cultures. It has enabled the Western philosophical community to better understand the profound connotations and cultural depth of Chinese philosophy and has provided an opportunity for mutual learning and dialogue between Chinese and Western philosophical cultures. At the same time, the diversified prosperity and development of *Chuan Xi Lu* in the Western academic community have provided strong theoretical support for telling Chinese stories well and gathering Chinese strength. They have also contributed Chinese propositions and wisdom to the development and progress of world philosophy.

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A Study on the English Translation of Verses of Female Characters in *The Story of the Stone* from the Perspective of Cognitive Profiling Theory

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Abstract: This paper adopts Tan Yesheng's cognitive profiling theory as its core theoretical framework, focusing on the translation of the prophetic verses for three female characters, Qin Keqing, Li Wan and Miaoyu, in Hawkes's English translation of *The Story of the Stone*. It employs a four-step analysis "source text foundation/ aspect identification, translated text foundation/ aspect analysis, categorization of manifestation relationships, and explanation of translator's choice of strategies." This study aims to validate the application of the cognitive profiling theory in literary translation character analysis, thereby providing theoretical reference for the translation of classical texts.

Keywords: Cognitive translation studies; profiling; *The Story of the Stone*

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翻譯認知截顯論視角下《紅樓夢》女性角色 判詞英譯研究

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摘 要: 本文以譚業升的翻譯認知截顯論為核心理論框架, 聚焦《紅樓夢》霍克斯英譯本中秦可卿、李紈、妙玉三位女性角色的判詞英譯, 採用『原文基底/側面識別、譯文基底/側面分析、截顯關係歸類、譯者策略闡釋』四步法展開

分析。本文期望以翻譯認知截顯論入手,驗證其在文學翻譯人物分析中的作用,為典籍外譯提供理論參考。

關鍵詞: 認知翻譯學;截顯;《紅樓夢》

一、引言

《紅樓夢》憑藉其宏大敘事與細微描繪,構建了豐富的群像世界。學界研究長期聚焦於賈寶玉、林黛玉、薛寶釵等核心人物的命運軌跡與形象建構,取得了豐碩成果。然而,該作品的卓越藝術成就,同樣深刻地體現於其對眾多次要角色的精心刻畫。諸如威儀與慈愛並存的賈母、幽閉深宮而命運悲情的元春、懦弱隱忍的迎春、才志清明卻遠嫁異鄉的探春、心灰意冷終遁空門的惜春等人物,均以其鮮明性格與複雜命運,共同編織並豐富了小說的敘事層次與美學意蘊。

在《紅樓夢》的對外譯介與傳播研究中,英譯策略始終是學者關注的焦點。已有大量成果集中於文化負載詞、典故、詩詞曲賦的翻譯技巧探討,或從宏觀的文化視角審視譯本。然而,一個尚待深入挖掘的領域在於:這些女性角色,尤其是其次要性往往使其形象更依賴於高度凝練的判詞來定調,其判詞所承載的身份、性格與命運走向,在跨語際的轉換過程中究竟經歷了何種認知層面的傳遞與重塑?現有研究雖有涉及具體人物的翻譯批評,但多停留在語言表像的對比或文化資訊的得失評判,普遍缺乏一個系統、深入的理論框架,來揭示譯者內在的認知如何引導其對原文意象、哲學思辨與文化圖式進行抉擇與重構。

為彌補此研究缺口,本文引入譚業升所提出的『翻譯認知截顯論』作為核心分析框架。該理論將翻譯視為動態認知過程,強調譯者並非被動傳遞資訊,而是主動啟動原文所植根的認知『基底』,包括文化框架、社會規範與情感圖式等,進而有選擇地『截顯』其中某一『側面』加以再現。基於此,本研究致力於回答以下核心問題:在霍克斯的英譯本中,譯者對次要女性角色的處理,實施了哪些關鍵的認知截顯操作?這些選擇如何轉換或重構了原文的基底與側面,進而影響其在英語世界的形象塑造與讀者識解?本文期望通過這一探索,能夠清晰勾勒出《紅樓夢》次要女性角色在跨文化交流中被認知、選擇與重構的完整圖景,並為典籍外譯中人物形象的傳真提供理論參考與實踐啟示。

二、文獻綜述與研究現狀

(一)《紅樓夢》研究現狀

認知語言學與認知翻譯學的跨學科理論,為《紅樓夢》研究提供了全新的理論依據與分析方法。基於現有文獻的系統梳理,相關研究已形成明確的理論應用方向與核心議題,同時仍存在拓展空間。

認知語言學核心理論已深度融入《紅樓夢》文本及譯本分析,形成多維度研究格局。識解機制是應用最廣泛的理論框架,基於轄域、突顯等識解維度,以飲食、詩詞等文化負載詞為研究對象,對比不同譯本的重構差異,揭示譯者文化認知對意象傳遞的影響。同時,隱喻與轉喻作為核心認知機制也成為研究重點,通過對比譯本的傳遞策略,探討目標語讀者認知域啟動的有效性。此外,特殊認知模型的應用豐富了研究視角。有研究運用舞臺認知模型,分析《紅樓夢》回目多譯本的識解差異,闡明譯者文化背景與認知視角對譯文選擇的制約作用;另有研究通過視覺化認知理論,探析譯本如何實現原文視覺資訊的跨文化重構。整體而言,該視角研究以微觀語言元素為核心,側重單一理論與具體文本的精准對接。

認知翻譯學聚焦譯者認知過程與翻譯策略的內在關聯,形成三大研究方向。其一,譯者認知對翻譯實



踐的影響研究,有研究以譯本為對象,指出譯者文化認知背景在中醫、茶文化等專屬概念翻譯中的適配作用,揭示認知經驗與譯文表達的深層關聯。其二,多譯本認知對比研究,有研究發現不同譯本在文化保真與讀者接受之間存在認知取向差異,二者策略差異源於翻譯目的與文化立場的不同。其三,詩歌翻譯的認知策略研究,有研究從認知視角切入,提出《紅樓夢》詩歌隱喻的異化翻譯路徑,為文學隱喻翻譯提供了新的分析框架。另有研究通過知識圖譜分析進一步證實,國內認知視角研究側重文本與文化的融通,而英文文獻更關注譯者認知與讀者接受的互動。

總體而言,現有研究在理論應用與方法探索上取得了顯著進展,但在系統性構建分析框架、深化譯者認知過程研究等方面仍具拓展空間,為後續研究指明了方向。

(二) 認知翻譯學與截顯論文獻綜述

認知翻譯學是融合認知科學、心理學、語言學、哲學、神經科學與人工智能的新興交叉學科,核心是探究譯者認知機制與翻譯過程的動態關聯,突破傳統翻譯研究『重成品、輕過程』的局限,實現從『語碼轉換』到『認知建構』的轉向(Martin, 2010; 文旭、肖開容, 2019)。作為翻譯研究的『新範式』(盧衛中、王福祥, 2013),它的興起標誌著研究焦點從外在的文本產品轉向內在的譯者心智活動。理論發展歷經從客觀主義認知觀到具身認知觀的演變,譚業升(2012, 2021)指出,具身認知觀下的認知翻譯學將人類認知與主體性(agency)置於核心,對翻譯現象具有顯著統合優勢。在中國,文旭、肖開容(2019)在《認知翻譯學》中系統構建理論框架,提出翻譯是『基於互動體驗的意義建構』;王寅(2013, 2005)則強調『識解機制』的核心地位,將Langacker(1987, 1999)提出的識解五維度(詳略度、轄域、背景、視角、突顯)整合為轄域/背景、視角、突顯、詳略度,認為識解是譯者理解與重構原文的核心認知工具。

認知翻譯學的核心特徵體現在三方面:一是跨學科性;二是建構主義屬性,譚業升(2012, 2023)提出,翻譯是譯者基於原文啟動的認知基底動態建構意義;三是操作一致性,識解機制可應用於字詞、句子、語篇各層級。為應對認知翻譯學內部微觀語言分析與宏觀社會文化分析脫節的理論困境(譚業升, 2023),譚業升系統提出了翻譯認知截顯論。

三、理論框架:翻譯認知截顯論

翻譯認知截顯論是譚業升(2023)基於認知翻譯學困境提出的核心構念,以Langacker(1987, 1999)的『基底-側面』理論為基石,將翻譯視為一個動態的認知運作過程。該理論認為『基底』是理解語言表達所需啟動的認知域矩陣,『側面』是基底中被突顯的次結構,而『截顯』(profiling)是將側面附加於基底的認知過程,二者構成不可分割的一體自反關係(Langacker, 1987: 183)。在這一視角下,翻譯的本質不再是尋求對等,而是譯者在原文所啟動的認知基底上,有選擇地截顯某一側面並在譯文中進行重構。這一核心構念貫通了從詞句到語篇,乃至文化、文學系統等各個層面的分析,展現出強大的操作一致性,為連接微觀語言選擇與宏觀社會文化影響提供了統一的理論框架(譚業升, 2023)。

(一) 截顯的理論定位

Langacker(1999: 27-33)指出,截顯具備『描寫充分性』、『心理合理性』與『廣泛基礎性』,是射體-界標、轉喻、隱喻等識解方式的基礎。譚業升(2012, 2023)提出,原文與譯文的關係需從『圖式-例示』轉向『認知截顯』,二者存在四種核心截顯關係:(1)相同/似側面+相同/似框架;(2)相同框架+不同側面;(3)不同側面+不同框架;(4)相同側面+不同框架。



(二) 翻譯認知截顯論的核心內涵

翻譯認知截顯論將翻譯定義為『譯者在原文啟動的認知基底上截取側面,在共時與歷時維度產生多樣截顯變體的過程』(譚業升,2023),基本流程為『原文啟動的基底→譯文側面 1→譯文側面 2→……』。其核心主張包括:一是突破二元對立思維,原文僅為『認知基底來源』,譯文是基底上的多樣側面,而非『還原原文』;二是承認原譯語距離與多元變體,應對歧義與對等困境,如『韜光養晦』的英譯(hide one’s capabilities and bide one’s time /keep a low profile),體現不同意識形態引導的截顯選擇(Sing,2011);三是操作一致性,截顯可發生於各語言層級。

(三) 截顯論的應用維度

Palmer(1996:186)指出,文化概念的截顯依託文化模式基底,如『牛』在漢語中截顯『農業幫手』與『踏實』隱喻,英譯 bull 則關聯西方鬥牛文化與『彪悍』隱喻。文學翻譯的截顯可發生於作品與系統層面,如 Waley(1934)譯《西遊記》揚佛抑道,既是單篇截顯,也是對中國儒釋道一體文學系統的截顯;Tymoczko(1995:16-22)指出,譯者需選擇源語與目標語文學系統的轉喻關係,如包臘譯《紅樓夢》為浪漫愛情故事,是對源文學系統的轉喻截顯。截顯與後景化的一體化(Hart,2011)可揭示譯者意識形態,如西方將『傳承紅色基因』誤讀為『基因編輯』,是對『生物遺傳域』危險側面的刻意截顯,忽視『精神傳承』的核心側面(譚業升,2023)。

四、《紅樓夢》女性角色英譯分析

(一) 秦可卿判詞

原文:情天情海幻情身,情既相逢必主淫。漫言不肖皆榮出,造孽開端實在寧。(Hawkes,2012:141)

譯文:Love boundless as sea and sky is but illusion; When lovers meet, lust must be king. Say not all evil comes from the Rong Mansion, Truly, disaster originates from the Ning. (Hawkes,2012:142)

從翻譯認知截顯論的視角看,霍克斯譯本中秦可卿判詞的核心在於源語文本複雜的認知基底與譯文重構間的取捨,譯者所選擇的翻譯策略直接決定了基底-側面的傳遞效果。原文構建了多維度的認知基底。首句『情天情海幻情身』蘊含佛學哲學元素,其中承載佛教『萬物空幻』思想,『幻情身』則強調了肉身虛幻。第二句『情既相逢必主淫』涉及儒家倫理,後兩句依託家族命運敘事,全文還貫穿了豐富的隱喻體系。在此複合基底上,原文主要截顯出三個關鍵側面:秦可卿作為情欲虛幻化身的本質、『情』轉向『淫』的宿命規律、寧國府為家族衰敗根源的定位。

下表為上述截顯關係:

原文	認知基底	原文側面	譯文	譯文基底	譯文側面	截顯關係類型
情天情海幻情身	佛教『萬物空幻』哲學	情欲虛幻化身(肉身虛幻)	Love boundless as sea and sky is but illusion	西方浪漫愛情傳統	愛情宏大而虛幻	相同側面(虛幻性)+不同框架(佛學轉向浪漫主義)

續表

原文	認知基底	原文側面	譯文	譯文基底	譯文側面	截顯關係類型
情既相逢必主淫	儒家倫理(情與淫的辯證)	『情』轉向『淫』的宿命規律	When lovers meet, lust must be king	基督教道德(愛與欲對立)	愛情導致欲望統治(道德墮落)	相同側面(情淫因果)+不同框架(儒家轉向基督教)
漫言不肖皆榮出,造孽開端實在寧	家族命運敘事(封建禮法批判)	寧國府為衰敗根源	Say not all evil comes from the Rong Mansion, Truly, disaster originates from the Ning	西方戲劇化的善惡二元敘事	寧國府為罪惡源頭(個人道德歸因)	相同側面(禍源定位)+不同框架(家族宿命轉向個人罪惡)

表 1 秦可卿判詞霍克斯英譯的認知基底與截顯關係分析

對此,霍克斯進行了系統的基底重構策略實現了認知框架的轉換,他將佛學基底轉為西方浪漫愛情的敘事風格,以『Love boundless as sea and sky』替換『孽海情天』,將佛家哲學轉換為對愛情宏大性的讚美。第二句是儒家倫理轉換為基督教道德,將『lust』與『love』二者間的關係簡化為道德對立。這一過程形成了『相同概念側面、不同框架基底』的截顯關係,具體表現為用英語文化中的愛情隱喻代替了中文的佛學哲學側面。

為了實現這一重構,霍克斯採取了三重翻譯策略。首先是對基底進行創造性轉換,面對『孽海情天』等難譯概念,在英語文化中找功能對等的概念進行替代,如用浪漫愛情意象覆蓋佛學內涵,幫助英語讀者建立起認知關聯。二是建立起概念間的二元對立,將『情-淫』的辯證關係簡化為『love-lust』,過濾了哲學思辨的內涵,降低了英語讀者理解的難度。三是使用戲劇化的辭彙,如『lust must be king』的擬人表達,強化了道德譴責,同時增強了戲劇張力。這些策略共同構成了一個系統的基底重構過程,最終形成了典型的『框架基底替換+概念』的複合截顯模式。

然而,這些策略具有雙重效果。對英語讀者的可接受性來說,譯文詩意流暢,構建出了清晰敘事,符合西方讀者對於戲劇的理解和認知,可以實現無障礙理解。但在翻譯的充分性層面考慮,卻導致了哲學內涵的消解,人物整體形象簡化,將其悲劇歸因從『宿命』轉為『個人道德墮落』,使得整個翻譯弱化了對封建倫理的批判思想。

(二) 李紈判詞

原文:桃李春風結子完,到頭誰似一盆蘭。如冰水好空相妒,枉與他人作笑談。(Hawkes, 2012: 141)

譯文:Peach and plum in spring winds finish seeding, Who can bloom like the orchid at last? Pure as ice and water she arouses envy, Vain the groundless taunts that are cast. (Hawkes, 2012: 142)

從翻譯認知截顯理論的視角分析,霍克斯對李紈判詞的翻譯體現了系統的基底重構與側面轉換。原文構建了四層交織的認知基底:首句中的『桃李』暗喻李紈姓氏與青春,『春風結子』象徵婚後生子,而『完』則暗示丈夫早逝後其妻子使命的終結。第二句在延續這一隱喻的同時引入家族命運,以『蘭』代指兒子賈蘭,承載了母憑子貴這一傳統倫理。第三句表面讚美如『冰水』般高潔,實則以『空』字暗含對其守節一生的命運反思。末句則落腳社會現實評判,直指其人生價值在終極虛無下的荒誕。在此基底上,原文主要截顯出了



三個關鍵側面：李紉青春喪偶後的生命意義、母憑子貴表像下人生虛無的本質，以及恪守婦德在命運面前的徒勞。

下表為上述截顯關係：

原文	認知基底	原文側面	譯文	譯文基底	譯文側面	截顯關係類型
桃李春風結子完	家族倫理+生命隱喻	青春喪偶、生命終結	Peach and plum in spring winds finish seeding	西方自然週期隱喻(播種收穫)	生命階段完成	相同側面(終結)+不同框架(家族倫理轉向自然週期)
到頭誰似一盆蘭	母憑子貴的傳統倫理	兒子賈蘭的飛黃騰達	Who can bloom like the orchid at last	個人成長隱喻	如蘭花般綻放	不同側面(榮耀來源)+相同框架(隱喻基底)
如冰水好空相妒	佛教『空』觀+道德反諷	守節的虛無與荒誕	Pure as ice and water she arouses envy	基督教道德純潔觀	因純潔遭妒(正面道德定位)	框架基底替換(空轉向純潔)+側面轉換(虛無遭妒)
枉與他人作笑談	社會批判下的虛無主義	人生價值的荒誕性	Vain the groundless taunts that are cast	個人際遇中的無辜受害	徒勞的嘲諷(社會不公)	相同側面(徒勞)+不同框架(虛無哲學轉向社會嫉妒)

表2 李紉判詞霍克斯英譯的認知基底與截顯關係分析

霍克斯的翻譯體現了典型的基底重構策略，譯文保留『peach and plum』『orchid』『ice and water』等自然意象，形成了『相同框架基底、不同文化側面』的截顯關係，但沒有傳達出意象背後的文化內涵。更為關鍵的是，譯者實施了『基底替換』操作，將充滿哲學思辨的命運反諷轉換為簡單明確的道德讚美域，用『pure』確立清晰的道德定位，徹底消解了『空』字所承載的虛無思想基底。同時，譯者將社會評判的內涵削減，以『arouses envy』『groundless taunts』聚焦個人遭遇，從而弱化了原文對人生價值的根本性質疑。

從截顯類型來看，這一翻譯過程同時涉及『框架基底替換』和『概念側面轉換』兩種類型。為了實現這一重構，霍克斯採用了三重翻譯策略。其一，在面對『空』這一蘊含佛教哲思的概念，以具體的道德品質替代抽象哲學，幫助讀者快速認知，規避文化隔閡。其二，針對原文精妙的反諷表達，他將其重構為線性敘事，『因純潔遭妒，從而因純潔證名』，以此契合西方文學傳統，降低理解門檻。其三，在維持詩性表達的同時引導基底轉向——用『bloom』強化積極內涵，以『finish seeding』弱化『完』字所傳達的生命終結暗示。這些策略共同構成了一個完整的基底重構體系。

對讀者的可接受性來說，譯文邏輯連貫、意象統一，塑造出清晰的人物形象，實現了情感共鳴與審美接受。但在傳達充分性來說卻造成了一定的損失，原文對多重批判維度被簡化為單一的道德敘事，對禮教價值的質疑、李紉形象的複雜性被完全過濾，對人生終極虛無的反思淪為對個人品德的社會性肯定。

(三) 妙玉判詞

原文：欲潔何曾潔，雲空未必空。可憐金玉質，終陷淖泥中。(Hawkes, 138)

譯文：Chastity is her wish, Seclusion her desire; Alas, though fine as gold or jade. She sinks at last in the mire. (Hawkes, 139)

從翻譯認知截顯理論的視角分析，霍克斯對妙玉的翻譯體現了系統的基底替換與側面窄化。首句植根佛學哲學思想，『潔』既指世俗潔淨，更蘊含了人物的精神追求，『空』對應佛教『諸法空相』教義，通過



『欲……何曾……』『雲……未必……』的句式,構建了修行困境的反諷基底。後兩句以『金玉質』與『淖泥』的對立建立起價值對比,象徵其高潔被污濁玷污的悲劇。在此基底上,原文截顯出三個關鍵側面,妙玉『求潔與得潔、言空與真空』的內在矛盾,修行流於形式的虛偽性,以及高潔品性在現實面前的脆弱。

下表為上述截顯關係:

原文	認知基底	原文側面	譯文	譯文基底	譯文側面	截顯關係類型
欲潔何曾潔	佛學『潔』觀 (精神超越)	求潔而不得 的內在矛盾	Chastity her wish is	世俗道德(性 貞潔)	渴望貞潔(願 望陳述)	框架基底替換(佛學 轉向道德)與側面窄 化(精神至身體)
雲空未必空	佛教『空』觀 (諸法空相)	言空而未空 的虛偽	Seclusion her desire	生活方式(隱 居)	渴望隱居(個 人偏好)	框架基底替換(哲學 轉向生活)與側面窄 化(真空至隱居)
可憐金玉質, 終陷淖泥中	價值隱喻(高 潔與污濁)	品性脆弱、悲 劇命運	Alas, though fine as gold or jade. She sinks at last in the mire	世俗價值與 同情基調	貴重之物陷 於污濁	相同框架(價值對比) 與不同側面(批判轉 向同情)

表 3 妙玉判詞霍克斯英譯的認知基底與截顯關係分析

霍克斯的翻譯實施了根本性的基底重構,將佛學哲學思想轉變為世俗道德與生活方式,這構成了典型的『不同框架基底、不同概念側面』的截顯關係。『潔』的內涵被窄化為『Chastity』,完成了從精神境界向身體貞潔的側面轉換;『空』則被降維為『Seclusion』,實現了從哲學概念向生活方式的基底轉換。後兩句雖然仍保留了價值對比的含義,但傳達出的更多是對其人生的同情,減弱了批判性,尤其是『Alas』感歎增添了哀婉意味。同時,『gold or jade』僅傳達了『貴重』的表面含義,並未進一步關聯妙玉的雙重身份,將原文的批判性反諷轉換為對個人命運的哀憐。

從截顯類型來看,這一翻譯同時涉及『框架基底替換』和『概念側面窄化』兩種類型。為實現這一重構,霍克斯採用了三重翻譯策略,一是將哲學上抽象的『潔』『空』轉化為英語語境易理解的『貞潔』『隱居』,規避了佛學文化可能造成的理解認知隔閡。二是簡化原文『欲……何曾……』『雲……未必……』的句式所傳達的內涵,將其轉為平鋪直敘的願望陳述,削弱了內涵的反諷意味。三是價值維度單一化,將妙玉對『潔』的精神執著,框定在『性貞潔』的世俗道德範疇。

這些策略共同構成了一個完整的基底替換體系。雖然以上譯文的重構邏輯清晰、敘事連貫,契合西方『個人願望與現實衝突』的悲劇認知,能夠實現情感共鳴,但原文的多重哲學基底被單一道德基底所取代,無法傳達出妙玉的精神矛盾以及原著中對其『假清高』的批判,最終形成了從哲學反思向道德同情的意義轉換,很大程度上削弱了人物的複雜性和立體性。

五、結語

本研究基於翻譯認知截顯論,分析霍克斯譯本中秦可卿、李紈、妙玉三位女性判詞的英譯認知重構過程,得出三點核心結論。第一,角色判詞翻譯遵循統一的『基底重構—側面轉換』邏輯,譯者通過框架替換或側面窄化實現認知域的可理解性轉換;第二,『基底—側面』框架能有效銜接微觀意象與宏觀人物塑造,填補次要角色譯學空白。第三,譯者在『可接受性』和『充分性』間權衡,雖構建了清晰敘事,卻削弱了中式哲學反諷與文化批判。

上述發現對中國典籍外譯具有重要的理論與實踐啟示。首先,『截顯論』為歸化與異化之爭提供了新的



認知闡釋路徑：霍克斯的譯本本質上是『歸化型截顯』——以目標語文化框架替換源語框架（如佛學基底轉向基督教道德），犧牲文化獨特性以換取認知流暢性。與之相對，未來譯者亦可探索『異化型截顯』路徑，即在保留源語認知基底的前提下，通過策略性引導幫助讀者截顯原文側面。例如，對於『空』『潔』等佛學概念，譯者可不急於替換為『seclusion』『chastity』，而是採用『基底保留+側面漸顯』策略：首句保留『emptiness』『purity』等直譯詞並加注釋，後續語境中反覆激活同一認知框架，使讀者逐步建立跨文化的基底聯結。其次，截顯論啟示我們在『文化傳真』與『讀者接受』之間存在連續光譜而非二元對立；譯者可通過調整『側面顯化程度』來分級傳遞文化內涵。本研究未涉及多譯本對比及判詞外文本，未來可拓展語料，量化分析不同截顯類型的分布規律，並通過實證研究（如讀者理解測試）檢驗異化型截顯的實際效果，為探索『文化傳真』與『讀者接受』的平衡路徑提供認知實證依據。

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(Editors: LI Ruobing & Bonnie WANG)

A Study on the Translation of Political Texts from the Perspective of Interpretive Theory: A Case Study of the English Translation of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China (Volume IV)*

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Abstract: Since the official publication of both the Chinese and English editions of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China (Volume IV)* in 2022, they have attracted intense attention from scholars and readers across various disciplines both at home and abroad. In particular, the release of the English edition is of great significance for the international community to understand China in the new era. Interpretive Theory, which emerged in the late 1960s at the Higher School of Interpreting and Translating in Paris, France, holds that the essence of translation lies in the transmission of meaning and content rather than the mere conversion of linguistic signs. Guided by Interpretive Theory, this paper takes the Chinese and English texts of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China (Volume IV)* as the research corpus and adopts the case study method to analyze the translation. It aims to explore whether the translator's treatment effectively conveys the intended meaning of the original text amid cultural and linguistic differences between countries, and whether it achieves favorable effects in the international communication of the original work.

Keywords: *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China (Volume IV)*; Interpretive Theory; English translation

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釋意論視角下政論性文本的翻譯探究 ——以《習近平談治國理政》(第四卷)英譯為例

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摘要：《習近平談治國理政》(第四卷)中文和英文版自其於2022年正式出版以來，受到了國內外不同學科領域人士的強烈關注，尤其是其英文版的出版對於國外人士了解新時代的中國意義重大。釋意論是20世紀60年代末誕生於法國巴黎高等口筆譯學院的翻譯理論，該理論認為翻譯的實質是意義與內容的傳遞，而不是語言符號之間的簡單轉換。本文以釋意論為指導，選擇《習近平談治國理政》(第四卷)的中文和英文兩個文本作為語料，採用案例研究法對其進行分析，以探究面對不同語言國家的文化背景和語言表達差異時，譯者的處理是否較好地傳達了原文的『意義』，是否能使原文的對外傳播達到較佳效果。

關鍵詞：《習近平談治國理政》(第四卷)；釋意論；英譯

一、研究背景

《習近平談治國理政》系列書籍及其各語種譯本能夠幫助世界人民和國際社會及時了解習近平新時代中國特色社會主義思想的最新發展、感受中國道路、中國治國理政方式。

為構建具有鮮明中國特色的戰略傳播體系，加強中國優秀文化國際傳播能力建設，搭建中國文化走向世界的橋梁，研究政論性文本的翻譯是重中之重。中國特色詞匯具有鮮明的漢語特點和濃厚的文化色彩，在傳播中華優秀傳統文化方面起到了重要作用。(杜秀敏, 2025)筆譯相對於口譯，精準度把控要求更高。因此譯者需要有極其敏感的政治意識，極其紮實的雙語功底，也要有正確的理論指導。

而且，『語言是翻譯之敵，特別是在筆譯中，語言時時都在束縛著譯者，不少譯者眼中只盯著原文的詞，句和結構這些屬於語言層次的東西，成了它們的奴仆，難以從中解放出來。結果，翻譯出來的東西只是一種文字層次的轉換，徒具形，而原文的意義和精神沒有得到很好的傳達。』(許鈞, 1998)

二、釋意論的基本原理和相關概念

釋意學派於20世紀60年代末誕生於法國，是一個探討口譯與非文學文本筆譯原理與教學的有影響的學派，認為翻譯不是從源語言到目標語言的單向解碼過程，而是理解思想與重新表達思想的動態過程。(張吉良, 2008)儘管釋意論的筆譯研究討論度比口譯研究略低，但事實上釋意學派花了很多時間來研究筆譯，尤其是非文學類文本的筆譯。釋意學派有一批人專門研究筆譯實踐活動，撰寫並出版了相當數量的研究著作和文章。

釋意論又稱達意理論，認為翻譯即釋意，是譯者通過語言符號和自己的認知補充對原文意思所作的一種解釋。釋意論分為三步，理解、釋意(脫離源語語言外殼)、再表達。它認為：成功的翻譯應在篇章的層次

上進行,即對篇章進行釋意,因為句子是語法上的單位,篇章才是語義單位;翻譯所譯的是意義,不是語法,也不是單個的字詞句。原文和譯文的等值表現為整體交際意義上的等值,即譯文能在其讀者或者聽眾那裏產生與原文一致的效果。只有篇章層次上的翻譯,即釋意翻譯,才是真正意義上的翻譯——在兩種不同語言表達的篇章之間建立交際意義的等同。釋意論的核心是把語言意義(linguistic meaning)和非語言意義(non-verbal sense)區分開來。意義的本質是交際者通過語言符號所傳達的『意思』而不是語言符號本身的意義,翻譯關注的並不僅僅是語言,而是意義的傳達與語境。(張吉良,2008)

三、政論性文本的定義、特點

(一) 政論性文本的定義

政論性文本是指與政治活動、政治思想、政治制度、政治策略等相關的書面材料。這些文本可以包括但不限於政府文件、政治領導人或代表在公開場合發表的演講和講話文稿、外交文件、政治分析報告、政治學家、學者撰寫的關於政治理論、政治制度、政治行為等的學術論文和書籍、新聞報道、歷史文獻。

(二) 政論性文本的特點

政論性文本通常具有權威性、正式性、複雜性、敏感性、文化性特點,在政治生活中扮演著重要的角色,是理解一個國家或地區政治狀況、政策導向和政治文化的重要窗口。政論性文本的翻譯需要譯者深入理解其含義,謹慎處理。

四、釋意論視角下《習近平談治國理政》(第四卷)及其英譯研究

釋意論認為意義是可以和語言形式分離的,翻譯並非一個單純的語言符號轉換活動,而是一個『意義』的理解與再表達過程,譯者需要擺脫源語字詞的束縛,專注於意義的理解與表達,如此才能更好地翻譯。本文將從釋意論關於的翻譯的三個層次、翻譯的意義等值概念,以及對翻譯過程的解析三方面,對《習近平談治國理政》(第四卷)英譯本進行案例分析:

(一) 翻譯的意義等值概念

釋意論中翻譯的意義等值概念,指的是『兩種語言的講話、文本或是它們的片段,雖然其語法結構和用詞不同,但是表達的意義一樣』,並且通過譯者自身的知識領域進行認知補充,闡釋源語意義。原文和譯文的等值表現為整體交際意義上的等值,即譯文能在其讀者或者聽眾那裏產生與原文一致的效果。為達到此效果,顯然不能以詞句,而應以交際意義作為翻譯的基本單位。

例 1.

面向未來,我們要把滿足國內需求作為發展的出發點和落腳點,加快構建完整的內需體系,大力推進科技創新及其他各方面創新。(習近平,2022:184)

In the future, satisfying domestic demand will be the starting point and goal of development. We will establish a complete system of domestic demand, promote innovation in science and technology and other fields. (Xi Jinping, 2022: 210)



根據釋意論,翻譯的核心是傳達原文的意義,而不是簡單地複製原文的形式或語言結構。在翻譯過程中,需要將原文的語義信息、文化背景和語言風格等因素綜合考慮,以實現準確、流暢的翻譯。譯者在翻譯過程中,首先將原文的意義傳達出來,而不是簡單地複製原文的語言結構。

譯者在翻譯過程中也考慮到文化背景和語言風格等因素。『發展的出發點和落腳點』的英譯文本是『the starting point and goal of development』。其中『落腳點』是一個中國特色色彩濃郁的詞匯,該詞的來源可追溯到中國陝北地區。在1945年的七大會議上,當時有個說法是『兩點』,其中一個點就是落腳點。這個詞語後來被廣泛使用,通常指代一個地方或一個觀點的最終到達或停留的位置。此外,『落腳點』還可用於更抽象的語境中,例如在政治、社會、文化等領域。在這個情況下,『落腳點』通常用來描述一個觀點、理論或思想的立足點或出發點。此短語容易被淺層地翻譯為『the end result of development』,即發展的最終結果,忽略了原文中此段落是對未來發展規劃的語境。譯本中清晰地翻譯出『goal』一詞,既理解了『落腳點』的內在意義和淺層意義,再以一種能夠為目標語受眾所理解的方式重新表達出來。達到了釋意論中釋意翻譯、脫離源語語言外殼、意義等值的要求,減少了外國讀者的閱讀障礙,使讀者更容易理解原文的意義。

例 2.

這是中非雙方數十年來休戚與共、並肩奮鬥的真實寫照,是中非友好關係繼往開來的力量源泉。
(習近平,2022:445)

This truly captures the story of China and Africa working together in good times and hardship over the past decades, and provides a source of strength for the continuous growth of friendly China-Africa relations.
(Xi Jinping, 2022: 517)

這句話中出現了三個成語。在翻譯這些詞組時,譯者需要考慮語境適應性、情感色彩以及交際效果,使目標語讀者能夠像源語讀者一樣理解和感受原文,因此在翻譯時要追求交際意義上的等值。這三個成語在英語中沒有直接對應的表達,因此譯文中並沒有按照原文的字面意思轉譯過來,而是先看看對應語言中有沒有意思相同或近似的表達。

『休戚與共』原意:共同承擔幸福和悲傷,形容關係密切,共同經歷生活的起伏。『並肩奮鬥』原意:肩並肩地一起努力,形容共同面對困難,共同努力。結合語境,這兩個詞都是指『共同合作』,屬近義詞。譯者很好地注意到了這一點,在譯文中,翻譯為『working together in good times and hardship over the past decades』。不僅傳達了共同經歷順境和逆境的字面意義,也傳達了團結一致的情感色彩。繼往開來原意為繼承前人的事業,開辟未來的發展道路,常用來形容在繼承傳統的基礎上進行創新和發展,該成語在英語中沒有直接對應的表達,譯文處理為『continuous growth』。譯文嘗試保留了成語的深層含義,也做到了體現原文和譯文整體交際意義上的等值,使譯文讀者或受眾能獲得與原文大致相當的效果。將中非關係繼續發展的美好期望表達出來,體現了該詞語在這句話中的核心意義。

(二) 釋意論關於翻譯的三個層次

釋意學派將翻譯劃分為三個層次:詞義層次、話語層次和篇章層次。三個層次可以分別解釋為:逐字翻譯、脫離語境和交際環境的句子翻譯、以及語言知識同認知知識相結合的篇章翻譯。釋意學派認為,前兩個層次上的翻譯都屬於語言翻譯或者說代碼轉換,只有篇章層次上的翻譯,即釋意翻譯,才是真正意義上的翻譯——在兩種不同語言表達的篇章之間建立交際意義的等同。

例 3.

數字經濟發展速度之快、輻射範圍之廣、影響程度之深前所未有,正在成為重組全球要素資源、重塑全球經濟結構、改變全球競爭格局的關鍵力量。(習近平,2022:204)

Its unprecedented speed, coverage and influence have made it a vital force in reorganizing global factor resources, reshaping the global economic structure, and changing the landscape of global competition. (Xi Jinping, 2022: 234)

在篇章層次的翻譯中,譯者關注的是整個文本或段落的意義和交際價值,而不僅僅是單個詞或句子的意義。譯者需要理解原文的內在意義、語境和作者的意圖,並將其等值地傳遞到目標語言中。

在篇章層次上理解原文的整體意義,從『速度快』『範圍廣』『程度深』『關鍵力量』的詞語使用,理解數字經濟在全球範圍內的重要作用,並將其傳遞到目標語言中。『數字經濟發展速度之快、輻射範圍之廣、影響程度之深前所未有』這部分,連續使用了三個『之……』的結構,描述了數字經濟的三個特點,構成了排比。此外,這個句子還使用了『正在成為重組全球要素資源、重塑全球經濟結構、改變全球競爭格局的關鍵力量』來描述數字經濟的重要性,也構成了排比。增強了表達的效果和說服力。

譯文中使用了長句來整合整個段落的信息點,通過涵蓋了多個主謂關係和從句和語態的轉換,來表達原文語意思。這種譯法有利於表達複雜的思想和邏輯關係,又符合輸出語言的常用表達。此外,譯者還使用了適當的詞匯和表達方式,以確保目標語言的意義與原文的意義相同。

在基於釋意翻譯的基礎上,通過使用長句來整合信息點和表達複雜的思想和邏輯關係,在篇章層次上實現了整體融會貫通。譯者理解了原文的內在意義、語境和作者的意圖,並通過結合了多種翻譯技巧來進行翻譯,避免了逐字逐句對應翻譯所帶來的機械重複和邏輯混亂的問題,成功地傳達了原文的交際意義和價值,確保了原文信息的準確傳遞和語義的連貫性,使得譯文流暢自然。

例 4.

要堅持通過制度和規則來協調規範各國關係,反對恃強凌弱,不能誰胳膊粗、拳頭大誰說了算,也不能以多邊主義之名、行單邊主義之實。(習近平,2022:462)

State-to-state relations should be coordinated and regulated through proper institutions and rules. The strong should not abuse the weak. Decisions should not be forced through by a display of strong muscles or by waving a big fist. Multilateralism should not be used as a pretext for acts of unilateralism. (Xi Jinping, 2022: 538)

『不能誰胳膊粗、拳頭大誰說了算』這句話傳達了一個原則,即權力和力量不應該是決定事情的唯一標準,決策過程應該更加公正和合理。譯者需要理解『胳膊粗、拳頭大』在原文中的字面意思,即形容某人身體強壯,擁有較大的力量。在話語層次上,譯者需要理解這個短語在原文中的語境和功能。這裏用來比喻那些依靠力量或威脅來強迫他人接受自己觀點或決策的人。在篇章層次上,譯文有文化適應性,譯者考慮到目標語言的文化背景,將原文中的形容詞分別處理成了有動作意味的名詞短語『a display of strong muscles』和動詞短語『waving a big fist』,形象地表達了原文的比喻意義,同時保持了原文的交際意圖和情感色彩。譯文在目標語言中讀起來自然流暢,易於理解。這樣翻譯既傳達了原文的意思,又符合英語的表達習慣。

通過這樣的分析和翻譯過程,譯文在保持原文意義的同時,又符合目標語言文化且能傳達相同或近似



的交際效果。這種翻譯不僅僅是語言的轉換,更是文化和交際意圖的傳遞。

(三) 釋意論關於翻譯過程的解析

釋意論非常注重對翻譯過程的研究,他們不同意之前的『理解—表達』的兩步驟程序模型,認為在『理解』和『表達』之間還存在著一個『脫離源語外殼』階段。根據釋意論,翻譯過程可以分為三個步驟:理解、脫離源語語言外殼和再表達。我們可以按照這三個步驟來分析這個翻譯案例,並探討釋意論如何使譯文產生良好的翻譯意義。

例 5.

面對快速變化的世界和中國,如果墨守成規、思想僵化,沒有理論創新的勇氣,不能科學回答中國之問、世界之問、人民之問、時代之問,不僅黨和國家事業無法繼續前進,馬克思主義也會失去生命力、說服力。(習近平,2022:30)

In a fast-changing world and a fast-growing country, we cannot be fettered to old conventions and rigid thinking, and we must be bold enough to update our theory. If we cannot answer questions concerning the present and future of China and its people and the wider world, we will lose momentum in advancing the cause of the Party and the country, Marxism will wither, and people will lose faith in it. (Xi Jinping, 2022: 36)

翻譯三步驟:

理解:在翻譯的第一個步驟中,譯者需要深入理解原文的內容和意義,包括作者的觀點、情感、語境等方面。

脫離源語語言外殼:在理解原文之後,譯者需要脫離源語的語言外殼,將原文的意義等值地傳遞到目標語言中。

再表達:在脫離源語語言外殼之後,譯者需要進行再表達,將原文的意義用目標語言表達出來。整個句子的翻譯要符合目標語言的表達習慣和語法規則,同時要保持原文的意義和情感。

『沒有理論創新的勇氣,不能科學回答中國之問、世界之問、人民之問、時代之問』這種表達讓源語讀者讀起來朗朗上口,對意思的把握也不存在問題。簡單地來理解,即在面對與中國、人民、世界和時代息息相關的問題時,如果沒有勇於進行理論創新的精神,就無法提供科學和深刻的答案。綜合來看,這個句子強調了理論創新在解決重大問題中的重要性,同時也指出了只有具備科學精神和勇氣,才能有效地回應來自中國、人民、世界和時代的挑戰。這種表達方式既具有文學性,又傳達了深刻的思想內容。譯文為避免照字面翻譯導致讀者困惑,先透過了文字的表面去思考源語想表達的實質,然後突破原文文字表面的外殼,用『the present and future of China and its people and the wider world』,將以上內容進行了整合,再重新表達,讓譯入語讀者清楚,中國、人民、世界和時代到底是怎麼樣的關係。若是照字面意思和行文順序直接處理成另一種語言,會存在翻譯後行文邏輯難以理解的情況。同時譯文補充了 if 表示假設,打破源語的結構並運用省譯的技巧,將原文內容和意義傳達到了譯入語中,達到了較好的再表達效果。

翻譯過程的三個步驟:理解、脫離源語語言外殼和再表達要求譯者需要注意目標語的表達習慣和語法規則,並根據原文的文化背景和歷史背景進行翻譯的認知補充,以確保翻譯的準確性和完整性。翻譯通過理解原文的意義和情感,進行脫離源語語言外殼以及轉化,再通過再表達將原文的意義用目標語表達出來,最終實現較好的文化交流和傳播效果。

五、結語

為加快構建中國話語和中國敘事體系,廣泛宣傳中國主張、中國智慧、中國方案,深入開展各種形式的人文交流活動,全面提升國際傳播效能,做好習近平新時代中國特色社會主義思想的傳播工作,新形勢下加強和改進國際傳播工作是增強中國文化國際影響力的必行之舉(陳大亮,陳婉玉,2023)。

講好中國故事,傳播中國聲音是當代青年的使命擔當。中華文化博大精深、源遠流長,中國特色社會主義文化極具特色,全面理解習近平主席的講話並將其翻譯成相關目標語,對中國特色社會主義文化的傳播無疑將產生積極作用。

釋意論視角下的政論性文本的翻譯,打破了原文語言的束縛,通過對原文外在和內在雙層意義的理解及靈活處理,並通過譯者一定的認知補充等手段,從而實現對原文的充分釋意和目的語再表達。釋意論為政論性文本的翻譯與跨國傳播提供了一個可行的方案,達到化模糊為清晰、化形式為內容、化特殊為普遍、化意合為形合的譯意效果(陳大亮,陳婉玉,2023)。因此,我們認為,對於政論性文本的翻譯,我們應以原文『意義』為出發點,在翻譯中適當打破原文的語言束縛,在目的語中尋找能充分闡釋原意且為受眾所接受的表達,這樣才能更好地達到國際傳播效果,為我國改革發展穩定營造有利的外部輿論環境,為推動構建人類命運共同體作出積極貢獻。

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A Contrastive Analysis of the Reconstruction of “Truth”, “Affection” and “Beauty” in the Linguistic Forms of English Translations of *Congcong*: A Case Study of Translations by Zhang Peiji and Zhu Chunshen

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Abstract: Zhu Ziqing’s prose *Congcong* has become a model of modern Chinese prose for its profound artistic conception and exquisite language. Although existing research on the English translations of this work has yielded certain findings, few scholars have conducted systematic practical analyses from the perspective of the unified translation of “truth, affection, and beauty”. Taking the classic English versions by Zhang Peiji and Zhu Chunshen as research objects, this article adopts the perspective of linguistic form reconstruction to systematically examine the translation strategies employed by the translators at the phonetic, graphological, lexical and syntactic levels, and reveals the mechanism for the unification and balance of “truth, affection and beauty” in prose translation. An analysis of the translation strategies in the English versions of *Congcong* from these three dimensions can not only deepen the understanding of the aesthetic laws and practical approaches to prose translation, clarify the inherent connection between linguistic form reconstruction and aesthetic transmission, but also provide concrete and operable ideas and models for the translation practice of similar lyrical prose works.

Keywords: Zhu Ziqing’s *Congcong*; Linguistic Form Reconstruction; Contrastive Analysis; “Truth, affection and beauty”; Prose

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《匆匆》英譯本語言形式『真』『情』『美』 重構的對比分析 ——以張培基、朱純深譯本為例

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摘要:朱自清的散文《匆匆》以深邃的意境與精妙的語言成為中國現代散文的典範。現有關《匆匆》英譯本的研究雖已取得一定成果,但鮮有學者從『真』『情』『美』相統一的翻譯角度着手,對其進行系統性的實踐剖析。本文以張培基、朱純深的經典英譯本為研究對象,從『語言形式重構』視角切入,系統剖析譯者在語音、語相、詞彙、句法等層面的翻譯策略,揭示散文翻譯中『真』『情』『美』三者的統一平衡機制。從『真』『情』『美』三維度對《匆匆》英譯本進行翻譯策略分析,不僅能夠深化對散文翻譯審美規律與實踐路徑的認知,釐清語言形式重構與審美傳遞之間的內在關聯,更能為同類抒情散文的翻譯實踐提供具體、可操作的思路與範本。

關鍵詞:朱自清《匆匆》;語言形式重構;對比分析;『真』『情』『美』;散文

一、引言

時間的哲思與生命意義的探討已經成為文學作品中屢見不鮮的主題,朱自清先生在其經典散文《匆匆》中同樣提到了時間與人生密不可分的關係,以樸實凝練的文字將無形的時間轉化為具體的生活場景,為中國現代散文的發展添上了濃墨重彩的一筆。

隨着『傳播中國聲音』口號的傳播,《匆匆》英譯已成為翻譯界不容忽視的重要課題,其中就張培基^①和朱純深^②譯本尤為突出,二者兼具特色,堪稱散文英譯的經典範本。然而現有關《匆匆》英譯本的研究雖已取得一定成果,但鮮有學者從『真』『情』『美』相統一的翻譯角度着手,對其進行系統性的實踐剖析,也未能將這一核心審美機制有效融入散文翻譯實踐的具體路徑之中。因此,本文以『語言形式重構』為核心,分別從語音、語相(graphology)、詞彙、句法四個層面對上述兩個譯本進行對比分析,探究散文英譯中『真』『情』『美』三者如何協調統一,為中國現代散文的國際譯介與跨文化傳播,提供具有理論深度與實踐價值的參考路徑。

二、語言形式『真』『情』『美』的重構框架

(一) 何為『真』『情』『美』

文學翻譯的機制構建需兼顧傳統譯論繼承與時代創新,嚴復、林語堂、冰心、許淵沖等學者的翻譯機制,為『真』『情』『美』這一重構機制的提出提供了堅實支撐。『真』『情』『美』正是在整合這些經典翻譯機制的



基礎上,昇華為兼具合理性與實踐性的翻譯機制。

其中,嚴復提出的『信、達、雅』^⑥奠定了翻譯機制的基石。其『信』所蘊含的對原文真實性的尊崇,為『真』『情』『美』中的『真』提供了深厚的機制淵源,凸顯了『真』需忠實於原文內容與內涵的核心要求。林語堂提出的『忠實、通順、美』^⑦翻譯機制,明確將『情感忠實』納入核心,打破了單純字面忠實的侷限,成為『真』『情』『美』中『情』的核心理論支撐,彰顯『情』作為翻譯靈魂、需傳遞原文情感以實現共鳴的要義。許淵沖的『三美』^⑧理論豐富了『真』『情』『美』中『美』的內涵,實現了文本情感與語言形式美的辯證統一,融合了對語言與情感之美的雙重追求。

語言形式的重構,並非單純的文字技巧層面的調整,而是基於源語與目標語的語言差異、文體特徵,以形式適配內容,讓『真』的語義內核、『情』的情感底色、『美』的審美特質跨越語言壁壘。『真』,是翻譯的準繩,譯者對源文本須求真,注重理解源文本作者所要表達的真正含義^②,是文本不可忽視的邏輯骨架與核心涵義,是重構過程中忠實性的根本依託,它要求譯者在句式重組、措辭轉換中始終錨定原作的本質特徵,不扭曲、不偏移,確保跨語言傳遞的真值基礎;『情』,所蘊含的情感底色,是基於語義的情緒基調與價值傾向,承載着作者的情感態度與文本的整體風格,需要譯者通過節奏把控與語體選擇,在目標語中復現同等的情感濃度與共情力量,避免因語言轉換造成情感錯位;而『美』,所表現的審美特質,則是文本在語言韻律、意象營造與文體風格中彰顯的藝術價值,很大程度上依賴語言形式的呈現,因此必須對句式結構、表達範式進行創造性重構,在目標語體系中重塑原作的藝術美感與審美韻味。三者層層遞進、互為支撐,共同構成語言形式重構活動中形式服務於內容、技巧服從於精神的核心機制。在『真』的基礎上,再現原作的聲響與節奏,重現原文的意境與氛圍,以及在譯文中體現譯者的個人風格^⑩,最終實現意義、情感與審美在不同語言間的完整傳遞。

綜上,文學翻譯的核心使命,在於實現跨語言轉換過程中『真』『情』『美』的完整傳遞與精準落地。語音、語相、詞彙、句法作為語言的四大形式層面,既是承載語言意義的物質載體,也是銜接原文與譯文『真』『情』『美』內核的關鍵橋樑。『真』『情』『美』這一翻譯機制的提出,為翻譯實踐開展與譯本質量評判提供了明確指引,既是對傳統譯論的傳承,也是對傳統譯論的創新與昇華,具有重要的理論價值與實踐意義。

(二) 四大語言形式與『真』『情』『美』翻譯機制的關係

1. 語音層面:實現『情』的傳遞與『美』再現

語音作為語言的聽覺載體,其重構的核心意義在於依託韻律、節奏與音色的精準適配,實現原文『真』『情』『美』的跨語言聽覺傳遞。疊詞、排比與語音特質的適配讓『真』『情』『美』的傳遞更具感染力。具體而言,疊詞的重複發音自帶韻律感,而所謂排比,即平行排列兩個或兩個以上結構相同或相似、意義相關的短語或句子^⑬,其整齊節奏與語音規律排布相契合,既能讓情感表達更顯真摯有層次,又能讓『情』的起伏通過聽覺節奏自然外化,實現譯文與原文的情感同頻。

韻律和節奏的精準把控是語音重構的關鍵所在,運用頭韻、尾韻等韻律手段翻譯中文疊詞,其核心目的是還原原文的審美特質。通過復刻原文疊詞、排比所蘊含的韻律美感,準確匹配原文節奏的疏密緩急,可讓譯文擁有與原文相似的聽覺審美,實現『美』的有效傳遞。疊詞的語音重複與韻律手段結合,能讓聽覺美感更具層次,既保留原文語言韻味,又讓情感表達更加細膩真切;排比句式的規整節奏與韻律技巧適配,既能凸顯原文情感力度,又能避免語音違和導致的情感扭曲,守住原文情感之『真』。歸根結底,貼合原文情感與審美的語音重構,本質是對『真』的守護,最終實現『真』『情』『美』在語音層面的有機統一。

2. 詞彙層面:築牢『真』的根基與『情』『美』的載體

詞彙是語言的建築材料^⑭,是語言形式重構的核心環節,也是譯文能否實現『真』『情』『美』傳遞的關鍵。



詞彙層面的重構,始終以『真』為根本底線,核心在於實現語義的準確傳遞與意象的完整還原。在詞彙選擇過程中,譯者需精準判斷名詞的具象與抽象屬性、動詞的動態與靜態特徵,合理取捨詞彙的本義、引申義與隱喻義,既要傳遞原文的表層語義,又不能遺漏其深層內涵,確保不增損、不扭曲原文的核心意義。

在守住『真』的基礎上,詞彙選擇還需兼顧『情』的傳遞與『美』的呈現。意象的對等轉換是詞彙重構中實現『美』的傳遞的核心路徑,無論是自然意象的復刻,還是情感意象的轉化,都需確保原文的意境之美完整遷移,使譯文在表意為真的基礎上,兼具情感溫度與審美質感,最終實現『真』為根基、『情』為內核、『美』為昇華的詞彙表達效果。

3. 語相層面:堅守『真』的本質與『美』的表達

語相作為語言的視覺呈現載體,其重構的核心任務在於通過標點符號、書寫形式等視覺元素的精準還原,守住散文的文體之『真』,傳遞散文背後的情感內涵,呈現語言的形式之『美』。在數字書寫形式這一語相層面,在確保語義信息準確無誤、遵循『真』的原則下,其不同的視覺呈現會直接影響情感傳遞的強度和審美體驗。視覺衝擊力更強的表達,更能突顯文本情感力度。而在標點符號運用這一語相層面,它不僅關係到句式結構的形式之美,更直接影響語義邏輯的連貫之真與情感脈絡的流暢之情。貼合原文句式關係的標點,能夠同時兼顧語義忠實、情感連貫與形式美感。若僅僅追求句式規整,可能會犧牲語義的完整性與情感的連續性。因此,語相層面的每一處細節調整,都與『真』『情』『美』緊密相連。

4. 句法層面:保障『真』的傳遞與『情』『美』的優化

在句法重構過程中,銜接手段與時態選擇共同構成語篇連貫的核心支撐,二者協同作用,直接決定譯文『真』『情』『美』的統一實現。關於銜接手段,Halliday 把銜接分為語法銜接和詞彙銜接兩種。語法銜接有四種:照應,省略,替代,連接。詞彙銜接也有四種:重複,同義/反義,上下義/局部—整體關係和搭配^⑤。胡壯麟在《語篇的銜接與連貫》一書中也涉及了包括重複、添加、交替、拼合在內的四種同構關係。下文例 9 提到的交替性同構,指的是在不更動原結構和基本詞語的情況下,以同類詞語置換原結構中的某一詞語^④。這幾種銜接手段在英漢語兩種語言互譯中均有運用,但使用傾向存在差異^⑥。

關於時態,學界對於漢語中是否存在時態意見不一,即使是認為漢語存在時態的學者對其定義也不明確^⑦。而英語的時態則非常明確,Lyons 認為『時態體現時間意義,它以一定的方式指向特定言語、參照和事件的時間點和時間段,體現於一定情節相關的時間框架』^①。

銜接手段的功能在於,通過準確的照應、規範的替代與恰當的省略保障語義照應與信息完整,以清晰的連接顯化句間邏輯關係,以連貫的詞彙銜接錨定主題脈絡,堅守原文邏輯之『真』。而時態作為標記時間、事件狀態與敘事視角的關鍵句法要素,其合理性的重構能忠實還原原文敘事時序與事件情態,進一步夯實語義之『真』。因此,二者有機結合,在順應目標語句法規範、完成句法調整的基礎上,優化情感傳遞節奏,實現句式流暢、節奏和諧與審美意蘊的統一,讓譯文在忠實源語內核的前提下,兼具情感張力與語言美感。

總的來說,散文翻譯的三個要義是『真』『情』『美』,散文旨在表達『真』,旨在傳達『情』,二者共同演繹出散文之『美』。因此,語言形式重構要圍繞『真』『情』『美』層層遞進、相互支撐、有機統一,其核心在於語言的內在意義與藝術表達效果,以充分傳達散文之美。如圖 1 所示。

三、《匆匆》英譯本語言形式重構的對比分析

(一) 語音形式的『真』『情』『美』

《匆匆》的語言魅力,在相當大的程度上得益於疊詞與排比句式的巧妙運用。二者藉助獨特的語音節

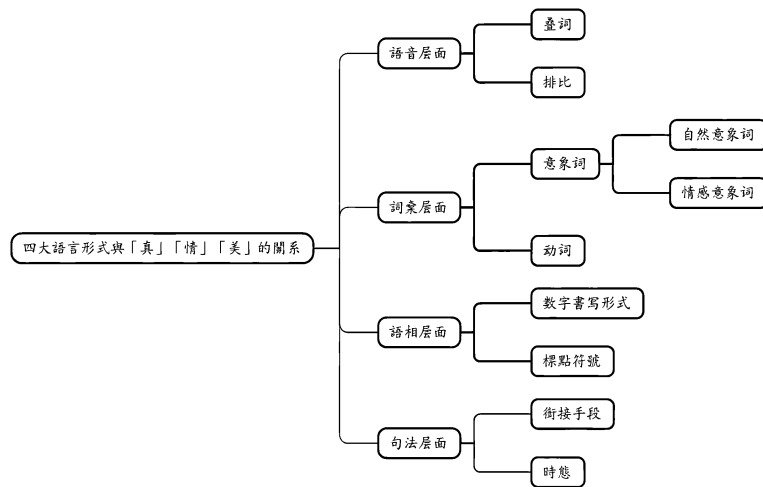


圖 1 四大語言形式與『真』『情』『美』的關係

奏,承載着原文的情感內核與審美價值。但由於英漢語言語音系統的差異,漢語疊詞的重複韻律、排比的對稱節奏無法直接復刻,譯者需通過長短音調配、尾韻構建等語音重構手段,實現原文『真』『情』『美』的等效傳遞。

例 1.

原文:《匆匆》

張譯本:Transient Days

朱譯本:Rush

文中疊詞主要分為 AA 式與 ABB 式兩類,二者語音節奏不同,情感表達也各有側重。AA 式疊詞以標題《匆匆》為例,題目往往具有點明主旨的重要意義,它不僅能概括文章的主旨內容,還為整體行文提供了線索,更是『真』『情』『美』的集中承載——『真』是標題對時光本質的精準詮釋,『情』是標題傳遞的對時光流逝的悵惘,『美』是標題凝練的語言質感與韻律美感。所謂匆匆,指的是日子或者光陰過得飛快,消失得無影無蹤,給人一種『轉瞬即逝』感覺,既蘊含着時光流逝的客觀之『真』,也寄託着朱自清先生對時光易逝、人生短暫的悵惘之『情』,更以極簡二字傳遞出凝練含蓄的語言之『美』。朱自清先生以『匆匆』二字為題,富有哲理,它既可以形容時間的流逝,也可以表達人生的短暫,是一個普遍存在的客觀現象,其背後的『真』『情』『美』正是標題英譯需重點傳遞的核心內涵。漢語的『匆匆』二字簡潔有力^③,在翻譯時張培基選用了形容詞『transient』來修飾名詞『days』,而朱純深僅僅採用了『rush』一詞,兩種譯法在『真』『情』『美』的傳遞上各有側重、各有得失。

張培基選用的『transient』一詞,劍橋詞典英文釋義為『lasting for a short time』,一般指抽象事物存在或持續的時間短暫,恰好符合時間流逝的特點,也點明時光的本質屬性,傳遞了原文『匆匆』所蘊含的時光短暫的客觀之『真』;『days』明確指代『時光、日子』,二者相結合,可以讓讀者一眼就能抓住『時光短暫,匆匆流逝』的核心主題,表意清晰無歧義,進一步夯實了『真』的傳遞。同時『transient days』搭配工整,既貼合原文標題含蓄凝練的語言之『美』,也契合張培基譯文一貫『忠實原文、兼顧形美』的風格,實現了『美』的適配傳遞。但相比朱譯『rush』的短促節奏,『transient days』是兩個單詞組成的短語,少了一點原文標題的韻律感和動態張力。

而朱純深採用的『rush』,從語音層面看,『rush』(/rʌʃ/)中的/ʌ/音是短元音,發該音時上下脣及上下齒微張,臉部肌肉放鬆,舌後微微抬起,發出短促的『阿』音^⑩,給人一種短促且匆匆之感,與文章的主題相呼應,更以語音的韻律感傳遞出時光匆匆的急切之『情』,讓讀者通過聽覺直觀感受到作者對時光易逝的悵惘。除此之外,『rush』是單音節詞,簡潔有力,既對應了疊詞『匆匆』的凝練之『美』,又傳遞出時光『急促流逝』的動作感,讀起來更有畫面衝擊力,進一步強化了『美』的表達。然而,該詞在意義上稍有欠缺。原文中『匆匆』表示時間流逝,而時間的流逝是一種不以人的意志為轉移的客觀狀態。它並不是在既定時間內發生的短暫性動作,而是從永遠到永遠的,從這個角度來看『rush』在內涵的呈現上稍有不足。

例 2.

原文:我不禁頭涔涔而淚潸潸。

張譯本:At the thought of this, sweat oozes from my forehead and tears trickle down my cheeks.

朱譯本:Already sweat is starting on my forehead, and tears welling up in my eyes.

ABB 式疊詞以例 2『我不禁頭涔涔而淚潸潸』為例,原文中朱自清先生巧妙運用『ABB』式疊詞『頭涔涔』與『淚潸潸』,符合中文的語言表達習慣,『頭涔涔』用來形容汗水不斷從額頭滲出、往下流的樣子,作者意識到時光飛逝,自己卻無力挽留時,生出的慌張與恐懼的汗水。『淚潸潸』用來形容眼淚不由自主地緩緩流下的樣子,既有對時光飛逝的惋惜,也有對自己未能把握光陰的悲傷與悵惘。

英語中無漢語疊詞形式,對於『頭涔涔』與『淚潸潸』的英譯,核心在於通過英語語言形式的適配重構,實現原文『真』『情』『美』的跨語言對等傳遞。張培基使用了『ooze from』,從『真』的角度看,短語中的/u:/音是長元音,給人以緩慢綿長之感,給讀者呈現汗水『一點點從額頭慢慢滲出』的細膩過程^⑪,更具有動態感,烘托出作者無比焦慮、惆悵的心情。從『情』的角度看,/u:/音似『鳴』音,暗含着作者內心深處的煩悶與哀愁,無處訴說。結合時代背景,當時正處於『五四』運動落潮期,作者身為小資產階級知識分子,想追求進步,而內心充溢着苦於找不到出路的迷茫,這裏的/u:/音就好似作者反抗黑暗現實時的悲泣。從『美』的角度,長元音的韻律感替代了漢語疊詞的語韻之美,構建了貼合原文情感基調的聽覺審美,讓譯文既保留了原文的情感內核,又具備了英語語言的韻律美感。不僅如此,『trickle』輔音連綴/tr/開頭,短促不突兀,符合眼淚無聲無息、緩緩滑落的狀態,以/l/收尾帶有淚水從眼角到臉頰,再到下頷的延續感,同『潸』字所蘊含的『緩緩滴落』之意相契合。

朱譯用普通詞簡化處理『starting』,力求意似,用『welling』增加動感。但值得斟酌的是,朱譯中『starting on』刻畫的是『汗水剛開始冒頭』的起點階段,並沒有體現原文『頭涔涔』所指的『汗水滲出、溼潤額頭』的狀態。同時『welling up』是『淚水湧滿眼眶』的臨界狀態,似是淚水積蓄的過程,而非『淚潸潸』所描繪的『淚水滑落臉頰』的動作過程。因此,相比之下,張培基的英譯更貼合語境,也更能讓讀者身臨其境般體會到作者思想掙扎、迷茫悲傷的情感。

例 3.

原文:沒有聲音,也沒有影子。

張譯本:quietly/without leaving a trace

朱譯本:soundless, traceless

为了更好地刻畫時間悄無聲息流逝的特性,原文運用了兩個並列排比否定短語『沒有聲音,也沒有影



子』來描述時間流逝的兩個特徵,即無聽覺感知、無視覺痕跡。而排比句式的核心語音特徵是對稱工整、節奏利落,情感內核是時光無聲無跡流逝的悵惘,英譯的關鍵是通過尾韻構建、音節對稱,復刻原文的排比韻律,實現『真』『情』『美』的統一。

這句簡潔的描寫,是『真』『情』『美』的集中體現:『真』是對時間流逝本然狀態的真實描摹,無聲無跡是時光流逝的客觀屬性;『情』是藏在文字背後的隱性情感,通過對時光無痕流逝的刻畫,暗含着對時光易逝的輕悵與無奈;『美』則體現為並列短語的對稱工整、語言凝練的韻律感,短句的利落節奏與時間流逝的短促感高度契合。這裏,朱譯用『soundless, traceless』相同的後綴(-less)作為尾韻^⑩,對應『沒有聲音,也沒有影子』。從語音層面來看,兩個詞均以短元音為主,短促的發音節奏不僅模擬了時間飛逝的緊迫感,更讓讀者通過聽覺韻律,直觀感受到時光悄無聲息、匆匆而過的狀態,既強化了散文的形式之『美』,又準確傳遞出原文藏在客觀描摹中的悵惘之『情』。

而張譯用『quietly』『without leaving a trace』,從『真』的層面來看,實現了表意上的精準與自然:『quietly』貼合『沒有聲音』的靜態特質,『without leaving a trace』精準對應『沒有影子』的內涵,還原了原文描述的時間流逝特徵,守住了語義之『真』,也間接傳遞出時光無跡流逝所蘊含的輕淡悵惘。但從『情』與『美』的傳遞來看,一定程度上破壞了原文的對稱結構,變成『短+長』的非平衡句式,少了一點原文的韻律節奏感,讀起來缺少一種『短促、利落』的語感,未能達到原文的語音效果。

(二) 詞彙意象的『真』『情』『美』

詞彙是意象傳遞的核心,《匆匆》中的意象詞既承載着具體的畫面感,也蘊含着抽象的情感內涵。本文舉例的意象詞分為自然意象詞與情感意象詞,自然意象詞指以客觀自然景物、時序物象為載體,勾勒時光流逝等具體場景的詞彙,如楊柳、桃花、輕煙、遊絲等,依託可感知的自然圖景,將無形的時間轉化為可視、可感的視覺意象。而情感意象詞指承載作者主觀感受、暗含追悔悵惘之情的詞彙,如徘徊、空虛等,剝離純粹的物象描摹,暗含全文的感傷基調與生命體悟。因此,譯者在選擇詞彙時,不僅要做到貼切恰當,契合全文語境,即達到所謂的『真』,更要保證感情色彩準確,從而完整地傳達作者的思想,使目標語讀者與源語讀者產生相同的情感共鳴。

例 4.

原文:過去的日子如輕煙。

張譯本:The bygone days, like wisps of smoke...

朱譯本:Those bygone days have been dispersed as smoke by a light wind.

在中國文學傳統中,『輕煙』是極具代表性的自然意象,常承載朦朧悵惘的愁緒,既隱喻生命的短暫易逝,也暗合時光流轉、人事無常的哲思。因此,譯者在重構『輕煙』這一意象時,需着重傳遞其獨特的中文內涵。譯者若按照輕煙的表層意思直譯為『smoke』,雖在『真』的層面保留了『煙』的基本物象,卻丟失了『輕煙』輕柔、飄渺、易散的核心特質,偏離了意象的真實內涵,難以讓目標語讀者體會到時光的脆弱與易逝,意象的真實內涵便有所缺失。

張譯選用『wisps of smoke』,用『wisps』(常用來修飾『一縷縷輕柔、纖細的事物』)修飾『smoke』^⑪,突出『輕煙』飄渺、纖細、輕柔的視覺特質。既不是濃重的煙霧,也不是分散的煙粒,而是『wisps』所體現的『輕柔、易散』的質感,有效地復現了『輕煙』的形象,使讀者能夠想象得到時光如同一縷輕煙,輕柔易散,在物象層面實現了高度的『真』。然而,朱譯雖通過『dispersed(吹散)』的動作,補全了『輕煙』的動態屬性,但未對

『smoke』添加相應的限定詞,對『輕』的質感呈現略有不足,在形態描摹上略顯單薄,未能完整傳遞『輕煙』空靈柔美的意象特徵,在『美』的呈現與『情』的含蓄表達上稍遜一籌。

例 5.

原文:我何曾留着像遊絲樣的痕跡呢?

張譯本:No, nothing, not even gossamer-like traces.

朱譯本:Have I ever left behind any gossamer traces at all?

『遊絲』在漢語裏運用了比喻的修辭手法,朱自清借『遊絲』來表達未曾留下痕跡之意,感嘆歲月匆匆流逝、生命短暫。於茫茫世界中,若度過平庸的一生,便不會留下任何痕跡。

複合詞是指由兩個或兩個以上的自由詞素組成的一個新詞,表達單一的語義概念,這裏張譯使用複合形容詞『gossamer-like』^⑩,採用顯性類比的方式,直觀呈現出『如蛛絲般纖細、縹緲、極易消散』的特徵,在物象層面忠實還原了『遊絲』的形態本真,做到了意象之『真』。同時也清晰傳遞出人生匆匆、了無痕跡的落寞情緒,實現了情感之『情』。『gossamer-like』用詞形象凝練,兼具畫面感與文學性,亦保有散文的詩意之『美』。朱譯『gossamer traces』則直接將蛛絲的屬性融入『痕跡』一詞,省略了類比標記,默認目標語讀者熟知『gossamer』所帶有的纖細微弱的隱喻內涵。雖然在物象上貼合原文之『真』,但對讀者的文化背景要求較高,理解門檻提升,一定程度上弱化了情感的感染力與審美接受度,在『情』與『美』的傳達上稍顯欠缺。

例 6.

原文:我不知道他們給了我多少日子;但我的手確乎是漸漸空虛。

張譯本:I don't know how many days I am entitled to altogether, but my quota of them is undoubtedly wearing away.

朱譯本:I don't know how many days I have been given to spend, but I do feel my hands are getting empty.

原文『但我的手確乎是漸漸空虛了』在漢語中屬於含蓄的情感化比喻,不可僅從字面理解,需結合語境與文化內涵方能準確解讀。『空虛』作為典型的情感意象詞,被朱自清運用得極為傳神一方面點出了時光看似充裕,若不加珍惜、庸碌度日,便會在茫然中飛速流逝的狀態;另一方面暗藏作者的悵惘心緒,明知光陰易逝,滿心想要挽留,奈何時間從不停步的無奈與惋惜。

張譯『quota of them』的意思是『一定數額的日子』,即『壽命的預期數額』^⑪。在『真』的層面準確傳遞出生命時限有限、時光定額既定的核心內涵,同時貼合英文慣用表達,便於目標語讀者領會作者對時光匆匆的慨嘆,實現情感共鳴,搭建起有效的文化溝通橋樑。『quota』的使用不僅呼應前文的『be entitled to』,同時『quota』與『wearing away』的搭配巧妙地將『時間流逝』具象化,遠優於『but the time in my hands is less and less』這類硬譯、死譯,實現了『美』的跨語言傳遞。反觀朱譯將『空虛』直譯為『empty』,則略顯生硬,詞意表達不夠精準。從『真、情、美』來看,『empty』多用於描述具體事物的空無,難以適配時間這一抽象概念,在語義忠實度上有所欠缺,既未能準確傳達內心茫然無措的『情』,也削弱了原文含蓄深沉的審美意蘊,在『真』與『美』的傳達上稍顯不足。

綜合張培基和朱純深兩個譯本來看,發現二者不僅在意象詞層面存在顯著差異,在體現時光動態的動詞選用上也各有取向。但在兩個譯本中,張培基與朱純深均未採取生硬直譯,也未簡單複用同一詞彙,而是



立足上下文語境,選取適配的英文詞語,傳遞作者隱含的情感態度。通過下表(表1)可以看出,朱自清在描摹光陰流逝時,連用二十餘個近義動詞鋪陳情緒,兩位譯者在忠實原文節奏的同時,以差異化的動詞選擇展現出各自的翻譯風格。

對比維度	原文	張譯	朱譯
第一段	去了;枯了;謝了;一去;偷了;逃走了	go away; wither; fade; go by; stolen; run away	gone; died back; fallen; leave; stolen; escape
第二段	空虛了;溜去;滴在	wearing away; slipped away; dripping into	getting empty; slid away; dripping into
第三段	去了;挪移了;過去;過去;過去;跨過;飛去了;溜走了;閃過了	gone; edging away; flow away; vanish; passes away; brushing past; stride over; flit past; gone; flashing past	gone; treading on; flows away; wears off; passes away; strides over; glides past; gone; flash past
第四段	逃去如飛;吹散了;蒸融了	fleeting; disperse; evaporated	escape; dispersed; evaporated
第五段	一去	go by	leave

表1 《匆匆》英譯本中表達『光陰流逝』相關動詞的使用情況對比

(三) 語相層面的『真』『情』『美』

語相作為語言的視覺呈現形式,包括數字的表達方式、標點符號的使用等,都會直接影響讀者對文本節奏與情感的解讀。例如《匆匆》原文多以短句為主,逗號、分號、破折號等各類標點符號頻繁使用,形成類似鐘錶滴答聲的視覺節奏,強化了時間流逝的急促感。所以,原文重構的關鍵在於如何在還原韻律的同時兼顧英文敘事邏輯。張培基與朱純深兩位譯者在英譯過程中,針對語相特徵採用了各具特色的適配策略。

例7.

原文:八千多日子已經從我手中溜去。

張譯本:I find that more than 8000 days have already slipped away through my fingers.

朱譯本:I find that more than eight thousand days have already slid away from me.

從『真』的層面而言,兩位譯者的譯法均守住了語義之真,精準傳遞了『八千』這一數字的核心信息,未出現語義增損或扭曲,完整還原了原文通過數字所體現的時間體量,契合原文『匆匆』主題下對時光流逝體量的真實描摹,這是兩位譯法的共性優勢。但在『情』與『美』的傳遞上,兩者呈現出明顯差異。張培基直接使用阿拉伯數字『8000』^⑩,通過視覺上的簡潔醒目,給讀者強烈的視覺上的數字衝擊,使讀者能夠迅速感知時間的龐大體量與流逝之快,契合原文『匆匆』的主題。而朱純深則採用拼寫形式『eight thousand』,雖準確傳遞數字信息,但拼寫形式的數字視覺衝擊力較弱,未能充分再現原文通過數字強化情感的語相效果。這種差異從側面反映出兩位譯者的風格特徵:張譯注重語相的情感強化功能,在傳達原文內容的基礎上營造更強烈的閱讀體驗,而朱譯則更側重語相的規範表達。

例8.

原文:燕子去了,有再來的時候;楊柳枯了,有再青的時候;桃花謝了,有再開的時候。

張譯本:If swallows go away, they will come back again. If willows wither, they will turn green again.

If peach blossoms fade, they will flower again.

朱譯本: Swallows may have gone, but there is a time of return; willow trees may have died back, but there is a time of regreening; peach blossoms may have fallen, but they will bloom again.

原文開篇以三個結構工整、意象鮮明的排比句，巧妙運用分號串聯起燕子、楊柳與桃花三個富有象徵意義的自然意象，凸顯出三者意義的關聯性與並列性。作者借燕子遷徙暗喻時光流轉，以楊柳枯榮昭示季節更迭，再用桃花開謝映射生命盛衰，論證了光陰易逝、時不我待的時間哲學，使抽象的時間概念變得可觸可感，極具感染力和說服力。

原文用『；』銜接，分號可以用來銜接前後句子，表明前後句在意思表達上一致。朱譯嚴格遵循原文的語相特徵，同樣使用分號連接三個分句，既保持了原文的視覺節奏，又通過分號的顯性銜接。語義翻譯的基本單位是詞，這樣的翻譯句式更好地保留原作者的風格，體現出原作的韻味，讀起來更加有抒情的效果^⑦。而張譯則另闢蹊徑採用『.』來斷句，結合原文可知作者列舉的三個意象都是用來說明時間飛逝，在意義表達上一致，而張譯用句號給人一種話說完了，一種意思結束與另一種意思開始的分離感^⑧，不太符合原文前後緊密的銜接關係。

不過，張譯的處理也有其巧妙之處，句號的使用讓三個由『if』引導的條件句在整體句式上更為齊整，在『美』的層面呈現出另一種規整感，但這種審美呈現未能兼顧『真』與『情』的傳遞。從對原文的忠實度以及意思傳達的準確性來看，朱譯選用分號要更為妥帖：既守住了原文語義關聯的『真』，傳遞了作者的悵惘之『情』，也保留了原文的語相之『美』，更貼合原文的行文邏輯與情感需求。

（四）句法結構的『真』『情』『美』

句法結構是散文節奏與情感的載體，也是譯文能否再現原文『真』『情』『美』的關鍵一環。譯文對原文句式結構的還原，主要依靠句式銜接手段實現，合理的銜接既能忠實再現排比句式的形式特徵，也能傳遞原文的情感節奏與語言美感。同時，恰當地運用時態，既能夠在句法層面還原時間不斷流逝的客觀狀態，實現敘事的『真』，又能夠傳遞抒情的『情』，使譯文語句更加流暢自然。

例 9.

原文：於是——洗手的時候，日子從水盆裏過去；喫飯的時候，日子從飯碗裏過去；默默時，便從凝然的雙眼前過去。

張譯本：Thus the day flows away through the sink when I wash my hands; vanishes in the rice bowl when I have my meal; passes away quietly before the fixed gaze of my eyes when I am lost in reverie.

朱譯本：Thus—the day flows away through the sink when I wash my hands, wears off in the bowl when I eat my meal, and passes away before my day-dreaming gaze as I reflect in silence.

原文中的這三個小句屬於交替性同構^⑨，使用了三個時間狀語，通過『喫飯』『洗手』『默思』人們這種日常生活的細節，暗喻時間在不經意間的流逝，既寄寓了作者對時光流逝的無奈與悵惘，又通過句子結構的鋪展實現敘事情感的逐層深化，最終引發讀者對光陰價值的深度思考。

原文中重複使用『日子』，第三小句省略了主語『日子』，三個小句形成排比句式，語調平和卻隱藏着作者情緒遞進的邏輯。張譯和朱譯都保留了這一句式風格，通過排比結構復刻了原文情感遞升的節奏，達成了與原文的風格統一，實現了『情』的昇華。針對原文反覆出現的『……的時候』，二者均將其轉化為時間狀語



從句,既強化了『時間』這一核心意象,又增強了句子間的連貫性,更貼合散文的語言特徵,實現了句法之『美』。但不同的是,張譯將三個分句均譯為『when』引導的時間狀語從句,不使用並列連詞,完整保留了原文同樣的銜接手段。而朱譯則將前兩句用『when』引導從句,末句採用『as』引導,同時在最後一個分句前添加並列連詞『and』收束,這種處理更符合英語多重複句的表達習慣,語句銜接更為流暢自然,但在一定程度上弱化了原文三個分句完全對等、獨立排比的視覺與節奏特徵。不僅如此,原文中雖然沒有出現任何人稱,但是根據漢語意合的特點,我們可知所指的人是作者自己,而兩篇譯文則都使用了人稱代詞『I』,補充了主語。但也有省略的情況,因為這三個小句的主語都是『the day』,所以在翻譯的過程中就把後面兩個小句的主語省略了,在忠實句式、傳遞節奏的基礎上,將原文含蓄沉穩的『真』『情』『美』融入譯文之中。

除上述例子之外,兩篇譯文均藉助連接、替代、省略等顯性手段來構建行文脈絡。為直觀展現兩位譯者在銜接手段上的整體取向,本文對原文、張譯本以及朱譯本中的照應、省略、替代、連接、詞彙銜接這五類手段進行了統計,結果如下表(表2)所示:

銜接手段	原文	比例(%)	張譯	比例(%)	朱譯	比例(%)
語法銜接	51	75.0	129	87.8	176	90.3
照應	34	50.0	99	67.3	98	50.3
省略	6	8.8	3	2.1	4	2.1
替代	6	8.8	3	2.1	53	27.2
連接	5	7.4	24	16.3	21	10.7
詞彙銜接	17	25.0	18	12.2	19	9.7
銜接總數	68	100	147	100	195	100

表2 《匆匆》英譯本銜接手段的統計分析

從時態角度看,會發現兩篇譯文時態不同,張培基選擇一般現在時,而朱純深則是現在完成時^⑩。這種時態選擇的差異,本質上是對原文『真』『情』『美』三重內涵傳遞的側重不同,也直接影響了原文主題與情感的表達效果。《匆匆》文章主題是時光流逝的恆常性,這是一個不變的客觀真理,不會隨着時間、地點和條件的變化而變化,是持續發生的是不以人的意志為轉移的,就如同日出、四季變化的自然規律,時間的流逝也不是在某個特定時間段內會結束的。

張培基採用一般現在時,從『真』的層面,一般現在時本身就用於描述客觀真理、恆常不變的自然規律,恰好契合時光流逝的恆常性特質,完整傳遞了原文對時光本質的真實認知;從『情』的層面,一般現在時的使用,讓時光流逝的恆常性變得更具普遍性與感染力,既傳遞出作者對時光無法挽留的悵惘,也讓這種情感超越了特定時空,引發讀者對時光恆常流逝的共鳴;從『美』的層面,一般現在時的簡潔,貼合散文含蓄雋永的審美特質,讓譯文的節奏更顯沉穩,彰顯了原文的語言之美,實現了形式與主題的高度統一。

而朱純深選用的現在完成時,從『真』的層面,現在完成時側重描述『過去發生並持續到現在,或對現在產生影響的動作』,暗含『動作有始有終』的隱含意味,未能完整還原時光流逝的本質特徵;從『情』的層面,弱化了時光流逝的恆常性與普遍性,將時光流逝侷限於『從過去到現在』的特定時間段,難以傳遞出作者對時光永恆流逝的深沉悵惘,也削弱了情感的共鳴力;從『美』的層面,現在完成時的時態表達相對複雜,一定程度上丟失了原文的句法之美。

四、結語

本文圍繞散文翻譯中的『語言形式重構』問題展開探討,以《匆匆》的兩個經典英譯本作爲分析對象,聚

焦於翻譯實踐中『真』的語義內核、『情』的情感底色與『美』的審美特質以及『真』『情』『美』相統一的傳遞路徑。研究發現,散文翻譯並非單純的語言形式轉換與技巧調整,其所構建的以形式適配內容、以表達承載意蘊的『真』『情』『美』這一翻譯機制具備可行性與可操作性,能夠有效減少跨語言轉換中語義失真、情感缺位與審美流失的問題。散文翻譯的核心要義在於堅守對『真』『情』『美』的深度傳遞,以《匆匆》為代表的抒情散文翻譯,不應僅停留在句式、詞彙等外在語言形式的對等還原,更需通過語言形式的適配與重構,將文本內在的真摯情感與獨特審美完整傳遞至目標語境,契合目標語讀者的閱讀習慣。將『真』『情』『美』深度融入散文翻譯全過程,既能提升漢語散文外譯的藝術水準與接受效果,也為同類抒情散文的外譯實踐提供可借鑑的範式,助力更多優秀漢語散文跨越語言文化壁壘,實現有效傳播與海外接受,進一步推動中國散文文學走向世界、彰顯獨特的文學價值與文化魅力。

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(Editors: LI Ruobing & Bonnie WANG)



A Study on C-E Translation Tactics of Regional Culture-Specific Nouns in *Stories of Zhejiang* under the Guidance of Relevance Theory

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Abstract: Under the background of “going global” of Chinese culture, the English translation of Chinese regional cultural proper nouns is the key to the cross-cultural communication of regional culture. Based on the English version of *Stories of Zhejiang*, under the guidance of Relevance Theory, this paper systematically explores translation tactics for Zhejiang regional cultural proper nouns. The study finds that the proper nouns of regional culture in the translation mainly involve three categories, which are geographical customs, folk culture, and legends and allusions. Combined with its cultural connotation and language characteristics, the existing English version has the following problems, such as cultural distortion, semantic deviation, vague geographical attributes, generalization of cultural images, rigid expression, and lack of historical connotation. Under the guidance of Relevance Theory, this paper proposes targeted tactics, including literal translation with anchoring and explanatory annotations, vivid literal translation with image retention, and explicit categorization with precise definition. By integrating transliteration, liberal translation, amplification and annotation, a dynamic balance can be struck between the integrity of the source culture and the cognitive accessibility of target readers. These tactics can provide practical references for the English translation of other regional cultural proper nouns in Zhejiang and even China, so as to promote the effective “going global” and “going deep” of regional culture.

Keywords: *Stories of Zhejiang*; regional culture-specific nouns; C-E translation Tactics; Relevance Theory; cross-cultural communication

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關聯理論指導下《浙裏的故事》地域文化 專有名詞英譯策略探析

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摘 要:在中華文化『走出去』背景下,地域文化專有名詞英譯是地域文化跨文化傳播的關鍵。本文以關聯理論為指導,基於《浙裏的故事》英譯本,系統研究浙江地域文化專有名詞英譯策略。研究發現,譯本中地域文化專有名詞主要涉及地理風物、民俗文化、傳說典故這三類。結合其文化內涵與語言特徵,現有譯法存在文化失真、語義偏差、地域屬性模糊、文化意象泛化、表達生硬、歷史內涵缺失等問題。在關聯理論框架下,本文提出直譯錨定與加注補意、具象直譯與錨定意象、明示屬性與精準界定等差異化策略,綜合運用音譯、意譯、增譯、注釋等手段,在源語文化完整性與譯入語讀者認知可及性之間實現動態平衡。研究成果可為《浙裏的故事》及浙江乃至中國地域文化專有名詞英譯提供實踐參考,助力地域文化有效『走出去』與『走進去』。

關鍵詞:《浙裏的故事》;地域文化專有名詞;英譯策略;關聯理論;跨文化傳播

一、引言

《中共中央關於制定國民經濟和社會發展第十五個五年規劃的建議》明確提出,推動中華文化走向世界、講好中國故事,是當下深化文明交流互鑒、提升國家文化軟實力的重要舉措,對外譯介在這一進程中發揮著不可替代的作用。

浙江自古便是『文化之邦』,千年積澱孕育了眾多紮根本土風土人情的民間傳說,不少還被列入省、國家級非物質文化遺產名錄。隨著杭州 G20 峰會的舉辦與浙江企業的國際化佈局,浙江文化正成為全球感知中國的重要窗口。《浙裏的故事》收錄了帝王王妃、文人將相、名勝古跡等五類傳說,以紀實筆觸展現浙江地域文化特色,書中大量地理風物、民俗禮儀、歷史典故類專有名詞,是承載浙江文化核心內涵的關鍵,其翻譯效果直接關乎跨文化傳播的成敗。

但目前地域文化專有名詞的英譯實踐仍有諸多不足,常出現文化失真、語義偏差、地域特色模糊等問題,導致語言形式與文化內涵脫節,加重海外讀者的理解負擔。在研究層面,現有成果多聚焦單一地域或單一類型的民俗文化英譯,缺乏對綜合類敘事文本的系統探討;且多以生態翻譯學、目的論等理論為依託進行宏觀闡釋,少見從跨文化溝通視角展開的研究,同時往往偏重文化內涵的傳遞,卻忽視了語言自身特徵的保留,難以實現文化的有效傳播。回看以往相關研究,其局限同樣明顯:多集中於少數民族地域文化或詩歌意象的英譯,對綜合類敘事文本關注不夠;研究多圍繞既定理論論證英譯的合理性,缺乏從溝通實效出發、幫助讀者化解文化困惑的實踐探索。傳統翻譯研究雖涉及文化負載詞與專有名詞,但針對地域文化專有名詞的專項研究較為薄弱,常常只關注文化內涵的傳遞而忽略其語言特點。事實上,文化內涵的呈現與語言特徵的保留並不衝突,唯有二者兼顧,才能讓浙江故事真正走出國門、被世界讀懂。



二、關聯理論概況

(一) 關聯理論的基本內涵

傳統語用學對交際行為的探討多停留在語言形式與外部語境的靜態匹配層面,未能充分關注認知心理在資訊理解與傳遞中的核心作用,這一局限在跨文化交際研究中尤為凸顯,也讓傳統翻譯研究難以有效解釋文化資訊跨語言傳遞的認知邏輯。因此,20世紀80年代西方語用學研究迎來認知轉向。Sperber & Wilson(1986)提出的關聯理論(Relevance Theory)不僅為闡釋人類日常交際的認知機制提供了全新框架,也為跨語言翻譯研究突破傳統困境提供了重要理論支撐。

關聯理論認為一個人的認知環境由自然環境中感知的事實和記憶中提取資訊的認知能力兩部分構成。交際中實際使用的認知環境部分稱為認知語境。說話人和聽話人雙方通過產生相同的認知語境實現交際行為。Sperber & Wilson(1986、1995)將交際過程當成是一個明示—推理行為。說話人和聽話人承擔著明示和推理的作用。說話人的話語在談話間可以充分展示出有關聯性的資訊,這是交際中的明示。在說話人表達出足夠的明示行為之後,聽話人可以根據得到的明示行為與自身認知相關的語境假設產生關聯,通過推理說話人話語內容,進而推斷出其交際意圖。交際意圖是交流的深層含義,是聽話人接收資訊之後的推理的結果。只有當說話人和聽話人雙方的交際意圖達成實現時,成功的交際得以順利完成。格特(Ernst-August Gutt 1991)將關聯理論引入翻譯研究領域,其核心邏輯為跨語言文化交際提供了關鍵遵循,也重新界定了翻譯的本質。

關聯理論的翻譯觀打破了『語言形式對等』的局限——翻譯從來不是簡單的字句轉換,而是一場跨越語言的兩輪交際。國內學者趙彥春(1999)曾用一個公式說透關聯性的核心:關聯性 = 語境效果 / 推理努力。這意味著,譯入語讀者理解譯文的認知努力越少、收穫的語境效果越足,譯文的關聯性就越強。放到浙江地域文化專有名詞的英譯實踐中,譯者以關聯理論為指引,首先要明確核心目標——把辭彙的文化內涵和地域特徵準確傳出去。接著結合英語讀者的認知語境,重新構建源語文化概念,儘量讓英語讀者和漢語讀者對同一個專有名詞形成相近的認知。如此一來,才能在源語文化內涵的完整性和譯入語讀者的認知可及性之間,架起一座高效的跨文化橋樑。

(二) 關聯理論的核心概念:最大關聯與最佳關聯

在關聯理論的框架中,『最大關聯』與『最佳關聯』是兩大核心概念。最大關聯,是指人們在處理資訊的認知過程中,總會傾向於用最少的認知投入,去獲取最充分的語境效果,這是人類認知的一種本能——理解資訊時,總會下意識選擇最省力、最直接的解讀方式。而最佳關聯是關聯理論的核心內涵,也是判斷交際是否成功的關鍵尺規,它意味著人們在付出適度的認知努力後,能獲得符合交際意圖、且足夠充分的語境效果。放到跨文化翻譯的場景中,最佳關聯並非要求譯文與原文在字句上完全對應,而是要求譯者的翻譯行為,能引導譯入語讀者在付出合理認知努力的前提下,精準把握地域文化專有名詞背後的文化內涵與核心資訊。二者的本質差異在於,最大關聯注重的是認知上的經濟性,核心是追求認知努力的最小化;而最佳關聯則講求『努力』與『效果』的動態平衡,這種平衡正是跨文化交際順利開展的前提,也為地域文化專有名詞的英譯實踐提供了根本的遵循原則。

(三) 國內學者對關聯理論的研究與解讀

關聯理論於20世紀90年代傳入中國,經過國內學者三十餘年的引介、消化與本土化發展,已成為我國



翻譯研究領域的核心理論之一。何自然(1995)是國內系統研究關聯理論的先驅學者,他不僅完整引介了該理論的核心內涵,更將其與漢語語用現象及翻譯實踐相結合,深刻揭示了譯者在跨文化翻譯中的仲介角色,以及語境適配在翻譯過程中的重要價值。

趙彥春(1999)在何自然研究的基礎上,進一步構建了『關聯翻譯理論』體系。他強調,翻譯本質上是一種跨文化的明示-推理交際行為,譯者的首要任務是實現源語作者意圖與譯入語讀者認知的最佳關聯。他明確反對不顧讀者認知的機械對等翻譯,主張譯者應根據目標讀者的認知背景,靈活調整翻譯策略,從而保證文化資訊的有效傳遞。

冉永平(2000)則從認知語境的動態性角度,進一步拓展了關聯理論的應用邊界。他指出,認知語境並非固定不變的靜態範疇,而是受讀者文化背景、生活閱歷、知識結構等多種因素影響的動態系統。基於此,在翻譯地域文化專有名詞時,譯者必須充分考量譯入語讀者的認知語境差異,通過恰當的翻譯手段彌補文化鴻溝,最終實現最佳關聯。

總體而言,國內學界普遍認為,在中華文化『走出去』的時代背景下,關聯理論為地域文化翻譯研究提供了極具操作性的理論工具。它從認知與交際的雙重維度,回應了傳統翻譯理論在跨文化傳播中面臨的文化失真、讀者接受度低等現實困境,為地域文化專有名詞英譯策略的制定奠定了堅實的理論基礎。

三、《浙裏的故事》地域文化專有名詞的類型與英譯難點

(一)《浙裏的故事》地域文化專有名詞主要涉及的類型

立足於《浙裏的故事》的文本肌理與浙江地域文化的獨特稟賦,依據其內涵意蘊與屬性特徵,該書中的地域文化專有名詞主要涉及三大類別,他們是承載浙江地域文化精神的核心基因與關鍵載體。

1. 地理風物類:主要涵蓋浙江境內的名山勝水、歷史建築及遺跡等地理實體名稱。例如西施山遺址、大禹陵、觀音跳、題扇橋等。此類名詞不僅具有鮮明的具象景觀特徵,更深植於深厚的歷史文化土壤,是地域文化記憶的物化呈現。

2. 傳說典故類:指與浙江民間傳說緊密相關的典故名稱及核心意象。例如錢王射潮、美人宮、越王臺等。它們通常以特定的歷史人物行為、傳說場景或核心意象為核心,凝練地承載著浙江地域的集體記憶與文化精神。

3. 民俗文化類:則包含浙江地區獨特的傳統習俗、特色物產與民間信仰等相關稱謂。例如元宵錢王祭、卷餅筒、五味粥、花轎神等。這類辭彙紮根於民眾的日常生產與生活實踐,兼具鮮活的生活氣息與鮮明的地域屬性。

(二) 地域文化專有名詞的英譯核心難點

通過分析該書英譯本,以上三類地域文化專有名詞的英譯主要存在以下三方面的困難,且不同類型地域文化專有名詞的難點各有側重。

1. 文化內涵傳遞與認知可及性的失衡:由於海外讀者普遍缺乏對浙江地域文化的背景知識,翻譯時若採用直譯,極易造成目標讀者的理解障礙;若選擇意譯,又可能導致原詞中核心文化意象的丟失,難以在『傳意』與『保真』之間取得平衡。

2. 語言形式規範與地域特徵保留的矛盾:英漢兩種語言在辭彙體系、命名習慣及語用偏好上存在顯著差異。若一味遵循英語語言規範,可能會導致地域文化特色的弱化甚至消解;反之,若過度貼合源語形式,



則可能導致英文表達生硬晦澀,不符合目標語的表達習慣。

3. 資訊層級把控與認知負荷適配的困難:地域文化專有名詞往往附帶地域、歷史、民俗等多重資訊。翻譯時,資訊的缺失會造成文化認知的斷層,使譯文失去文化根基;而資訊的過度堆砌則會增加讀者的認知努力,破壞閱讀的流暢性。

具體而言,地理風物類的翻譯重在同時傳遞準確的地域座標與豐富的文化背景;傳說典故類則強調對具象意象與深層精神內涵的精准還原;民俗文化類的關鍵在於明確其生活屬性與獨特的地域專屬內涵。

四、《浙裏的故事》地域文化專有名詞英譯現存問題

基於上述核心難點,並結合《浙裏的故事》譯例分析,當前譯本中存在的問題可歸納為三大類型。這些問題均在不同程度上違背了關聯理論的核心原則,最終導致了文化資訊傳遞的失效或扭曲。

(一) 地理風物類:辭彙誤用、表達生硬、資訊缺失

1. 專用辭彙誤用,核心語義失真:對景觀的屬性、本體及相關術語的選用不當,未能充分考慮英語讀者對同類景觀的認知習慣,導致核心語義出現偏差。

2. 機械字面轉換,表達生硬違和:對於蘊含動作或傳說背景的景觀名稱,僅進行簡單的字面直譯,缺乏對景觀本體的補充說明,使得譯文顯得生硬、缺乏自然感。

3. 關鍵資訊缺失,文化認知斷層:部分譯文僅採用純拼音或字面直譯,未對地域座標、歷史背景等關鍵資訊進行有效補充,造成了目標讀者的文化認知空白。

(二) 傳說典故類:意象抽象、指稱偏差、資訊冗餘

1. 具象意象抽象化,核心內涵丟失:將傳說中生動具體的動作、意象替換為抽象的辭彙,導致原文中鮮明的地域文化特徵被稀釋或丟失。

2. 指稱對象偏差,脫離核心語境:使用抽象名詞來替代源語中的具象概念,使得譯文的指稱對象出現偏差,脫離了專有名詞原有的核心文化語境。

3. 冗餘資訊堆砌,認知負荷增加:部分譯文在直譯基礎上額外標注冗餘的拼音,同時又缺失核心典故的背景資訊,導致資訊結構失衡,增加了讀者的認知負擔。

(三) 民俗文化類:語義偏差、屬性模糊、內涵弱化

1. 望文生義譯解,核心語義偏差:僅停留在字面意義的直譯,未能深入挖掘民俗背後的文化本義與內涵,導致譯文對原文語義造成誤解。

2. 屬性界定模糊,地域特徵弱化:譯文未能明確標示該辭彙所代表的地域、工藝、信仰等專屬屬性,使得其淪為一個普通的、缺乏獨特性的辭彙。

3. 主體內涵弱化,民俗規範缺失:在翻譯民俗儀典、信仰符號等內容時,未能充分凸顯其核心主體,並忽略了相關的空間、地域等特定規範,導致原文民俗內涵的弱化。

五、關聯理論指導下《浙裏的故事》地域文化專有名詞英譯策略

針對上述三類專有名詞在英譯中存在的具體問題,本研究緊扣關聯理論中『明示-推理』的認知邏輯與

『最佳關聯』原則,堅持問題導向與類型化施策的思路,提出差異化的核心翻譯策略。

結合具體譯例,採用『原文+原譯+問題剖析+優化譯法』的分析模式,對不同類型辭彙的翻譯進行深入探討,以期實現『解決翻譯問題、有效傳遞文化、適配目標語認知』的三重目標。

(一) 地理名詞:直譯錨定,加注補意

浙江地理風物類專有名詞是地域文化直觀載體,兼具鮮明地域屬性與深厚文化附著性,景觀意象具象、文化辨識度強。

1. 大禹陵:古稱禹穴,大禹的葬地。

The Imperial Tomb of the Great Yu: It was called the cave of Yu in ancient times where the Great Yu was buried.

文化背景:大禹陵,古稱禹穴,是治水英雄大禹的葬地,坐落於浙江紹興會稽山,作為紀念大禹的核心聖地,既承載著大禹治水的精神內核,也是浙江水文化與華夏治水精神的具象化象徵。

原譯:The Imperial Tomb of the Great Yu

翻譯失誤:大禹陵的原譯版本為 The Imperial Tomb of the Great Yu,且譯文中將『禹穴』譯作『cave』,存在多重翻譯問題:其一,『cave』(洞穴)的譯法造成核心語義失真,與『陵寢』的本義相背離;其二,『Imperial Tomb』(帝王陵墓)的表述存在明顯時代錯位,與大禹所處的時代背景不符;其三,譯文未標注具體地域資訊,也未傳遞出華夏治水的文化內涵,無法幫助目標讀者構建對應的認知語境,導致文化資訊的傳遞失效。

優化譯法:The Mausoleum of the Great Yu (Shaoxing, Zhejiang) / the Mausoleum of Yu (ancient name)

翻譯方法:專用辭彙精準意譯+地域座標標注+古名內涵注釋

關聯理論分析:從關聯理論視角分析,優化譯法具備顯著的合理性:其一,以『Mausoleum』(陵寢)替代原譯的『Imperial Tomb』與『cave』,精準修正了語義偏差,符合國際讀者對古代聖賢陵寢的認知習慣;其二,通過標注『Shaoxing, Zhejiang』與注釋古名,搭建起『大禹—陵寢—紹興』的清晰認知框架。譯文中的專用辭彙、地域資訊、古名注釋三重明示資訊相互支撐,目標讀者無需投入額外的認知努力,便能精準推理出大禹陵的地理歸屬,同時理解其背後的文化內涵,進而在認知層面建立起對大禹陵的深度關聯認知,實現文化資訊的有效傳遞。

2. 觀音跳:普陀山龍灣崗東南瀕海處的一個景點,與洛伽山隔海相望,由『觀音跳海石』和『西方淨苑』組成。

Guanyin Jumping: It is a scenic spot along the coast in the southeast of Longwan Port of Mount Putuo, facing Luojia Hill across the sea, and consisting of “Guanyin Jumping into Sea Rock” (Guan Yin Tiao Hai Shi) and “Xifang Temple” (Xi Fang Jing Yuan).

文化背景:舟山普陀山獨有佛教聖跡,因觀音跨海弘法傳說得名,融合佛教信仰、傳說與地域景觀,是普陀山佛教文化標誌性符號。

原譯:Guanyin Jumping

翻譯失誤:存在明顯的表達生硬與文化資訊缺失問題。譯文僅對名稱進行字面機械轉換,既未點明『觀音跳』本質是礁石聖跡,也未體現其作為普陀山佛教文化地標的專屬內涵。Jumping 一詞口語化、動作化過



重,缺少宗教聖跡應有的莊重感,容易讓英語讀者產生字面化誤解,無法感知『觀音跨海弘法』的傳說背景與朝拜意義。同時,譯文未標注任何地域資訊,導致文化意象與地理歸屬完全脫節,讀者難以建立『觀音跳—普陀山—佛教聖跡』的有效認知關聯。

優化譯法:Guanyin's Leap Stone (Putuo Mountain, Zhoushan)

翻譯方法:核心傳說動作雅化直譯+景觀本體屬性明示+地域座標精準標注

關聯理論分析:從認知語境適配來看,譯文以 Guanyin's Leap 直接還原『觀音躍跳』這一核心動作意象,用 Stone 明確景觀本體為礁石,貼合英語讀者對宗教聖跡類景觀名詞的認知習慣。括弧標注普陀山、舟山,直接鎖定文化發生地,避免泛化解讀,讓讀者在最小認知努力下即可建立『人物—動作—聖跡—地域』的完整認知框架。從明示—推理交際來看,譯文精準傳遞三層關鍵資訊:一是人物主體『觀音』,二是傳說核心『躍跳』,三是景觀屬性『石』,再以地域標注強化其普陀山專屬聖跡地位。資訊結構清晰、無冗餘、無偏差,讀者無需額外文化背景檢索,即可通過譯文推理出『觀音跨海弘法』的傳說脈絡與朝拜意義,實現文化內涵與認知可及性的統一。

3. 江心嶼:中國四大名嶼之一,位於浙江省溫州市北面甌江中游。

Jiangxin Island: As one of China's four most famous islands, it is located in the middle reach of Oujiang River north of the Wenzhou City of Zhejiang Province.

文化背景:溫州甌江中游的中國四大名嶼之一,歷史古跡眾多,是浙南歷史文化、宗教藝術的彙聚地,兼具自然與文化地標屬性。

原譯:Jiangxin Island

翻譯失誤:純拼音直譯缺失文化地位與區位資訊,無法搭建有效認知語境,讀者僅能形成淺層認知。

優化譯法:Jiangxin Islet (Jiangxin Islet in the Ou River, Wenzhou)

翻譯方法:地名拼音直譯+文化地位標注+地理區位精準注釋

關聯理論分析:Jiangxin Islet 遠優於 Jiangxin Island: Islet 特指小型島嶼,與『嶼』的語義精準匹配,能讓讀者直接推理出『甌江中心小型島嶼』的核心特徵,構建強語境效果,且貼合英語認知習慣,無需額外加工;而 Island 是通用辭彙,無法傳遞『小』的關鍵資訊,讀者需補充上下文才能獲取完整認知,增加了認知努力,僅能實現表面關聯。因此,Jiangxin Islet 是兼顧語義精準與認知效率的最優譯法。

4. 題扇橋:位於浙江省紹興市區城東北角,戒珠寺前,現橋為清道光八年(1828)在原址重修。

Tishan Bridge: It is located in the northeastern corner of Shaoxing, in front of the Jiezu Temple. The current bridge was rebuilt on its former site in 1828, the eighth year of Daoguang in the Qing Dynasty.

文化背景:紹興古橋,因王羲之為老嫗題扇典故得名,融合名人典故與古橋文化,是紹興地域文化重要符號。

原譯:Tishan Bridge

翻譯失誤:純拼音直譯割裂地名與文化內涵,無法啟動王羲之與紹興書法文化認知框架,讀者付出無效認知努力卻無對應語境效果。

優化譯法:Fan-Inscribing Bridge (Shaoxing)

翻譯方法:核心典故動作動名詞化直譯+地域文化歸屬標注



關聯理論分析:『Fan-Inscribing』貼合英語古橋命名慣例,採用『動名詞+名詞』的複合結構,將「題扇」的動作直接嵌入名稱,同時標注『紹興』鎖定地域。譯文一出,讀者便能瞬間聯想到『王羲之題扇贈老嫗』的典故,認知關聯一氣呵成,徹底解決了純音譯帶來的文化斷層問題。

(二) 傳說典故名詞:具象直譯,錨定意象

傳說典故類專有名詞是浙江民間文化靈魂,以動作、人物、場景為核心意象,與地域歷史、精神文化深度綁定,兼具畫面感、情感性與地域專屬度。

1. 錢王射潮

文化背景:杭州錢塘江流域經典傳說,錢鏐射潮鎮妖保民,體現浙江先民與自然抗爭的英雄精神,是錢塘江文化核心符號。

原譯:The contribution of King Qian

翻譯失誤:譯文把『射潮』這一具體動作抽象為『contribution』,丟失了核心意象與地域特色,讀者無法聯想到錢塘江治水的文化語境,難以實現有效跨文化傳遞。

優化譯法:King Qian Shooting the Tidal Bore

翻譯方法:專有主體直譯+核心動作具象直譯+地域景觀專用詞精準直譯

關聯理論分析:譯文用『Tidal Bore』直接喚起讀者對錢塘江大潮的地理認知,整體動賓結構也符合英文典故的命名習慣。譯文清晰給出人物、動作、場景三大關鍵資訊,讀者無需過多思考,就能順著線索理解傳說故事與英雄精神,層層遞進讀懂背後的文化內涵。

2. 美人宮

文化背景:紹興西施山遺址核心建築,為勾踐實施『美人計』所建,是吳越爭霸的物化載體,體現浙江古代女性文化與吳越外交策略。

原譯:the Beauty Palace

翻譯失誤:Beauty 為抽象名詞,表“美”的特質,無法精準對應『美人』(具體的美貌女子)的具象含義,丟失了『美人宮是教習西施、鄭旦等美女的場所』這一核心語境資訊,與源語『美人』的指稱對象脫節。

優化譯法:Meiren Palace (Xi Shi's Palace)

翻譯方法:核心名稱直譯+特指文化主體補充注釋

關聯理論分析:Meiren 為拼音轉寫,精準對應『美人』具象概念,Palace 匹配『宮』的建築屬性,讓讀者以最小認知努力,快速關聯『教習美女的宮館』核心語境,實現語義與文化的雙重精準傳遞。而 the Beauty Palace 中,抽象名詞 Beauty 無法指代『美人』具象含義,易讓讀者誤判為『彰顯美的宮殿』,丟失核心語境資訊,還需額外加工糾正認知偏差,違背『最小認知努力』原則,無法構建最佳關聯。

3. 越王臺:位於浙江紹興臥龍山東南麓,狀如城樓,系後人為緬懷越王勾踐臥薪嚐膽、復國雪恥而建。

The Gate Tower of King of Yue (Yue Wang Tai): Located in the southeast of Wolong Mountain in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, it looks like a gate tower.

文化背景:紹興紀念勾踐的建築,因勾踐『臥薪嚐膽』滅吳雪恥得名,是越國堅韌不拔精神的象徵,是浙江地域精神重要地標。

原譯:The Gate Tower of King of Yue (Yue Wang Tai)



翻譯失誤：一是 Gate Tower 用詞不當，Gate Tower 專指城門、城樓這類防禦性建築，而越王臺是紀念性高臺建築，含義完全不符；二是額外標注拼音 Yue Wang Tai，重複累贅，徒增讀者理解負擔；三是未點明勾踐與『臥薪嚐膽』的核心典故，無法喚起相關歷史認知，文化內涵傳遞缺失。

優化譯法：The Yue King's Tower (commemorating King Goujian of the Yue State)

翻譯方法：專有主體所有格化直譯+紀念內涵與特指人物補充注釋

關聯理論分析：譯文用符合英文紀念建築習慣的所有格結構，刪去冗餘拼音，減輕理解成本。括弧注釋直接點出勾踐這一關鍵人物，能快速喚醒讀者對應的歷史認知，讓讀者由建築本身，自然聯想到臥薪嚐膽的典故與越國精神，建立起建築意象到地域文化精神的穩定關聯。

（三）民俗文化名詞：明示屬性，精準界定

民俗文化類專有名詞紮根浙江生活土壤，涵蓋民俗活動、特色小吃、民間信仰，與地域日常、節慶、信仰深度綁定，兼具生活性、地域性與文化獨特性。

1. 『元宵錢王祭』在一定程度上豐富了杭州民眾的節日文化生活。

“the memorial ceremony for King Qian at the Lantern Festival” has to some extent enriched the holiday and cultural life of Hangzhou people and added the humanistic connotation to the West Lake Scenic Spots

文化背景：元宵錢王祭是杭州獨有的吳越文化標誌性民俗儀典，2009 年列入浙江省級非物質文化遺產，因宋廷特許錢氏後裔延長元宵燈期三日，定在農曆正月十八（元宵落燈日）於西湖錢王祠舉行，核心祭祀吳越國武肅王錢鏐及『三世五王』。

原譯：the memorial ceremony for King Qian at the Lantern Festival

翻譯失誤：未遵循專有民俗表達規範，核心主體被弱化，未明示杭州地域屬性，無法啟動杭州元宵與先賢崇拜認知語境。

優化譯法：Memorial Ritual to King Qian of Wuyue on the 18th Day of the First Lunar Month

翻譯方法：核心儀式專名化直譯+節日背景標注+地域與民俗屬性補充注釋

關聯理論分析：譯文貼合英語讀者對傳統祭祀儀式的認知習慣，語序簡潔直白，有效減輕認知負荷。借助必要資訊補充，啟動受眾對杭州地方民俗的認知語境，使讀者能夠依託語境線索，自然推導出錢王祭祀所承載的先賢崇拜與地方信仰內涵，在明示資訊與文化隱含義之間形成穩定關聯，兼顧資訊傳遞與文化解讀。

2. 最後，濟公傳說體現了當地的飲食文化。天台風味小吃『卷餅筒』傳說就是濟公首創。

According to the legend, the flavor snack “rolls” (Juan Bing Tong) in Tiantai County was originally created by Ji Gong.

文化背景：台州天台獨有小吃，相傳為濟公首創，筒狀薄餅卷多餡料，是天臺飲食文化與濟公傳說的融合載體，浙東民俗飲食符號。

原譯：rolls (Juan Bing Tong)

翻譯失誤：『rolls』一詞過於寬泛，在英文中可指各類卷制食品，無法體現卷餅筒的獨特形態，容易造成理解偏差；拼音寫法不規範，且未標注地域來源與濟公相關的文化淵源，地域特色、民俗屬性與文化典故三重資訊均缺失，讀者難以建立準確認知。

優化譯法: Tiantai Rolled Pancake Tube (Juanbingtong, a local snack invented by Ji Gong)

翻譯方法: 地域屬性前置標注+工藝與形制直譯+本土拼音保留+文化溯源與小吃屬性補充注釋

關聯理論分析: 譯文採用『地域+工藝+形制』的結構, 符合英文對特色小吃的命名方式, 標注『天臺』能直接喚起讀者對濟公文化的關聯認知。多條資訊相互補充, 讀者可輕鬆理解這款小吃的地域專屬屬性與文化內涵, 避免了泛泛翻譯帶來的認知模糊。

3. 天臺人春節第一天吃『五味粥』的習慣也是因濟公傳說流傳下來的。

The habit of eating the “five-flavor porridge” (Wu Wei Zhou) on the first day of the Spring Festival in Tiantai County was handed down from the legend of Ji Gong.

文化背景: 台州天臺元宵特色小吃, 以五種穀物熬制, 寓意五穀豐登, 融合濟公文化與天臺節慶習俗, 是百姓新春祈福的飲食載體。

原譯: five-flavor porridge (Wu Wei Zhou)

翻譯失誤: 『five-flavor』直譯是『五種味道』, 屬於望文生義, 和『五種穀物』的本意不符, 容易誤導讀者; 且只加拼音, 未標注地域和節慶屬性, 無法讓讀者建立起天臺民俗的認知關聯, 文化資訊傳遞不到位。

優化譯法: Five-Grain Porridge of Tiantai (Wuweizhou, a traditional snack for the Lantern Festival)

翻譯方法: 核心語義修正直譯+地域歸屬明示+本土拼音保留+節慶民俗屬性補充注釋

關聯理論分析: 譯文改用『Five-Grain』, 準確還原了以五穀熬制的本意, 幫讀者建立正確認知。加上地域和節慶注釋, 直接搭建起天臺元宵民俗的語境, 讀者能順著這些明確資訊, 自然理解這道食物的民俗意義與吉祥寓意, 避免了原意被曲解。

4. 井欄上刻有『二仙井』三字, 為明崇禎癸酉年(1631)重新修立。井旁牆壁上嵌有『仙井』石碑, 為乾隆年間遺物。

A stone tablet carved with “The Well of Immortals” is embedded in the wall beside the well, and it is the relic of the Qianlong Period of Qing Dynasty.

文化背景: 金華蘭溪民間信仰地標, 和合二仙是民間傳說中掌管和諧、團圓、吉祥、美滿的兩位仙人, 原型為唐代隱居天臺山的高僧寒山與拾得。

原譯: The Well of Immortals

翻譯失誤: 缺失『二』的數量資訊, 未明示『和合二仙』溯源, 未標注地域, 無法啟動浙中和合文化認知, 文化內涵泛化。

優化譯法 The Twin Immortals of Harmony and Unity (Tiantai, Zhejiang)

翻譯方法: 數量資訊補足直譯+核心主體直譯+地域座標標注+文化專屬名稱意譯+古名內涵注釋

關聯理論分析: 譯文通過補全數量資訊, 契合英文專有名詞的表達習慣; 以地域標注啟動讀者對浙東民間信仰的認知語境, 再借助文化內涵注釋點明『和合二仙』的文化本源。多重資訊相互支撐, 使讀者能夠順暢推導出意象與和合文化之間的內在聯繫, 實現認知語境與文本意義的統一。

5. 吳三春用剪刀自裁於花轎之中, 因此溫州民間將吳三春奉為『花轎神』。

Thirdly, Wu Sanchun killed herself with scissors in her bridal sedan chair, so the Wenzhou people



worshiped her as the “Sedan Goddess”.

文化背景：溫州獨有民間信仰，因吳三春花轎自刎明志傳說得名，是中式婚嫁民俗中守護新娘的神祇，融合浙南民間故事與婚嫁習俗。

原譯：the Sedan Goddess

翻譯失誤：譯文缺少『Bridal』一詞，沒能體現婚嫁相關的民俗內涵，也未標注地域與傳說背景，讀者無法聯想到浙南婚嫁信仰的文化語境，資訊傳遞單薄。

優化譯法：the Bridal Sedan Chair Goddess (Wenzhou's local folk deity)

翻譯方法：婚嫁民俗屬性明示+器物名稱直譯+神祇內涵界定+地域與信仰屬性補充注釋

關聯理論分析：加上『Bridal』一詞，直接彌補了中西婚嫁文化的差異，能喚起讀者對『中式婚嫁護佑神靈』的認知。標注『溫州』鎖定地域信仰背景，線索清晰，讀者可自然理解傳說故事與其中的忠貞內涵，建立起穩定的文化關聯，理解省力、語境完整。

六、結論

地域文化專有名詞是地域文化跨文化傳播的核心載體，《浙裏的故事》中地理風物、民俗文化、傳說典故三類浙江地域文化專有名詞的現有譯法，存在文化失真、語義偏差、表達生硬、地域屬性模糊、文化意象泛化、歷史內涵遺漏等問題，割裂了語言形式與文化內涵的聯繫，增加了譯入語讀者認知負荷，導致浙江地域文化核心資訊無法有效傳遞。同時當前地域文化專有名詞英譯研究存在視角單一、重文化輕語言特徵、缺乏跨文化溝通視角論證的短板，加劇了英譯實踐困境。

本文以關聯理論為指導，依託其『明示—推理』交際邏輯與最佳關聯原則，針對三類專有名詞特徵，制定直譯錨定與加注補意、具象直譯與錨定意象、明示屬性與精準界定的差異化英譯策略，綜合運用音譯、意譯、增譯、注釋等具體手段，精準解決了現有譯法的各類問題：通過專用辭彙替換、語義修正，化解了語義失真、表達生硬、時代定位錯位的問題；通過補充地域座標、標注文化背景與歷史內涵，補齊了資訊缺失，明確了專有名詞的地域歸屬；通過錨定核心文化意象、特指文化主體，消解了文化意象泛化問題，還原了專屬文化內涵；通過搭建清晰認知框架，彌補了譯入語讀者的認知關聯缺失，降低了認知理解成本；通過規範拼音使用，規避了細節翻譯失誤，最終在源語文化內涵完整性與譯入語讀者認知可及性間實現了動態平衡，讓讀者在付出恰當認知努力後，能準確捕捉浙江地域文化專有名詞的核心資訊與深層內涵。

本文提出的英譯策略，既為《浙裏的故事》地域文化專有名詞英譯提供了可落地的實踐方案，也為浙江乃至全國地域文化專有名詞的英譯實踐提供了理論與方法借鑒，同時為破解當前地域文化英譯研究的短板提供了新思路。地域文化專有名詞英譯是兼具文化傳遞與跨文化交際的複合實踐，譯者需結合文本特徵、海外受眾認知背景與傳播場景靈活運用策略，避免固化與機械化。

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A Study on Creative Treason in the Subtitle Translation of *Zootopia*

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Abstract: In the context of globalization, animated films have become an important medium for cross-cultural communication. As one of Disney's representative animated films, *Zootopia* achieved great success in Chinese-speaking contexts partly because of its subtitle translation. Based on Xie Tianzhen's reinterpretation of the concept of "creative treason", this paper analyzes representative subtitle translation cases from the perspectives of cultural transmission, language reconstruction, characterization, and audience reception. The study finds that subtitle translation is not a mechanical reproduction of the original text, but a process of meaning reconstruction in the target-language context. Appropriate creative adaptation can improve emotional expression, strengthen characterization, and enhance audience acceptance while maintaining the artistic style of the original work.

Keywords: *Zootopia*; subtitle translation; creative treason; cross-cultural communication

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《瘋狂動物城》字幕翻譯中的創造性叛逆研究

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摘要: 在全球化背景下,影視作品已成為跨文化傳播的重要媒介,動畫電影因受眾廣泛與視聽表現突出而更具傳播優勢。作為迪士尼代表性動畫電影之一,《瘋狂動物城》憑藉完整的敘事結構、鮮明的人物形象及現實隱喻性的社會議題,在全球範圍內獲得廣泛關注。影片在中文語境中的成功傳播,不僅依賴原作本身的藝術魅力,也離不開字幕翻譯在文化轉換與意義重構中的作用。本文以謝天振對『創造性叛逆』理論的再闡釋為基礎,從跨文化傳播視

角出發,對影片字幕翻譯中的典型案例進行分析,並從文化傳遞、語言重構、人物塑造與受眾接受四個層面展開討論。字幕翻譯並非對原文的機械複製,而是通過對語言形式、文化意象與情感表達的靈活調整,實現原作意義的再生產。適度的『創造性叛逆』不僅增強了影片的傳播效果,也提升了人物塑造與觀眾接受度。

關鍵詞:《瘋狂動物城》;字幕翻譯;創造性叛逆;跨文化傳播

一、創造性叛逆的理論基礎

『創造性叛逆』(creative treason)這一概念最早見於法國學者埃斯卡皮(Robert Escarpit)的相關論述,後經比較文學與譯介學研究不斷發展,並在謝天振等學者的研究中得到系統化闡釋^①其核心觀點在於:翻譯並不僅僅是簡單的語言轉換,更是譯者在跨語言、跨文化傳播過程中,對原作進行重新理解與再創造的行為^②。該理論突破了傳統翻譯中『絕對忠實』的觀念限制,強調譯者在文化轉換中的主體性作用,認為譯文並非原文的被動複製,而是新的文化語境中的意義重構^③。在譯介學視角下,謝天振進一步指出,『創造性叛逆』不僅體現為語言層面的轉化,更體現為文化層面的選擇、加工與重塑^④。譯者為了實現跨文化傳播,往往需要根據目的語讀者的文化背景、審美習慣與接受心理,對原文本進行適當調整。因此,譯文與原文之間出現一定程度的『偏離』並非錯誤,而是一種服務於傳播與接受的必要策略。

這一理論在文學翻譯與影視翻譯中均具有較強的解釋力。例如《三體》中『自然選擇,前進四!』被譯為『Natural Selection, maximum speed!』,譯者捨棄了原句中的字面表達,以『maximum speed』直接傳遞『全速撤離』的緊迫感,使西方讀者能夠迅速理解文本情境。該譯法雖然在形式上偏離了原文,卻在功能層面更有效地完成了資訊傳遞與情緒建構,體現了『創造性叛逆』在跨文化傳播中的重要作用。

相較於文學翻譯,字幕翻譯在傳播過程中面臨更強的時空限制。影視字幕不僅需要與畫面節奏同步,還必須在極短時間內完成資訊傳遞、情緒表達與文化轉換^⑤。因此,字幕翻譯往往無法拘泥於逐字對應,而需要在有限的文本空間內,通過語義重構、文化調適與語言壓縮等方式,使譯文更符合目標語觀眾的閱讀習慣與接受邏輯。《譯介學》中提到,翻譯過程本質上是一種『文化過濾』與『意義再生產』的過程。譯者在面對不同文化系統時,不可避免地會對原文進行選擇、闡釋與重構^⑥。對於動畫電影而言,這種重構尤為明顯。動畫作品通常具有節奏快、情緒強、受眾廣的特點,因此字幕翻譯不僅需要完成資訊轉換,還必須兼顧人物塑造、情緒表達與觀眾接受^⑦。

本文所選語料主要來源於迪士尼動畫電影《瘋狂動物城》(Zootopia)官方中文字幕版本,並結合影片英文原版對白進行案例對照分析。由於字幕翻譯具有篇幅受限、資訊密度高與視聽同步等特點,本文重點選取影片中具有代表性的字幕案例作為研究物件。

在案例選擇方面,本文採用典型案例分析法。所選案例主要依據以下標準:(1)能夠體現字幕翻譯中的語言重構與文化適應;(2)能夠反映人物塑造與情緒表達的變化;(3)能夠體現“創造性叛逆”在跨文化傳播中的功能價值。通過原文與譯文對比,分析譯者如何在忠實原作與目標語接受之間進行平衡,從而探討動畫電影字幕翻譯中的創造性重構機制的合理性與必要性^⑧。

為了更清晰地呈現《瘋狂動物城》字幕翻譯中『創造性叛逆』的具體表現,本文將從文化傳遞、語言重構、人物塑造與受眾接受四個維度展開討論。需要說明的是,這四個層面並非彼此割裂,而是在具體翻譯實踐中相互交織、共同作用^⑨。



二、《瘋狂動物城》字幕翻譯中的『創造性叛逆』

(一) 文化層面的創造性叛逆

語言不僅是交流工具,更承載著特定民族的文化記憶與思維方式^⑤。由於中西方文化背景、語言結構與認知習慣存在較大差異,影視作品在跨文化傳播過程中往往難以通過直譯實現完整的資訊傳遞。因此,字幕翻譯需要在保留原作精神的基礎上,對部分文化資訊進行適當調整,以實現更有效的文化傳播。

《瘋狂動物城》的對白中包含大量英語文化語境下的構詞方式、俚語表達與文化隱喻。如果完全按照字面進行翻譯,往往會造成理解障礙,甚至削弱影片原有的幽默感與情緒效果。因此,譯者在翻譯過程中需要主動進行文化調適,通過符合中文表達習慣的方式重構意義,以實現文化功能層面的對等^③。

例 1:

英文原版: Zootennial

中文翻譯: 動物城百年慶典

『Zootennial』由『zoo』和『centennial』組合而成,是標準的英語合成詞。這一詞彙出現在影片開頭,承擔著交代故事背景與營造節慶氛圍的重要作用。對於英語觀眾而言,該詞的構成方式較易理解,觀眾能夠迅速意識到其『動物城百年慶典』的含義。然而,中文語言體系缺乏類似的構詞邏輯。如果直接音譯為『祖特尼爾』,不僅會造成理解困難,也會削弱影片開場原本輕鬆熱鬧的氛圍。因此,譯者捨棄了原詞的形式結構,直接採用『動物城百年慶典』這一解釋性表達,使觀眾能夠快速進入故事情境。該譯法雖然放棄了原文的構詞特色,但在文化傳播層面更有效地實現了資訊傳遞。譯者通過語義重構完成了從『形式對等』向『文化功能對等』的轉換,使目的語觀眾能夠獲得與原語觀眾相近的理解效果^③。

例 2:

英文原版: You're my pack. / You're my fluffle.

中文翻譯: 你是我的依靠。/ 你是我的兔子窩。

在經歷信任危機與短暫決裂後,裘蒂與尼克重新確認了彼此之間的情感聯結。尼克所說的『pack』原本常用於狼羣語境,具有『族羣』或『同伴羣體』的含義。作為長期遊離於主流社會邊緣的角色,尼克將裘蒂視作自己的『pack』,實際上體現的是一種深層次的歸屬感與信任感。

如果將『pack』直接譯為『族羣』或『同類』,雖然形式上更加忠實,卻難以在中文語境中傳遞原句的情感溫度。因此,譯者選擇將其譯為『依靠』,將原本偏向羣體歸屬的概念轉化為更符合中文情感表達習慣的關係認知,使人物之間的信任關係更加突出。同樣,『fluffle』本義為『一羣兔子』,帶有明顯的親暱色彩。如果直譯為『兔羣』,則會顯得過於中性,難以體現裘蒂此時對尼克的情感態度。譯文中的『兔子窩』則通過中文語境中的『家』與『歸屬』意象,強化了角色關係中的溫暖感與親密感。

這一譯法並非簡單的詞義替換,而是通過文化語義的重新組織,使人物關係在目的語文化中獲得了更自然的情感表達。這種對原文情感結構的重構,正體現了字幕翻譯中的創造性叛逆。此外,該譯法不僅在文化語義上有明顯傾向,同時也強化了人物關係中的親密感與情感歸屬,因此在接受層面,“兔子窩”所攜帶

的家庭化意象更容易激發中文觀眾關於“家人”的情感聯想。

（二）語言層面的創造性叛逆

語言是跨文化傳播的核心媒介。對於影視字幕而言，翻譯不僅需要完成字面資訊轉換，還必須在有限時間內幫助觀眾快速理解人物關係、情緒狀態與劇情發展。因此，字幕翻譯往往需要根據中英文在句法結構、語義邏輯與表達習慣上的差異，對原句進行適當調整^②。《瘋狂動物城》的字幕翻譯中，譯者並未拘泥於原文形式，而是根據中文表達特點，對部分臺詞進行了壓縮、重組與語義強化。這種對原文形式的主動偏離，並非隨意改寫，而是在保證核心資訊與人物情緒不變的前提下，通過語言重構提升譯文的傳播效果。

例 1：

英文原版：It's called a hustle, sweetheart.

中文翻譯：這叫智取，寶貝兒。

『Hustle』原本具有『騙局』『投機』或『耍手段』等含義，在英語語境中帶有一定灰色意味。如果直接譯為『騙局』或『騙術』，則會削弱主角形象的正面色彩，與影片整體的價值導向形成衝突。因此，譯者並未拘泥於原詞的字面意義，而是根據具體語境，將其譯為『智取』。這一譯法弱化了原詞中的負面色彩，同時強化了角色機智、靈活的形象特徵，使臺詞更加符合中文觀眾對正面角色的接受期待。

該譯法通過詞義重構，實現了語用功能層面的轉換。雖然譯文在語義上偏離了原詞本義，但在人物塑造與情緒表達層面，卻更貼近影片整體敘事邏輯。

例 2：

英文原版：Same pages are your pages.

中文翻譯：達成共識就是按你的想法來。

在追查案件過程中，尼克與裘蒂因性格差異而產生不同意見。原句中的『same page』屬於英語中常見的隱喻表達，意為『達成一致』。然而，中文中並不存在完全對應的表達方式，如果直接翻譯為『在同一頁上』，則會顯得生硬且缺乏語境意義。譯者將其重構為『按你的想法來』，實際上完成了從『意見一致』到『主動讓步』的語義轉移。譯文不僅消解了英語隱喻結構，也進一步強化了尼克對裘蒂的情感傾向與態度認同。

這一處理突破了形式層面的對等關係，使原本相對中性的表達在中文語境中具備了更加明顯的人物情緒與關係意味，從而增強了觀眾對角色關係變化的感知。

（三）人物層面的創造性叛逆

相較於文化與語言層面的宏觀作用，人物層面的翻譯更直接介入影視敘事核心。在動畫電影中，角色形象往往通過語言風格、語氣態度與情緒表達得以建立。因此，字幕翻譯不僅是資訊轉換，更在一定程度上參與了人物形象的再生產^⑥。奈達的『功能對等』理論強調，譯文應儘可能使目標語觀眾獲得與原語觀眾相近的接受效果^③。然而，在影視翻譯實踐中，僅依靠字面對應往往難以實現這一目標。尤其是在人物對白中，譯者需要通過適當調整語言強度與情緒表達，使角色性格更加鮮明。

例 1：



英文原版: The world will never be a better place if no one is brave enough to do the right thing.

中文翻譯: 如果沒有人堅持正義, 世界永遠不會變得更好。

在追查案件過程中, 尼克傾向於明哲保身, 而裘蒂則堅持追尋真相。原句中的『brave enough』強調『擁有勇氣去做正確的事』, 重點在於行為主體的行動勇氣。然而, 譯文並未保留『勇氣』這一具體表達, 而是將整句話重構為『堅持正義』。這一處理完成了從『行動能力』向『價值立場』的轉移, 使裘蒂的形象不再僅僅是『敢於行動的人』, 而進一步上升為『堅守正義原則的人』。

譯者通過概念整合, 將原句中的『勇氣』與『正確行為』共同壓縮進『正義』這一更具價值導向意味的表達之中, 從而強化了角色的理想主義特徵, 使人物形象更加鮮明。

例 2:

英文原版: Waterfolk, like foxes, are lesser mammals.

中文翻譯: 水族人, 就像狐狸一樣, 是低等哺乳動物。

該句出自影片中的權力階層角色, 其語言本身帶有明顯的等級意識與壓迫意味。在英語語境中, 『lesser』既可以表示『較低等級』, 也可能僅體現一種帶有輕蔑意味的評價, 但其情緒強度相對含蓄。如果直譯為『次等哺乳動物』, 雖然較為貼近原詞本義, 但人物的傲慢態度會有所減弱。因此, 譯者將其譯為『低等哺乳動物』, 進一步強化了語言中的歧視意味。『低等』一詞在中文語境中具有更強烈的價值貶抑色彩, 能夠迅速建立角色的壓迫性權威形象, 並使觀眾聯想到現實社會中的等級壓迫與身份歧視。

譯文通過提高語言強度, 使人物的傲慢、排斥與權力意識更加明顯, 從而增強了角色塑造效果。

(四) 接受層面的創造性叛逆

影視字幕翻譯的最終目標, 並不僅僅是完成語言資訊的對應轉換, 更重要的是幫助觀眾在有限時間內迅速理解劇情, 並形成情緒共鳴。由於字幕需要與畫面節奏同步, 觀眾往往沒有機會停留或反覆閱讀, 因此譯文必須具備較強的資訊濃縮能力與接受導向特徵^⑦。英語表達中常存在語氣含混、結構鬆散或資訊省略等現象, 而中文表達則更加注重語義明確與邏輯完整。因此, 在字幕翻譯過程中, 譯者往往需要通過語義強化、結構調整與文化重構, 使譯文更符合中文觀眾的閱讀習慣。

例 1:

英文原版: instead of chasing imaginary reptiles...

中文翻譯: 與其去追尋虛無縹緲的幻影……

原句中的『imaginary reptiles』本義為『想像中的爬行動物』, 強調案件線索的不真實性。然而, 譯文中的『虛無縹緲的幻影』則明顯強化了語言中的情緒色彩。『虛無縹緲』與『幻影』均帶有較強的文學意味, 使原本相對平實的表達獲得了更強烈的挫敗感與壓迫感。譯文不僅強化了主角追查真相過程中的無力感, 也進一步突出了上位者對下屬行動的否定態度。

這一處理雖然偏離了原文的字面結構, 但卻更符合中文觀眾對情緒表達的接受習慣, 使觀眾能夠更加直觀地感受到角色所處的困境與壓迫氛圍。

例 2:

英文原版: This is our only chance to set things right.

中文翻譯: 這是我們撥亂反正的唯一機會。

原句中的『set things right』本義較為中性,僅表示『糾正錯誤』或『恢復正常秩序』。如果按照字面直譯,則難以體現影片後期緊張激烈的敘事氛圍。譯文中的『撥亂反正』則明顯具有中國文化語境中的歷史與政治色彩。該詞出自《春秋公羊傳》,帶有『糾正混亂秩序』『恢復正義』的價值意味。譯者通過引入具有集體文化記憶的四字結構,使影片衝突由個體事件進一步上升為秩序與正義之間的對立。

這一處理不僅強化了影片後期的戲劇張力,也使中國觀眾能夠更自然地完成價值立場上的情感認同。譯文通過文化意義的增殖,實現了更強烈的接受效果,體現了創造性叛逆在跨文化傳播中的功能價值^①。同時,“撥亂反正”這一具有歷史文化色彩的表達,也讓影片中的正邪對立更具價值判斷意味,進一步強化了人物立場與觀眾情感認同。因此,該譯法不僅服務於觀眾的接受能力,同時也體現了文化意義與人物塑造之間的交互作用。

三、結語

綜上所述,《瘋狂動物城》的字幕翻譯並非對原文的機械複製,而是在跨文化傳播語境下,通過文化調適、語言重構、人物塑造與接受導向等方式,對原文本進行意義再生產的過程。譯者在翻譯過程中並未拘泥於形式層面的逐字對應,而是根據中文語境中的文化習慣、情緒表達與接受邏輯,對原臺詞進行了適度調整,從而實現更有效的資訊傳遞與情感建構。值得注意的是,文化傳遞、語言重構、人物塑造與受眾接受並非彼此獨立,而是在具體字幕翻譯實踐中相互滲透、共同作用。許多字幕案例往往同時兼具文化調適、情緒強化與人物建構等多重功能,這也進一步體現了“創造性叛逆”作為跨文化傳播策略的複雜性^④。

本文結合具體案例發現,動畫電影字幕翻譯天然具有較強的『創造性叛逆』特徵。一方面,動畫電影受時空限制明顯,字幕需要在極短時間內完成資訊傳遞,因此譯者往往需要對原文進行壓縮與重構^⑤;另一方面,動畫電影面向全年齡觀眾,具有情緒表達強、角色擬人化程度高等特點,這也要求字幕翻譯不僅傳遞字面資訊,更需要兼顧人物塑造、情緒感染與觀眾接受。

與此同時,創造性叛逆並不意味著對原文的任意改寫,其核心仍建立在對原作精神與敘事邏輯的尊重之上^⑥。適度的創造性重構能夠增強譯文傳播效果,但過度本土化也可能削弱原作的異域文化特徵。因此,字幕翻譯中的『叛逆』應當具有明確邊界,需要在文化適應與原作風格之間保持平衡。

總體而言,《瘋狂動物城》的字幕翻譯较好地體現了創造性叛逆在動畫電影跨文化傳播中的實踐價值。本文的研究也表明,影視字幕翻譯不僅是語言轉換問題,更是文化重構、意義生產與觀眾接受共同作用的結果。未來相關研究還可進一步結合不同語言版本字幕與觀眾反饋,對動畫電影翻譯中的創造性叛逆現象展開更加深入的探討。

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[Studies in Literature]

Rituals and Survival: A Comparative Analysis of Female Destiny Narration in Tai Jingnong's *Wedding* and Lu Xun's *Blessings*

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Abstract: This paper takes Tai Jingnong's short story *Wedding* as the research object and conducts a systematic comparative analysis with Lu Xun's *Blessings*. Both works depict widows struggling to survive under the heavy pressure of feudal ethics, yet they ultimately face distinct destinies. This paper argues that such differences should be understood through the interaction between the feudal ethical order and the folk world, rather than being simply attributed to individual personality traits. Drawing on ritual-custom interaction theory and narratology, this paper examines how different social structures shape the women's space for survival and how different narrative strategies influence readers' perceptions of female fates. While *Blessings* adopts a first-person internal focalization narrative that strongly guides readers' emotions, *Wedding* employs a restrained third-person narration that leaves moral judgment largely to readers themselves. This study reevaluates Tai Jingnong's unique narrative style in this work and highlights his distinctive position in modern Chinese rural fiction.

Keywords: Tai Jingnong; *Wedding*; ritual-custom interaction; narratology; female fate

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1. Introduction

Tai Jingnong (台靜農, 1903–1990), a native of Huoqiu County, Anhui Province, was one of the core members of the Weiming Society (未名社) and an important local writer in the history of modern Chinese literature. According to Lu Xun's diary, the two met over 180 times. The title of Tai's first collection of short



stories, *Sons of the Earth* (《地之子》), was also personally chosen by Lu Xun, which shows the deep friendship between them. When Lu compiled *A Collection of New Chinese Literature: Volume II of Novels*, he included a maximum of four works by a single writer, and four of Tai's short stories were among them, indicating Lu's high recognition of Tai's creative value. Lu once commented on Tai: He has made contributions to literature. When everyone was writing about love and exposing the darkness, no one was more diligent than him in bringing the life and death in the countryside and the smell of the earth onto the paper (Lu, 1957). This evaluation accurately captures the core features of Tai's writing: rural rootedness, a focus on the lower strata, and a plain depiction of the life and death of ordinary people.

However, his works have long failed to receive academic attention commensurate with his literary achievements. Compared with his contemporaries such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun, specialized research on Tai's novels is still relatively scarce. As of April 30, 2026, a search on CNKI using "Tai Jingnong's *Sons of the Earth*" as the keyword yielded only 17 academic journal articles, and there are only 6 concerning "Tai Jingnong *Wedding* (《拜堂》)". Therefore, this paper takes *Wedding* as the research object and attempts to fill this gap.

Wedding is set in a rural area in northern China and tells the story of a marriage between Wang Er (汪二), a poor farmer, and his widowed sister-in-law, Mrs. Wang (汪二嫂). After her husband's death, Mrs. Wang faced a tragic situation of being sold by her husband's family or living in solitude, and she was four months pregnant. To survive, she proposed to marry her brother-in-law to secure a legitimate status for the unborn child. Wang Er sold his cotton-padded jacket and used the money to buy incense and yellow paper, and he married Mrs. Wang late at night. There are two special features of this wedding: first, the ceremony was held at midnight, which goes against traditional wedding customs; second, the marriage was conducted in secret without the knowledge or approval of Wang Er's father, who was still alive. Mrs. Tian (田大娘) and Mrs. Zhao (赵二嫂) were invited as witnesses to jointly witness this simple yet solemn ceremony late at night.

Behind this secret wedding at night, in what ways do the discipline of feudal ethics, the logic of human relationships in the folk society, and the survival will of individual women collide and intertwine? How does Tai use his unique calm writing style to freeze all these in silence? As a latecomer compared to Lu Xun's time, in what ways do the protagonists in Tai's *Wedding* differ from Mrs. Xianglin (祥林嫂) in Lu's *Blessings* (《祝福》)? How do these two authors write about the female characters in their stories? These are the questions this paper hopes to explore.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature review

Some tended to position Tai as Lu's successor due to their intimate relationship, believing that his novels inherited Lu Xun's style and content. However, as research deepens, this simplistic assertion has come under increasing scrutiny. Xia (2002) pointed out that the fundamental difference between Tai and Lu lies in that the latter focused on revealing the spiritual tragedy and digging into the deeply-rooted ills of national character, while the former focused on presenting the survival tragedy, faithfully depicting the human survival situation, and even presenting a cruel sense of realism with naturalistic colour when showing the destruction of life. By sorting out

Tai's home-returning experiences from 1924 to 1925, Hu (2025) argued that in *Wedding*, Tai did not examine the villagers from a condescending, critical stance but rather understood their survival wisdom and resilience in suffering from within. Yang (1993) also holds that Tai's plain-language descriptions are simpler and gloomier than Lu's, and that the two pursue independent artistic pursuits, highlighting Tai's unique value as an independent research object.

In the specialized research on *Wedding*, Zhu (2002) pointed out that the core artistic technique of *Wedding* is "writing sorrow with a happy scene", using a festive ceremony as the narrative shell to compress the heavy tragedy of the bottom-level life, creating a strong emotional tension. She also noticed that Tai's narrative style is fundamentally different from that of contemporary local writers such as Xu Jie (許傑) and Wang Luyan (王魯彥). The latter two often permeated their subjective critical stance into the narrative, while Tai "remained calm" and "always maintained a narrative distance," presenting events in a straightforward manner with almost no commentary. This observation provides an insight into the most distinctive traits in Tai's writing.

In recent years, the folklore perspective has brought a new dimension to the research on *Wedding*. Pan (2018) pointed out that these ritual behaviors are not simply manifestations of ignorance for the villagers, but spiritual supports for seeking comfort and meaning in a difficult situation. It reveals the duality of the folklore practice in *Wedding*, which is both a carrier of the feudal ethical code and a way for ordinary people to maintain their dignity of survival. Therefore, it acts as an important basis for understanding the complex tension between the feudal ethical code and the folk world.

In summary, the existing research has accumulated valuable results at three levels. First, it has established Tai's independent artistic features different from Lu's; second, it has revealed the internal relationship between the characters' initiative and the folklore mechanism in *Wedding*; third, it has initially touched on the uniqueness of Tai's narrative style. However, there is a void in introducing narratological concepts into the systematic analysis of *Wedding* and constructing an integrated analysis framework.

Therefore, this paper attempts to introduce a more systematic theoretical perspective to comprehensively examine the ethical structure and narrative strategy in *Wedding*.

2.2 Theoretical framework

The analysis of this paper is based on two interrelated theoretical dimensions. One is the ethical structure, which is used to examine how social norms and daily practices jointly shape the characters' behavioral choices and the direction of their fates. The other is the narrative mechanism, which is used to analyze how the narrative mode affects the readers' perception and judgment of the characters' fates. The following elaborates on them respectively.

2.2.1 Ethical structure

In this paper, "the world of feudal ethical code" refers to the institutional order system based on the Confucian ethical principles. This system emphasizes the hierarchical structure and moral norms, and has a strong binding effect, especially on female roles and marriage relationships. In this system, individual behavior aims to maintain social order and moral legitimacy, and any behavior deviating from the norms may be regarded as immoral or even deviant. "The folk world" refers to the field of daily practice that prioritizes human relationships and real-life survival needs rather than the strict adherence to abstract ritual norms.



The two mutually penetrate and regulate each other. As Liu (2008) suggests, ritual and custom are at different levels of the state and the folk. Elite culture permeates lower-level people through the educational process of transforming custom through ritual, while folk customs also regulate and adapt to ritual norms in daily practice, ultimately forming a complex pattern of ritual in custom and custom in ritual. In addition, from an anthropological perspective, the folk world can also be related to the concept of “little tradition” (Redfield, 1955). Redfield divided the culture of human society into the “great tradition” dominated by the elite class and the “little tradition” spontaneously formed in the grass-roots society. The latter focuses on empirical knowledge and daily behavioural patterns and has a certain degree of independence and flexibility compared with the elite ritual system. This echoes with Liu’s idea, and further shows that the folk world is not a simple copy of the feudal ethical order but a practical field with internal logic formed in specific life situations.

With regard to *Wedding*, the ethical conflicts can be interpreted as a dynamic structure containing tension and elastic space. The opposition of Wang Er’s father to the marriage represents the normative power of the feudal ethical order, while Mrs. Tian and Mrs. Zhao’s assistance to Mrs. Wang reflects the folk world’s adjustment of the ritual based on the logic of human relationships.

2.2.2 Narrative mechanism

Narrative perspective refers to the position and manner in which the narrator sees the story, determining how readers perceive the story world through whom and in what way. In the omniscient perspective, the narrator theoretically can enter the minds of all characters and is not limited by perception. However, the omniscient perspective does not mean that the narrator necessarily fully utilizes this omniscient ability, that is, to actively choose to restrain and refuse to enter the characters’ minds, only presenting external behaviours and dialogues.

This echoes the theory of the “implied author”. Booth (2005) notes that the meaning of the text arises not only from the story content itself but also from the value stance conveyed by the narrative mode. Even if the narrator does not directly make moral judgments, the author still constructs an implied attitude through tone selection, detail arrangement, and the distribution of the narrative focus, guiding the readers’ understanding and judgment. In other words, silence itself is also a narrative strategy, and the restrained narrative also conveys the narrator’s stance.

Furthermore, Zhao (2015) argued that the degree of closeness or alienation between the narrator and the characters in terms of emotion and value evaluation directly determines the readers’ way of perceiving the characters’ fates. Specifically, when the narrative distance is relatively close, the text often directly conveys sympathy or criticism, guiding the readers to form a clear emotional response; when the narrative distance is relatively far, the narrative tends to be restrained, and the readers need to judge the meaning of the characters’ behaviours by themselves with less guidance.

To sum up, Booth focuses on how the implied author’s value stance is conveyed through narrative choices, while Zhao explores how these choices produce specific emotional effects during readers’ reading. The two together constitute the theoretical basis for this paper’s examination of Tai’s narrative style.

Combining the two theoretical dimensions above, this paper constructs a dual-analysis framework. On the one hand, it examines how the interaction between the world of feudal ethical code and the folk world restricts the characters’ behavioural choices from the social-structure level; on the other hand, it analyzes how the bystander-style narrative shapes the readers’ perception of these choices from the narrative level. Through this

framework, this paper attempts to make a more explanatory comparative analysis of the differences in the fates of women in Tai's *Wedding* and Lu's *Blessings*.

3. Character Analysis in *Wedding*

3.1 *Female images*

The three female characters in *Wedding* – Mrs. Wang, Mrs. Tian, and Mrs. Zhao – despite their different circumstances and personality traits, echo each other.

Mrs. Wang is the most proactive character in this group. Her situation is clear at the beginning of the novel: her husband has been dead for less than a year, and she is four months pregnant. She has no mother-in-law to rely on and faces the fate of being sold by her husband's family to "raise capital for a business". However, she does not sit still waiting for death. She urges Wang Er to buy incense, paper, and candles, asks why no firecrackers are bought, and firmly believes that "a matchmaker is indispensable at night". When Wang Er is reluctant to take action, she goes alone late at night with a small bamboo-woven lantern to invite Mrs. Tian and Mrs. Zhao respectively. Her reason is always clear and firm: "Since we've lost face, we must seek good luck. We have a long life ahead and need to get by." This sentence appears three times in the novel, twice from her mouth and once from Mrs. Tian's, showing that she prioritizes survival rather than strict adherence to feudalism.

However, Mrs. Wang's initiative does not mean that she has completely freed herself from the shackles of the feudal ethics. At the end of the wedding ceremony, when Mrs. Tian says "Kowtow to your dead brother in the underworld too", she "tears fall to the ground, and her body trembles and twitches". This moment of breakdown is the novel's most intense emotional moment and also the real exposure of the character's inner self: she can get through the difficulties in the mortal world, but she can't overcome the hurdle of her dead husband in the underworld. The feudal ethics and morals have been internalized into an inerasable psychological pressure on her. Shame and resilience coexist in her, constituting the internal complexity of this character image.

Her choice is not a conscious subversion of the feudal ethical order, but a search for maximum living space and self-rescue within the framework of etiquette and custom. What she wants is not to break the norms, but to strive for a status for herself and her unborn child in the gaps of the norms, and to strive for the possibility of "having a long life ahead and needing to get by".

Mrs. Tian and Mrs. Zhao enrich the picture of the female group in the novel from another dimension. Although their appearances are brief, they each show the mutual assistance and friendship among folk women in their own ways.

After listening to Mrs. Wang's story, Mrs. Tian says, "What's the point of a small-family woman keeping her chastity? Besides, there's no one to support her. Even among the young mistresses of big families, how many can keep their chastity?" She admitted the realistic difficulties of widowhood in reality, instead of a direct criticism of the feudal ethical concept. With understanding and sympathy for Mrs. Wang's situation, Mrs. Tian doesn't refuse to help on the grounds of feudal ethics.

When Mrs. Zhao was woken up by Mrs. Wang late at night, she, without hesitation, said, "I'll go, I'll go. Wait for me to change my jacket", and then changes her clothes and goes out. The detail of "changing a



jacket” indicates that she considers this matter serious.

During the wedding ceremony, Mrs. Tian and Mrs. Zhao are active participants and promoters of the ceremony who guide every link of the ceremony. When Mrs. Wang loses control of her emotions while kowtowing to her dead husband, Mrs. Tian says “We must seek good luck. We have a long life ahead and need to get by”, pulling the ceremony back from the verge of collapse. This sentence is almost the same in wording as what Mrs. Wang has repeatedly said, suggesting a resonance among the three women in their will to survive, which is the common belief of this group.

The female characters in *Wedding* share some similarities. In the face of the constraints of the feudal ethical norms and the pressure of real life, they all quietly look for a living space with a kind of tenacity. None of them directly challenges the feudal ethical order, but quietly deviates from the normative requirements of the feudal ethics for women’s behavior in their specific actions. This deviation is a natural manifestation of survival rationality driven by the logic of human relationships, which is the most specific and vivid manifestation of the “folk world” defined in this paper.

3.2 *Male images*

In sharp contrast to the resilience and mutual assistance of the female group, the two male characters in the novel are passive and selfish. Wang Er and his father compress Mrs. Wang’s living space in different ways.

Wang Er is always in a passive position throughout the novel. The wedding ceremony is urged and promoted by Mrs. Wang from beginning to end, and Wang Er’s inner thoughts repeatedly reveal his evasion: “If it weren’t for Sister-in-Law’s daily urging, we could have just skipped the kowtowing and muddled through.” His attitude towards this wedding is at most “to cover up the shame”, rather than a real sense of responsibility from the bottom of his heart. When Mrs. Wang suggests setting off firecrackers and inviting a matchmaker, he thinks it’s unnecessary and refuses to take action on the grounds of “feeling embarrassed”, shifting all the embarrassment of facing outsiders to Mrs. Wang. Before the ceremony, he secretly checked if his father was asleep. This detail shows his timidity and implies that he always avoids this marriage rather than faces it.

Wang Er’s passivity is not necessarily due to his belief in feudal ethics or to real guilt over his dead brother, but rather a manifestation of his cowardice and selfishness. He clearly knew that the social criticism and moral pressure brought by this marriage would ultimately be borne by Mrs. Wang alone, and he could choose to “muddle through”, reflecting the indifference to women’s situations in the feudal society.

The image of his father is more complex. He was the most direct spokesperson for the feudal ethical world in the text, openly opposing this marriage. In the teahouse, he says angrily, “I have told Wang Er before to sell this young widow to raise capital for a business. Damn it, he didn’t listen, and now they’ve got together!” However, upon closer examination of this statement, we can find that his motive for opposition is not simply moral conservatism, but rather the consideration of interests.

Wang’s father’s daily behaviour also formed an irony to his image as a defender of feudal ethics. He “holds a small wine pot in his right hand and a white bowl with a small piece of tofu in his left hand”. Despite the family’s financial difficulties, he indulged in personal pleasures every day. He was dissatisfied when he saw his son buying incense, paper, and candles, but never asked about the family’s actual difficulties. This duality of selfishness and conservatism makes Wang’s father a person who acts selfishly in the name of feudal ethics.

At the end of the novel, on the morning after the wedding, there are three tea-drinkers in the teahouse who come to congratulate Wang's father. Their attitudes are worth careful reading. Wu San (吳三) says, "Congratulations to you, old man. Your second son has settled down", with a rather simple tone. Qi the Second (齊二爺) says "It's good. Otherwise, where could your second son settle down in these days", with a solemn attitude, expressing a realistic recognition. And Xiao Jin (小金) says "Anyway, it's like 'the fat won't flow into other people's fields'", which seems to be a teasing and sarcastic remark, degrading this marriage to a worldly calculation of taking advantage. The three's congratulatory attitudes differ, ranging from kindness and recognition to ambiguous teasing. Therefore, a proper interpretation might be that these congratulations reflect an ambiguous acceptance of their own stances and emotional colours. Moreover, upon receiving these congratulations, Wang's father "keeps his head down and silently drinks his wine" without again strongly opposing. This silence may indicate a certain loosening of the feudal ethical order in the face of real-life pressure, but it is not appropriate to overinterpret it as a fundamental change in Wang's father's attitude.

4. A Comparative Analysis of *Wedding* and *Blessings*

In Tai's *Wedding* and Lu's *Blessings*, the two protagonists were placed in extremely similar social contexts: both are widows, both are under the constraints of feudal ethics, both face the threat of being sold off by their husbands or being left alone and helpless, and both struggle to survive in a world where the social value of women is measured by their compliance with the patriarchal order. However, their fates are completely opposite. Mrs. Xianglin died alone on a snowy night of the New Year's Eve, collapsing under the combined forces of the rejection of the ethics, the indifference of the common people, and the heavy pressure of her spirit. Mrs. Wang, on the other hand, completed that simple yet solemn wedding ceremony in the dead of night. She entered a new life with an unknown yet still open future. What is the source of this striking difference?

Attributing it to differences in their personalities between "awakening" and "passivity" is an overly simplistic explanation, for it reduces the structural issue to individual moral evaluations, obscuring what is truly worth questioning. A more subtle reason for this difference lies in the completely different social structures in the two novels, as well as the completely different narrative strategies adopted by the two authors when presenting these structures. Therefore, this chapter will analyze from these two dimensions: 4.1 examines the differences in the social structures of the two novels, specifically exploring how the interaction between the ethical world and the folk world operates in different ways in the two texts. 4.2 section turns to the narrative mechanism level, analyzing how the different choices of narrative perspectives and distances made by Tai and Lu shape the way readers perceive the fates of these two women.

4.1 *Differences in social structures: how the ritualistic world and the folk world affect the two women*

As established in Chapter 2, the ritualistic world corresponds to the normative power of the great tradition, and the folk world corresponds to the practical logic of the little tradition. The mechanism of ritual-society interaction indicates that they are not binary opposition, but form dynamic tension and negotiation in specific situations. When the survival pressure is strong enough, the folk world has the ability to temporarily suspend the constraints of ritualistic norms in daily practice.



In *Blessings*, the ritualistic world and the folk world imposed almost no gap of suppression on Mrs. Xianglin. The ritualistic order represented by Mr. Lusi (魯四老爺) defined Mrs. Xianglin's remarriage as "degrading customs", explicitly deprived her of the qualification to participate in sacrifices, and imposed the punitive force of ritualistic norms on her daily life. However, the more fatal pressure came from within the folk world. Liu Ma (柳媽) used "hell and atonement" to exaggerate Mrs. Xianglin's mental burden, leading her to donate the threshold to exhaust her remaining savings, yet failing to bring any substantive relief. Other people in the town played the role of spectators, repeatedly consumed Mrs. Xianglin's grief over the loss of her son and transformed her tragedy into a topic for casual conversation.

From the perspective of ritual-society interaction, the folk world in *Blessings* did not effectively regulate or adapt to the ritual norms. On the contrary, the folk world internalized and strengthened the moral judgment of ritualism on women's remarriage and disloyalty, allowing the constraints of ritualism to be reproduced and strengthened through the daily discourse of the folk. It completely lacked the ability to distance itself from the official ritualistic order. The little tradition not only did not provide any elastic space for Mrs. Xianglin, instead, it became the transmission mechanism for the normative power of the great tradition to penetrate downward. Under such structure, Mrs. Xianglin's situation was completely enclosed. The ritualistic world exerted pressure from above, the folk world surrounded her from the side, and she could neither obtain redemption by meeting the ritualistic norms, such as donating at the threshold, nor find refuge in the logic of human kindness in the folk world. Therefore, when all the practical paths were closed, Mrs. Xianglin could only turn her confusion to the metaphysical level and questioned, "After a person dies, does there really exist a soul?" in order to seek the last possible hope from the spiritual level. Her passivity was not a sign of the inevitable result of structural enclosure.

In *Wedding*, the social structure presents a completely different appearance. As a counterpart of Mr. Lusi, although Wang Er's father explicitly opposed this marriage and openly expressed his dissatisfaction, his opposition remained at the level of words and did not transform into a substantive blocking of the wedding. The wedding was held in secret at night, and he was completely unaware of it; the next morning, facing the congratulations of the tea drinkers, he "lowered his head and drank his wine silently", without reiterating his fierce opposition. The normative power of the ritualistic order encountered disintegration in this specific context.

In sharp contrast to *Blessings*, in *Wedding*, the folk world deviated from the ritualistic norms. After hearing Mrs. Wang's words, Mrs. Tian said, "What does a small family care about? Besides, there is no one to lead; even the daughter-in-law of an elite family, how many can stand to be a widow?" Mrs. Tian and Mrs. Zhao's statement and action followed a typical practice logic of the little tradition. She did not directly negate the ritualistic norms but temporarily suspended their moral requirements during widowhood, acknowledging the practical consideration of survival. As a result, during the wedding, the moral judgment of the ritualistic order on levirate marriage was put aside, and instead, the action logic centered on human kindness and survival rationality of the folk world was activated.

To sum up, Mrs. Wang is confronted with a ritual and social structure that has some flexibility, and the folk world provides her with substantial support. Her proactive planning has a realistic foothold. Mrs. Xianglin, on the other hand, is faced with a completely closed ritual and social structure, and the folk world not only does not provide any flexibility but also becomes an amplifier of the pressure of moral norms.

4.2 *Differences in narrative mechanisms: how narrative perspective and narrative distance shape readers' perception of female destiny*

Apart from social situations, another reason readers may have different experiences reading these two novels is their distinct narrative mechanisms.

Blessings adopts the first-person internal focus perspective, and the narrator “I” is the direct participant and witness of the story. Readers’ perception of Mrs. Xianglin’s fate is always realized through the author as the medium of perception. This perspective setting directly leads to the extreme contraction of the narrative distance. The sympathy, confusion, and helplessness of “I” towards Mrs. Xianglin’s fate are conveyed directly to readers through the first-person directness, and readers have almost no space for independent judgment. When Mrs. Xianglin asks “After a person dies, does there really exist a soul?”, “I” replies, “Perhaps...” I think. This hesitant answer, when narrated in a very close proximity, conveys the moral dilemma and sense of helplessness of ‘me’ almost without any filtering to the readers, compelling the readers to share this sense of guilt and helplessness with ‘me’.

From the perspective of the implied author, Lu’s choice to have the narrator ‘I’ directly intervene and express emotions is a strategy for conveying the implied author’s value stance through the narrator’s presence. ‘I’’s speechlessness and evasion are precisely the implied criticism of the limitations of the enlightenment discourse that a self-proclaimed intellectual has no other options but hesitation and evasion when faced with real suffering. The contraction of the narrative distance makes this irony hit the readers with the greatest emotional intensity: the readers are present with ‘me’, sharing that sense of helplessness, and thus cannot remain aloof.

In comparison, *Wedding* adopts a third-person omniscient perspective, but Tai chose to only present the external behavior, dialogue and scenes of the characters, without any moral judgments on any character’s actions or clear emotional signals to the readers.

Such active non-intervention is Tai’s core narrative strategy choice. For example, Wang Er’s inner monologue on his way home is one of the few paragraphs in the novel that directly presents the inner activities of the character: “Getting married with the sister-in-law, there are indeed such cases in the world, but it is not considered a good thing. My brother died only a year ago, and this is what happened. It’s somewhat regrettable.” However, even here, the narrator only presents Wang Er’s psychological activities in their original form, without any evaluative intervention. Readers can only understand this character through their own judgment.

The portrayal of Wang’s father is achieved through the juxtaposition of details to convey the implied author’s value. Tai writes in the text that he “holds a small wine pot in his right hand and a white bowl in his left hand, with small pieces of tofu in the bowl”, and then writes that when he sees the incense paper, he says discontentedly, “Damn it, what are these things for?” The comparison of his luxurious personal enjoyment and the stingy criticism of the wedding supplies for his son leads the readers to form a judgment on this character on their own. This is exactly what Booth said about the operation of the implied author. The author’s value stance is conveyed through the selection and arrangement of details, rather than through the direct statement of the narrator.

Tai’s narrator maintains the maximum distance from the characters. The narrator does not enter into the



moral evaluation of the characters, does not align with the emotional stance of any character, and there is no narrator as an emotional intermediary between the reader and the characters in the text. Therefore, the reader must rely entirely on their own judgment to understand the characters, must decide for themselves what the tenacity of Mrs. Wang means, how to evaluate Wang Er's cowardice, and what the relationship is between Wang's father's selfishness and conservatism, thus allows Mrs. Wang's agency to be fully presented. Readers directly confront this person, and will form a deeper impression on Mrs. Wang's strive for survival and the direct collision with rituals.

In conclusion, the differences in the fates of the women in *Wedding* and *Blessings* result from the joint action of the two levels of social structure and narrative mechanism. The social structure constitutes the raw materials for the narrative level. Differences in the elasticity of the interaction between rituals and customs determine the space of choice available to the two women and fundamentally shape the differences in their action logic. In terms of narrative mechanism, it determines what readers ultimately extract from these raw materials, thereby further reinforcing or undermining the characters' agency at the level of the reading experience. These two aspects are independent yet interact with each other.

5. Conclusion

This paper analyzes the portrayal of female fates in Tai's *Wedding* from two aspects: social structure and narrative mechanism, and conducts a systematic comparison with Lu's *Blessings*.

In terms of social structure, the comparative analysis in this paper shows that the difference in the fates of Mrs. Wang and Mrs. Xianglin is due to the relational structure between the world of feudal ethics and the folk world in the two novels. In *Blessings*, the folk world not only fails to form any effective adjustment or resistance to the feudal ethical norms, but also transmits and amplifies the pressure of feudal ethics. However, in *Wedding*, driven by the real-life survival dilemma and the logic of human relations, the folk world constitutes a passive yet effective deviation from feudal ethical norms.

Regarding narrative mechanism, this paper indicates that the readers' different perceptions of the agency of the two female characters are actively constructed by the completely different narrative strategies of the two writers. Lu uses a first-person, internal focalization narrative in *Blessings*, with an extremely close narrative distance. The readers' emotional responses are strongly guided by the narrator, and Mrs. Xianglin's subjectivity is partially obscured by the narrator's sympathetic gaze. On the other hand, Tai uses the third-person omniscient perspective in *Wedding*, but actively chooses not to fully utilize the omniscient ability. Instead of the narrator's direct intervention, he maximizes the narrative distance and leaves the space for judgment entirely to the readers. Therefore, readers can directly feel Mrs. Wang's subjective initiative from each of her actions in the text.

This study contributes to the reevaluation of Tai's unique position in the genealogy of Chinese contemporary rural novels. The analysis in this paper shows that the differences between Tai and Lu in narrative perspective and narrative distance are not merely differences in stylistic preferences, but reflect the different choices of the two writers regarding the relationship between the narrator and the narrative object in their respective works. In *Blessings*, a narrator with an enlightenment stance is placed at the center of the rural novel, and the narrator is tasked with witnessing the suffering and conveying criticism. Tai Jingnong, on the other hand, integrates

meaning into the details of the story world.

Despite that, several gaps still remain. This focused research approach facilitates an in-depth, detailed interpretation of the texts, but to some extent limits the universality of the research conclusions. Whether the narrative features identified in *Wedding* constitute Tai's consistent strategy across his overall creation or are unique choices in this text remains to be further investigated. The answer needs to be further explored through a systematic analysis of other works in *Sons of the Earth*.

In addition, the scope of comparison in this paper is limited to the two texts. Future research can expand the comparative perspective to a wider range of portrayals of widows and remarriage in rural novels during the May 4th period, including relevant works by contemporary writers. Thus, the structural features presented in *Wedding* and *Blessings* can be examined in a more macroscopic literary-historical context. This will also be the author's next research direction.

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A Study of Disease Metaphors in *Timon of Athens*: The Pathological Mapping of the Commodity Economy

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Abstract: Conceptual metaphor theory posits that metaphor is a fundamental cognitive mechanism through which humans construct abstract thought, systematically mapping concrete experiential domains onto abstract ones to build and structure their understanding of the world. In Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, disease metaphors establish a dual critical dimension through cross-domain projection: the ulcerous symptoms of syphilis, as a source domain, are mapped onto the ethical domain, while the chaotic outbreak of fever corresponds to the subversive disintegration of traditional social hierarchies. Within the play, the materializing power of gold and the contagiousness of plague are cognitively linked through metaphor, through which the notion of a “metallic plague” reveals how the expansion of the commodity economy becomes a pathogenic force of social disorder.

Keywords: Shakespeare; *Timon of Athens*; disease metaphor; commodity economy anxiety

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1. Introduction

Since the 1980s, with the development of cognitive linguistics, human cognition has become a new perspective in language studies. Metaphor, rooted in fundamental human experience, constitutes an essential means through which people think about and understand the objective world, shaping both their modes of thought and patterns of behavior. As a creative cognitive capacity that develops alongside human cognition, metaphor is indispensable for understanding the objective world, particularly abstract phenomena. In their 1980 work *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson proposed the concept of a “conceptual metaphor system,” arguing that metaphor, as a mode of thought and action, enables individuals to comprehend abstract and unfamiliar concepts in terms of more concrete and familiar ones. Conceptual metaphor theory has been widely applied in

textual studies, including poetry, fiction, philosophy, journalism, and political discourse. It helps reveal the underlying cognitive patterns and value systems embedded in texts, as well as the connections between texts and their social, cultural, and historical contexts.

Timon of Athens, written between 1605 and 1608, is set in the Greek city-state of Athens and narrates the rise and fall of the nobleman Timon from great wealth to complete destitution. In the play, Timon's generosity forms a sharp contrast with the ingratitude of his fellow citizens, ultimately driving him into the wilderness, where he becomes a "misanthrope." The first three acts depict Timon, a wealthy Athenian nobleman, hosting lavish banquets and warmly entertaining his guests. He is exceedingly generous, readily using money and gifts to satisfy everyone's requests. After his fortune is depleted and his estates are entirely sold, Timon still naively believes that he can obtain financial support from his former friends. However, contrary to his expectations, these companions of convenience respond with scorn, and none are willing to offer assistance. In the end, Timon resolves to humiliate all his insincere friends with a mock banquet, after which he leaves the city-state and retreats into the wilderness. The final two acts recount his life in exile, dwelling in a cave and subsisting on roots. During this period, he curses the city of Athens and those who visit him with disease and plague, and ultimately dies in the wild.

Greg Bentley examines the dramatic function of syphilis in Shakespeare's plays, seeking to demonstrate that syphilitic imagery serves as a form of satire. Bentley argues that "syphilis during the Elizabethan age was literally or metaphorically associated with sexual license, slander, and usury, the topics on which Shakespeare focuses in *Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Timon of Athens* respectively" (3). Critic Hristomir A. Stanev argues that the plague metaphor in *Timon of Athens* extends beyond the "infectiousness" of language to encompass a unique olfactory dimension, portraying the material and moral collapse of Athenian society as a suffocating experience of volatile odors. Alcibiades' return in the play embodies the paradoxical dual role of plague as both "disaster and purgation," serving as both a cursed source of contagion and a purgative that cleanses urban corruption, thereby revealing how Jacobean London's deep anxieties about plague and urban sanitation were projected into the play's social critique through humoral theory and the body politic metaphor (Stanev 154). The aforementioned studies failed to examine the disease discourse in drama through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and thus did not adequately reveal that the target domain of dramatic disease metaphors is, in fact, commodity economy anxiety.

In this paper, "commodity economy anxiety" refers to the cultural and ethical unease produced by the increasing penetration of monetary exchange into traditional social relations in early modern England. Such anxiety arises not from commerce in a narrow sense, but from the fear that money, once elevated into a seemingly omnipotent mediator, may dissolve inherited ethical bonds, unsettle hierarchical distinctions, and reduce social relations to relations of exchange. The aristocratic economy of gift, obligation, and reciprocal loyalty represented by Timon is therefore placed under pressure by a more impersonal economy of debt, credit, interest, and calculation. This tension is concentrated in the play's representation of gold, whose power to make "black white, foul fair, wrong right" reveals a world in which moral and social values have become radically unstable. In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx quotes *Timon of Athens* to illustrate money's power to turn human wishes into reality while distorting human nature and transforming personal qualities into their opposites (120 – 123). From this perspective, Shakespeare's gold imagery already reveals an early anxiety over the



commodity form: once money becomes the universal measure of worth, moral virtue, friendship, rank, and loyalty are all exposed to conversion, purchase, and corruption. Commodity economy anxiety, then, designates the fear that the expansion of monetary exchange will bring about the disintegration of traditional ethics, the uncontrolled mobility of social positions, and the collapse of reliable distinctions between value and corruption.

Through close reading, it becomes evident that the representation of illness in the play is concentrated in the final two acts, where Timon's soliloquies and dialogues are replete with illness-related expressions. Accordingly, this paper takes Acts IV and V as its object of study, employing close reading to identify the representations of illness within them, including direct references to disease names, symptoms, and related expressions. Focusing on these instances of illness metaphor, this paper identifies their shared metaphorical patterns and explores the socio-historical realities they reflect. By integrating conceptual metaphor theory with the socio-historical context of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, this paper analyzes these illness metaphors and reveals that beneath Timon's tragedy lies a set of social ethical anxieties characteristic of early modern England during a period of political and economic transition.

2. Metaphor Theory and Illness Metaphors

Early theories of metaphor generally understood it as a rhetorical device based on substitution or comparison, while Richards' interaction theory marked an important shift toward viewing metaphor as a dynamic process of meaning production. In classical rhetoric, Aristotle's substitution theory regarded metaphor as the transfer of a name from one object to another, a linguistic ornament that enhances vividness without changing literal meaning. Quintilian later developed this view into the comparison theory, defining metaphor as a "condensed simile" based on an implicit resemblance between two things. From this perspective, metaphor was largely treated as a deviation from ordinary language rather than as a central mechanism of thought. In the 1930s, however, I. A. Richards challenged this ornamental understanding in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* by proposing the interaction theory of metaphor. He introduced the terms "Tenor" and "Vehicle" to explain the mechanism of metaphor: the "Tenor" refers to the principal subject or underlying idea that the metaphor expresses, while the "Vehicle" refers to the image or expression through which that idea is conveyed (95–96). For Richards, metaphorical meaning does not arise from simple substitution or comparison, but from the interaction between these two elements. In this interaction, the vehicle projects certain associations onto the tenor, while the tenor simultaneously selects, modifies, and reinforces particular features of the vehicle. Thus, metaphor produces a new meaning generated by the convergence of two distinct conceptual elements, preparing the ground for later theories that regard metaphor not merely as a figure of speech but as a mode of cognition (Richards 100–101).

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson formally proposed the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in their 1980 work *Metaphors We Live By*, fundamentally transforming our understanding of the relationship between language and thought. This theory breaks with the traditional view of metaphor as merely a linguistic rhetorical device, profoundly asserting that metaphor is essentially a fundamental mode of human cognition and thought. According to this theory, our daily communication, thinking, and even behavior are largely governed by a conceptual system, which itself "is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff and Johnson 3). The core mechanism of conceptual metaphor involves understanding and structuring a relatively abstract, complex domain, namely the

target domain, through a more familiar, concrete, or tangible domain, namely the source domain. For example, in the structural metaphor “argument is war,” elements of war are mapped cross domain onto argument, leading us to use expressions such as “attacking” an opponent’s weaknesses, “defending” one’s own position, or “winning” or “losing” a debate. This mapping not only shapes the vocabulary we use to discuss argument, but fundamentally determines how we experience and behave in argumentation (Lakoff and Johnson 4–5).

In her seminal work *Illness as Metaphor*, Susan Sontag profoundly examines how society transforms physical illness into a moral or psychological symbol through cultural imagination and rhetorical devices. By comparing tuberculosis in the nineteenth century with cancer in the twentieth, Sontag reveals how different eras have employed metaphors to define the fear of the “incurable”. In the nineteenth century, tuberculosis was often romanticized, regarded as an “elegant” demise that sublimated the soul and was even associated with artistic temperament (Sontag 26); cancer, by contrast, was metaphorically constructed as a foul, despicable, and aggressive foreign invader. These metaphors frequently carry strong moral judgments, imposing on patients not only physical suffering but also a heavy burden of shame and stigmatization. Another key critical point in the book concerns the pervasive use of military metaphor in medical discourse. Sontag observes that we habitually describe treatment as a “war,” bacteria as “invaders,” and radiotherapy as “bombing” (Sontag 65–66). Such language reduces complex biological processes to a simplistic conflict between good and evil, distorting the physician patient relationship and leaving patients feeling more isolated in their confrontation with illness.

Integrating Conceptual Metaphor Theory with Susan Sontag’s ethical critique in *Illness as Metaphor* provides the theoretical and methodological basis for this paper’s analysis of disease metaphors in *Timon of Athens*. Conceptual Metaphor Theory explains how concrete bodily experiences of illness can be mapped onto abstract domains such as morality, social order, and economic relations, thereby making invisible crises tangible and perceptible; Sontag’s critique further reminds us that such mappings are never ideologically neutral, for representing social disorder, moral corruption, or economic desire as disease also implies contamination, blame, and pathological judgment. On this basis, this paper identifies disease metaphors by first locating disease names, descriptions of symptoms, processes of contagion, and words related to bodily corruption in the play, such as “plague,” “fever,” “pox,” and “sick.” It then examines whether these expressions move beyond their literal medical meanings and are used to describe abstract social, moral, or economic phenomena. When features of disease experience, including infectiousness, corrosiveness, uncontrollability, and visible symptoms, form stable correspondences with these abstract phenomena, a cross-domain mapping from the source domain of disease to the target domains of society, morality, or economy can be identified. In this sense, the disease imagery in the play is not merely rhetorical decoration, but a conceptual mechanism through which Shakespeare transforms the anxieties produced by the commodity economy into a pathological vision of Athenian society.

3. The Representation of Illness Metaphor in Drama and the Anxiety over Commodity Economy

Piety and fear,

Religion to the gods, peace, justice, truth,



Domestic awe, night rest, and neighbourhood, Instruction, manners, mysteries, and trades,
Degrees, observances, customs, and laws,
Decline to your confounding contraries,
And yet confusion live! Plagues incident to men,
Your potent and infectious fevers heap
On Athens, ripe for stroke! (4. 1. 15–23)^[1]

In Act 4, Scene 1, Timon exits Athens and, looking back upon the city, delivers the above soliloquy. This scene consists entirely of Timon's interior monologue and is saturated with curse-laden language related to illness, through which he expresses his intense aversion to a city whose ethical order has collapsed. What Timon envisions is not merely the punishment of individual Athenians, but a sweeping and total upheaval of Athens as a social body; in his imagination, plague becomes the agent capable of bringing this upheaval into being. This metaphorical association between plague and social disorder is illuminated by Girard's account of plague as a force of undifferentiation. As René Girard observes, in the face of plague, "Social hierarchies are first transgressed, then abolished. Political and religious authorities collapse. The plague makes all accumulated knowledge and all categories of judgment invalid" (833). In other words, plague does not simply destroy life; it also destroys the distinctions, classifications, and institutional boundaries upon which social order depends. Girard further argues that "The plague is presented as a process of undifferentiation, a destruction of specifics" (833). His formulation helps explain why Timon's curse takes the form of disease imagery: plague provides a concrete pathological model for imagining the collapse of hierarchy, law, religion, custom, and moral judgment. This erasure of social distinctions is itself violent: in the face of plague, the boundaries between rich and poor, class and status, cease to exist, leaving individuals passively at the mercy of fate.

The impact of plague on early modern English society was particularly profound. The discourse of illness surrounding plague permeated all levels of society, exerting a significant influence on people's psychology and behavior. In the play, this collapse of order is most vividly embodied in Timon: he descends from a wealthy aristocrat in Athens to a misanthrope wandering the wilderness, and the stark contrast between his former generosity toward friends and their cold, unfeeling response to him is laid bare. Through his portrayal of the disorder within the Athenian city state, Shakespeare in fact articulates a deep seated anxiety over the turbulence of social order in early modern England.

As the above analysis demonstrates, the core conceptual metaphor embedded in the representation of illness in Act 4, Scene 1 is that "social upheaval is disease." The turmoil and collapse of social order are inherently macro level and complex, their abstractness and uncertainty rendering them difficult for an audience to grasp directly. Shakespeare here skillfully employs the mechanism of conceptual metaphor, using "disease" as the source domain and "social upheaval" as the target domain, rendering this abstract and grand theme concrete through the discourse of illness familiar to his audience.

[1] All quotations from *Timon of Athens* are taken from John Jowett's Oxford Shakespeare edition. References retain the conventional act-and-scene divisions for ease of identification, while line numbers follow Jowett's edition.

Be whores still,
And he whose pious breath seeks to convert you,
Be strong in whore, allure him, burn him up.
Let your close fire predominate his smoke;
And be no turncoats. Yet may your pains-sick months
Be quite contrary, and thatch your poor thin roofs
With burdens of the dead-some that were hanged,
No matter. wear them, betray with them; whore still;
Paint till a horse may mire upon your face.
A pox of wrinkles! (4. 3. 140–149)

When the Athenian general Alcibiades leads his army toward Athens, he encounters Timon, who has withdrawn to the wilderness. Timon offers gold to Alcibiades, hoping he will completely destroy the “corrupt” city; at the same time, he gives some of the gold to Alcibiades’ two mistresses, urging them to continue their prostitution so as to facilitate the spread of syphilis in Athens. Margaret Healy terms syphilis “the new Renaissance plague” (14), a disease that aroused widespread attention in the literary and cultural spheres of the period. Unlike plague, which is swiftly fatal, syphilis typically follows a chronic, staged progression, yet its symptoms are highly visible and striking: in the secondary stage, patients often exhibit disfiguring signs such as hair loss, pox, rashes, skin ulcerations, and pustules. Moreover, its mode of transmission is not shrouded in mystery but occurs primarily through sexual contact and the exchange of bodily fluids. For this reason, syphilis has from the outset carried a heavy burden of moral implication.

Susan Sontag points out, “in its role as scourge, syphilis implied a moral judgment (about off-limits sex, about prostitution)” (39). English society after the Reformation was in a state of intense upheaval, urgently in need of a practicable and normative Christian ethical system to guide social practice. In this context, syphilis gradually became constructed as a symbol of lasciviousness and immoral conduct, regarded as divine punishment meted out to the impious. In early modern England, groups that rapidly accumulated wealth through commerce and overseas trade gradually broke free from the constraints of feudal ethics, instead exhibiting an unbridled pursuit of profit, propelling society toward a structure characterized by a form of commodity fetishism. As represented in the play, the Athenian society in which Timon lives is rife with usury, despite interest and money-lending having been strictly condemned in medieval Christian contexts.

It can be seen, then, that the core metaphor embedded in the representation of syphilis here is that “moral corruption is disease.” By linking the highly tangible physical experience of venereal disease with the decay of social ethics, the play renders the abstract moral crisis into a visible, palpable “pathological process.” Through such imagery of illness, Shakespeare profoundly articulates a deep seated anxiety over moral anomie and the crisis of faith during a period of socioeconomic transformation.

What is here?
Gold? Yellow, glittering, precious gold?
No, gods, I am no idle votarist:



Roots, you clear heavens. Thus much of this will make
Black white, foul fair, wrong right,
Base noble, old young, coward valiant. (4. 3. 25–30)

What a god's gold,
That he is worshipped in a baser temple
Than where swine feed!
'Tis thou that rigg'st the barque and plough'st the foam,
Settlest admirèd reverence in a slave.
To thee be worship, and thy saints for aye
Be crowned with plagues, that thee alone obey. (5. 1. 582–588)

Timon discovers gold hidden in the cave. Having experienced betrayal and abandonment by all, he exhibits an extreme aversion and hatred toward money. All who come to him seeking gold are met with his fierce invective. In Timon's view, gold possesses the power to overturn right and wrong, leading its worshippers to disregard existing moral norms and value systems, thereby producing a plague-like effect of social subversion. This fear of and repulsion toward money collectively reflect the deep-seated anxiety pervasive in early modern England during its period of economic transformation.

Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England was in a critical phase of transition from the feudal system to a capitalist commercial economy. With the development of commercial economy, the previously relatively stable feudal lord system came under intense strain, as traditional elements such as rank, status, power, land, and wealth gradually disintegrated in the face of irreversible historical change. The determining factor of social power relations shifted from hierarchical status to economic strength, the traditional moral values centered on chivalry gradually gave way to the pursuit of economic profit, and the focus of social ethics shifted from moral obligation to contractual duty. As Zheng Jie observes, "the giving of gifts was originally a virtue expected of the ideal feudal lord, and this virtue also provided legitimacy for his privileges and wealth," and "Timon's giving was motivated not by economic or political considerations but by the inherent demands of his ethical identity, for an important basis for maintaining power lay in fulfilling feudal responsibilities and obligations in exchange for the submission of others" (92, 93).

During the Renaissance, however, this social relationship centered on gift giving became increasingly difficult to sustain. Morrill's observation helps situate Timon's personal bankruptcy within a broader economic transformation: "The richest men in the kingdom derived the bulk of their income from rents and services, and these were notoriously difficult to keep in line with inflation"; in contrast, "Those in the middle of society, whether yeomen farmers or tradesmen, prospered" (Morrill 296). This contrast reveals the weakening material basis of aristocratic generosity and the rising power of commercial wealth. The aristocracy, in order to maintain the lavish consumption required by their hierarchical status, gradually fell into financial insolvency and became burdened with heavy usurious debts. In the play, the relationship between Timon and his "friends" is not founded on equality but is instead bound by gift giving: the recipients repay his generosity with deference. When a servant informs Timon that he is deeply in debt and his lands are fully mortgaged, his aristocratic status is

thereby shaken. He condemns the society of his time for abandoning moral obligations and indulging in the relentless pursuit of money; unable to comprehend the logic of a contract-based commercial economy, he therefore invokes plague upon the city, pushing this process of upheaval to its extreme.

Thus, in the context of the play, money and illness share a homologous symbolic significance: both possess the capacity to dismantle and reshape the existing social order. The core metaphor embedded in this passage can therefore be summarized as “money worship is disease.” When society universally pursues material gain as its sole objective, the class structure undergoes dramatic transformation: once revered aristocrats may swiftly fall to the bottom, while those who have amassed wealth through speculation and commercial enterprise gradually acquire greater political influence by virtue of their economic power. Through this metaphorical expression of “pathologization,” the play powerfully articulates the structural anxieties and value crises of early modern England in the throes of social transformation. Juxtaposing “money worship is disease” with the aforementioned “social upheaval is disease” and “moral corruption is disease (syphilis)” allows us to discern Shakespeare’s deeper critical intent: money worship, this “metallic plague,” is in fact the root cause of all the other “diseases” afflicting society in the play.

4. Conclusion

Susan Sontag contends that “Everyone who is born holds dual citizenship, in the kingdom of the well and in the kingdom of the sick” (3). Thus illness constitutes a concrete and readily comprehensible concept for people. The conceptual metaphor perspective holds that metaphor is a mode of cognition, by which people tend to understand abstract and unfamiliar concepts through concrete and explicit ones. Metaphor, therefore, functioning both as a rhetorical device and a mode of thinking, becomes a valuable tool for literary creators to express broader and more profound ideas. Framed within cognitive linguistics, this paper selects and exemplifies instances of illness representation in *Timon of Athens*, proceeding to analyze them through the lens of conceptual metaphor. It thereby reveals that the representation of illness in the play metaphorically conveys the phenomena of social upheaval and moral corruption in early modern English society, the root cause of which lies in the impact of commercial economy upon traditional social order and values. Metaphor serves as a bridge between social history and the text, enabling us to better comprehend and critique the literary work.

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On Hulme's Transient Poetics

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This article is a phased result of the 2024 project of the Chongqing Association of Higher Education, "A Study of the Consciousness Criticism in The Prelude" (No. 24SKGH177).

Abstract: T. E. Hulme, in his essay *Romanticism and Classicism*, declares that fancy, as the specific weapon of Neoclassicism applied to verse, is superior to imagination. By tracing and examining the poetic implications embedded in these two terms, this paper seeks to explore the inner logic behind Hulme's elevation of fancy and disparagement of imagination. It argues that Hulme repudiates the Romantic poetic tradition of eternity and its cult of the infinite, and instead advocates a plain, objective poetic language and precise description. This marks a profound poetic turn: a shift from the pursuit of eternal transcendence toward a transient poetics that champions novelty, attends to the here and now, and emphasizes impressionistic presentation.

Keywords: Imagination; Fancy; Rejection of Depth; Transient Poetics; Romanticism and Classicism

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論休姆的暫態性詩學主張

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摘要: T. E. 休姆在《浪漫主義與古典主義》中宣稱,作為新古典主義應用於韻文的特殊武器,『幻想』比『想像』更為優越。通過追溯考察這兩個語詞所承載的詩學意涵,本文旨在深入探究休姆高揚幻想、貶抑想像的內在邏輯。本文認為,休姆摒棄了浪漫主義的永恆性詩學傳統及其對『無限』的崇拜;轉而推崇一種『平實客觀』的詩歌語言,



提倡精確描寫。這標誌著一次深刻的詩學轉向：從追求永恆超越，走向一種崇尚新奇、關注此在、強調印象式呈現的暫態性詩學。

關鍵詞：想像；幻想；去深度感；暫態性詩學；浪漫主義與古典主義

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一、引言

作為英美意象派詩歌的先驅，T. E. 休姆(Thomas Ernest Hulme, 1883–1917)在文學史上佔據著一個獨特的位置。他生前發表的詩作不過寥寥數首，其理論著述也多以零散篇章存世，然而正是這些斷章殘簡，成為現代主義詩學的最早宣言之一，深刻地影響了埃茲拉·龐德(Ezra Pound)、T. S. 艾略特(T. S. Eliot)等一代詩人。正如休姆研究專家弗格森(Robert Ferguson)所言，休姆是『現代主義的第一位理論家』^①。在其最為著名的綱領性論文《浪漫主義與古典主義》(*Romanticism and Classicism*)中，休姆以一種斬釘截鐵的口吻宣稱：

我認為，百年浪漫主義之後，我們正迎來一場新古典主義的復興，一場古典復興正迎面而來。這場新古典精神在韻文中的特殊武器，便是幻想(fancy)。我在此暗示幻想的優越性——並非空泛或絕對的優越，那顯屬妄言；而是經驗倫理學意義上之『善』：有所為而善，有所用而優。^②

『幻想』(fancy)，作為新古典主義應用於韻文的『特殊武器』，比『想像』(imagination)更為優越。這一宣言的挑釁性不言而喻。在西方詩學傳統中，『想像』自浪漫主義時代以來便被賦予至高無上的地位——它是柯勒律治(Samuel Taylor Coleridge)筆下那『無限的「我存在」在有限心靈中的重演』^③，是雪萊(Percy Bysshe Shelley)在《為詩辯護》(*A Defence of Poetry*)中所歌頌的『綜合與創造的原則』^④。而『幻想』在浪漫主義的話語中，不過是一種次等的、機械的、僅僅用於聚合與聯想的能力。休姆竟敢顛覆這一根深蒂固的等級秩序，其立論作為現代主義意象派詩歌的宣言書，具有不容置疑的革命性。

通過追溯考察『想像』與『幻想』這兩個語詞自浪漫主義以來的語義流變，本文旨在深入探究休姆高揚幻想、貶抑想像的內在邏輯。本文認為，休姆摒棄了浪漫主義的永恆性詩學傳統及其對『無限』的崇拜；轉而推崇一種『平實客觀』的詩歌語言，提倡精確描寫。這標誌著一次深刻的詩學轉向：從追求永恆超越，走向一種崇尚新奇、關注此在、強調印象式呈現的暫態性詩學。

二、從『想像』到『幻想』：術語譜系與形上基礎的崩解

要理解休姆對『想像』的攻擊為何如此犀利，必須回到英國浪漫主義詩歌先驅——柯勒律治的《文學傳記》(*Biographia Literaria*)中去。在該書中，柯勒律治將『想像』提升到了形而上學的高度。他嚴格區分想像(imagination)與幻想(fancy)，考證這兩個詞分別對應希臘詞源 *phantasia* 和拉丁詞源 *imaginatio* 的翻譯^⑤。他引述騷塞(Robert Southey)的觀點，認為想像力具有『塑造和修改的力量』，而幻想則只有『聚合和聯想的力量』。他明確反對摯友華茲華斯(William Wordsworth)在《詩集 1815》序言中的立場——華茲華斯主張『聚合和聯想，喚起和結合，既屬於想像也屬於幻想』^⑥——認為這是將幻想與想像的結合誤認為一種對想像力的單獨運用。為進一步闡明其觀點，柯勒律治將想像力劃分為『首要想像力』(primary imagination)與

『次要想像力』(secondary imagination)兩個層次。其中,首要想像力是『人類一切感知的生存力量與首要中介』,是『無限的「我存在」(I AM)在有限心靈中的永恆創造行為的重演』^⑦。與此相對,『幻想只與固定的和有限的東西打交道。幻想實際上只不過是擺脫了時間和空間的秩序拘束的一種回憶……必須從聯想規律產生的現成材料中獲取素材。』^⑧

柯勒律治之所以如此高揚想像力,是因為他的詩學思想植根於他所稱的『創造性心靈』(the creative mind)之中。在他看來,詩歌創作乃是上帝那無限的『我存在』的創造行為在詩人有限心靈中的重演——詩人因此成為神聖創造的同工,詩歌用感性的語言形式,將有限與無限統一於一體。正如他在《文學傳記》中所言,想像力具有融合作用(eseplastastic power),能夠將雜多的感性材料熔鑄為一個有機整體,是『構成宇宙的那些創造性原則的回聲』^⑨。這種詩學觀念具有鮮明的審美超越性——詩歌是彌合心物二分、此岸與彼岸對立的手段;它用有限的語言之舟,將讀者渡向那無限的、超感性的世界。這便是柯勒律治念茲在茲的永恆性詩學的核心要義。

要理解柯勒律治為何高揚想像,須將浪漫主義對人性無限潛能的樂觀信任進行再語境化。浪漫主義——正如以賽亞·伯林(Isaiah Berlin)在《浪漫主義的根源》中精闢指出的那樣——根植於這樣一種信念:人性本善,只是為惡劣的法律和習俗所壓制與扭曲;一旦掃除這些外在的桎梏,人的無限潛能便可盡情綻放^⑩。休姆對此了然於心,他一針見血地指出,盧梭教導人們說人天性本善,只是惡劣的法律和習俗壓抑了他;將這一切悉數掃除,人的無窮潛能便有了施展的機遇;這便是全部浪漫主義的根源:人,個體的人,乃是一座蘊含無限可能的寶藏;倘若你能通過摧毀壓迫性的秩序來重新安排社會,那麼這些潛能便有了施展的機會,你便將獲得『進步』^⑪。

休姆將這種人性觀概括為『把人性比作一口井』,一座蓄滿潛能的寶藏。與之截然對立的古典主義人性觀,則將人性比作『一只水桶』:人是一種極其固定且有限的動物,其天性絕對恒常不變;只有通過傳統與制度,才能從他身上提取出任何像樣的東西來^⑫。

休姆敏銳地意識到,在19世紀末20世紀初的歷史語境下,浪漫主義所依託的宗教與形而上學根基已然搖搖欲墜。西方社會進入現代工業文明與壟斷資本主義時期,傳統的基督教價值觀在科學主義的衝擊下日漸坍塌。在這樣一個上帝隱退、彼岸消逝的時代,浪漫主義那種『寓無限於有限』的詩學理想便顯得愈發可疑。休姆宣稱,他一聽到『靈魂』(soul)這個詞,就如同聽到中世紀經院哲學家在黔驢技窮之際搬出『上帝』作為搪塞一樣^⑬。在他看來,現代知識份子必須從根本上否定『審美超越性和永恆性理想』,因為根本就不存在一個可供超越的彼岸世界^⑭。

休姆由此對浪漫主義賴以立足的形而上學美學展開了釜底抽薪式的批判。他以羅斯金(John Ruskin)《現代畫家》中論述想像力的著名章節為靶子,指出浪漫主義美學總是將『無限』強行牽扯進來:在界定美或藝術本質時,總要牽扯進無限,尤其在德國,浪漫主義美學家將一切美都歸結為一種對無限的印象,而這無限則牽涉於我們在絕對精神中對自身存在的體認之中;在最微末的美之元素裏,我們也有對整個世界的總體直觀^⑮。休姆認為,這種做法不過是在『形而上學的殼子裏找避難所』^⑯。他拒絕承認美必須以某種方式與無限掛鉤。相反,他將證明『美可以存在於渺小、乾澀的事物中』^⑰——這正是他整個新古典主義詩學綱領的起點。

三、從『深度感』到『印象式的凝視』:審美態度的轉向

浪漫主義詩歌——正如伯林所指出的——具有一種獨特的『深度感』(sense of depth),其核心要義在於『不可化約性』(irreducibility):『有深度』的一個功用,便是喚起這樣一種知覺——語言永遠不足以闡明事物



的目的,文本之下永遠潛藏著某種更加幽邃、不可言盡的東西¹⁸。浪漫主義詩人『用有限象徵無限,有形象徵無形,用死亡象徵生命,用空間象徵時間,用言說象徵無以言表的東西』¹⁹。正是想像力——這種創造性的、賦形的、融合的能力——使得這種以有限通達無限的言說方式成為可能。

柯勒律治引述彌爾頓《失樂園》中的詩行,以說明想像力如何將生命、感覺、直觀與理性熔於一爐。彌爾頓晚年雙目失明,卻依然憑藉生命、感覺、直觀與想像創作出光照千秋的鴻篇史詩。在柯勒律治看來,這便是想像力作為『無限的「我存在」中永恆創造行為的有限思想重複』的最佳例證²⁰。想像力具有賦形能力與創造力,能夠構築一個供靈魂棲居的彼岸世界。

這種深度感——正如柯勒律治的學生羅斯金所言——使得富於想像之人筆下的每一個字,都『有一股可畏的意義潛流』,上面都帶有出自深處的『印記和影子』。『它的意義是含混不清的,常常是半吞半吐的;因為,寫它的人既然清晰瞭解到底層的事物,可能作詳細的解釋……假如我們願意仔細研究它,探索它的由來,它總會把我們安全地帶回到靈魂的領土的首都。』²¹

這種深度感,源自浪漫主義詩人在創作前與創作中的沉思。唯有在這條內省的道路,他才可能從包裹著事物的外在性中,提取出事物的心與靈魂;正是通過這樣有機地發展其直觀能力,再以創造性想像構築一個理想世界。休姆徹底拒絕這種對幽深、曖昧、不可窮盡之物的迷戀。在他看來,這不過是浪漫主義對『無限』一詞的濫情堆砌——似乎不含混便無以言詩。他辛辣地諷刺道,浪漫主義總是試圖飛向無限,雨果總是在飛翔,飛越深淵,飛入永恆的氣體中,『無限』一詞幾乎隔行便見²²。

與此針鋒相對,古典主義的態度是:在古典主義的態度中,你似乎從不會徑直投向那無限的虛無;如果你說出一句誇張逾分的話,在結尾處,總會有某種方式傳達出一種印象:你置身其外,並不全然相信它,或者是有意將其作為一種修辭上的藻飾;你絕不會盲目投身於一種超出真實的氛圍,一種過於稀薄、人無法長久呼吸的氛圍之中;你始終忠實於『限度』這一概念²³。

在休姆看來,詩人首先應當具備看清事物本相(to see things as they really are)的洞察力,能夠掙脫那些『你被訓練以之觀看事物的慣常方式』²⁴。詩歌不應再承擔那種『寓無限於有限』的宏大的形而上學使命——這種使命根本就不存在,不過是浪漫主義者及其衣鉢傳人的一派胡言。世界只是一個扁平的、沒有幽深『彼岸』與之對立的直覺世界;詩人的任務,便是凝神專注於這個此在世界,用精確的語言將其捕捉到的物象清晰地呈現出來。

休姆在其未竟手稿《語言與風格劄記》中將這一詩學原則表述得淋漓盡致。他對詩歌語言提出了極為嚴格的要求:詩歌不是一種算數語言,而是一種訴諸視覺的具體語言;它是為一種能夠將感覺整體地交付出來的直覺語言而做的妥協;它始終竭力要留住你,要讓你持續地看見一件物理之物,要防止你從一種抽象過程中滑行而過;它挑選新鮮的修飾語與新鮮的比喻,與其說是因為它們新鮮而我們厭倦了舊的,不如說是因為舊的已不再能傳達物理之物,而已變成了抽象的算數²⁵。

他用一個生動的比喻來闡明這一點,散文如同代數中的算數運算,詞語依循規則被機械地移動,僅在過程末尾才被重新還原為物理之物;而詩歌則如同一位『帶你一步步走過地面的行者』,迫使讀者不斷地看見事物本身²⁶。他指出,視覺意義唯有靠『新的比喻之碗』才能傳遞;『散文則是一只舊罐子,任它們全都漏光了』²⁷。因此,『詩歌中的意象並非僅是裝飾,而是一種直覺語言的精髓所在』²⁸。

這段論述與休姆在《浪漫主義與古典主義》中對『精確描寫』的強調相互呼應。他用一個極端的例子來說明審美情感的本質——與無限、與神秘毫無關係,而僅僅關乎對具體事物的凝神觀照:倘若你在街上走在一個人身後,你注意到她的裙子從腳後跟翩然而起的奇特姿態;倘若那種獨特的運動方式變得對你如此有趣,以至於你會四處搜尋,直到找到那恰好能捕捉住它的精確修飾語方才甘休——那你便已擁有了一種恰如其分的審美情感了²⁹。

正是在這種對渺小、日常、有限之物的凝神觀照中，休姆發現了『真正的審美情感』的根源。他追問的是：詩人在創作的那一刻，眼前是否確有一個『他為之欣悅、切實看見的視覺對象』？至於這對象是『女士的鞋子還是繁星閃耀的蒼穹，那都無關緊要』^⑨。重要的是詩人的凝視本身——那種驅使他去搜尋『精確修飾語』的熱忱。這與赫裏克(Robert Herrick)寫下『翻騰的襯裙』(the tempestuous petticoat)這一意象時的心境，本質上是完全相同的。

休姆 1912 年 1 月在《新時代》(The New Age)雜誌上發表了五首短詩，被文學史家稱為『意象派提供給世人的第一批詩歌』^⑩。其中一首題為《秋》(Autumn)的小詩，堪稱其『去深度感』、印象式呈現的暫態性詩學思想的最佳注腳。

Autumn

A touch of cold in the autumn night——

I walked abroad,

And saw the ruddy moon lean over a hedge

Like a red-faced farmer.

I did not stop to speak, but nodded,

And round about were the wistful stars

With white faces like the town children.^⑪

秋

秋夜一絲寒意——

我在田野中漫步，

遙望赤色的月亮俯身在藩籬上

像一個紅臉膛的農夫。

我沒有停步招呼，只是點點頭，

周遭盡是悵然若失的星星，臉色蒼白，

像城市中的兒童。^⑫

這首短詩徹底摒棄了一切浪漫主義所珍視的元素——無限、超越、幽深的象徵意義、滔滔不絕的情感宣洩。詩中所呈現的，僅僅是一個孤獨的個體在秋夜的田野中漫步時，所捕捉到的兩個極其簡潔的視覺意象：赤月如紅臉膛的農夫俯身籬笆；寒星如臉色蒼白的城市兒童悵然若失。全詩沒有任何抽象的哲思，沒有任何對『無限』的籲求；它只是冷靜地、精確地呈現了詩人在那一瞬間所看見的東西。

休姆在這首詩中踐行了他自己的詩學綱領——用『幹練而堅實的語言』，用『一種新技巧、一種新程式』^⑬；使用具體的、直覺式意象，避免任何抽象陳述；通過幻想(fancy)——即新鮮的比喻(fresh metaphor)——以準確堅實的意象，撕開抽象語言對世界的遮蔽。他從對『無限』的徒勞追求中回轉，通過『向內轉』，將目光聚焦於人的內心世界；他主張用精確精細的描寫、幹練堅實的語言，充分呈現現代人的真實感受。

正如休姆在《語言與風格劄記》中所強調的：『每一個詞都必須是一個能見的形象，而不是一個算數(counter)。』^⑭《秋》正是這一原則的完美體現——全詩沒有一個抽象詞，沒有一個算數式的表達，每個詞都是一個『可見的形象』。這便是休姆用自己的詩歌創作來踐行其詩學語言觀、用藝術直覺來把握生命本質的嘗試。



四、從『啟示性言說』到『印象式呈現』：詩人角色的祛魅

如果說《秋》以具體的意象展示了印象式呈現的面貌，那麼這一呈現方式的背後，是休姆對浪漫主義詩人角色的根本性祛魅。在浪漫主義傳統中，詩人自詡為先知（prophet），是神的代言人。正如柏拉圖在《伊安篇》中所描繪的，『詩人是一種輕飄的長著羽翼的神明的東西』，只有『不得到靈感，不失去常人的理智而陷入迷狂，就沒有能力創作』^⑤。儘管柏拉圖本人對詩人持貶抑態度，認為其作品不過是『影子的影子』，但他所勾勒的『詩人作為神的代言人』這一形象，卻深刻地塑造了後世對詩人角色的理解。

華茲華斯在《序曲》（*The Prelude*）中追溯了自己作為一個詩人心靈的成長歷程，並最終將詩人定位為胸懷使命的預言家。他宣稱：『這部敘事詩著重講述精神的力量，為培植愛心，賑施真理，並做理性不願沾手之事——對世間的人與事寄予溫厚的信心，播撒著眼於未來的同情與憐憫。』^⑥詩人被賦予了撫慰人心、教化眾生的神聖使命。在《序曲》的結尾，華茲華斯以彌爾頓式的莊嚴語調宣告，想像力將引領他調和『肉體與靈魂、生命與死亡、時間與永恆的奧秘』，使他在『沉靜中欣然貼近人情』^⑦。詩歌如同啟示性神諭，一架通往彼岸的橋樑。詩人通過內省、回憶和與大自然的深度交融，拓展了感受與想像力的疆域，創作出既表現平凡題材、又閃耀深邃思想之光的詩篇。

休姆在《關於現代詩的講演》（*A Lecture on Modern Poetry*）一文中開宗明義，對上述浪漫主義詩人—先知的宏大敘事展開了毫不留情的祛魅。他宣稱，『詩歌僅僅只是一種表達的手段』，而絕非進入或融合一個更高遠的彼岸世界的途徑^⑧。他認為談論詩歌的人大多在故弄玄虛，一派胡言。與此相應，休姆在《浪漫主義與古典主義》中提出了一種時間相對主義的詩歌形式觀。他認為，詩歌形式如同有機生命體，有其成長、衰老與死亡的自然週期；藝術中某一特定的慣例或態度，與有機生命的現象有著嚴格的類比；它會衰老、會朽壞；它有著確定的生命週期，且必然會死亡；所有可能的曲調都已在它上面彈奏過了，於是它便枯竭了；況且，它最輝煌的時期恰是它最年輕的時期^⑨。

他以伊莉莎白時代詩歌的繁榮為例——人們為其提出了種種宏大的歷史解釋，但休姆給出了一個極其簡單、卻極具洞察力的答案：『一件嶄新的工具交到了他們手中任其把玩——此即無韻詩。它是新的，因此很容易在上面奏出新的曲調來。』^⑩在他看來，浪漫主義作為一種詩歌形式，也已然耗盡了自身的可能性：『這種枯竭的階段……在我看來，浪漫主義也已達到了。我們不會迎來任何新的詩歌繁榮，除非我們獲得一種全新的技巧、一種全新的慣例，讓我們得以放手馳騁其中。』^⑪

這是一種激進的歷史主義詩學觀。它否定任何永恆的、超驗的詩歌標準，將詩歌的價值全然置於具體的歷史語境之中加以評判。休姆由此斷言，檢驗一個詩人是否真誠，不在於他是否傳達了某種深邃的、與無限相通的情感，而在於他是否用到了真正『新鮮、具體、準確的意象』^⑫。『無意象無以言詩』^⑬——這一宣言徹底顛覆了浪漫主義以降對詩歌本質的理解。詩歌不再是形而上學真理的感性顯現，而僅僅成為一種此在的表達手段。

正是在對詩歌本質進行徹底祛魅之後，休姆重新回到了『想像』與『幻想』的區分問題。他追問的核心在於：如果詩歌的本質不在於傳達無限、不在於幽深的象徵意蘊，而在於精確地、具體地呈現事物——那麼，哪一種心智能力更適合擔當這一使命？休姆的答案是『幻想』。他一反柯勒律治以降的等級秩序，大膽宣稱：『當這種質量（指前文所述的對有限之物的凝神觀照與精確描寫）表現於情感的領域時，你得到的便是想像；而當這種質量表現於對有限之物的凝神觀照中時，你得到的便是幻想。』^⑭他承認，當類比與所描寫之物聯結不夠緊密、呈現出某種過剩時，『你便有了幻想的遊戲——我承認它遜於想像』^⑮。然而：『當類比的每一點每一滴，對於我先前闡述過的那種意義上的精確描寫都必不可少，而你對此類幻想的唯一反對理由僅僅是它

所達到的效果不夠嚴肅時,那麼依我之見,這種反對是全然無效的。倘若它在精確的意義上是真摯的,倘若整個類比對於得出你想要表達的情感或事物的精確曲線都是必不可少的——那麼在我看來,你便擁有了最高品類的詩歌,即使題材微不足道,即使無限的情感遠在天邊。』^⑪

幻想,在此被休姆重新定義為一種嚴肅的認知工具——它不再是浪漫主義話語中那種低等的、僅供裝飾之用的『機巧』,而是能夠精確地呈現『事物或情感的精確曲線』的唯一武器。這正是休姆將幻想標舉為『新古典主義精神的特殊武器』的根本原因。

五、結論

本文通過梳理『想像』與『幻想』自柯勒律治以來的語義流變,深入剖析了休姆對浪漫主義『無限』崇拜的批判,揭示了他如何通過『去深度感』與『印象式呈現』的理論建構,與一種由來已久的、追求無限與超越的永恆性詩學傳統進行決裂,進而轉向一種專注此在、崇尚新奇、強調精確描寫的暫態性詩學。休姆這一詩學轉向的核心價值,不僅在於為意象派詩歌提供了堅實的理論支撐,更在於其對現代詩學發展的深遠啟示。龐德提出的意象派三原則,強調直接呈現事物、摒棄多餘修辭、遵循自然節奏,與休姆的暫態性詩學主張高度契合,本質上是對這一轉向的創作踐行;而艾略特在《傳統與個人才能》中提出的『非個人化』理論與『客觀對應物』學說,其批判浪漫主義情感主義、追求詩歌客觀性的核心立場,亦與休姆的詩學批判形成理論上的傳承與呼應。

休姆正是在《浪漫主義與古典主義》這一意象派詩歌宣言書中,以『溢出的宗教』的犀利論斷宣稱浪漫主義走向終結,復以空前的理論勇氣祭出『幻想』作為新古典主義的特殊武器,公然與『想像』這一浪漫主義詩學的核心範疇分庭抗禮。其對『此在』與『瞬間』的關注,深刻重塑了現代詩歌的創作理念與審美取向,成為現代主義詩學不可或缺的理论遺產。

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On the Power Performativity of Mrs. Eszter in *The Melancholy of Resistance*

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Abstract: In *The Melancholy of Resistance*, László Krasznahorkai's quintessential postmodern novel, Mrs. Eszter is vividly portrayed as a power-hungry opportunist. Exploiting the fissures created by the collapse of social order, she gradually overcomes the constraints of identity and class through marital dependence, sexual barter, violent manipulation, and an extreme form of pragmatic performativity, ultimately transforming herself from a marginal figure into the town's autocrat. Drawing on the performativity theory of Judith Butler and other critics, this paper examines Mrs. Eszter's trajectory of power and her performative conduct after reaching its apex, with a particular focus on her performative practices during the continuation of her marriage and at Frau Flamm's funeral, thereby revealing the absurd, illusory, and performative nature of power in the postmodern age.

Keywords: *The Melancholy of Resistance*; Mrs. Eszter; performativity; power performance

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論《反抗的憂鬱》中艾斯泰爾夫人的權力操演

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摘 要：克拉斯諾霍爾卡伊·拉斯洛在《反抗的憂鬱》這部典型的後現代小說中，生動地塑造了艾斯泰爾夫人這一權力野心家形象。她在社會秩序崩潰的縫隙中，憑借婚姻依附、權色交易、暴力操控與極致的實用主義操演，逐步突破身份與階層的桎梏，最終完成從邊緣人到小城獨裁者的蛻變。本文運用朱迪斯·巴特勒等批評家的操演性理論，分析艾斯泰爾夫人的權力之路和登上權力之巔後的表演性，尤其是她在婚姻續存與弗勞姆夫人葬禮上的操演性實踐，揭示後現代社會權力的荒誕性、虛妄性和表演性本質。

關鍵詞：《反抗的憂鬱》；艾斯泰爾夫人；操演性；權力表演

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一、引言

克拉斯諾霍爾卡伊·拉斯洛是匈牙利當代著名作家，其創作以黑色幽默、反情節敘事、去中心人物塑造、汪洋恣肆的意識流、連綿不絕的超長句與無間斷的大段落等後現代藝術手法見長，傾情書寫當代匈牙利社會的歷史陣痛與現代性危機，揭示原有體制崩潰後權力的無序顛覆與重構、權力運作機制的荒誕性等，憑借獨特的敘事風格與深刻的思想內涵，賦予其文學創作深刻的諷喻性與啟示意義。正因為如此，瑞典諾貝爾委員會授予他2025年度諾貝爾文學獎，表彰他『以引人入勝且富有遠見卓識的作品，在世界末日的恐怖中，再次彰顯了藝術的力量』。^①

《反抗的憂鬱》發表於1989年，以匈牙利平原一座衰敗、封閉、垃圾遍地的無名小城為背景，講述了由一個巨型鯨魚標本進城展覽而引發集體暴亂、導致權力更迭的寓言式故事。作品簡單的情節串聯起四個不同身份、不同性格的人物，書寫他們在亂世中的掙扎和博弈。最早出場的弗勞姆夫人生性柔弱，在火車上遭遇性騷擾，倉皇逃回家裏，從此不願『邁出家門半步』（拉斯洛，2024：48），企圖在亂世中自保，最終卻暴屍街頭。其子瓦盧什卡是個送報員，性格內向，帶有一種近乎神性的悲憫，癡迷於宇宙轉運的奇跡，試圖以此找到通往秩序的途徑，被眾人視為能夠消除罪惡、拯救小鎮的救贖者，最後淪為艾斯泰爾夫人謀取權力的棋子，在失去利用價值後，被關進精神病院。艾斯泰爾是一名退休中學校長，試圖用理性和音樂對抗世界的荒誕，希望以藝術秩序對抗小鎮的混亂與虛無，用思想抵禦集體癡狂，卻痛苦地發現音樂本質上『並非是對我們更好的自己與更好的世界的認知和表述，而是對我們無可救藥的自我和一個不幸世界的掩飾』（拉斯洛，2024：161），最後深陷精神孤獨，成為荒誕世界中精神受難者代表。

與以上人物形成鮮明反差的是艾斯泰爾夫人這個形象。她雖然不是嚴格意義上的主人公，但卻是貫穿小說始終的中心人物。她被丈夫逐出家門後，在社會秩序崩潰的混亂中，仍然利用其丈夫的聲望與社會地

位,在她的警察局長情人的支持和配合下,邀請鯨魚馬戲團進城引起暴亂之後,經過一系列『操演』,將危機轉化為權力洗牌的契機,借恢復小鎮秩序的名義,邀請部隊進駐小鎮,與少尉一番權色交易後,搖身一變,成為了擁有生殺予奪權力的城市書記。本文聚焦艾斯泰爾夫人從邊緣者到權力主宰的全過程,運用操演性(performativity)和景觀化理論等,分析艾斯泰爾夫人在兩個關鍵場域中的操演性實踐:婚姻破裂後費盡心機維護婚姻美滿的表演以及在弗勞姆夫人葬禮上的權力表演。婚姻中,她將『被棄者』的屈辱反向操演為道德資本,服務於自己的權力野心。弗勞姆夫人的葬禮儀式被她一番政治化操作後,變成了鞏固自己權威的公共景觀,悼詞演講中對弗勞姆夫人的『英雄化』重構,實際上是將弗勞姆夫人的悲劇,轉化為重樹她的權威和代表民眾利益的親民形象的政治符號。

二、婚姻劇場:洗『臟衣服』的操演性

假如退休後的艾斯泰爾希望借助音樂的平均律原理『應對這許多瘋癲、蠢笨、愚鈍、麻木、鄙俗、粗暴、惶恐、無知和普遍性幼稚的生活經驗』(拉斯洛,2024:153),說明他對拯救這荒誕、無序、不可理喻的世界還抱有某種希望,然而,他對妻子卻唯恐避之不及。他們分居多年,如今『最不願意聽到的就是關於自己妻子的消息,她簡直就是一頭危險的史前怪獸,總讓他聯想到中世紀殘酷無情的雇傭兵』(拉斯洛,2024:150)。在艾斯泰爾眼裏,妻子是『充滿勃勃野心』的『雇傭兵』,身上有『某種根植於兵營精神中的「卑鄙心機」』,以及粗暴魯莽、麻木不仁、具有『破壞性的仇恨和淫蕩的粗俗』(拉斯洛,2024:152)。歷經近30年噩夢般的夫妻關係後,艾斯泰爾終於意識到他們的『婚姻簡直可以稱為「地獄鬧劇」』(拉斯洛,2024:151),他在這個地獄裏『墜落到再也無處墜落的最低點』(拉斯洛,2024:152)。極度失望之後,他趕走了他這個士兵般的妻子,但他清楚地知道她是『不會原諒他的……必定會報復他那句冷酷的要求』(拉斯洛,2024:165)。

顯然,艾斯泰爾夫人感到被丈夫趕出家門是她的奇恥大辱,令她對丈夫恨之入骨,一想起『那些無窮無盡的屈辱歲月,她很想拋開這一切,抄起一把斧頭,將那個令人無法忍受的丈夫在他自己的床上剁成肉塊』(拉斯洛,2024:57)。但是,出人意料的是,她非但沒有製定任何報復計劃,在公開場合從未承認他們婚姻破裂的事實。相反,她從原來的家裏搬出去後,通過精準的操演來對外維持『恩愛夫妻』的表象和她『賢妻』的假象。對於分居的事實,她一直對外人說是她主動搬出來的,因為丈夫需要安靜的環境,她不能干擾他的研究。如此,她不僅樹立了自己是『賢內助』的形象,而且對外表明,她的婚姻幸福美滿。

她雖然一直想離婚,但為了實現自己的權力願望,不僅要壓製自己離婚的念頭,反而要在『瓦盧什卡·牙諾什的幫助下——既要瞞著丈夫,同時還要讓全城人親眼看到——她親手為丈夫洗臟衣服,包括「骯臟的內褲」』(拉斯洛,2024:57),目的是為最終攫取權力而積累道德資本。但是,怎樣才能保證『讓全城人親眼看到』她每天都為丈夫洗臟衣服呢?她知道丈夫和瓦盧什卡是忘年之交,瓦盧什卡作為送報員,每天都穿街走巷,也會每天兩次見到她的丈夫。於是,她用高超的話術,誘使瓦盧什卡把丈夫的臟衣服偷出來,裝在皮箱送給她。她再交給洗衣店洗好後,再由瓦盧什卡送給艾斯泰爾。

問題是,與丈夫勢同水火的艾斯泰爾夫人為什麼要這麼做?背後更大的意圖是什麼?與她最後的權力操控和表演又有何關聯?如果我們僅僅據此認為艾斯泰爾夫人是一個奸猾、虛偽的女人,只是用為丈夫『洗臟衣服』的行為維護她賢惠的形象,那顯然是過於簡單了。我們都知道,艾斯泰爾夫人對於自己被丈夫趕出家門一事耿耿於懷,恨不得將丈夫生吞活剝,方能解她的心頭之恨,但她卻煞費苦心地將『洗臟衣服』這一行為,從單純的日常家務轉化為『賢妻』的能指。通過『自己親手』為丈夫洗衣服,她向瓦盧什卡傳達了一個信息:儘管她住在外邊,她仍然是盡職盡責的賢妻。她的精心安排令瓦盧什卡感動:『自從艾斯泰爾夫人第一次來找他幫助並要求他能為她保密(她要「自己親手」為丈夫洗臟衣服)的那一天起,瓦盧什卡就在這舉止粗



魯、喜歡發號施令的靈魂深處清楚地看到了值得人敬重的本性……艾斯泰爾夫人的內心深處則是無條件地尊敬和忠誠於自己的丈夫的』(拉斯洛,2024:130)。不僅是瓦盧什卡從艾斯泰爾夫人的言行中『看到了值得人敬重的本性』和她對丈夫『無條件地尊敬和忠誠』,作品中小鎮的人都透過『皮箱』這個符號看到了艾斯泰爾夫人身上的『賢妻』美德。

然而,讀者看到的卻是另一個艾斯泰爾夫人:舉止粗魯、工於心計、內心狠毒,是恨不得用斧頭砍死丈夫的陰謀家,為了登上權力頂峰而無所不用其極,是『賢妻』形象的反面!我們如何理解她身上對小鎮居民的蒙蔽性和欺騙性呢?顯然,她的『賢妻』形象是通過一系列精心編排和持續表演獲得的,其『賢妻』的身份標籤和本質內涵有著雲泥之別。那麼,我們該如何理解這種區別背後的後現代意蘊呢?在後現代哲學精神不斷質疑本質存在的思潮中,在人文社科研究『語言轉向』和『文化轉向』的浪潮中,性別研究領域首先借鑒語言學領域的『操演理論』(performative theory),突破『本質先於實踐』的傳統認知範式,提出『實踐建構主體與現實』的觀點。性別研究領域最著名的學者朱迪斯·巴特勒(Judith Butler)在《性別麻煩》中強調,所謂的『性別』沒有先驗的本質存在,只有被規訓的實踐。換句話說,『性別』是通過『操演』而彰顯,而存在。同理,艾斯泰爾夫人的『賢妻』形象也是通過操演而實現的。艾斯泰爾夫人操演性的核心在於:她的『賢妻』形象是『演』出來的,而非本性使然。

正如巴特勒所指出的那樣,這種『演』不是『一個單一的行為,而是一種重復,一種儀式,通過它在身體——在某種程度上被理解為文化所支持的時間持續性存在——這個語境的自然化來獲致它的結果』(Judith Butler,1990:11)。巴特勒的本意是,操演依賴於對既有社會規範的模仿與重復才能獲得操演者所希冀的結果,因為所有身份都是通過實踐建構的,不存在一個先於表演的『完整的主體』。相反,『主體』恰恰是在表演行為中被建構的,這意味著艾斯泰爾夫人並非先有一個『賢妻』的內在本質,然後將之表演出來。實際上,她通過讓瓦盧什卡每天提著皮箱招搖過市,即透過操演的重復實踐,製造了『背後有一個本質身份』的幻覺。換言之,她的『賢妻』身份不是先在本質,而是通過話語和行為的不斷重復才得以確立的,她是通過『演』『賢妻』才成為『賢妻』的。這時,瓦盧什卡手裏提著的一只普通皮箱變成了艾斯泰爾夫人溫淑賢良品德的『能指』,並能『挑戰並置換了內部/外部這個區分本身』(Judith Butler,1990:280),具有了豐富的社會學意蘊。

毋庸置疑,艾斯泰爾夫人不需要真實的婚姻:她需要的是『賢妻』這一標籤所帶來的社會資本效應。有了這個資本,她就能夠迫使丈夫成為她博取威望的工具。於是,她利用皮箱這個道德『能指』設計了一個令艾斯泰爾無法逃離的陷阱。她知道丈夫對她積怨甚深,也在思考『是否應該用斧頭把她劈成兩半』(拉斯洛,2024:166)。她利用丈夫對她的『恨』,最終將幾年來從不出門的丈夫變成她可資利用的工具。她在警察局長情人的幫助下,獲得了婦女委員會主任的職務後,需要搞一次大的運動,以提升自己的威望。於是,她順勢而為,希望在全城做一次徹底的衛生運動,清除暴雨過後的垃圾。她清楚地知道要實行『她的天才計劃』,只有讓艾斯泰爾『發揮作用,才可能突破人們對運動的冷漠和抵抗……為運動的開展打下堅實的基礎。只是接下來的問題:怎麼才能拖他下水?』(拉斯洛,2024:58)。

她想到了用『皮箱』為丈夫設下一個陷阱:在裏面裝著幾件她自己的衣服和一份任務名單。意思是丈夫必須利用自己的聲望聯繫上面的人,並完成她指定的任務,否則她就可能搬回來和他一起住!她清楚地知道,丈夫寧死也不願再和她同處一屋。這陷阱的妙處在於她通過『可能不搬回來』的承諾,換取丈夫的合作。她將『搬回家住』這一威脅懸置為一種潛在的可能性,從而將丈夫的服從變成避免這一威脅的條件。果然,為了『避免最壞的情況』發生,艾斯泰爾權衡利弊後,『毫不反抗地屈服於勒索』(拉斯洛,2024:167),終於走出家門,成了『賢妻』的工具。為了增加衛生運動的緊迫性和道德色彩,艾斯泰爾夫人要求丈夫和市民『此刻,馬上開始!因為每一分鐘都很寶貴,要跟時間賽跑!』(拉斯洛,2024:166)。

這時,經過一番操演後,清潔街道的衛生運動不再是簡單的社會動員那麼簡單,而是全城只有艾斯泰爾夫人『覺醒』後才有的天才計劃,是她『替自己說話』的一種操演方式。通過這種操演,艾斯泰爾夫人不僅成功地將自己的政治議程包裝為民眾普遍的道德要求,而且成功地將自己追求權力的意誌轉化為一種緊迫的、不容置疑的道德要求,使得她精心設計的『陷阱』『具有一種以前被摒棄或忽視的操控潛能』(Rey Chow, 2007:16)。其『潛能』就是艾斯泰爾夫人經過一番操演,迫使丈夫出面動員人們積極參與到她倡導的衛生運動中,客觀上將清潔街道的公共事務從物理空間的『清潔』與她道德上的『純潔』等同起來。從這個意義上講,『清潔』的不僅是城市的物理空間,而且是對道德秩序的恢復。她通過『自願搬出去居住』、『洗臟衣服』和『威脅回家居住』的公共操演,將丈夫的聲望從文化資本轉化為她最終攀登權力高峰的政治資本,將一切的操演都變成『一個獨特的景觀階段,在這個階段裏,生活的每個細節幾乎都已經被異化成景觀的形式』(張一兵,2017:9)。在這個『景觀』中,艾斯泰爾夫人倡導的衛生運動最終賦予她新權力的化身:這是一種不需要本質,只需要表演的後現代權力的化身。

三、葬禮劇場:死亡儀式的政治化操演

如果說『洗臟衣服』操演讓艾斯泰爾夫人成為了盡職盡責的『賢妻』符號,那麼,由她精心設計的清潔運動則是一場面向全城的景觀化表演。表演將她在運動中表現出的道德感召力和行動力,轉化為被普遍認可的權力景觀。這時的艾斯泰爾夫人不再是一個沒有工作、被丈夫趕出家門的失意者,而是一位精明能幹的『秩序恢復者』。但是,艾斯泰爾夫人深知,要讓『整座小城都拜倒在她的腳下』(拉斯洛,2024:398),她只有讓城市徹底陷入無序、暴力和恐慌之中,也只有讓舊有權力體系徹底失效,她才能再次以恢復秩序的名義博取民眾信任,攫取更大的權力。因此,她『親自找到並且邀請這家聲名狼藉的馬戲團到城裏演出』(拉斯洛,2024:68),因為她十分清楚,『只要這家奇怪的馬戲團一出現在哪裏,哪裏就會發生騷亂』(拉斯洛,2024:69),導致城鎮癱瘓。

果然,小城在馬戲團假『王子』的煽動下,發生了暴亂。此時,艾斯泰爾夫人已經將她的警察局長情人灌醉,因此,警察缺位,城鎮陷入癱瘓,無能的市領導手足無措。關鍵時刻,她果斷地以『救世主』的姿態登場,派人前往州府請軍隊入城鎮壓,在坦克的轟鳴聲中,秩序得以恢復,她儼然成為暴亂的終結者和力挽狂瀾的英雄,在少尉的扶持下當上了小城的書記,贏得了實際的控制權,並通過為暴亂受害者弗勞姆夫人舉行盛大葬禮,利用『她作為城市領導第一次向……「渴望新生活」的百姓發表講話』(拉斯洛,2024:428)的機會,進一步鞏固自己的權力。弗勞姆夫人一介平民,沒有工作,沒有公職,暴亂期間外出尋找兒子,被暴徒打死,無論如何都不是『英雄』。艾斯泰爾夫人深知,只有把弗勞姆夫人死亡這個偶然的悲劇性的事件,包裝成英雄壯舉,將弗勞姆夫人重構為英雄,她才有機會操演她的權力。於是,弗勞姆夫人被迫認為『英雄』,授予了『優秀體育工作者獎』,如此,一個平民的葬禮便被提升到公共事件的高度。艾斯泰爾夫人終於為自己搭建了一個『政治舞臺』,在上面可以盡情操演自己的權力。為了表明自己和舊體制的決裂,她首先要改造葬禮儀式,早在三天前,她就以『書記的名義下達指示,要求這場葬禮要表達出新時代的精神,這意味著不僅不再需要神職人員到場,而且還要改掉「擺放甜食供品」的舊習俗……賦予整個這場葬禮以「嶄新的社會風氣」』(拉斯洛,2024:428)。顯然,這不是簡單的儀式改良,而是儀式的政治重構,因為這個葬禮不再服務於死者和哀悼者,而是只服務於艾斯泰爾書記政治表演的願望。

既然是要按照『英雄』的規格舉行葬禮,因而在『按照傳統擺放鮮花的位置,雖令人吃驚但效果相當震撼地站著兩位守靈者……由於過於匆忙來不及準備,他們裝扮成驃騎兵的模樣,手裏緊握的兩把塑料大刀是從當地的商店裏臨時借來的』(拉斯洛,2024:428)。『塑料大刀』與『驃騎兵』裝扮,則揭示出這場鬧劇的虛



假性質：武器是塑料的，制服是借來的，但權力效果卻必須是真實的。這正是操演性的核心邏輯：道具的真實性並不重要，重要的是觀眾將表演視同為真實。艾斯泰爾書記將葬禮的籌辦者稱為『導演』，將葬禮本身定位為一場『舞臺』表演。可見，被升格為公共事件的葬禮是一場需要被導演、被排練、被執行的表演過程，作為這場表演劇的總導演，艾斯泰爾書記要做的就是再現『超級現實的和擬真的秩序……去掩飾現實不再是現實』（讓·波德裏亞，2025:25）的事實，以增加其真實感和蒙蔽性。

英雄的葬禮必須有演講才算完整，而演講正是艾斯泰爾書記權力操演的核心。於是，她站在棺材旁，面對聚集的市民開始了她的演講，目的是將葬禮轉化為英雄化、高尚化和符號化弗勞姆夫人的儀式：『生命的結束就是死亡……此時此刻，我們感受到的並不僅僅是悲傷，而是一種決心，一種振奮，因為在這座墳墓裏，我們正在安葬的這位女性，親愛的市民們，她遠不是一個普通人』（拉斯洛，2024:431）。緊接著，艾斯泰爾書記將弗勞姆夫人的死亡重新定義為『勇敢的節日，因為正是這種勇氣激勵了這位女性……挺身而出，獨自抗暴，她做了我們都沒能做到的反抗。我問自己：她是英雄嗎？是，她是英雄，這是我誠心實意想要獻給弗勞姆·尤若夫夫人的、唯一恰當的崇高字眼』（拉斯洛，2024:432）。如前文所述，弗勞姆夫人實際上是在尋找兒子時被暴徒殺害的。艾斯泰爾書記演講中不僅將弗勞姆夫人的悲劇轉化為英雄式的犧牲，而且將之崇高化，變成一次政治動員：『雖然強大的惡勢力最終獲勝……但我還是想說：勝利的是她，失敗的是殺害她的兇手！因為她敢於孤身一人與暴徒們搏鬥，她羞辱了那些暴徒，讓他們變得渺小可笑』（拉斯洛，2024:433）。她的演講將弗勞姆夫人的死亡工具化了，號召市民銘記弗勞姆夫人的『精神』，因為她『將英雄的榜樣力量留在了這裏』（拉斯洛，2024:433）。

整個葬禮都在艾斯泰爾書記的運籌帷幄之中，從做棺材、安排守靈者、擡棺材、找墓地到演講，嚴絲合縫，有張有弛，整篇演講既充分肯定了弗勞姆夫人的『英雄壯舉』，又回顧了弗勞姆夫人的生平細節，還樹立了艾斯泰爾書記仁慈、正義、親民、可信的領導者形象，突顯了她能夠帶領市民開始新生活卓爾不凡的能力和堅定意志。她以城市拯救者的姿態主導葬禮流程，掌控儀式話語權，在全城民眾面前完成公開亮相，確立自己的官方身份，借葬禮的肅穆氛圍，完成了從幕後陰謀家到臺前合法的女書記的身份轉化，將臨時的陰謀奪權，巧妙地固化為穩定的統治地位。

四、結束語

在《反抗的憂鬱》所構建的荒誕、凝滯、意義崩潰的後現代小鎮中，艾斯泰爾夫人以一系列操演性實踐，完成了從被丈夫驅逐的失意者到城市獨裁者的身份蛻變。艾斯泰爾夫人的權力操演揭示了後現代社會權力的荒誕性、虛妄性與表演性本質。當傳統意識形態崩塌、社會秩序瓦解、宏大敘事失去效力，權力的合法性不再來源於血統或人民意志，而是來源於一場場操演。艾斯泰爾夫人的『賢妻』形象是操演出來的，她的『救世主』姿態是操演出來的，她為弗勞姆夫人舉行的英雄葬禮同樣是操演出來的。正是通過操演，使她在權力的真空中脫穎而出，最終『讓整座小城都拜倒在她的腳下』。拉斯洛以冷峻而犀利的筆觸，通過艾斯泰爾夫人這一形象，『以張弛有度的敘事節奏和優美的文筆，時而以嚴肅冷峻的筆調，時而以自嘲和黑色幽默的口吻，重疊歷史與虛構，模糊現實與想象的界限』（李貴蒼，2023:70），向讀者呈現了一個深刻的啟示：在一個意義已被解構的世界裏，權力不再關乎『我是誰』，而只關乎『我被看作誰』；而『被看作誰』恰恰可以通過持續、有策略的操演來呈現。艾斯泰爾夫人正是通過『演出而變成「發生」的「事件」，產生改變現實的力量』（何成州，2022:10），從而從一個邊緣女性變成了小鎮的書記。將操演變成『改變現實的力量』，正是艾斯泰爾夫人權力之路的奧秘，也是後現代社會權力運作的深層邏輯。

注釋

- ① <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/2025/press-release/>.

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**[Studies in Linguistics]**

Corpus-Based Critical Metaphor Analysis of U. S. Media Coverage on Taiwan, China: A Case Study of CNN

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Abstract: This study employs Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) and utilizes a corpus tool to construct a custom corpus of CNN's Chinese Taiwan-related news coverage spanning from 2001 to 2024, comprising 140,000 words. By examining the patterns, discourse functions, and diachronic changes of metaphor usage, this research analyzes the ideological intentions behind U. S. media coverage on Taiwan. Findings reveal that CNN uses metaphors to construct distinct images of the Chinese mainland, Chinese Taiwan, and the United States, portraying them as “the aggressor,” “the victim,” and “the defender of democracy,” respectively. This discourse model serves to influence public opinion, shape social psychological frameworks, and construct political realities. Additionally, the diachronic analysis of metaphor usage indicates that it is significantly influenced by Sino-American relations and U. S. interests, reflecting the notion that “media discourse is an extension of politics.”

Keywords: Critical Metaphor Analysis; Chinese Taiwan-related news coverage; Taiwan question; Corpus-based study

Notes on the contributor: TAN Qida, postgraduate student, research interest: cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics.

1. Introduction

As a mouthpiece of political groups, news media have long served as a crucial vehicle for ideological

dissemination. News discourse is often imbued with positions and attitudes, employing discursive strategies such as metaphor to frame, embellish, or even distort objective reality. In this context, metaphor is frequently used to convey particular stances, viewpoints, and ideologies, thereby shaping public perceptions of events. According to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is not merely a rhetorical device but also a fundamental mechanism through which humans understand abstract concepts. It involves a mapping from a source domain to a target domain, where the former is typically more concrete and the latter more abstract. Metaphor thus plays a vital role in the conceptualization of the world. Moreover, Lakoff (2004) argues that repeated exposure to particular metaphoric expressions encourages individuals to adopt these metaphors as habitual frameworks for thinking, while Charteris-Black (2005) highlights the strong persuasive power of metaphor.

At present, studies of news discourse within the framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) are predominantly synchronic, typically focusing on media coverage of a specific event or period. For example, Wang et al. (2022) compiled a corpus of approximately 50,000 words from U. S. media reports over a six-month period on the "U. S. withdrawal from the TPP," analyzing how metaphors guided public opinion in related discourse. Similarly, Li and Qu (2023) conducted a comparative analysis of Chinese and American media editorials on COVID-19, building corpora from *People's Daily* and *The Economist*, and identifying differences in metaphor use and communicative purposes. However, existing domestic research remains limited and exhibits several shortcomings. First, most studies rely on synchronic data, with relatively few adopting a diachronic perspective. Second, many analyses are based on small samples, often involving limited self-compiled corpora or no corpus at all. In addition, there has been little research applying the CMA framework to news discourse on the Taiwan question.

In recent years, cross-strait relations have remained tense, and the Taiwan question has become a focal point of international attention. Western media, particularly those in the United States, often incorporate narratives that distort facts in their reporting, attempting to influence public opinion, exacerbate tensions, and undermine peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait. Against this backdrop, the present study adopts a diachronic approach, using reports from the U. S. mainstream media outlet CNN as a case study. It examines metaphors in news discourse on cross-strait relations since the 1990s, with the aim of uncovering shifts in American societal attitudes toward the Taiwan question and providing insights for understanding Western discursive systems as well as for constructing China's international discourse.

2. Theoretical Framework

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), conceptual metaphor theory, and corpus linguistics, investigates metaphor's influence on social cognition and power relations. CMA involves metaphor identification, classification, and context-specific interpretation to uncover embedded ideological meanings (Charteris-Black, 2004). For rigorous identification, this study adopts the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) established by Steen et al. (2010), ensuring systematic and replicable metaphor annotation.



3. Research Design and Methodology

Data comprising news reports containing “Taiwan AND China” were retrieved from CNN. com via a Python-based web crawler. After manual screening and Python script cleaning to remove extraneous elements, a corpus of 69 articles (142, 538 words) spanning 2001–2024 was constructed using AntConc 3.5.9.

Metaphor identification relied on a manual analysis of a sampled sub-corpus (28 articles, 77, 477 words) using the UAM CorpusTool under the MIPVU guidelines. Identified metaphors were categorized by *source domains* to generate search terms for the full corpus, with all automated results manually verified for metaphorical usage. Finally, *resonance* (frequency multiplied by type) was calculated to reflect diachronic distribution patterns.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Distribution of Metaphor Use in the Corpus

Following identification, metaphors were categorized by source domain. Six major types were identified: *violence*, *physical*, *journey*, *body*, *health*, and *building* metaphors, yielding 63 keywords and 680 instances (see Table 1).

Table 1 Summary of metaphors in corpus

Metaphors	Keywords and frequency	Resonance
Violence	defend(60), threat (36), campaign (25), incursion (24), victory (23), aggression(16), intimidate (14), provocation (14), undermine (13), protect (13), isolate (12), fight (12), renegade (11), deterrent (10), bloody (10), resist (10), impact(9), invade(8), hostile(7), violation(7), bellicose (5), champion (4), infuriate (4), offensive (4), bully (3), clash (3), encroach (2), relentless(2), malicious(2)	10527
Physical	pressure(49), ramp(15), warm(13), bolster (8), landslide (7), balance(6), bitter(6), scrutiny(4), stable(4), orbit(4), lever(3), blast (3), heat (3)	1625
Journey	move (50), step (23), path(10), forward (4), road (3), voyage(3)	558
Body	push (26), seize (9), embrace (6), muscle (3), pull (3), friendship (3), shrug (2)	364
Health	Quarantine (19), robust (5), cripple (5), pain (5)	136
Building	Build (6), door(5), pillar(1), pave(1)	52

Violence metaphors are most frequent (363 cases, 53.3%), indicating their dominance in CNN’s Chinese Taiwan-related reporting. Drawing on war and human aggression (e. g., “trade war,” “attack,” “fight,” “hostile”), these metaphors frame political relations as conflict. Given that the Taiwan question is China’s internal affair, such usage reflects a tendency to shape readers’ perceptions through confrontational framing.

Physical metaphors occur 125 times (18.3%), involving domains such as physical properties and object relations. For example, temperature terms (“warm”) describe relations, while “balance” indicates stabilization. Less frequent categories include *journey* metaphors (93, 13.6%), which conceptualize political processes as developmental paths; *body* metaphors (52, 7.6%), such as “muscle” for military power and “embrace” for cooperation; *health* metaphors (34, 5%), using terms like “pain” or “robust” to evaluate conditions; and *building* metaphors (13, 1.9%), where relations are described as being “built.”

Overall, metaphor functions as a key discursive strategy for conveying ideology. The following analysis examines specific cases and their diachronic variation.

4.2 Critical Metaphor Analysis of CNN's Chinese Taiwan-Related Reporting

4.2.1 Construction of the Image of the Chinese Mainland in News Discourse

Due to differences in national interests and ideology, U. S. media coverage of China often carries adversarial undertones. Previous critical discourse studies (e. g. , Wang et al. , 2022; Li & Qu, 2023; Song & Wang, 2024) have shown that U. S. media frequently assign negative labels to China, portraying it as a “provoker,” “enemy,” or “disruptor,” with the aim of shaping readers’ attitudes and reinforcing ideological divisions.

Consistent with these findings, the present corpus reveals extensive use of metaphors targeting China, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Metaphorical expressions targeting China

Type	Keywords
Violence	threat, campaign, incursion, aggression, intimidate, provocation, undermine, isolate, renegade, deterrent, bloody, impact, invade, hostile, violation, bellicose, champion, infuriate, offensive, scrutiny, bully, clash, encroach, relentless, malicious, fight
Physical	pressure, bitter, stable, lever, blast, heat
Journey	move, step, forward, voyage
Body	push, seize, muscle, pull
Health	quarantine, cripple

Among these metaphorical expressions, *violence* metaphors are the most dominant and are largely negative in connotation, with *war* metaphors being particularly prevalent. War metaphor is a universal conceptual pattern across cultures and languages; notably, Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in *Metaphors We Live By*, identify ARGUMENT IS WAR as a primary example. As a domain deeply embedded in human history, war involves roles such as aggressors and victims. In CNN’s Chinese Taiwan-related reporting, however, China is frequently framed as the “aggressor.”

Example 1: It is said that 27 Chinese warplanes in Taiwan made **incursions** into Taiwan’s air defense identification zone, and 22 planes crossed the median line dividing the Taiwan Strait on Wednesday – an unprecedented number since Taiwan began publicly releasing information about China’s air incursions about two years ago. (*Pelosi says US will ‘not abandon’ Taiwan as China begins military drills*, 2022/08/03)



In Example 1, which report on China's military exercises following visits to Taiwan by U. S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, CNN employs the term "incursion." While such visits are widely viewed by China as provocative actions undermining regional stability, these war metaphors portray China's responses as "aggression", thereby constructing an image of China as an aggressor and legitimizing U. S. actions.

Example 2: That means that if China is absolutely determined to take the island it probably can. But there's a caveat; while China could likely **prevail**, any **victory** would come at an extremely **bloody** price for both Beijing and its adversaries. (*China has the power to take Taiwan, but it would cost an extremely bloody price*, 2022/06/01)

A similar pattern appears in Example 2, where CNN frames China's reunification efforts as inherently warlike and implying a "peace-threatening aggressor, expressions such as "prevail," "victory," and "bloody" further reinforce this framing. While "victory" and "bloody" originate from war-related domains, their use here portrays China as a militaristic and ruthless actor willing to pursue reunification at any cost, thereby distorting perceptions of its political stance.

Example 3: Taiwan goes to the polls Saturday for elections dominated more than ever by relations with Beijing, which has been accused of trying to **bully** voters and distort the results in its favor. (*Voters in Taiwan go to the polls amid fears of Beijing's influence and fake news*, 2020/01/11)

Beyond war metaphors, the corpus also includes metaphors based on human violent behavior. In Example 3, the term "bully" depicts China as an aggressor and Taiwan as a victim, suggesting coercion and reinforcing an image of China as domineering and oppressive.

Example 4: China's military could **isolate** Taiwan, **cripple** its economy, and make the democratic island **succumb** to the will of Beijing's ruling Communist Party without ever firing a shot, a prominent think tank warns. (*How China could take Taiwan without even needing to invade*, 2024/06/22)

Example 4 contains three metaphorical expressions. In addition to the violence metaphors "isolate" and "succumb," the body metaphor "cripple" invokes the notion of physical impairment to suggest harm inflicted by the Chinese mainland on Taiwan. Together, these metaphors construct a consistent image of China as violent and overbearing, further reinforcing negative perceptions among readers.

4.2.2 Construction of Taiwan's Image in News Discourse

Due to its strategic location, Taiwan constitutes a key component of the U. S. Indo-Pacific strategy and the "first island chain," playing an important role in constraining China. In the corpus, CNN predominantly constructs Taiwan as a "victim," thereby eliciting readers' sympathy and reinforcing negative attitudes toward China. The distribution of metaphors targeting Taiwan is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Metaphorical expressions targeting Chinese Taiwan

Type	Keywords
Violence	defend, fight, resist,
Physical	orbit, pull, balance, ramp, bolster, landslide, stable
Journey	Move, step, path
Body	embrace, friendship, shrug
Health	Robust, pain
Building	Build, door, pillar, pave

Among these, physical metaphors are most frequent and are generally positive in connotation. Violence metaphors, by contrast, largely center on the notion of “resistance.” Such metaphors imply defensive actions against external aggression and thus position the actor as a victim while implicitly framing the opposing party as an aggressor. This pattern appears frequently in CNN’s reporting.

Example 5: Like their counterparts in Ukraine the Taiwanese would have the advantage of home turf, knowing the ground and being highly motivated to **defend** it. (*China has the power to take Taiwan, but it would cost an extremely bloody price*, 2022/06/01)

For instance, in Example 5, Taiwan question is compared to Ukraine in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, suggesting that the Chinese mainland might similarly “invade” Taiwan. The use of “defend” frames Taiwan as a victim of potential aggression, while reinterpreting China’s reunification efforts as “invasion.”

Example 6: China’s authoritarian turn under Xi’s leadership and plummeting relations with Washington have **pulled** Taiwan closer into the **orbit** of the US. (*Pelosi says US will ‘not abandon’ Taiwan as China begins military drills*, 2022/08/03)

Example 6 employs a physical metaphor to depict U. S. -Taiwan relations. The United States is conceptualized as a central force, with allied regions such as Taiwan positioned in its orbit. This metaphor emphasizes Taiwan’s role as a U. S. “ally” and constructs an image of Taiwan as reliant on U. S. protection. Additionally, the use of “pull” suggests that Taiwan’s closer alignment with the United States is driven by China’s actions, reinforcing perceptions of a U. S. -Taiwan alliance while deepening negative views of China.

Example 7: That trend was underscored in January, when Taiwanese voters **shrugged off** warnings by China and handed the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) a historic third term by electing Lai Ching-te, who has long faced Beijing’s wrath for championing Taiwan’s sovereignty. (*China’s Xi hosts former Taiwan president in Beijing*, 2024/04/10)

The term “shrug” literally refers to the physical act of raising one’s shoulders, typically signaling indifference or dismissal toward a problem, threat, or warning. In Example 7, this body metaphor conveys that



people in Taiwan treat warnings from the Chinese mainland with indifference. It implicitly suggests antagonistic attitudes toward the Chinese mainland, thereby distorting readers' understanding of cross-strait relations.

4.2.3 Construction of United States's Image in News Discourse

On June 5, 2024, a spokesperson for China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the Taiwan question is purely China's internal affair and brooks no external interference, and that no pressure or threat can undermine China's resolve to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity (Li & Liu, 2024). However, the United States has long maintained improper ties with Taiwan and repeatedly intervened in cross-strait affairs, framing its involvement under the banner of "democracy" and "freedom." In the corpus, CNN employs numerous metaphors targeting the United States to highlight the perceived legitimacy of its actions (see Table 4).

Table 4 Metaphorical expressions targeting the United States and the West

Type	Keywords
Violence	defend, protect, fight, resist
Physical	bolster
Journey	step
Body	Friendship, pull
Build	Build

Example 8: Such moves have included condemning China's human rights records; selling arms to Taiwan; vowing to **protect** the island against **invasion**; granting a transit visa to Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian. (*How China retreats to attack*, 2001/05/15)

Example 9: US President Joe Biden's warning the US would **defend** Taiwan against Chinese **aggression** has made headlines around the world – and put growing tensions between the small democratic island and its neighboring autocratic superpower back under the spotlight. (*What you need to know about China-Taiwan tensions*, 2022/05/25)

In CNN's reporting, U. S. intervention is consistently framed as "protection." Violence metaphors are frequently used to construe cross-strait relations as a "war," with the United States positioned as the protector of the "victim." For instance, in Example 8, terms such as "protect" and "invasion" portray the United States as safeguarding Taiwan from the Chinese mainland. Similarly, in Example 9, "defend" and "aggression" construct the U. S. as resisting threats alongside Taiwan. The same example further contrasts Taiwan as a "democratic island" with the Chinese mainland as an "autocratic superpower," reinforcing the image of the United States as a defender of democracy. Through such metaphorical framing, U. S. hegemonic behavior is recast as opposition to hegemony and a defense of democratic values, thereby enhancing readers' identification with its actions.

The critical analysis of metaphors reveals that CNN's Taiwan-related reporting constructs distinct images of the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and the United States, forming a discursive pattern in which the Chinese mainland is portrayed as an aggressor, Taiwan as a victim and U. S. ally, and the United States as a protector and defender of democracy.

In international relations, all acts of narration are inherently political. Narratives provide cognitive frameworks through which people interpret the world, shaping storylines that guide perception and understanding (Liu, 2011). Metaphor, as a representational and evaluative device, simplifies complex social realities into more concrete conceptual models (Hart, 2014). As readers engage with news discourse, they construct mental models of the Taiwan question under the guidance of metaphorical framing. Van Dijk (2002) argues that repeated exposure to similar discourse, in the absence of alternative perspectives, can transform individual mental models into socially shared representations, fostering ideological bias. Likewise, the repeated use of such metaphorical frameworks in CNN's reporting reinforces and stabilizes readers' cognitive models of the Taiwan question, facilitating the broader dissemination of their ideological implications.

Moreover, news media can shape public opinion and, in turn, influence governmental decision-making in the United States (Qiao, 2001). By portraying China's reunification efforts as "aggression," emphasizing the "legitimacy" of U. S. actions, and downplaying its interference in China's internal affairs, CNN's metaphorical framing may mislead public perception and ultimately affect policy attitudes toward the Taiwan question both in the United States and beyond.

4.2.4 *Diachronic Variation of Metaphor Use in News Discourse*

As a mouthpiece of political interests, media representations of the Taiwan question are closely tied to China-U. S. relations and shifting U. S. strategic priorities. Since 2000, changes in bilateral relations and leadership on both sides of the Taiwan Strait have been reflected in metaphor choices within the corpus.

Following China's accession to the WTO in 2001, economic ties with the United States deepened, and cooperation outweighed competition. During this period, U. S. media generally adhered to the "One China" principle and opposed Taiwan independence.

Example 10: U. S. President George W. Bush has bluntly served notice that he opposes plans for a referendum in Taiwan which his administration views as a means of **stoking** pro-independence **sentiment**. (*Blunt Bush message for Taiwan*, 2003/12/09)

For example, in 2003, amid pro-independence rhetoric from the Taiwan authorities, the Bush administration expressed opposition to maintain stable relations with China. Example 10 uses the metaphor of "fanning the flames" to warn against escalating tensions. Overall, the United States maintained strategic ambiguity, neither fully committing to defend Taiwan nor supporting independence.

Example 11: The first regular charter flights between China's mainland and Taiwan began Friday in a sign of warming relations between Beijing and Taipei. (*Historic China-Taiwan flights begin*, 2008/07/04)

Example 12: He added that the risk to the United States of a conflict between China and Taiwan is the lowest in 60 years as a result of his government's efforts to **build** a rapprochement with Beijing. (*Ma Taiwan won't ask U. S. to fight China*, 2010/04/30)

Example 13: With regards to the economic development of both sides, this treaty will act as a **foundation** for the peaceful development of our relationship. (*Taiwan, China sign historic trade deal*, 2010/06/29)

From 2008 to 2016, cross-strait relations improved under the Ma Ying-jeou authorities, while China-U. S. relations remained broadly cooperative. Media discourse during this period reflects this trend. For instance, Example 11 uses the physical metaphor “warming” to describe improving cross-strait ties. Building metaphors such as “build” (Example 12) highlight efforts to strengthen relations, while “foundation” (Example 13) frames the ECFA agreement as a basis for peaceful development. Compared to later periods, violence metaphors were less frequent, with physical and constructive metaphors more prominent.

After 2016, however, China-U. S. relations deteriorated sharply amid the Trump administration’s trade policies, while cross-strait relations worsened under the Tsai Ing-wen authorities. During this period, CNN increasingly employed violence metaphors to promote a “China threat” narrative, portraying the Chinese mainland as an aggressor, Taiwan as a victim, and emphasizing U. S. -Taiwan alignment. As shown in Table 5, the resonance of violence metaphors between 2016 and 2024 is significantly higher than in 2001–2015, indicating that such metaphors are concentrated in recent reporting. These findings underscore the strong influence of political relations on media discourse. Metaphor use in Taiwan-related reporting is not neutral but serves specific political interests.

Table 5 Diachronic Variation of Violence Metaphors in the Corpus

Period	Keywords of violent metaphors and frequency	Resonance
2001—2015	defend (11), threat (7), campaign (6), victory (6), intimidate (2), provocation (1), undermine (2), protect (4), renegade (5), impact (2), hostile (2), violation (2), infuriate (1)	663
2016—2024	defend (49), threat (29), campaign (19), incursion (24), victory (17), aggression (16), intimidate (12), provocation (13), undermine (11), protect (9), isolate (12), fight (12), renegade (6), deterrent (10), bloody (10), resist (10), impact (7), invade (8), hostile (5), violation (5), bellicose (5), champion (4), infuriate (3), offensive (4), bully (3), clash (3), encroach (2), relentless (2), malicious (2)	9048

5. Conclusion

Although news reporting aspires to represent reality objectively, media outlets often convey their stances and ideologies through linguistic choices and selective framing. Metaphor serves as a key tool in this process. Discourse is not a neutral medium; rather, news reporting is shaped by specific ideological positions and contributes to their reproduction (Fowler, 1991). As Charteris-Black (2004) argues, metaphor is central to the conceptualization of political issues and the construction of worldviews.

Drawing on Critical Metaphor Analysis and corpus-based methods, this study examined CNN’s Taiwan-related reporting since 2000. By analyzing patterns and functions of metaphor use in relation to their socio-historical context, the study identified underlying ideological tendencies and traced their diachronic development. The findings show that, through metaphor, CNN constructs distinct images of the Chinese mainland, Taiwan,

and the United States, forming a discursive model in which the Chinese mainland is portrayed as an aggressor, Taiwan as a victim, and the United States as a defender of democracy. Such metaphorical framing legitimizes specific viewpoints, shapes public perception, and contributes to the construction of social and political realities. Moreover, the diachronic analysis indicates that metaphor use is closely influenced by China-U. S. relations and U. S. strategic interests, highlighting the political nature of media discourse.

In light of these findings, critical awareness is essential when engaging with foreign media coverage. At the same time, Chinese media should strengthen their capacity to present China's perspective, clarify the nature of the Taiwan question, and challenge misleading narratives, thereby enhancing China's international discourse and public image.

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Discipline and Carnival: An Analysis of Algorithmic Ethics in Linguistic Governance within Cyberspace

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Abstract: In the era of generative artificial intelligence, algorithmic ethics has become an indispensable concern in cyberspace language governance. This paper aims to investigate the conflict between the “logic of uniformity” in algorithms, which is oriented towards efficiency and controllability, and the “inherent plurality and complexity” rooted in the socio-cultural nature of language. Employing Michel Foucault’s theory of “discipline” and Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of “carnival” as its theoretical foundation, this study constructs a dialectical analytical framework. Through in-depth case studies of three representative Chinese internet neologisms, “Person in charge”, “Breathtaking” and “Love yourself”, the research reveals a dynamic, symbiotic, and dialectical relationship between “discipline” and “carnival.” Ultimately, the study proposes “carnival compatibility” as a novel framework for online language governance. It advocates for the intentional preservation of flexible spaces within algorithmic design and platform governance to accommodate unpredictable and creative user linguistic practices. This approach seeks a balance between order and vibrancy, offering a theoretical pathway for building a more inclusive and culturally dynamic digital language ecosystem.

Keywords: Algorithmic ethics; discipline (Foucault); carnival (Bakhtin); cyberspace language governance

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規訓與狂歡： 網絡空間語言治理中的算法倫理探析

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摘 要:在生成式人工智能時代,算法倫理是網絡空間語言治理中不可忽視的問題。本文旨在探究以效率與可控為導向的算法『單一性邏輯』,與源自語言社會文化本體的『多元複雜性』之間的衝突。研究基於福柯的『規訓』理論與巴赫金的『狂歡』理論,構建了一個辯證的分析框架。通過對『主理人』『絕絕子』『愛你老己』三個典型案例的深入剖析,本研究揭示了『規訓』與『狂歡』之間動態的共生與辯證關係。最終,研究提出『狂歡兼容性』作為一種新興的網絡語言治理框架,主張在算法設計與平臺治理中,為不可預測的、創造性的用戶語言實踐預留彈性空間,從而在秩序與活力之間尋求平衡,為構建更具包容性與文化生命力的數字語言生態提供理論路徑。

關鍵詞:算法倫理;規訓;狂歡;網絡空間語言治理

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一、引言

(一) 研究背景

當下智能化社會中,算法與計算機科學、人工智能密切相關,它不僅是客觀的程序、代碼,更超越了純粹技術,走向了社會技術網絡的集合方向^②。生成式人工智能(Gen-AI)的迅猛發展,標誌著算法對網絡語言生產的介入從『篩選與分發』邁向了『直接生成與塑造』的新階段。邁克·安妮^①在其研究中指出,算法指那些『由規定的計算機編碼、人類實踐和規範邏輯等三者構成的物的集合』。周媛媛^③認為,大語言模型(LLM)的廣泛應用使得語言結構同質化與標準化,個體情緒表達出現模板化,表達風格也缺乏多樣化。因此,算法對標準化文本的偏好與網絡語言戲仿、變異的天然屬性形成對抗,直接引發語言表達同質化與創造力流失的雙重困境。以大型語言模型為核心的智能工具,通過預測概率生成流暢文本,在提升信息生產效率的同時,也內置了一種追求標準化、可識別與可預測的『單一性邏輯』。王羽涵等^④研究發現,人工智能在處理語義潛隱性高的語言結構時,常出現語義流失、語用偏差與文化誤讀等問題,其生成文本的穩定性與語義一致性缺乏保障。由此可見,算法對語言的處理仍存在諸多問題,因此會引起算法偏見等諸多倫理問題。同時,網絡語言在使用和傳播的過程中,頻頻產生網絡謠言、語言暴力、隱私泄露、網絡欺凌、惡意傳播、網絡失語、網絡侵權、標題黨等問題,因為具有開放性和自由性的網絡環境中主體多重角色、信息海量、匿名性等特征,規範網絡主體行為的網絡語言倫理的建構尤為必要^⑤。這種邏輯與人類語言社會文化固有的雜語性、動態性與創造性本質產生了深刻衝突。此外,在虛擬空間中,巴赫金^⑦認為的『狂歡廣場』,充斥著戲仿、混梗、意



義增值與創新,全民參與的談諧文化打破社會等級,顛覆權威話語,構建平等對話;然而,算法權力的深度嵌入,使其日益呈現出米歇爾·福柯²⁹所揭示的『規訓』特征,即通過對流量的分配、對模板的推崇、對『安全』內容的偏好,社會規約無形中規訓著語言的表達形式與意義邊界。肖莎娜·祖博夫在規訓理論的基礎上發展出監控資本主義——通過大規模收集和分析用戶行為數據,生產預測產品並交易,以實現資本積累的新型資本主義形態³⁰。然而,當前研究多聚焦於技術倫理,或偏重於文化分析,缺乏將算法視作一種新型權力技術。因此,本研究正是置於『規訓』與『狂歡』的理論視角下,對網絡空間語言治理進行動態、辯證考察的深入探索。

(二) 研究目的與意義

本研究旨在深入剖析 Gen-AI 時代,算法邏輯與用戶實踐共同塑造網絡空間語言時所形成的倫理困境。本研究目的有以下三點:第一,係統整合福柯的『規訓理論』與巴赫金的『狂歡理論』,構建一個用於分析網絡空間語言下算法倫理的『規訓—狂歡』辯證分析框架。第二,通過選取『主理人』『絕絕子』與『愛你老已』三個典型案例,微觀解析算法如何具體實施『規訓』以生產單一性,以及用戶如何通過創造性、戲仿性的『狂歡』實踐進行挪用、抵抗或再創造,揭示兩者互動博弈的複雜機制。第三,基於數據分析,突破網絡語言的二元對立,初步探析一種具有『狂歡兼容性』的數字語言治理倫理方向,為構建既包容創新又負責任的網絡語言生態提供學理思考。

此外,本研究也具有網絡空間語言治理層面意義。在理論層面,基於傳播學、語言學與社會理論,將福柯的規訓理論與巴赫金的狂歡理論相結合,為理解人機協同時代的語言倫理提供了新穎的分析框架。在現實層面,研究智能算法社會的內容治理困境,其結論有助於平臺設計者及廣大網民更清醒地認知算法對語言文化的塑造力與局限性,從而在技術設計、規則制定與個體實踐層面,共同尋求維護語言多樣性與社會表達活力的可行路徑。

二、理論框架

(一) 福柯的規訓理論

福柯所界定的『規訓』,是一種誕生於 17、18 世紀,旨在通過精密技術塑造『馴順且有用』的個體的權力機制。它標誌著權力運作從君主時代公開、殘酷的肉體懲罰,轉向隱蔽、連續且作用於日常生活的控制³¹。其核心運作依賴於三種技術:層級監視,即以全景敞視監獄為理想模型,通過不對稱的凝視制造持續的可見性;規範化裁決,即通過一整套微觀處罰規範,不斷比較、區分和矯正個體行為,使其趨近於既定標準;檢查,即將監視與裁決結合,通過檔案化將個體固定為可描述、可比較的『案例』³²。張一兵在研究中發現,福柯話語中的權力關注『細節』,是一種『有關細節的政治解剖學』³³。規訓權力因而是一種與知識生產共生的『權力—知識』裝置,它不同於宏觀的國家主權或法律權力,而是滲透於社會肌體的最細微處,如學校、工廠、醫院乃至家庭。在此過程中,規訓權力與知識生產緊密結合,形成『權力—知識』共生體。關於人的科學(如心理學、教育學、犯罪學)不僅為規訓提供合法性論證和技術支持,其本身也正是在各種規訓機構(如診所、教室、監獄)的實踐中得以形成和發展的。因此,規訓既是一種權力技術,也是一種認知程序³⁴。後續有研究者指出,規訓權力在當代呈現出『隱蔽化』與『溫和化』的趨勢³⁵。權力不再僅靠強制,而是與消費主義、自我優化等話語結合,誘導個體主動進行『自我規訓』。這一脈絡的研究深化了對現代社會主體如何被塑造的理解,強調了規訓的內化與主體性生產的複雜過程。隨著數字技術的全面滲透,規訓理論迎來了至關重要的

『數字轉向』。學者們普遍認為,算法、大數據和平臺架構構成了數字時代的核心規訓裝置^⑩。

規訓將目標當作能動的主體,但不同於『影響』對主體行動的塑造,規訓塑造了主體的身份與主體性本身。由於規訓對象對外部要求的內化需要較長時間,因此以規訓為機制的制度化過程較為漫長,但制度化的結果相對穩定^⑪。因此,在數字時代,各個平臺通過數據抓取與行為分析,實現了前所未有的持續性層級監視。

對於網絡語言的算法規訓研究,近些年學者們從以下幾個層面展開:第一,語言的『數據化』與『可見性』規訓。胡凌^⑫研究指出,平臺通過持續的層級監視,如記錄點擊、停留、轉發,以及自動化檢查,如內容審核、用戶畫像,構建了數字全景敞視主義。語言的可見性與傳播範圍不再取決於其內在價值或社會共識,而取決於其是否符合算法的數據化評價體系,從而實現對表達空間的隱性規劃^⑬。第二,表達的『標準化』與『規範化』裁決。它隱性地定義何種語言風格,如簡短、情緒化、帶有特定標籤,何種話題傾向更易獲得獎勵(曝光),從而引道用戶主動調整表達,以適配平臺的『推薦規範』。這道致網絡語言生產出現『模板化』定制或『模因化』複製傾向,高度概括的情緒標籤被算法青睞並推廣,擠壓了複雜表達的生存空間,形成追求『單一性邏輯』的語用環境。第三,個性化的『微型制裁』與主體塑造。個體在技術提供的馴化便利性與潛在操控性之間持續擺動,在被精準認知與受隱性支配的交互中,逐漸模糊了信息甄別與價值自主的邊界。倘若技術裝置演化為權力的物質化延伸,算法機制轉變為新型社會規訓手段,那麼個體自主性的重構,必然須建立在對技術理性的批判自覺與制度性信任的協同基礎之上。通過用戶畫像,算法能對不同個體實施差異化的『微型制裁』——對不符合其偏好或平臺規則的內容進行限流、屏蔽或標籤化。

因此,『福柯筆下的規訓社會在數字時代演變為算法規訓,這種認知標準化使剝削深入到思維方式層面,形成福柯意義上的自我技術,勞動者主動以資本設定的認知框架規訓自身,完成剝削的自我實施』^⑭。綜上所述,福柯的規訓理論經歷了從經典闡釋到社會泛化,如今在數字時代通過『算法規訓』這一概念煥發新生的理論旅程。算法通過對網絡語言的數據化轉譯、流量化裁決與個性化塑造,實施著一種比傳統機構規訓更為隱蔽、高效且廣泛的治理。

(二) 巴赫金的狂歡理論

巴赫金在對歐洲中世紀和文藝復興時期的狂歡節現象的研究中提出『狂歡化』理論,他認為該理論的核心主要表現為題材與場景的狂歡化、人物形象的狂歡化、語言與文體的狂歡化、情節結構的狂歡化、脫冕結構等形式^⑮。該理論描繪了一個暫時顛覆社會等級秩序、崇尚自由對話的『第二種生活』的生活。這一理論包含幾個關鍵維度:全民參與性、等級消弭與平等對話、對官方語言的戲仿與降格,以及一種『既肯定又否定,既埋葬又再生』的談諧世界觀^⑯。

後續相關研究中,國內學者便敏銳指出,網絡空間的去中心化、匿名性與互動性,與巴赫金筆下的『狂歡廣場』存在深刻契合,為大眾提供了前所未有的自我表達與情緒宣泄渠道。這構成了將狂歡理論引入中國網絡文化研究的起點。『美國大眾文化理論家約翰·菲斯克創造性地運用了巴赫金的狂歡理論分析了美式摔跤比賽中身體的狂歡及其隱含的各種權力關係和政治力量。』^⑰胡春陽初步探析了狂歡理論在網絡研究中的應用,並指出『目前網絡研究方面存在的薄弱環節就是網絡與人類生活本質的聯繫,進而言之,就是網絡給人提供的是何種自由及其可能性^⑱』。進入數字時代,巴赫金的狂歡理論獲得了新的闡釋,網絡空間,尤其是社交媒體平臺、彈幕視頻網站和模因文化盛行之地,在相當程度上具備了『亞文化狂歡廣場』的特征。汪振和軍常欽指出,網民通過仿擬、拼貼創造流行語體,如『凡客體』『甄嬛體』等,是一場『顛覆傳統、標新立異』的盛大全民狂歡^⑲。這種行為不僅是娛樂,更深層地反映了社會轉型期公眾的『權利焦慮』與對嚴肅話語的疏離與諷刺。研究視野隨後擴展到非文本領域。網絡表情包和自定義符號的流行,因其對經典形象的解



構與再創造,以及其在公共事件討論中的情緒動員作用,被視作數字時代的『狂歡節語言』。而網絡直播則構建了更極致的狂歡場景:主播通過表演獲得『加冕』,觀眾通過打賞、彈幕參與儀式,共同在虛擬廣場中建構臨時性的平等關係與情感共同體^③。燕道成和談闊霖^④從大眾文化視角切入,研究得出『網紅經濟文化的健康發展需要堅守狂歡文化的內核,即『追求個體的生命自由,倡導個性解放』,秉持網紅經濟的文化意義和人文價值。』近期,張妮娜和周藝^⑤培通過研究發現,『共享文檔的『在線野聊』既昭示著社交本質的回歸和對平等對話的期待,也被寄予著人們自我解壓與情感宣泄的電子烏托邦想象。』此類研究揭示了狂歡形式從文本向多模態、從異步向實時互動的發展。

巴赫金的狂歡理論經歷了從理論引介與現象印證,到深入剖析各類數字實踐,最終轉向批判性審視其與技術權力共謀關係的複雜過程。當下的研究共識在於,網絡語言的『狂歡』與算法的『規訓』並非簡單對立,而是陷入一種深刻的辯證關係:用戶以狂歡策略尋求表達自由與身份認同,而算法架構則通過流量分配、個性化推薦和商業邏輯,持續地對這種狂歡進行引導、規訓與收編。網絡語言的狂歡實踐並非孤立存在,其與算法規訓形成的動態關係,構成了網絡語言生態的核心張力。

(三)『規訓—狂歡』的共生與辯證關係

『規訓—狂歡』的對立與共生關係暗藏於在算法權力與用戶實踐的語言場域中。然而,只有回到 Gen-AI 技術內核才能深入理解當前算法規訓的底層邏輯。目前,在以 Transformer 架構為基礎的大語言模型中,概率模型作為其核心生成機制,基於海量語料進行概率預測,即逐詞計算並選擇『最可能』出現的下一個語言單元。而 RLHF(人類反饋強化學習)作為大語言模型的上層優化技術,雖旨在通過人類偏好反饋優化模型輸出,卻在客觀上形成對語言表達的標準化引導。方小兵發現,數智時代的語言安全的核心矛盾突出表現在技術創新的『開放性』與語言資源『防護性』、全球算法的『同質化』與語言文化『多樣性』之間的深刻張力^⑥。上述現象表明,大語言模型的底層邏輯傾向於語言的單一性與平庸化,這與巴赫金的狂歡式語言創造力形成了根本性的技術張力,也構成了本文所分析的算法規訓的微觀技術基礎。

近年來,研究的重心發生了關鍵性轉移。學者們不再將網絡空間單純視為自由的『狂歡淨土』,而是日益關注到平臺算法作為一種新型權力機制,對狂歡實踐進行的引導、收編與規訓。福柯的『規訓』理論與巴赫金的『狂歡』理論,分別揭示了社會權力運作的一體兩面:前者,福柯筆下的規訓社會在數字時代獲得新形態,算法通過壓縮不確定性,將時間管理轉化為技術編碼,使個體在追求效率的過程中不自覺地接受算法的規訓,產生算法路徑依賴^⑦。後者則聚焦於民間力量如何通過顛覆性的儀式與話語實踐,短暫地打破這種秩序,釋放多元與異質的聲音。將這兩種看似對立的理論並置,並非簡單的理論拼貼,而是基於它們對『權力—抵抗』動態關係的共同關切,為剖析 Gen-AI 與算法深度介入下的網絡語言生產,提供了一個極具洞察力與張力的辯證分析框架。

首先,算法作為一種新型的、智能化的『權力技術』,其運作邏輯與福柯筆下的規訓機制深刻同構。算法通過持續的數據化『監視』、基於流量與合規的『規範化裁決』以及用戶畫像的『檢查』儀式,構築了一個數字圍牆。有研究指出,算法推薦係統基於流量效率的邏輯,悄然執行著『規範化裁決』。它通過獎勵某些易傳播、高互動的語言模式,無形中塑造著『何為受歡迎內容』的標準^⑧。其根本目的在於塑造可預測、可管理、符合平臺利益與主流價值的網絡言行,本質上是追求一種高效但『單一性的邏輯』。

與之相對,網絡用戶的語言實踐,特別是網絡流行語的創造、傳播與變異過程,則充滿了巴赫金所描述的『狂歡』色彩。網民通過戲仿、拼貼、誇張、降格等手法,對主流話語、社會現象乃至算法本身進行解構與再創造,如『網絡造句』運動所展現的,這是一場『顛覆傳統、標新立異』的盛大狂歡,其內核是追求表達的『多元複雜性』。因此,『規訓』理論精準地解釋了算法作為結構性力量對語言生態的『塑形』作用,而『狂歡』理論

則有力地闡釋了用戶作為能動主體對這套體系的『應變』與『再造』。

其次,二者並非簡單的二元對抗,而是處於一種動態的、螺旋式的『共生與辯證』關係之中。這種關係主要體現在『對抗與顛覆』『收編與馴化』『共生與共演』三個層層遞進的層面。狂歡作為對規訓的戰術性抵抗,在算法設定的單一性話語秩序中,用戶的狂歡式實踐首先表現為一種抵抗。規訓對狂歡的戰略性吸納,算法的權力是敏銳且靈活的,它並非一味壓制狂歡,而是常常迅速識別、學習並試圖『收編』那些具有高傳播能量的狂歡產物。共生與共演中永不停歇的辯證螺旋,正是抵抗與收編的持續互動,構成了網絡語言生態的動態核心。

換言之,『規訓—狂歡』框架超越了靜態的結構決定論或浪漫的主體抵抗論。在分析網絡空間語言案例時,必須同時審視以下三個問題:第一,算法如何試圖規訓這些話語的意義與使用邊界?第二,用戶又如何通過創造性、戲仿性的使用對其進行狂歡式顛倒?第三,這種拉鋸戰如何塑造了該詞匯的語義流變與社會影響?這一辯證視角,為深入理解算法時代語言治理的複雜性,以及探尋一種能夠包容創造性狂歡的治理倫理奠定了堅實的理論基礎。

三、『規訓—狂歡』案例分析

本研究旨在通過對特定網絡流行用語進行實證分析,以探討算法邏輯與用戶實踐之間的互動關係。在案例選擇上,聚焦於 2025 年度具有代表性的三個網絡熱詞:『主理人』『絕絕子』與『愛你老已』。這三個詞匯分別來源於消費文化、情緒表達與語音誤聽,其生成與傳播機制各異,能夠較為全面地反映網絡語言生態的多元面貌。

為量化分析上述詞條在網絡空間的傳播熱度與軌跡,本研究採用多平臺、跨媒介的詞頻統計與趨勢分析方法。具體而言,研究選取了在中國互聯網生態中占據主導地位、且代表不同社交場景與內容形態的三個核心平臺作為數據源:

百度指數(2025.10.20—2026.01.20):主要追蹤詞匯在搜索引擎及新聞資訊領域的公眾關注度與議題熱度,反映其作為公共話題的傳播廣度。

微信指數(2025.01.24—2026.01.23):綜合考察詞匯在微信生態(包括公眾號文章、視頻號內容、朋友圈互動及廣告投放等)內的滲透率與討論度,反映其在強社交關係鏈和私域內容場域中的流行情況。

微博指數(2025.10.23—2026.01.07):重點監測詞匯在新浪微博這一開放式廣場式社交媒體中的熱議程度與趨勢變化,捕捉其作為公共討論素材的實時動態與爆發力。

數據采集的時間窗口設定分別為:百度指數(2025.10.20—2026.01.20),微信指數(2025.01.24—2026.01.23),微博指數(2025.10.23—2026.01.07)。通過對這三組來自不同維度的指數數據進行橫向對比與時間序列分析,本研究試圖勾勒出目標詞匯在不同算法邏輯與用戶群體作用下的差異化傳播圖景,為後續的理論分析提供實證基礎。

(一) 案例一:主理人

胡明鑫^①指出,在算法知識內容生成中已出現明顯的同質化與內卷化問題。『「主理人」一詞最初源於 20 世紀末至 21 世紀初的亞文化領域,尤其活躍於潮牌服飾、地下音樂(如說唱、街舞)等小眾圈層。這些領域的品牌或活動往往由核心成員主導運營,他們既是創意輸出者,也是實際管理者,由此逐漸形成了「主理人」這一非正式稱謂^②。』其演變軌跡清晰呈現了從專業術語的語義泛化,到被算法選擇性強化為特定語用標籤,最終在用戶廣泛的創造性使用中解構與再語義化的過程,充分體現了語言在社會動力作用下的動態

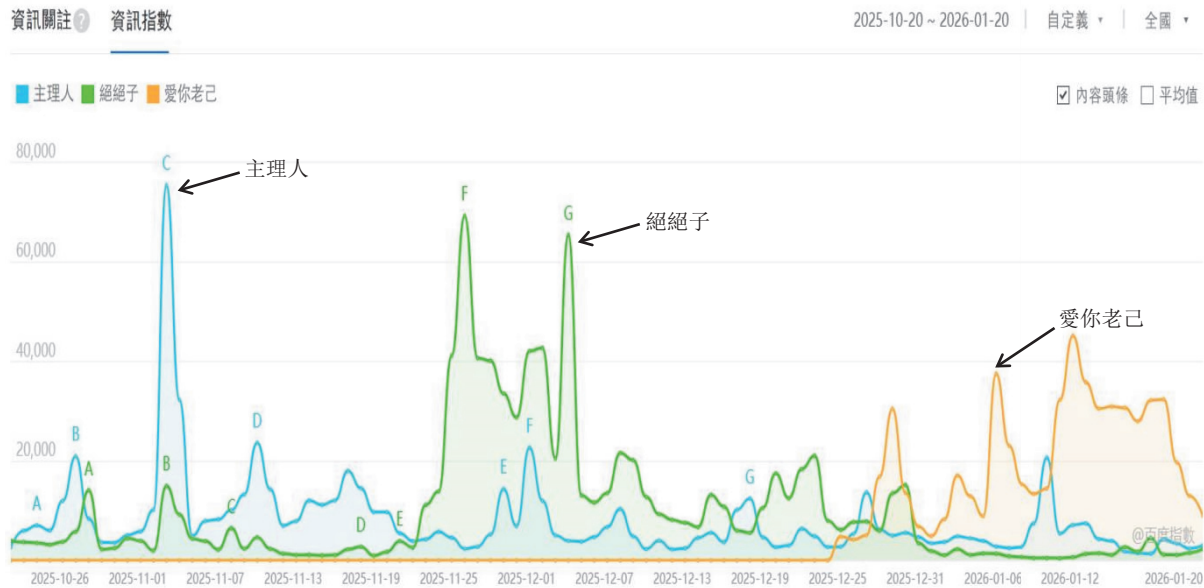


圖 1 『百度指數』關注度趨勢

指數趨勢 ①

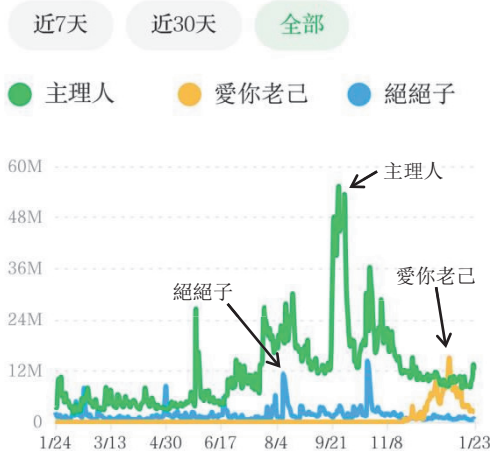


圖 2 『微信指數』關注度趨勢

指數趨勢



圖 3 『微博指數』關注度趨勢

本質，為觀察算法邏輯與用戶能動性如何在網絡語言場域中博弈提供了典型樣本。

首先，從微信指數來看，『主理人』近一年資訊關注度峰值達 56000000+，印證了算法流量強化對其傳播的助推作用，而後續熱度快速下滑則反映用戶狂歡式反諷對其語義空洞化的加速。『主理人』的詞匯演化經歷了從法律、商業等領域的專業指稱，到日常語用的語義下沉與內涵拓寬。根據社會語言學的語義泛化理論，當一個專業詞匯進入大眾視野，其外延會擴大，內涵則可能發生磨損或轉移。『主理人』原指機構或項目的『主要負責人』，帶有正式與權責色彩。進入消費文化領域後，其語義重心從『負責』轉向『主導理念與風格』，附著了個性化、審美化與去機構化的新內涵，成為一個象征文化資本與生活方式的身份符號。這是語言自然流變的必然結果。其次，算法介入加速並規約了這一流變的方向，形成了選擇性的規訓機制。內容

平臺的算法並非創造語義,而是通過識別與『主理人』標籤相關聯的高互動內容,對其進行流量加權和規模化推薦。這導致符合算法偏好的『主理人』話語被無限複製與放大,而其他語義側面則被邊緣化。算法在無形中執行了福柯所說的『規範化裁決』,定義並固化了一套關於『何謂成功主理人』的標準化語用範式與話語模板,試圖將多元的個人表達收編為可預測、可歸類的數據流,體現了追求效率的單一性邏輯。最後,網絡用戶通過創造性的語用實踐,以狂歡式解構打破這一符號的固化認知,展現了語言的多元複雜性。用戶以語言學上的『戲仿』『降格』與『語義通貨膨脹』為主要策略,例如,通過生成『咖啡主理人(不理人)』『工位主理人』等反諷性表達式,用戶將原詞從高雅語境降格至日常甚至滑稽場景,消解其附著的文化優越感。這種全民參與的語用狂歡,實質是巴赫金所描述的廣場語言的現代體現,它打破語用等級,通過雜語喧嘩顛覆單一權威闡釋。用戶的實踐並未消滅該詞,而是強行拓寬了其語用邊界,注入了批判、戲謔的新語義層,實現了對算法規訓的語用抵抗與意義再生產。

此案例表明,『算法驅動的空間重構可能固化權力規訓,導致身體在空間中的『位置性剝奪』^⑨。算法通過流量分配規訓語言的傳播路徑與顯性語義,而用戶則通過微觀的語用創新爭奪意義的最終解釋權。『主理人』的語義博弈,印證了規訓與狂歡的動態共生,算法的單一性邏輯與用戶的多元創造形成持續張力,網絡語言治理需正視這種張力,在算法設計中為無法預測的、創造性的語用狂歡保留必要空間,以維護語言生態的活力。

(二) 案例二:絕絕子

從百度指數來看,『絕絕子』屬於 2025 上半年的熱點資訊,關注度峰值達 70000+,下半年後熱度下降,印證了算法規訓與用戶狂歡式對其的雙重影響。劉寧^⑩指出,『「絕絕子」最初流行於網絡粉絲社群,作為表達偶像崇拜的新型語言符號,其借助「子」字後綴形成的萌化表達,成功塑造了有網絡世代特征的誇贊範式。』『絕絕子』的興起與流變,是觀察算法時代下語言模因如何被快速生產、規訓,並在過度使用中引發意義內爆的典型語言學案例。這個詞語的生命周期,清晰展現了語言的能指與所指在流量邏輯中如何脫節,以及用戶如何通過語用實踐對空洞化符號進行抵抗與再詮釋。

從語言學構成來看,『絕絕子』是一個具有強情感色彩但弱語義內容的『評價性語綴』。『其結構「xx 子」利用重疊主要來強化語用表達,具體表現兩種含義:主體對所指對象的態度以及主體自身的親切可愛^⑪。』通過重疊與後綴化,極大強化了主觀感嘆語氣,卻抽空了『絕』字原本所依賴的具體評價對象與比較基準。它成為一個高度依賴語境、主要用於宣泄情緒的語用標記,這種模糊性既是其初期得以廣泛適配不同場景、實現病毒式傳播的優勢,也為其後的語義空洞化與用戶反噬埋下了伏筆。

算法的規訓體現在對其進行的去語境化封裝與模板化推廣。平臺算法迅速捕捉到這一高互動性語言模因,並將其識別為一個穩定的正面情感標籤。算法通過兩種方式對其進行規訓:一是流量強化,凡標題或標籤中含『絕絕子』的內容更容易獲得推薦,這促使創作者將其作為『流量口令』高頻使用,加速了其語用範圍的無限泛化;二是語境剝離,算法將其從具體、鮮活的個人化評價中抽離,固化為一個表征『通用好評』的孤立符號,導致其語義迅速磨損,最終退化為一個近乎無意義的、僅表示『我在此處表達了情緒』的語用空殼。這體現了算法對語言多樣性的簡化與壓平。

用戶的狂歡化實踐則是對這種語用疲勞和意義空殼的創造性反叛,主要體現在反諷性挪用與意義再生產。當『絕絕子』因泛濫而失去真誠表達力後,用戶開始對其進行巴赫金式的降格戲仿。



狂歡化策略	方式	實例
極端化搭配	將其用於明顯平庸或負面的事物,通過語用悖反制造反諷效果;	你這蛋糕做的真是絕絕子啊!
形式化戲仿	模仿其構詞法創造衍生變體,解構原詞嚴肅性;	『無語子』『離譜子』
元語言嘲諷	直接討論元詞語的濫用現象本身	『描述醉人景色,是「絕絕子」;遇到巧奪天工的工藝品,也是「絕絕子」;誇夥伴才思敏捷,還是「絕絕子」…… ^⑩ 』

表 1 『××子』的狂歡化網絡用語處理

這些實踐並非為了複活詞匯,而是通過摧毀一個被算法用爛的符號,來嘲弄算法所驅動的單一、浮誇的表達生態,並在此過程中彰顯自身的話語自主性與語用創造力。

此案例揭示了算法驅動下語言模因的加速生命週期,算法通過標準化推廣催熟並榨乾了詞語的語用價值,而用戶則通過反諷性狂歡加速其死亡,並轉向創造新的符號。『絕絕子』的模因化複製是算法對詞匯的單一性規訓的結果,但同時也反映了網絡語言的狂歡化『戲仿』對詞匯的空殼式催生。這一辯證過程要求網絡語言治理意識到,算法的『效率邏輯』與語言的『活力邏輯』存在根本衝突。維護語言生態健康,不能僅靠管理個別詞匯,而需反思算法推薦機制是否在系統性地鼓勵語言的快餐化與空心化。用戶對網絡語言的『狂歡』式再創造,不僅是一種文化行為,更深植於人類的認知機制。如具身認知研究所指出的,個體基於身體經驗的差異會導致對同一符號的理解產生必然的分歧與模糊性^②,這為突破算法『規訓』下的單一解讀、進行多元的變異化創作提供了根本的認知可能性。

(三) 案例三:愛你老己

『愛你老己』,是英文『Love yourself』的中文表達。這一網絡流行語的誕生與傳播,為網絡用戶提供了一個超越簡單諧音梗分析的、極具深度的語言學與社會學觀察樣本。從微博指數來看,『愛你老己』是 2025 年末的熱詞,關注度峰值達 900000+,途中連續出現高峰和低峰,說明新的熱點資訊正在經歷用戶狂歡式的戲仿和算法單一性的規訓。其不僅體現了語言在口頭傳播中的自然變異,更生動展現了在社交媒體與算法介入下,一次偶然的語音『誤聽』如何被用戶集體征用、演繹,最終升格為一場關於親密關係、地域文化乃至自我身份的大型話語實踐。其過程深刻地揭示了算法邏輯與民間語言智慧之間複雜的共生與博弈。

從詞匯淵源看,『愛你老己』根植於語言接觸中的『誤解』與『再詮釋』這一經典社會語言學現象。這個梗最早源於遊戲《英雄聯盟》中角色臺詞『愛你老媽,明天見』,後經玩家的創造性改變,最終稱為『愛你老己』。這一起源本身包含多重語言學要素:首先是角色身份的轉換,從『老媽』轉變為『老己』拉近了人與自身的關係;其次是語義的聯想附著,『老己』雖無傳統詞匯意義,但其音、形(與『自己』的『己』同字)迅速引發了新的意義聯想。這並非單純的錯誤,而是一個完整的『言語行為—聽覺接收—社會傳播』的語言事件,其後續發酵完全由社會互動驅動。

網絡空間中承載文化意涵的縮合型話語(如漢語塊狀語),其施事義潛隱的特性依賴語境關聯與認知 ICM 模式實現語義完整傳遞,而算法在自動化處理這類話語時,常因缺乏對深層認知機制的適配的而出現語義顯化失當、文化內涵誤讀等倫理風險,這一現象凸顯了算法倫理治理需兼顧話語認知邏輯與語境適配性的核心要求^③。算法規訓主要體現在對這一偶然語言事件進行熱點化提取與框架化推廣,試圖將其納入可控的情感表達與流量生產軌道。平臺算法通過趨勢監測,迅速識別到這一詞匯的討論熱度和互動潛力,其規訓機制隨即啟動,其一,進行話題封裝與分流,創建『#愛你老己#』統一標籤,將原本散漫、多義的討論收編進一個可索引、可溯源的數據庫條目中,便於管理和引導流量。其二,推動意義窄化與模板化。算法更傾

向於推薦那些將『愛你老己』明確解讀為『一種可愛的口音錯誤』或『另類表白梗』的內容,從而將其規訓為一個安全、溫馨、易於參與的情感表達模板,剝離其可能蘊含的更複雜的社會文化討論,如對地域口音的刻板印象、對婚姻關係的調侃等。算法在此扮演了語言管理員的角色,試圖為這場偶然的狂歡修建堤壩,引導其流向既定的、非爭議性的情感消費池塘。

然而,網絡用戶的狂歡化使用,恰恰在於衝破這種算法規訓,將『愛你老己』推向更廣闊的『意指實踐』舞臺,展現了強大的符號生產力與意義解構力。用戶的實踐遠超簡單的模仿,而是進行了一系列創造性的『語言遊戲』。

關係模式的戲仿與重構:用戶不僅用於親人,更將其泛化至朋友、寵物、甚至自己與自己對話的場景,例如,『好好愛自己』『愛你老己』。這打破了算法試圖固定的親密關係框架,使其成為一種普遍的自反性情感表述,即通過對他者稱謂的挪用來完成對自我的關照與喊話。

地域文化的書寫與展演:許多用戶,特別是帶有相關地域背景的,主動使用並調侃這一表達,將其從『他者眼中的口音笑料』轉變為『自我主導的文化標識』。這並非被動接受汙名,而是以幽默姿態完成了一次主動的身份展演和文化認同,符合巴赫金狂歡理論中降格以實現自我解放的精髓。

語言形式的無限衍生:基於『X 你老己』的句式結構,衍生出『煩你老己』『誇你老己』等無數變體。這種能產性證明,用戶關注的並非原詞本身,而是其所激活的一種高度自由、戲謔的句法模因和語用姿態。它成為一種元語言,用以嘲諷網絡流行語本身的生產機制,或用於構建圈層內部的親密感和排他性。

由此可見,對算法倫理與網絡語言治理提出了比前兩個案例更為深刻的啟示。『主理人』的翻轉體現了價值反撥,『絕絕子』的消亡展示了對抗性狂歡,而『愛你老己』的生生不息則揭示了一種更複雜的可能,即用戶能夠利用甚至『劫持』算法提供的基礎設施(如熱搜、話題),來完成一場自下而上的、意義豐富的文化創造活動。這要求網絡語言治理必須具備更高的複雜性與包容度。首先,需認識到語言的活力恰恰蘊藏在其偶然性、歧義性與用戶自主的創造性誤用之中,算法作為治理工具,不應急於對這類現象進行『一刀切』的語義規整或道德評判,而應保留一定的觀察空間,允許語言在社會互動中自然演化。其次,治理思維應從『管控具體詞匯』轉向『優化話語生態』。重點不是判斷『愛你老己』是否『正確』或『合規』,而是反思算法推薦邏輯是否過度放大衝突、簡化意義,從而壓制了像『愛你老己』衍生出的這種多元、戲謔但充滿生命力的社會對話。最終,理想的治理應致力於構建一個既能借助算法發現語言現象,又能保障用戶擁有脫離算法預設框架進行自由意義玩耍權利的彈性空間。在這種空間裏,類似『愛你老己』的語言事件,將不再僅是流量數據,而是成為我們觀察時代情緒、社會心態與文化認同的生動語料。

四、探析語言的『狂歡兼容性』倫理治理

(一) 網絡語言治理困境

在算法的倫理問題上,國外學者米特爾施泰特等通過分析數據表達的算法驅動行為造成的責任問題,認為算法的倫理問題有六個特性,即不確定性、不可理解性、誤導性、不公正性、變革性、可追溯性^⑤。在網絡語言場域中,『算法規訓』與『用戶狂歡』之間形成了根本性的治理張力。福柯式的規訓機制在網絡空間中以算法為載體,通過數據化、程序化的方式實現對語言的可見性管理。這種管理不僅體現在內容審核上,更深刻地內嵌於推薦系統的流量分配邏輯中,即算法通過識別、分類與優先級排序,將語言表達轉化為可計算、可預測、可控制的數據對象,從而構建了一套隱性的『規範化』體系。

然而,巴赫金式的狂歡力量始終在場並不斷生成新的異質性。用戶的語言變異實踐,如戲仿、拼貼、二

次創作等,構成了對算法單一性邏輯的創造性抵抗。這種抵抗並非全然對立,而是在動態互動中形成複雜的共生關係。算法試圖規訓語言,而語言狂歡則不斷溢出算法的預設框架;算法轉而學習、收編這些變異,用戶則又創造新的表達方式。這種循環構成了網絡語言生態的基本動力結構。

當前治理模式多偏向『規訓主導』,強調可預測性、安全性和秩序性。然而,過度規訓可能導致語言生態的創造性貧困,使網絡空間失去其應有的文化活力和民主潛力。因此,探尋一種能夠兼容狂歡特質的治理倫理,成為平衡語言生態多樣性與社會治理必要性的關鍵課題。

(二)『狂歡兼容性』治理框架構思

『狂歡兼容性』作為一種治理倫理框架,旨在承認並引導而非壓制網絡語言實踐中的創造性、多樣性和抵抗性。它基於以下核心認知:語言不僅是信息傳遞工具,更是文化創造力、身份表達和社會交往的基本載體。因此,語言治理不應追求絕對的控制與統一,而應致力於構建一個既有序又開放、既穩定又創新的彈性空間。

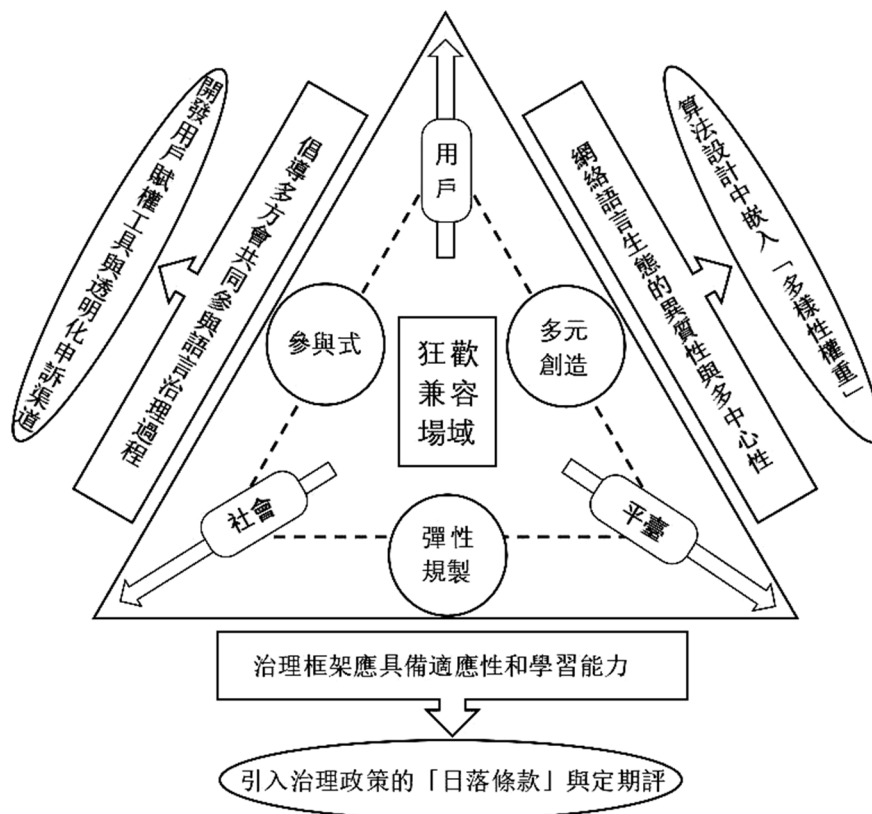


圖 4 『狂歡兼容性』三原則框架構思

由圖可見,多元性原則承認網絡語言生態的異質性與多中心性。不同於傳統媒體時代的『中心—邊緣』傳播結構,網絡語言生產具有分布式、去中心化特征。『狂歡兼容性』要求治理體系尊重不同社群、圈層的語言實踐自主性,避免將單一語言標準強加於多元文化表達,彈性規制原則強調治理框架應具備適應性和學習能力。面對快速演變的網絡語言現象,剛性、靜態的治理措施往往失效甚至適得其反,彈性規制意味著治理標準本身能夠根據語言實踐的變化進行動態調整,為創新性表達預留制度空間。參與式治理原則倡導用戶、平臺、學界等多方主體共同參與語言治理過程,傳統的『自上而下』治理模式難以應對網絡語言的複雜生



態,而參與式治理則通過建立對話機制,將『用戶狂歡』的創造性力量轉化為治理優化的資源而非挑戰。

實際上,現有平臺治理實踐已為此構思提供了經驗支撐。2024年11月起,中央網信辦等四部門^④啟動『清朗·網絡平臺算法典型問題治理』專項行動,明確要求重點平臺構建『信息繭房』防範機制、提升推送內容多樣性豐富性、嚴禁推送高度同質化內容誘導用戶沈迷。同時,馬若宏等學者^⑤指出,網絡空間新興語言的動態出現是對既有語言規範的衝擊與補充,其治理應遵循『多元參與、立體監督、技術創新及借鑒交流』等係統維度。也有研究發現,在B站,青年用戶的算法身份建構遊移於『有意識』與『無意識』之間,用戶在順應平臺規訓的同時仍保留一定主動建構能力^⑥。一方面,平臺設立剛性底線,例如對死亡、病痛或災難進行娛樂化惡搞的行為被明確禁止,對基於性別等立場宣洩群體仇恨的言論予以嚴格處置。另一方面,B站在遊戲區引戰問題治理中明確提出從『人』和『事』兩個方向入手,區分『以偏概全的負面評價』與『基於事實的客觀批評』,後者明確不被禁止。這種『區分惡意行為與正常討論』的思路,本質上是在多元表達與社區秩序之間尋求邊界。平臺風紀委員會機制則使用戶以『眾裁』方式參與社區治理,將語言實踐的判斷權部分交還多元主體,為『狂歡兼容性』的落地提供了制度範本。總言之,『狂歡兼容性』的參與式治理核心在於『從過去依賴技術的透明式治理走向發揮人類力量的參與式治理』,重塑用戶在被算法規訓過程中的主體性^⑦。

(三) 算法倫理治理重構

1. 算法设计中的价值嵌入与多元考量

徐延民^⑧指出,『算法技術離不開社會空間中諸要素的參與,其社會倫理意蘊為算法生態空間的營造提供了沃土,對防範算法技術設計與運用中帶來的綜合風險具有重大意義。』實現『狂歡兼容性』首先需要在算法設計層面進行倫理重構。當前主流推薦算法多基於『用戶參與度最大化』的單維目標,這往往導致內容同質化和流行語過度繁殖。重構的算法倫理應納入更豐富的價值維度,包括多樣性指標的引入,使算法不僅推薦流行內容,也主動曝光小眾、新興的語言表達形式。語境敏感性的提升,使算法能夠識別語言使用的具體情境,而非僅依賴詞匯本身的表面含義。例如,『絕絕子』在不同社群、不同語境下可能承載截然不同的情感色彩和語義內涵,簡單的關鍵詞過濾或推廣都會造成誤判。透明性與可解釋性的增強,使用戶能夠理解算法如何影響其語言環境的形成。這包括提供『為什麼推薦此內容』的簡要說明,以及允許用戶在一定程度上自定義內容推薦邏輯。

2. 算法伦理治理框架建构

『狂歡兼容性』在治理框架上體現為從『清單式管理』向『原則性引導』的轉變。

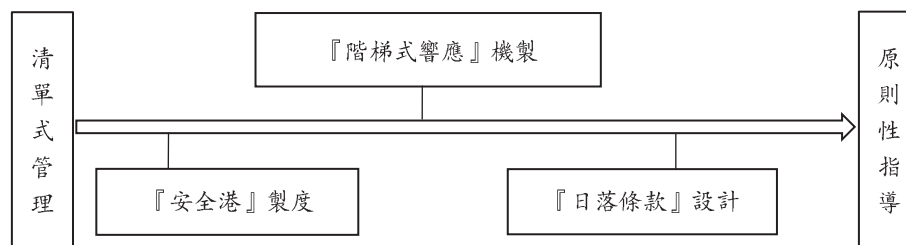


圖 5 『狂歡兼容性』治理框架运作机制

基於此,建立『安全港』制度是為實驗性、創造性的語言實踐提供容錯空間。例如,可設立語言創新實驗區,在特定平臺或社群中允許更寬松的語言規範,觀察其發展軌跡後再決定是否納入更廣泛的治理考量。同時,採用『階梯式響應』機制,根據語言實踐的社會影響程度采取差異化治理措施。對於可能造成實質傷害的表達,採取果斷乾預;而對於僅屬『品味』或『風格』範疇的非常規表達,則保持克制與觀察。而引入『日



落條款』設計,使某些語言管理措施具有時效性而非永久性。這既能應對特定時期的突出問題,又避免過時規則長期抑制語言生態的自然演化。

五、結論

網絡語言治理的核心倫理困境,是如何在秩序與自由、規範與創新、安全與活力之間找到動態平衡。『狂歡兼容性』提供了走出這一困境的可能路徑:它要求我們不再將『規訓』與『狂歡』視為對立的兩極,而是視為語言生態中相互塑造、彼此需要的共生力量。

未來網絡語言的健康生態,不應該是算法全面規訓下的同質化空間,也不應該是完全放任自發的無序廣場,而應是一個規訓與狂歡持續對話、相互調適的第三空間。在這一空間中,算法倫理的重點從『控制什麼被表達』轉向『如何培育豐富的表達可能』;語言治理的目標從『消除混亂』轉向『管理混亂的創造性潛力』。

最終,在生成式 AI 持續重塑語言生產的背景下,『狂歡兼容性』治理不僅是語言生態的維護,更是數字時代人文價值與技術理性的平衡路徑。

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**[Pedagogy and Interdisciplinary Studies]**

Constructing Collaborative Teacher-AI-Student Model for L2 Learning in the Context of AI

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Abstract: With the rapid rise of large language models represented by ChatGPT and DeepSeek, foreign language learning has undergone profound changes. The traditional binary interaction model between teachers and students is gradually giving way to a triadic collaborative framework involving teachers, students, and AI systems. Building on a review of relevant domestic and international research, this study argues that research should focus on the functional positioning and operational mechanisms of artificial intelligence across different instructional stages in foreign language classrooms. Accordingly, foreign language teaching is reconceptualized as a three-stage process—pre-class, in-class, and post-class—corresponding respectively to basic language tasks, demanding cognitive activities, and language support. This framework highlights the differentiated instructional roles of AI at each stage and provides a structured approach for integrating AI into foreign language teaching in a pedagogically meaningful and human-centered manner.

Keywords: large language models; AI; collaborative interaction; foreign language teaching

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1. Introduction

With the rapid emergence of large language models (LLMs) represented by ChatGPT and DeepSeek, foreign language learning has undergone profound transformations. As an increasing number of language-related tasks can now be completed efficiently through artificial intelligence, and as both teachers and students gain access to and proficiency in digital resources, traditional lecture-based classroom practices are facing significant challenges. Under these circumstances, foreign language education must critically examine which instructional components are likely to be replaced or reshaped by AI and how teaching content and pedagogical approaches should be adjusted in the context of AI-driven learning environments (Kong, 2024).

In response to the strategic directives articulated by President Xi Jinping on accelerating the development of artificial intelligence—particularly the emphasis on leveraging AI to support educational transformation—and in alignment with national policy documents such as the *Artificial Intelligence Innovation Action Plan for Higher Education Institutions* issued by the Ministry of Education, regions across China have actively promoted the deep integration of “artificial intelligence + education.” Major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai have taken the lead in implementing AI-supported educational initiatives, while provinces including Jiangsu and Guangdong have successively released action plans addressing AI-related majors and the application of AI in higher education teaching scenarios.

Against this backdrop, the present study adopts a “teacher-AI-student” collaborative perspective to explore new pathways for AI-empowered foreign language classroom instruction. It seeks to construct a diversified and integrated teaching model that is supported by intelligent technologies while grounded in humanistic values. This model emphasizes the coordinated development of teachers’ and students’ technological literacy and humanistic literacy, aiming to facilitate a pedagogical paradigm shift from tool-based empowerment toward value-oriented educational leadership. By doing so, the study endeavors to provide both theoretical support and practical pathways for the modernization of foreign language education in higher education. More broadly, the research contributes to optimizing classroom instructional structures, enhancing the quality of teacher-student interaction, and advancing pedagogical transformation, thereby offering both theoretical significance and practical implications for the development of a foreign language education system with Chinese characteristics that integrates technological empowerment with humanistic orientation.

2. Review of Previous Research at Home and Abroad

Since OpenAI triggered widespread global attention, scholars both in China and abroad have conducted extensive and in-depth investigations into the applications and impacts of generative artificial intelligence (GAI) in the field of education. Existing studies can be broadly categorized into three major strands. First, instructional applications and user engagement have been a primary focus in international research, where attention to artificial intelligence in education emerged earlier than in China. These studies mainly examine how learners and teachers actually employ GAI to support teaching and learning. Researchers have explored the potential uses of ChatGPT in areas such as writing assistance, language learning, and classroom interaction, as well as its role in facilitating



instructional processes and pedagogical efficiency (Hong, 2023; Kohnke et al., 2023). Second, a growing body of domestic research has emphasized learner autonomy and the promotion of personalized foreign language education. Studies have examined the impact of generative AI on teaching practices, instructional models, and pedagogical methods in foreign language education (Hu, 2023; Qin, 2023; Yang & Gu, 2023). Other research has focused on the role of GAI in enhancing learners' autonomous learning capacity (Zhang & Hong, 2023; Xu & Zhao, 2024) and reshaping teachers' professional roles and responsibilities (Yu & Rao, 2023). In specific application contexts, generative AI has demonstrated considerable potential in supporting teachers' instruction, research activities, and professional development (Liu et al., 2024). At the same time, it provides students with personalized learning support by optimizing learning pathways and enabling multidimensional, dynamic, and data-driven monitoring and assessment of learning processes. Third, risk awareness and ethical regulation constitute another important research direction. Scholars have raised concerns regarding potential risks and challenges associated with the integration of ChatGPT into educational settings, including issues of academic integrity, overreliance on technological tools, misinformation, and AI hallucinations (Akinwalere & Ivanov, 2022; Firat, 2023; Jin et al., 2026).

Overall, existing research on generative artificial intelligence in education provides a solid theoretical foundation and practical insights for the present study. In particular, within the context of foreign language education, the continuous evolution of AIGC technologies has created new opportunities for instructional innovation and pedagogical restructuring. Although prior studies have yielded valuable findings on AI-enabled teaching and learning—especially in supporting teachers' instructional practices and enhancing students' learning capacities—and have begun to acknowledge a gradual shift from traditional “teacher-student” interaction toward a “teacher-student-machine” collaborative model, several limitations remain. First, research on the interaction mechanisms among teachers, students, and AI remains underdeveloped. While existing literature has recognized changes in the relationships among teachers, students, and intelligent systems, it lacks a systematic conceptualization of triadic interaction mechanisms. Specifically, “teacher-AI” interaction is often confined to instructional design and task assignment, while “student-AI” interaction is primarily reflected in homework completion and language practice. Classroom “teacher-student” interaction, however, continues to rely largely on traditional lecturing and task-driven approaches, failing to fully reflect the transformative potential of AI for classroom ecology. In many cases, AI remains positioned at the periphery of instruction, with unclear participation pathways and functional roles, resulting in a form of “instrumental isolation” that limits meaningful collaboration among teachers, students, and AI systems. Second, empirical research on classroom-level implementation is insufficient. Although existing studies highlight the broad pedagogical potential of generative AI, there is limited in-depth exploration of its practical integration into real classroom contexts. In particular, research remains scarce on how to construct authentic, dynamic, and efficient “teacher-AI-student” collaborative teaching scenarios; how to design instructional processes and strategies that effectively stimulate triadic interaction; and how to evaluate teaching effectiveness following AI integration. Many studies remain at the conceptual or exploratory level, lacking operationalizable and scalable pedagogical models, which constrains the deep integration of generative AI into classroom instruction.

In response to these gaps, the present study focuses on the reconstruction of foreign language teaching models from a “teacher-AI-student” collaborative perspective. It aims to explore effective pathways for the deep

participation of generative artificial intelligence in instruction, promoting a shift in foreign language classrooms from superficial technological embedding toward integrated pedagogical innovation, and ultimately enhancing the quality of instructional interaction and learning outcomes.

3. Constructing “Teacher-AI-Student” Collaborative L2 Teaching Model in AI Era

Generative artificial intelligence has demonstrated significant empowering potential in foreign language education, particularly in supporting student learning processes. Within language learning contexts, AIGC can function in multiple roles, such as a “language consultant” “AI learning partner” and “assessment expert” (Xu, 2024), providing learners with immediate feedback, simulated interaction, and personalized guidance. These affordances effectively enhance learning efficiency and language output quality. Correspondingly, teachers’ roles are undergoing substantial transformation, shifting from knowledge transmitters to learning facilitators and cultivators of humanistic literacy (Hu Pingping, 2026).

At the same time, the rapid development of AIGC has introduced new challenges. Certain instructional components—such as vocabulary instruction and writing revision—are increasingly being undertaken by AI systems. This development requires teachers not only to acknowledge the structural changes brought about by AI technologies but also to proactively reconstruct teaching content and pedagogical approaches, ensuring that professional expertise and intelligent technologies complement one another. In doing so, teachers can preserve the irreplaceability of human instruction and uphold the humanistic orientation of foreign language education. Exploring the construction and practical pathways of intelligent-integrated foreign language teaching models in the AIGC context involves two key dimensions. First, it requires a systematic examination and classification of teaching content structures following the integration of generative AI, with the aim of optimizing the division of instructional tasks between in-class and out-of-class learning, promoting content reconstruction, and improving task alignment and effectiveness. Second, it entails the development of a new “teacher-student-machine” collaborative interaction model, in which AIGC technologies are organically embedded throughout instructional design and implementation, facilitating a transition from traditional “teacher-student” interaction to an intelligent, collaborative, and systematic teaching paradigm.

3.1 *Teaching Content Classification and Reconstruction in the AI Era*

With the integration of AIGC technologies, foreign language teaching content has exhibited a trend toward functional differentiation, necessitating systematic reorganization and reconstruction of instructional tasks. On the one hand, low-order language tasks that can be efficiently completed by AI—such as syntactic exercises, semantic error correction, and elementary writing—should be appropriately transferred to out-of-class autonomous learning modules. On the other hand, classroom instruction should concentrate on high-order cognitive activities that are difficult for AI to replace, including critical thinking, intercultural understanding, and emotional expression. This division gives rise to a structured instructional framework characterized by “out-of-class learning focused on foundational skills and knowledge expansion, and in-class learning centered on reflective practice and affective cognition,” thereby enabling optimal allocation of instructional resources under human-machine



collaboration.

In AI-empowered teaching content classification and reconstruction, attention should be directed toward the functional positioning and operational mechanisms of technology across different instructional stages, reflecting a learning-process-oriented approach guided by progressive cognitive levels. Overall, foreign language instruction can be divided into three stages—pre-class, in-class, and post-class—corresponding respectively to low-order language tasks, high-order cognitive activities, and intermediate-level language support, thereby highlighting the differentiated roles of AI across instructional phases.

In the **pre-class stage**, AI primarily supports the completion of low-order foundational language tasks, including open information retrieval, basic vocabulary practice, background knowledge acquisition, and review and organization. This stage emphasizes learner autonomy and cognitive preparation. Through intelligent search, corpus-based recommendations, and immediate feedback, AI assists learners in completing essential language input and knowledge construction prior to formal classroom instruction. Research indicates that AI-driven information retrieval systems and intelligent language tools can reduce learners' cognitive load and enhance the efficiency and relevance of pre-class preparation, thereby laying a solid foundation for deeper learning during class time (Kukulska-Hulme et al., 2024; Zawacki-Richter et al., 2019).

In the **in-class stage**, the core objective of foreign language teaching is clearly defined as the organization and implementation of high-order cognitive activities, with particular emphasis on deep teacher-student interaction, peer collaboration, and classroom assessment. At this stage, the functional positioning of AI shifts significantly: rather than focusing on information presentation or knowledge transmission, AI serves a supportive and auxiliary role in facilitating classroom interaction and learners' cognitive processing. Based on considerations of the nature of learning, the explicit involvement of the AI learning partner is intentionally reduced during in-class instruction, in order to create space for effective interaction among real learning partners and to foreground human agency in the teaching process.

Specifically, the AI learning partner mainly provides implicit support, such as offering learning analytics to inform teaching decisions, supplying resources for task design, or providing technical scaffolding for learners' language production. In contrast, the primary learning activities in the classroom are led by real learning partners—namely, teachers, peers, and graduate teaching assistants—who collectively form a learning community. Through face-to-face discussions, collaborative inquiry, and outcome presentations, learners are guided to engage in more challenging language output and higher-level cognitive processing. Compared with the AI learning partner's emphasis on efficiency and personalization, real learning partners possess irreplaceable advantages in emotional interaction, value guidance, and meaning construction, which are critical to the development of advanced language competence and comprehensive literacy. The "HI+AI" teaching and adaptive learning initiatives currently implemented at Shanghai Jiao Tong University exemplify this human-centered approach. Its "HI mentor + AI instructor" classroom reform adopts a structured organization of class time that integrates technology-supported personalized learning with high-order cognitive activities centered on real learning partners. In the initial phase, learners complete adaptive learning tasks with the support of AI learning partners; in the subsequent phase, instruction transitions to a deep interactive environment led by real learning partners, focusing on discussion, analysis, and complex tasks. Through this organizational design, classroom instruction achieves a dynamic balance between efficiency enhancement and humanistic concern, leveraging the

technological advantages of AI while safeguarding the central role of human intelligence in foreign language learning.

In the **post-class stage**, AI functions as an “intermediate-level language companion,” with core roles in review and consolidation, adaptive language practice, and timely feedback. By intelligently diagnosing learners’ language proficiency and learning trajectories, AI systems can provide personalized practice materials and feedback, supporting sustained consolidation and reflective learning. This data-driven adaptive learning model constitutes an important pathway for promoting learning transfer and long-term language development.

From an overall perspective, the logic of “division of labor and collaboration” underpinning AI’s role in foreign language education can be summarized as follows: AI assumes responsibility for repetitive, low-order, and supportive tasks, while high-value interpersonal interaction, meaning construction, and value guidance are preserved for teachers and classroom communities. This principle aligns closely with the prevailing view in AI-in-education research that positions AI as a pedagogical partner rather than a replacement for human educators, and it contributes to the advancement of foreign language teaching toward greater precision, personalization, and quality (Zawacki-Richter et al., 2019).

3.2 Constructing Teacher-AI -Student Model

At the level of instructional organization, the integration of AIGC technologies is profoundly reshaping the structural configuration and operational logic of foreign language teaching. It is driving a transformation from the traditional teacher-centered “teacher-student” interaction model toward a collaborative and multi-output paradigm characterized by “teacher-student-AI” synergy. Within this emerging instructional ecosystem, artificial intelligence is no longer positioned merely as an auxiliary tool; rather, it is increasingly embedded in key stages of instructional organization and learning support, becoming an active participant in teaching and learning processes.

In extracurricular instructional organization, full use should be made of AI’s technological advantages in learning analytics, adaptive recommendation, and real-time feedback to support the design and implementation of personalized foreign language learning pathways. Based on learners’ language proficiency, learning behaviors, and developmental trajectories, AIGC systems are capable of dynamically adjusting learning content and task difficulty, enabling continuous monitoring and precise intervention throughout the learning process. At the same time, through intelligent process-based recording and analysis, assessment is no longer confined to outcome-oriented evaluation but shifts toward dynamic evaluation of learning processes and competency development, thereby enhancing the relevance and effectiveness of out-of-class learning.

In in-class instructional organization, the core value of AI empowerment lies in the construction of a task-based, output-oriented learning environment. By designing authentic or semi-authentic language tasks and leveraging AI-provided informational support, linguistic scaffolding, and immediate feedback, classroom instruction can place greater emphasis on language production, collaborative inquiry, and the integrated development of higher-order thinking skills. In this process, teachers primarily assume the roles of task designers, learning facilitators, and cognitive regulators, while AI plays a collaborative role in language support, resource allocation, and process feedback. This division of labor effectively enhances the depth of classroom interaction and student engagement.



Meanwhile, the reconstruction of assessment systems constitutes a critical safeguard for AI-enabled transformation in instructional organization. Traditional assessment models dominated by summative testing are no longer sufficient to comprehensively reflect learners' language development and overall competencies. With the support of AIGC, a multidimensional assessment framework integrating formative and summative evaluation should be established to holistically examine students' linguistic knowledge, language use ability, collaboration skills, and quality of thinking. Through AI-assisted data collection and analysis, assessment outcomes can become more objective, continuous, and traceable, providing a robust empirical basis for instructional improvement and learning support.

Overall, AI-empowered reconstruction of instructional organization in foreign language education reflects a transformation pathway that is learner-centered, technologically collaborative, and systemically optimized. This model not only contributes to improving the overall effectiveness of instructional organization but also offers a new practical framework and theoretical foundation for the sustained enhancement of foreign language teaching quality.

4. Conclusion and Future Research Directions

This study has focused on the reconstruction of instructional content and the transformation of instructional organization in foreign language education within the context of generative artificial intelligence. By systematically examining the paradigm shifts triggered by the deep integration of artificial intelligence into language teaching scenarios, the study argues that AIGC is exerting profound influences on instructional content structures, interaction patterns, and assessment systems. The traditional binary "teacher-student" interaction model is gradually evolving into a triadic, collaborative "Teacher-AI-Student" configuration, calling for a comprehensive reconceptualization of foreign language teaching at both the theoretical and practical levels.

At the level of instructional content, the study proposes a phased reconstruction of foreign language learning tasks based on the degree of AI involvement. In the pre-class stage, AI language companions primarily support learners in completing lower-order language tasks, such as vocabulary practice, background knowledge acquisition, and open-ended information retrieval. In the post-class stage, AI learning companions facilitate adaptive language practice—including review and consolidation, writing feedback, and translation analysis—thereby enabling personalized support and sustained feedback. By contrast, during the in-class stage, the study advocates a deliberate reduction of AI's explicit presence, returning pedagogical leadership to the authentic learning community composed of teachers and students. Through face-to-face discussion, collaborative inquiry, and presentation-based activities, classroom instruction emphasizes language output, meaning-making, and affective interaction, preventing technology from obscuring the fundamental nature of learning.

Paradoxically, the more pervasive AI becomes, the more necessary it is to reassert the centrality of human intelligence (HI) and to foreground the irreplaceable humanistic dimensions of language learning, including emotional experience, value judgment, and cultural understanding. Future research may further examine the instructional effectiveness of the "teacher-AI-student" collaborative model through empirical investigation and continue to explore the appropriate boundaries of AI integration in foreign language education, thereby promoting a balanced and sustainable development of intelligent technologies and humanistic education.

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Abstract: The integration of Web 3.0 technologies—specifically generative AI, algorithmic recommendation, and block-chain—has catalyzed a structural transformation in the digital publishing industry. Traditional copyright frameworks, anchored in human authorship and exclusive one-to-one control, are increasingly inadequate for addressing the complexities of large-scale AI-generated content (AIGC) and platform-mediated dissemination. This study examines three core dilemmas: the authorship crisis in human-machine collaboration, the inefficiency of conventional authorization models, and the evolving liability of digital platforms. Through a functionalist legal approach, we propose a paradigm shift from a traditional “rights-control” framework to a “contribution-based” governance model (a system allocating copyright rights and benefits by stakeholders’ actual creative and economic contributions). Specifically, we introduce a “Tripartite Allocation Model” (a dynamic mechanism dividing interests among AI operators, developers and the public). Furthermore, we advocate for upgrading authorization mechanisms via blockchain-driven smart contracts, and construct a “Graduated Liability System” (a tiered framework matching platform duty of care with algorithmic control) alongside a “Dual-Chain Evidence” (a blockchain-based mechanism combining creation records and transaction data). Ultimately, this research provides institutional designs to adapt copyright regulation to Web 3.0 realities. By reconceptualizing copyright as a proactive ecosystem governance mechanism, it balances the protection of creators’ rights with the incentives for technological innovation.

Keywords: Digital Publishing; Copyright Governance; AI-Generated Content; Platform Regulation

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1. Introduction

In the era of the digital economy, the deep integration of digital technology and the publishing industry has become a central driver of industrial transformation. According to the 2023–2024 Market Research Report on

China's Digital Publishing Industry, the overall scale of China's digital publishing industry reached 1.62 trillion RMB in 2023, representing a year-on-year growth of 19.08%¹. Artificial intelligence-generated content (AIGC), decentralized autonomous organizations (DAOs), and algorithm-driven platforms collectively dissolve the traditional linear structure of "author-publisher-user." This rapid expansion is defined by the compatibility and symbiosis of digital technologies with new publishing ecosystems. Specifically, Web 3.0 technologies—anchored by block-chain, artificial intelligence (AI), and smart contracts—are driving a paradigm shift toward decentralization and open collaboration. Unlike earlier phases of digitization, Web 3.0 fundamentally reshapes the architecture of content creation, dissemination, and value distribution. As a result, copyright law—originally designed for stable works and identifiable human creators—faces unprecedented regulatory stress.

However, this structural coupling has catalyzed three unprecedented challenges. First, the identification of copyright subjects has become increasingly uncertain. AI models like ChatGPT and DeepSeek, leveraging knowledge enhancement, now generate outputs that rupture the anthropocentric presumptions of current law. Second, traditional authorization mechanisms struggle to accommodate large-scale, real-time content production and reuse. Third, infringement remedies encounter systemic obstacles due to platform mediation and decentralized dissemination. Judicial data indicate that copyright infringement has become particularly concentrated in digital publishing, with over 2,500 individuals prosecuted for copyright crimes in China between January and November 2023 alone².

Against this background, existing research has tended to focus on isolated doctrinal adjustments or specific technological tools, such as block-chain registration or generative AI governance³⁻⁶. What remains under-explored is the structural mismatch between rigid copyright institutions and fluid technological processes. This article therefore adopts a governance-oriented perspective to examine how copyright law should adapt to AI-driven digital publishing. It begins with authorship and subject identification, proceeds to the structural failure of licensing mechanisms, and finally analyzes platform responsibility as a compensatory governance mechanism. Through this layered analysis, the article argues for a paradigmatic transition from ex-post rights enforcement to process-oriented copyright governance.

2. Authorship and Creative Contribution in AI-Assisted Publishing

The rise of artificial intelligence in content creation has fundamentally challenged the anthropocentric foundation of copyright law. Traditional copyright doctrine presupposes that works are the result of human intellectual activity and that authorship reflects personal creative choices. However, advanced generative models increasingly produce outputs that are difficult to distinguish from human-authored works, thereby blurring the boundary between tool and creator⁷.

Currently, judicial discourse presents divergent stances regarding AI authorship: conservative and progressive. Judicial and administrative practice across jurisdictions has consistently rejected the recognition of artificial intelligence as a copyright author. In *Tencent v. Yingxun* (2019), where Tencent's Dreamwriter AI generated financial news articles and Yingxun reproduced 10 articles without authorization, the Shenzhen Nanshan District Court ruled Tencent as the legal author. It affirmed that copyright protection attaches to human intellectual investment in algorithm design, data selection and final review⁸. This case implicitly supports a



contribution-based approach but leaves the issue of multi-stakeholder right allocation unresolved. Similarly, in *Thaler v. Perlmutter* (2023), the U. S. District Court rejected copyright registration for a work fully autonomously created by AI, reaffirming the human-centric foundation of copyright law but exposing the limitation of the rigid binary “human-machine” division⁹.

The conservative stance, as seen in these cases, treats AI merely as a tool without standing. Conversely, the progressive stance advocates for granting AI limited legal personality. In response, some scholars advocate granting artificial intelligence limited legal personality, drawing on the concept of “electronic persons”¹⁰. Yet such proposals remain functionally problematic. Copyright law operates not merely as a recognition mechanism but as a system of incentives, liability allocation, and market regulation. Assigning authorship to AI would sever the connection between rights and responsibility, undermining the regulatory coherence of copyright institutions¹¹.

Recent research therefore increasingly favors a contribution-based approach that locates copyright attribution within the network of human actors involved in AI content production. These include data curators, algorithm developers, system operators, and deploying platforms¹². From this perspective, AI is best understood as a sophisticated production medium rather than an autonomous rights holder.

To operationalize this contribution-based approach, this study proposes a Tripartite Allocation Model—a framework dividing copyright interests based on quantifiable contributions of three core stakeholders (see Table 1). This tripartite structure resolves the theoretical impasse by substituting the binary “author vs. Machine” debate with a pragmatic ecosystem of shared interests.

Stakeholder	Primary Contribution	Rights Granted	Quantitative Threshold
Operator (Human User)	Provides original prompts, exercises creative control over output direction and style	Full authorship and property rights proportionate to input	Prompt originality $\geq 30\%$ AND data selection weight $\geq 15\%$
Developer (AI Enterprise)	Invests in algorithm design, model training, and data infrastructure	Limited Right to Earnings (royalty share from commercial use)	Based on R&D investment and model contribution to output quality
Public	Contributes to the collective knowledge base used for AI training	Non-exclusive Right of Use for non-commercial, educational, and research purposes	Applies to general AI outputs without substantial human creative input

Table 1 Tripartite allocation model core framework

As suggested in the U. S. Copyright Office’s January 2025 report, Copyright and Artificial Intelligence, mere prompt input does not guarantee copyright; the user must exercise substantive creative control. Therefore, a quantitative threshold is suggested: if a human user’s prompt originality accounts for $\geq 30\%$ and data selection weight accounts for $\geq 15\%$, they should be granted property rights. Furthermore, to rectify the imbalance where platforms monopolize revenues, digital publishing requires a “Dynamic Contribution Assessment” algorithm, drawing inspiration from Article 63a of the German Copyright Act regarding equitable remuneration. This algorithm would integrate multiple dimensions of contribution, including prompt complexity, post-generation editing intensity, and model training data contribution, to ensure fair and transparent benefit distribution.

Clarifying authorship, however, does not resolve the broader governance dilemma.¹³ Even when human contributors can be identified, traditional mechanisms for exercising copyright—particularly licensing—prove

increasingly incompatible with AI-driven production models. This structural limitation necessitates a closer examination of authorization systems in digital publishing.

3. Structural Failure of Traditional Licensing Models in AI-Driven Publishing

Conventional copyright licensing mechanisms are premised on identifiable right holders, discrete works, and feasible ex-ante authorization. These assumptions collapse in AI-driven digital publishing environments, resulting in a dual failure of cost constraints and efficiency decay.

Under the Web 3.0 paradigm, the bidirectional interaction between User-Generated Content (UGC) and AI-Generated Content (AIGC) catalyzes a structural transformation where the fragmented diffusion of use cases coexists with massive content aggregation. Traditional copyright law relies on an author-centric logic, constructing an individualized negotiation system that demands total control over content dissemination. However, evaluating this through the lens of institutional efficiency reveals a severe paradox.

First, in the realm of secondary creation, the strict authorize-before-use paradigm intrinsically conflicts with fragmented creative demands. Because secondary creation requires the integration of multi-source elements, forcing creators to individually negotiate with every right holder triggers exponentially increasing marginal costs, essentially driving the majority of users toward infringing usage due to prohibitive transaction costs. This problem is particularly acute in the short video industry, where a typical 15-second video may incorporate 3–5 different copyrighted elements, including music, images, and text clips. Industry data shows that over 70% of short video creators have abandoned legitimate authorization due to excessive time and cost burdens, leading to widespread infringement and legal disputes.

Second, in AI training scenarios, the rigid demand for massive data inputs fundamentally clashes with existing licensing models. Using the GPT series models as an example, the volume of text data required for training reaches the magnitude of tens of millions. If one-to-one authorization rules are mechanically applied, the cost of clearing rights will severely invert against the economic returns of technological innovation, ultimately forming a negative institutional externality that stifles development.

When traditional licensing fails, the fair use doctrine should theoretically serve as a safety valve. However, Article 24 of China's Copyright Law employs a closed-list approach that cannot accommodate exponential technological use cases like Text and Data Mining (TDM). Furthermore, a deeper institutional tension stems from the structural dislocation between traditional licensing paradigms and the digital publishing ecosystem. In terms of rights transfer, the relatively closed authorization system of the traditional publishing industry cannot adapt to the high-frequency, multi-node, dynamic flow characteristic of the digital environment, leading to inflated transaction costs.

This institutional dilemma fundamentally reflects the temporal friction between industrial-age copyright concepts and the operational laws of the digital economy. To overcome these structural inefficiencies, copyright frameworks must internalize technological realities by expanding the scope of fair use. It is advocated for integrating a TDM exemption specifically for scientific research, mirroring Articles 3–4 of the EU Directive on Copyright in the Digital Single Market (DSM Directive). Furthermore, drawing from the non-expressive use exception established in the U. S. case *Authors Guild v. Google*, temporary copying of protected works during



deep learning model training should be exempted as fair use.

Concurrently, the authorization mechanism itself must transition to automated, technology-driven frameworks. Blockchain-driven smart contracts offer a highly viable institutional design. Blockchain is a decentralized, immutable distributed ledger that records transactions across multiple nodes. Its core advantages for copyright governance include tamper-proof rights confirmation, transparent revenue distribution and full-cycle traceability, though it currently faces significant practical limitations. In terms of scalability, public blockchains like Ethereum can only process approximately 15–20 transactions per second, far below the demands of large-scale digital publishing platforms that handle millions of content transactions daily. Cross-jurisdictional legal uncertainty further complicates its application: while China recognizes the legal validity of consortium blockchain records, many countries have not yet established clear regulatory frameworks for blockchain-based copyright transactions.

Smart contracts, as self-executing code with predefined terms, can automate micro-licensing and royalty distribution. Specifically, Non-Fungible Tokens (NFTs), acting as digital proofs of ownership, leverage their indivisibility and non-fungibility to become unique carriers for original works. This establishes effective rights confirmation, delivering verifiable digital ownership and resolving industry-wide challenges of intellectual property authentication and anti-counterfeiting traceability. In China, the Copyright Protection Center's exploration of the Digital Copyright Identifier (DCI) System 3.0 represents a critical step toward building a national Copyright ID infrastructure. Additionally, AI-powered tools can conduct large-scale internet scanning for copyright monitoring and real-time infringement tracing, supplementing blockchain governance. These tools use computer vision and natural language processing technologies to compare uploaded content with a database of copyrighted works, achieving detection accuracy rates of over 95% for text and image content.

4. Multidimensional Remedies: Graduated Liability and the Blockchain Evidence Loop

4.1 Dynamic Fault Assessment: A Three-Tier Standard

In the Web 3.0 ecosystem, the immense dissemination power generated by algorithmic recommendation systems shatters the “technical neutrality” assumption underlying traditional “notice-takedown” rules. When deep learning algorithms deeply intervene in content distribution, three normative challenges arise: First, does algorithmic recommendation constitute a technical presumption of the constructive knowledge (knew or should have known) requirement under the Copyright Law? Second, does the platform's transmission dominance elevate its duty of care of a good administrator? Third, does an elevated standard of care necessitate a reallocation of the right to remuneration under Article 22 of the Copyright Law Implementing Regulations? The ambiguity surrounding these normative propositions continuously exacerbates the institutional tension between rights protection and technical innovation.

The paradigm of platform responsibility must therefore transcend the legacy classifications of internet service providers. We propose a dynamic adaptation mechanism—a graduated liability system based on the principle of risk-return equivalence and the platform's degree of technical intervention. (see Table 2) Unlike the traditional

binary pure conduit-content provider classification, this system allocates nuanced duties matching platforms' actual control over content. It reduces legal uncertainty, aligns incentives for anti-infringement investment, and adapts flexibly to emerging business models.

To ensure the operability of this system, a standardized platform technical intervention assessment index system should be established. This system would include three core dimensions: the degree of algorithmic control over content distribution (e. g. , recommendation algorithm weight, personalized push intensity), the level of content pre-review and filtering, and the platform's revenue dependence on copyrighted content. The paradigm of platform responsibility must therefore transcend the legacy classifications of internet service providers. We propose a dynamic adaptation mechanism—a graduated liability system based on the principle of “risk-return equivalence” and the platform's degree of technical intervention. (see Table 2) Industry associations and regulatory bodies can jointly develop assessment standards, conduct regular evaluations of major platforms, and dynamically adjust their liability levels based on assessment results.

Platform Technological Role	Level of Intervention	Primary Judicial Standard Applied	Probability of Platform Liability
Pure Data Storage (e-g., Cloud Drives)	Low (Passive Hosting)	Safe Harbor (Notice-Takedown)	Low
Content Aggregation (e-g. , Forums, BBS)	Medium (Categorization)	Red Flag Standard (Constructive Knowledge)	Moderate
Algorithmic Recommendation (e. g. , Personalized Feeds)	High (Active Promotion)	Heightened Duty of Care (Proactive Filtering)	High
AI Generation /Co-creation (e. g. , AIGC Platforms)	Critical (Content Generation)	Direct or Contributory Infringement	Very High

Table 2 Correlation between platform technological roles and copyright liability trends

First, for platforms strictly providing passive data storage, the Safe Harbor defense holds. These platforms should employ basic authorize-before-upload protocols and utilize copyright fingerprinting. Second, for platforms deploying collaborative filtering algorithms, the duty of care must be elevated to the Red Flag standard. As established by the Shanghai Pudong District Court in the Yuewen Group case, if a platform's algorithm deliberately boosts pirated literature, it constitutes contributory infringement. Third, for intelligent recommendation platforms that deeply intervene in content production, courts must apply a substantial substitution test. Liability is positively correlated with technical application. When a rightsholder provides dual-chain evidence, the platform cannot use blockchain's technical neutrality as a shield; instead, the burden of proof shifts to the platform.

4.2 Closed-Loop Evidence and Damages Calculation

The decentralized nature of Web 3.0 exacerbates the difficulty of infringement tracing. The traditional notice-takedown rule appears entirely impotent against Web 3.0 infringements. In the first major NFT copyright dispute in China—the Fat Tiger Vaccination NFT case—infringers utilized block-chain for cross-platform distribution. Because NFT metadata (such as work hashes and transaction records) is generated on consortium chains, it becomes immutable once uploaded. Even if a court orders an injunction to cease infringement,

decentralized technology dilutes the actual effect of deletion. Furthermore, user anonymity makes tracking the actual tortfeasors exceptionally difficult.

To counter this, we propose a Dual-Chain Evidence System—a two-tier blockchain mechanism for comprehensive copyright proof and infringement tracing (see Table 3). This system creates a closed loop from creation to transaction, solving the long-standing problem of evidence collection in digital copyright disputes.

Chain Type	Purpose	Content Stored	Operation Mechanism	Legal Effect
Creation Chain	Establish original ownership	Author's drafts, creation timestamps, revision history, copyright registration records	Authors upload their works to a consortium blockchain at various stages of creation; the blockchain generates a unique hash and timestamp for each version	Provides prima facie evidence of authorship and creation time; recognized by Chinese internet courts
Transaction Chain	Track dissemination and infringement	NFT minting records, transaction history, transfer records, access logs	Platforms deploy smart contract probes to automatically record all transactions involving copyrighted works; anomalous behaviors (e.g., large-scale unauthorized transfers) are flagged in real-time	Provides evidence of infringement scope, duration, and financial harm; enables accurate calculation of damages

Table 3 Dual-Chain Evidence System Structure

Furthermore, calculating damages in digital publishing is notoriously difficult. Traditional copyright law relies on objective metrics like circulation volume or print runs, which are inapplicable to the instantaneous, cross-regional, and low-cost replication of digital environments. While Article 54 of the Chinese Copyright Law raised the statutory damages cap to 5 million RMB, the threshold for serious circumstances lacks clear definition. To resolve this issue, AI-assisted damage calculation systems can be developed to integrate multi-dimensional data, including the work's original market value, the duration and scope of infringement, the number of views and shares, and the infringer's subjective malice. These systems can generate objective damage assessment reports, providing scientific reference for judicial decisions and reducing the arbitrariness of statutory damages.

To resolve the issue of plaintiffs failing to meet the burden of proof due to platform data black boxes, platform data disclosure obligations must undergo technical and scenario-based reform. When evidence involves user behavioral data, platforms should process sensitive data referencing the Information Security Technology-Personal Information Security Specification (GB/T 35273–2020) or utilize Differential Privacy technologies, akin to Springer Nature's Data Privacy Gateway, to generate actionable aggregate data reports for litigation.

Simultaneously, punitive damage triggers must be established for algorithmic malice. If a platform employs adversarial neural networks to bypass plagiarism checks, subjective malice is directly presumed. Drawing upon legislative precedents like the California Consumers Legal Remedies Act (CLRA), if a platform's interface induces users to disseminate infringing content, it may trigger aggravated liability.

4.3 Cross-Border Jurisdiction and Synergistic Governance

Finally, the globalization of digital publishing inevitably triggers jurisdictional conflicts. These conflicts are primarily concentrated in the debate between the server location standard and the user perception standard. The former offers technical certainty but struggles with distributed storage, whereas the latter aligns with the borderless nature of the internet but risks overextending long-arm jurisdiction and violating judicial sovereignty.

Although current Chinese judicial practice leans toward the server standard, relying on a single criterion risks undermining the efficacy of cross-border rights protection.

We propose adopting a dual-test of Substantial Effect+Technical Controllability. First, if foreign platforms utilize CDN acceleration or IP obfuscation to deliberately distribute infringing content to domestic users, a jurisdictional nexus is established. Second, platforms must take reasonable measures against foreseeable cross-border infringements. Additionally, Natural Language Processing (NLP) technology can be employed for targeted language analysis—such as detecting whether a pirated platform offers Chinese search options—serving as a technical auxiliary tool for determining jurisdiction. Under the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) framework, we advocate for integrating systems like WIPO's DCI and Crossref via Hyperledger Fabric consortium chains to enable real-time hash verification of infringing content across borders.

5. Conclusion

The foregoing analysis demonstrates that the copyright challenges of digital publishing in the Web 3.0 era are not the result of isolated doctrinal deficiencies but stem from a structural mismatch between static legal frameworks and dynamic technological processes. Specifically, the proliferation of AI-generated content (AIGC), decentralized networks, and algorithmic distribution has triggered a tripartite crisis: the blurring of authorship boundaries, the friction of one-to-one licensing models, and the tracing difficulties of decentralized infringement. Through an examination of authorship identification, licensing failure, and platform-centered responsibility, this article reveals a gradual transformation of copyright governance from ex-post enforcement toward process-oriented control.

Rather than extending legal personality to artificial intelligence or mechanically expanding exclusive rights, effective regulation requires a functional reorientation of copyright institutions. The core theoretical innovation of this study lies in replacing the binary man vs. machine debate with a Tripartite Allocation Model, dynamically distributing rights among AI operators, developers, and the public based on quantifiable creative contributions. Furthermore, to address the licensing deadlock and enforcement opacity, this paper constructs a technology-driven institutional solution: utilizing block-chain smart contracts for automated micro-licensing, and establishing a Graduated Liability System that correlates a platform's duty of care directly with its degree of algorithmic control.

Future reforms should focus on three dimensions: technological integration through standardized digital copyright identifiers (DCI) and Dual-Chain evidence systems to break the platform data black box, industry self-regulation via platform compliance alliances to establish unified damage calculation models, and international cooperation on cross-border enforcement mechanisms utilizing electronic evidence clouds within global frameworks like RCEP. By aligning legal regulation with technological realities, copyright law can evolve from a reactive system of rights protection into a proactive framework of ecosystem governance, ultimately ensuring that technological advancement serves as a catalyst for cultural prosperity rather than a disruptor of creative incentives.

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A Capital, A Horse, and A Pair of Dangling Feet: Aha Moments in Western Art History and Beyond

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Abstract: This essay explores three “aha moments” encountered during the preparation and teaching of a Western art history course—instances of accidental discovery that led to deeper reflection and unexpected connections. The first centers on the human-headed capitals in the *Gospel Book of Otto III*, examining how these peculiar architectural details fuse classical authority with Christian sanctity while reflecting the Ottonian ambition to revive the Roman Empire. The second investigates Paolo Uccello’s *Equestrian Monument to Sir John Hawkwood*, where the horse’s anatomically impossible gait reveals the early Renaissance tension between scientific perspective and artistic vision, and considers Andrea del Castagno’s subsequent homage through deliberate repetition of the “error.” The third uncovers the dangling feet in the upper-left corner of Manet’s *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, a detail long overlooked that opens discussions of visual balance, spatial complexity, and the painter’s poignant farewell to worldly pleasures amid declining health. Through these three case studies, the essay argues that attentive observation—opening eyes rather than loosening tongues—reveals art history as a living dialogue across centuries, where accidents, errors, and overlooked details often carry the most profound human emotions and creative insights.

Keywords: Western art history; Ottonian art; Renaissance perspective; Paolo Uccello; Manet; visual discovery; artistic innovation

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1. Introduction

The history of art carries the weight of human emotions. Indeed, art is the history of human emotion itself. To narrate art history is, therefore, a process of experiencing and sharing these very feelings.

Different works bring vastly different emotional experiences to the viewer. Consider the soul-piercing gaze

in Rembrandt's self-portraits, the suffering and tragic grandeur in Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*, or the fervent passion and subtle undercurrent of anxiety in Van Gogh's *Lilacs*. Mark Rothko frankly admitted that his works were expressions of fundamental human emotions: "I'm not an abstractionist... I'm interested only in expressing basic human emotions—tragedy, ecstasy, doom, and so on—and the fact that lots of people break down and cry when confronted with my pictures shows that I communicate those basic human emotions." (Rodman, 1957) Other artists, however, hoped their works would bring light-hearted and joyful feelings to the audience, as seen in the works of Renoir and Matisse. For Renoir, the artist's duty was to create beauty, providing a respite from life's hardships: "Why shouldn't art be pretty? There are enough unpleasant things in the world." (Renoir, J., 1962) In Matisse's view, art should be "a soothing, calming influence on the mind, something like a good armchair that provides relaxation from physical fatigue." (Matisse, 1908)

When it comes to light-heartedness and joyfulness, some artworks conjure these feelings up almost by accident. During my own preparation and teaching of a Western art history course, I have encountered many unexpected and enlightening moments, most of which stemmed from accidental discoveries. In the process of further research, more unexpected findings, deeper reflections, and new connections emerged. This article selects three accidentally discovered details to document the subsequent associations and findings. It is intended more as a progress report, for there is often no definite answer when it comes to artistic exploration.

2. Otto III and Man-headed Capitals

If not for an illuminated manuscript, the name of Otto III might not have been significant in the history of Western art. Look at *Otto III Enthroned* from the *Gospel Book of Otto III* (figure 1, left), what captures your attention first? Is it the vibrant and balanced colors, or the flattened and multi-perspective composition? Or, you are simply impressed by the in-the-face presence of the central figure: Otto III. Towering, even sitting, over the clergymen and barons at his sides, the solemn-looking pale-faced heavy-crowned young emperor (still a teenager then) holds a scepter in his right hand and a cross-inscribed golden orb in his left, both representing his universal authority. The four equally-solemn-looking men pay their gaze salute, their eyes reminding us of those of the 5,000-years-old Sumerian limestone statuettes of worshippers gazing at their gods (figure 1, upper right). If we observe a little more closely, we may notice the bird (an eagle?) that perches on the scepter and the two animal heads (lions?) and paws sticking out from Otto's throne, each observant and majestic in its own way.

If you stop looking now and switch your attention to the caption beside the image and start lamenting over the premature death of this ambitious young man and the collapse of his grand blueprint for the revival of the Roman Empire (exactly what I did the first time seeing this image), you may have missed some very unusual element in the picture—our first "aha" moment—the reddish-golden columns supporting the canopy behind Otto III (who is sure to crack his head if he stands up). These are not the common composite type, but are topped by two pairs of adorably clueless human heads supported by plant leaves, their square jawlines reminding us of the influential Roman emperor—Constantine (figure 1, lower right).

Let us start from the leaves supporting the heads. They might be a simplified form of acanthus leaves—a typical feature of the Corinthian capital, an ornate form of column capital invented during the second half of the fifth century BC, by the sculptor Kallimachos, as recorded by Vitruvius in *De Architectura*: The story takes



Figure 1 Left: *Otto III Enthroned*, folio 24 recto of the *Gospel Book of Otto III*, 997–1000;
Middle: Otto II with the Vassal States Germania, Francia, Italia, and Alemania, ca. 985.
Upper-right: Sumerian Statuettes with big blue eyes, ca. 2900–2300 B. C. E; Lower-right:
Portrait of Constantine from the Basilica Nova, Rome, ca. 315–330 C. E.

place in the ancient Greek city-state of Corinth. A young local girl fell ill and passed away. Her nurse gathered the girl's cherished belongings into a basket and brought it to her tomb as an offering. To preserve the basket, the nurse covered it with a tile. The basket happened to be placed atop the root of a wild acanthus plant. When spring arrived, the acanthus leaves and stems grew from beneath the basket, spreading along its edges. Blocked by the tile, the leaves were forced to curl outward, forming elegant scroll-like shapes. The sculptor Kallimachos (hailed as the “master of perfection”), who happened to be passing by, was deeply inspired by this beautiful fusion of nature and human artifice. Taking this scene as his prototype, he designed a new type of capital adorned with acanthus leaves and featuring scrolls at its four corners, first applying it in the city of Corinth, hence the name “Corinthian.”

The Corinthian capital became especially popular during Hellenistic and Roman times. Some iconic ancient Roman buildings, for example the Pantheon, the Temple of Jupiter, etc. prominently featured the Corinthian order to convey grandeur and opulence. The Romans further developed the Corinthian order into the Composite order (combining Ionic scrolls with Corinthian acanthus leaves), as seen in the Colosseum and the Arch of Titus. Quite by coincidence, I noticed an image (figure 1, middle) featuring Otto II, father of Otto III. Here the Holy Roman emperor is seen sitting beneath a canopy supported exactly by standard Corinthian columns.

Why did the standard Corinthian capitals turn into human heads a decade or two later, and exactly who do these heads represent? This seemingly simple question has led me on a search that has yet to yield results. The first part of the question seems easier to answer. We know that the primary focus of Otto II's reign was consolidating imperial power in Italy, countering Byzantine and southern Islamic forces. His art emphasized imperial unity and Roman heritage. Classical capitals served this image perfectly. However, Otto III's ideal was to recreate the glory and power of the ancient Roman Empire in a universal Christian state governed from Rome, in which the pope would be subordinate to the emperor in religious as well as in secular affairs. Consequently, his art had to transcend mere classical revivalism, necessitating the invention of a new visual language that fused classical authority with Christian sanctity. (Mayr-Harting, 1999) The human-headed capitals must be the product of this ambitious creation.

Exactly who do these back-to-back heads represent? This is the tougher part, as no definite answer is found



yet. The association with Constantine is not farfetched, as he was the first Roman emperor to convert to and support Christianity, and to Otto III he symbolized the ideal model of the unity of church and state. Another role model of Otto III's was Justinian, the 6th-century Eastern Roman (Byzantine) emperor who reclaimed parts of the former Western Roman territories and built the Hagia Sophia. Theophanu, Otto III's mother, was a Byzantine princess, and it is said that Otto III was prouder of his Constantinopolitan than his German roots. (Kleiner, 2010) However, Constantine and Justinian were both secular leaders, unfitting for the spiritual and sacred function that these pillars were meant to perform.

More likely candidates are biblical figures, the "apostles and prophets" who are considered the foundation of God's household (Ephesians, 2: 19–22). To be specific, they might be James, Peter and John, who are recognized as "the pillars of the church" (Galatians, 2: 9). However, given the even number—two heads for each capital, it is also quite likely that they represent the four Christian evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.



Figure 2 Screenshot of first page of the canon table in *Gospel Book of Otto III*

A later discovery proves this later estimation more likely. A video (created by Zierys Facsimiles) displays a number of illustrated pages from a facsimile of the *Gospel Book of Otto III*. On the first page of the canon table (a system of dividing the four Gospels used in the Middle Ages) I find that each of the middle column supporting the round-headed frame has exactly the same human heads between a golden abacus and a maroon-colored shaft (figure 2). Its central position and the choice of colors (gold representing God, truth and divine revelation; maroon symbolizing solemn authority and weighty sacrifice) suggest the significance of the human-headed column, which is reconfirmed in the most important page *Otto III Enthroned*. This cleverly binds the supreme authority of the empire with the perfect harmony of the Gospels. As the patron, Otto III becomes associated with the most core doctrines through this highest grade of visual symbolism. Noticeably, in the central page the color of the shaft is different—more gold is used, possibly for visual harmony, as the abacus and shaft echo the color of the cross-inscribed orb in Otto's left hand, of the scepter in his right, and the Bible held by the clergyman at the front. If we look down for more gold, we will notice a real oddity—the lower position of the golden stylobates suggest that the columns are actually in front of the clergy and the barons, otherwise all these people would be floating in the air!

Only when I started to pay attention to Otto's artist's choice of colors had I noticed the floating quality of the central figures, which renders this image even more interesting. Having analyzed so far the significance of the accidentally-discovered human-headed capitals, I must admit that what *Otto III Enthroned* attracts me most, in

essence, is still the earnest cluelessness of the whole image—exactly like a page out of a whimsical children’s picture book.

3. Uccello’s Horse, and How It Performs a Miracle

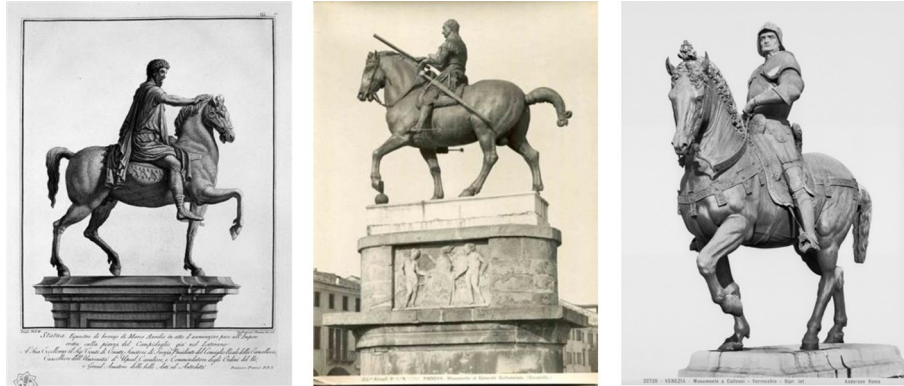


Figure 3 Left: Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius portrayed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, ca. 175 C. E.; Middle: Monument to general Gattamelata by Donatello, ca. 1445–1450; Right: Monument of Bartolomeo Colleoni by Andrea del Verrocchio, ca. 1483–1488.

We know that Otto III (reigned 996–1002) dreamed to revive the glory of the ancient Roman Empire. He traveled to Italy multiple times during his reign and resided there for extended periods. During his intermittent years of residence in Rome, he must have seen the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius (figure 3, left). This statue is the only large-scale ancient bronze equestrian statue to survive to the present day, primarily because during the Middle Ages it was mistakenly believed to be a statue of Emperor Constantine (the first Christian emperor), thus escaping being melted down. (It remains a mystery how the meditative features of Marcus Aurelius could be mistaken as those of the square-jawed Constantine.) During the Renaissance, its classical authority and technical achievement made it an important object of study for artists. Donatello’s Equestrian Statue of Gattamelata (figure 3, middle) was the first large bronze equestrian statue of the Renaissance and was clearly inspired by this classical prototype.

Marcus Aurelius’s and Gattamelata’s statues are included here for visual reference (please take a close look at the horses’ legs). The protagonist of our second “aha” moment is Donatello’s friend, Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), and his fresco *Equestrian Monument to Sir John Hawkwood*, still preserved in the Florence Cathedral (figure 4, left). This fresco predates Donatello’s Gattamelata by nearly a decade and influenced Donatello’s work, as well as the equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni (figure 3 right) by Andrea del Verrocchio, who unfortunately lost his life while working on the statue.

Paolo Uccello was an early Renaissance “tech geek,” utterly obsessed with the emerging technique of linear perspective. According to Giorgio Vasari, “Paolo Uccello would have been the most delightful and inventive genius in the history of painting from Giotto’s day to the present, if he had spent as much time working on human figures and animals as he lost on problems of perspective...” Interestingly, his nickname “Uccello” means “bird” in Italian, as he loved to depict animals. The subject of the fresco, Sir John Hawkwood, was a legendary

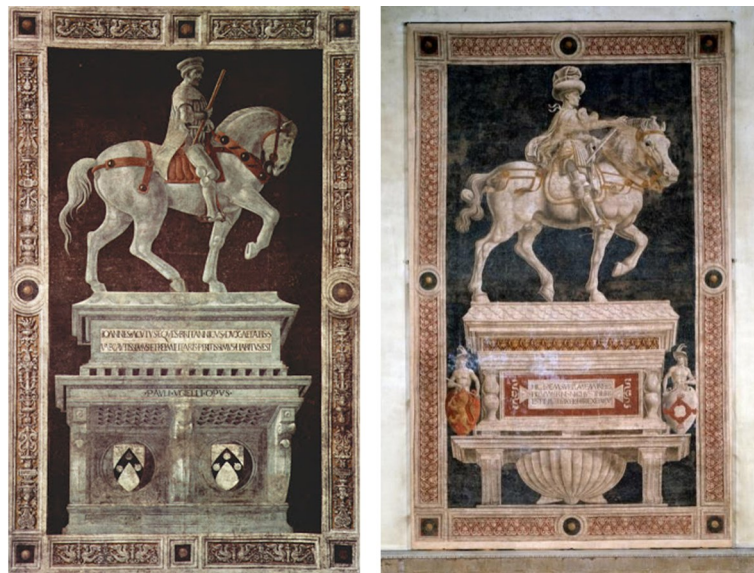


Figure 4 Left: Paolo Uccello: *Equestrian Statue of John Hawkwood*, 1436, fresco, 820 x 514 cm, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence: Right: Andrea del Castagno: *Equestrian Monument to Niccolò da Tolentino*, fresco, 1456

English mercenary captain in the service of Florence. To commemorate him, the Florentine authorities commissioned Uccello to create a monumental fresco inside the cathedral with a simulated bronze effect. This achieved the commemorative purpose while saving costs, as bronze equestrian statues were extremely expensive. Uccello employed perspective techniques like *di sotto in sù* (foreshortening viewed from below), attempting to give the 8-meter-high fresco a realistic, three-dimensional, protruding effect when viewed from below by spectators. The fresco has two viewpoints: the horse and rider are painted as if on level with the spectator, and the cenotaph is seen as if from below.

Uccello's contemporaries were astounded by the convincing form in which he painted rider and horse. (Buchholz et al., 130) Sir Hawkwood sits haughtily on horseback. The horse is glossy as if carved from marble, its proportions perfect, and the red accessories on it are dignified and elegant. Yet, in truth, this horse could not stand at all. While reading Vasari's *The Lives of the Artists*, I came across a shocking discovery: "This work was and is still considered to be a most beautiful painting of this type, and if Paolo had not represented the horse as moving his legs on only one side—something horses cannot naturally do, since they would fall—this work would have been perfect, because the proportions of that horse, which is huge, are quite beautiful." It turns out that, due to his excessive focus on geometric perspective calculations, Uccello neglected the realistic anatomical structure of a horse, resulting in unnatural leg movement that makes the horse appear to be moving both legs on the same side simultaneously. The walk of a horse is a steady, four-beat gait. The sequence of hoof falls is generally: left hind → left fore → right hind → right fore. At any given moment, a horse keeps at least two or three feet on the ground; it never lifts both legs on the same side (left or right) off the ground and swings them forward completely simultaneously. (Evans et al., 2020) In class, I asked students to observe the fresco carefully and see if there is any problem, and one student did point out the horse's legs, which greatly enchanted the class.

However, as Vasari says, Uccello's work does have a timeless beauty to it. Despite its flaws, it represents

the passionate, somewhat clumsy, yet utterly sincere exploration characteristic of the early transformative phase of the Renaissance. After Uccello, perspective became a tool mastered by painters, no longer requiring the extreme and solitary exploration that Uccello undertook. However, the story does not end here. While searching for a clearer version of Uccello's fresco, I noticed another, similarly massive equestrian fresco with a very similar composition right next to it, seldom mentioned in art survey books. This is Andrea del Castagno's *Equestrian Monument to Niccolò da Tolentino* (figure 4, right), painted in 1456. This fresco was created 20 years after Uccello's. In those two decades, Uccello's unscientific treatment of the horse's legs must have been well-known in Florentine art circles. Donatello's equestrian monument to General Gattamelata, finished about 10 years later, clearly demonstrates this awareness. Did Castagno seize his opportunity to correct Uccello's mistake?

The answer is: No. Uccello's horse lifts its right legs together, while Castagno's horse lifts its left legs together!

In Renaissance Florence, there was fierce competition among artists, but also profound study and dialogue with predecessors. In my view, Castagno having his horse inherit the same-side leg lift serves as an homage-imitation to Uccello rather than a corrective-surpassing. He did not choose to say, "You painted it wrong, let me show you the right way," but instead used a similar form to pay tribute to Uccello. Although the contract indeed stipulated that Castagno's fresco was to be painted in "the same manner and form" as that of the Hawkwood (OPALife 2022), regarding the handling of details, the artist could not have been without his own choices. To me, Castagno's choice is deeply moving. Perhaps the resonance of the two works also reveals a deeper possibility: artists of that era may have shared an unspoken understanding that "art can transcend absolute nature." Castagno might have realized that the "awkwardness" in Uccello's painting was precisely what made it uniquely iconic. Therefore, he chose to inherit this right to artistic distortion and to defend artistic freedom. Together, they seem to tell the viewer: Here, concept and beauty can take precedence over the mere replication of nature.

In fact, although Uccello was fascinated by perspective, he was not interested in using it simply for realism. Many of his works have a distinct personal style where the science of perspective serves more for decoration than faithful reproduction. For example, in the London panel of *The Battle of San Romano* (figure 5, left), a series of three panel paintings commemorating the 1432 Florentine victory over Siena, Uccello's pioneering use of linear perspective is vividly combined with decorative color and stylized forms to create a dynamic, almost theatrical representation of medieval combat. The composition is dense with lances, armored knights, and fallen soldiers, carefully arranged to emphasize perspectival depth. In *St. George and the Dragon* (figure 5, right),



Figure 5 Left: Paolo Uccello *The Battle of San Romano*, ca. 1438–40;
Right: *St. George and the Dragon*, ca. 1456



Uccello depicted the dramatic battle in the form of a fairytale scene. The tender figure of the King's daughter is painted according to ideals of elegant beauty of the International Gothic style. The horse carrying St. George, which gallops diagonally into the picture, is painted with the newly discovered central perspective. (Buchholz et al., 130) The white horses in these paintings all raise their fore legs, something a natural horse can do, but they still look more fantastic than real. Perhaps that is why Uccello's works have an enduring charm.

4. Manet's Farewell, and the Dangling Feet

Uccello the Florentine may seem to have little to do with the Parisian Édouard Manet, except that a few of Uccello's works, including a panel of *The Battle of San Romano*, are in the Louvre, where Manet frequented in his youthful days (1850s) to copy the works of the old masters. However, Uccello was not among Manet's favorite painters. Manet's preferences lay elsewhere: with the Venetian School (Titian and Veronese), the Spaniards (Velázquez and Goya), the Dutch (Frans Hals and Rembrandt), and his fellow Frenchmen Watteau and Chardin (Proust, 1913). A stronger link might be found in Delacroix, whom Manet much admired, who wrote in his journal about the Louvre panel of *Battle of San Romano* that it "has a ferocity and a grandeur that are astonishing", though his opinion of the Louvre panel was not entirely positive, as he felt that Uccello was "preoccupied with difficulties to overcome, and with the desire to display his knowledge, to the detriment of the ensemble." To Delacroix, Uccello's works and techniques must have looked outdated, compared to the more recent Baroque grandeur and Dutch super realism. However, to the postmodern viewer, many of Uccello's supernatural works still appear refreshingly modern. His work has a childlike wonder that sets it apart from—and, in some ways, above—that of many later masters.



Figure 6 Édouard Manet, *The Races at Longchamp*, 1866

Despite their vastly different styles and eras, Uccello and Manet share the DNA of Modernity. They both challenged the conventions of their time and were controversial for their innovative works. Uccello managed to combine the newly discovered linear perspective with his unique vision and imagination. By comparison, Manet sacrificed academic visual illusion for the sake of "painterly truth"—acknowledging the canvas as a flat surface. With Uccello's horses in mind, let us have a look at Manet's early representative work, *The Races at Longchamp* (figure 6), considered his homage to the tradition of horse painting. Manet drastically simplified the details, with the horses and jockeys almost reduced to swiftly passing colored silhouettes. The background crowd is rendered as shimmering patches of color, while the horses rush toward the viewer, leaving no time for close examination. Compared to Uccello's elegantly decorative horses, Manet's horses are modern, momentary, and serve as symbols of visual impressions.

Our third “aha” moment appears in Manet’s painting *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (figure 7, right), which is widely recognized as Manet’s most important later work. In this all-too-familiar painting, a barmaid stands behind the counter at the Folies-Bergère (a variety show venue) in Paris, with a mirror behind her reflecting the bustling entertainment scene, creating a contrast with her calm and detached expression.



Figure 7 Left: Édouard Manet, *Study for Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1882;

Right: Édouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1882;

Below: Detail: a trapeze artist who is performing above the restaurant’s patrons



Aspects of this painting that have garnered much attention include its theme of modernity (depicting emerging Parisian entertainment venues and capturing the glamour and alienation of 19th-century urban life); visual contradictions and mirror paradoxes (logical inconsistencies between the mirror’s reflection and the realistic perspective); the barmaid’s expression (appearing detached amidst the hustle and bustle, with vacant eyes); and still-life-like details (the exquisite and vivid bottles, roses, oranges, and other items on the counter contrast with the blurred background, showcasing Manet’s sensitivity to texture and color).

However, some factors are often overlooked, such as Manet’s health condition while creating this painting. By the time he painted it, Manet was already in the tertiary stage of syphilis, suffering from complications like rheumatic pain and ataxia, which limited his mobility. He had less than a year left to live. Most of his work was completed in his studio, with scenes constructed based on sketches, memory, and posed models, rather than on-site painting. His illness also affected his fine brushwork, but conversely strengthened his use of broad, summary techniques and hazy atmosphere. The painting’s colors are bright, yet they conceal the melancholy of life’s final chapter. To me, this painting seems more like Manet bidding farewell to the world as he knew it. With his gaze and brushstrokes, he passed over everything familiar, softly saying goodbye.

Yet, I had overlooked an important detail. When I was sharing my feelings about this painting in my art



history class, a student raised her hand and asked, “How is it that there is a pair of feet in the upper-left corner of the painting?” I was stumped by the question because I hadn’t noticed that corner before, for all those years since I first saw the painting decades before. What a surprise! I honestly replied that I didn’t know and needed to look into it.

After searching post-class, I learned that the pair of feet in green shoes, located at the edge of the mirror’s reflection in the upper left corner, actually belongs to an aerial acrobat (or a trapeze performer), hinting at the Folies-Bergère’s hybrid nature as both a music hall and a circus venue. I also found a preliminary sketch for this painting, which did not yet include these feet, and the barmaid’s reflection in the mirror was more realistic (figure 7, left).

There are various interpretations regarding these feet in green shoes. Some critics have discussed their visual and spatial functions. For instance, Anne Coffin Hanson suggested that Manet used fragmented imagery (like feet, blurred figures) to imply a sense of dynamism in the scene, rather than static realism (1977); T. J. Clark proposed that the suspended feet suggest the unreality of the space (1984). Other scholars view the feet as symbolizing the audience’s voyeurism in entertainment settings. For example, Robert L. Herbert interpreted the painting as a microcosm of Paris’s entertainment industry, with the suspended feet hinting at hidden desires and viewing relationships within the venue (1988). Scholars’ opinions vary, and are inspiring in different ways.

In my view, from a compositional perspective, the suspended feet in green dancing shoes in the upper-left corner echo the green bottle in the lower-right corner of the painting, thus creating visual balance, besides adding spatial complexity and dynamism, as Hanson suggests. It is truly a stroke of genius. Considering Manet’s declining health, the suspended feet in the painting, the dreamlike lighting, the barmaid’s tranced expression, and all the surrounding glitz and glamour evoke thoughts of life’s uncertainty and fleeting pleasures. Most importantly, this detail, which I had once overlooked, taught me that in teaching art history, attentive observation and personal experience must always come first. Here Gombrich’s words drive home: “I want to be quite frank about this danger of half-knowledge and snobbery, for we are all apt to succumb to such temptations... I should like to help to open eyes, not to loosen tongues. To talk cleverly about art is not very difficult, because the words critics use have been employed in so many different contexts that they have lost all precision. But to look at a picture with fresh eyes and to venture on a voyage of discovery into it is far more difficult but also a much more rewarding task.” (Gombrich, 1995)

Although Manet’s *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is generally regarded as the summation of his art, from the perspective of contemplation and quiet reflection, I believe that the series of still-life paintings of flowers in vases created by Manet in the final stage of his life (1882–1883, already partly paralyzed) represents the most moving chapter of his artistic career. These works employ free and unrestrained brushstrokes and a concise composition. The colors are bright and bold, with swift and spontaneous brushwork that even carries a sense of being “unfinished” (figure 8). The petals are rendered as loose patches of color, and the interplay of light and shadow is full of dynamism. These simple and pure works possess a power that strikes directly at the heart. They mark Manet’s return to the essence of art at the end of his life—stripping away grand themes to explore the most fundamental elements of painting through the most ordinary (or extraordinary) subjects: light, color, and brushwork. “It is moving to look at these enchanting impressions of the loveliness of the natural world, given what we know of the advanced state of Manet’s illness when he painted them. In April 1883 he had a leg



Figure 8 Left: *Flowers in a Crystal Vase*, c. 1882; Middle: *Vase of Lilacs and Roses*, 1883.

This was the artist's second-to-last painting; Right: *Flowers in a Crystal Vase*, c. 1882

amputated; a few weeks later he died in considerable pain.” (Feist, 2013) When one thinks of the pair of feet suspended in mid-air in *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, it is truly heartbreaking.

5. Conclusion

This essay originated from a recollection of the interesting, delightful, and eye-opening moments during the preparation and teaching of a Western Art History course. From numerous “aha” moments, three of the most impressive ones were selected: the man-headed capitals in the *Gospel Book of Otto III*, the impossible gait of the horse in Paolo Uccello's *Equestrian Monument of John Hawkwood*, and the dangling feet in Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Through the process of reflection, material collection, and writing, even more details and connections were discovered: the double-headed capitals in the canon tables of the *Gospel Book of Otto III* and the floating quality of Otto III's subordinates; Castagno's imitation of Uccello's horse as an homage; Manet's horses; and the modernist trait he shared with Uccello—the same spirit of exploration and innovation. The joy of exploration and discovery knows no bounds. As Confucius says, “To know it is not as good as to love it, and to love it is not as good as to take delight in it.”

When it comes to exploration and innovation, even the unknown artists of the Reichenau Island School who illustrated the *Gospel Book of Otto III*, though undoubtedly guided or constrained by doctrinal and symbolic systems, still found ways to express their creativity and emotions through their choice of colors, forms, and countless nuanced details that silently communicate with discerning viewers (remember the adorably clueless square-jawed faces planted in acanthus leaves?). This brings to mind the famous quote by John Ruskin: “Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts: the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others; but of the three, the only trustworthy one is the last.” Indeed, art is by no means mere decoration; it speaks directly from the eyes to the heart. Whether in architecture, sculpture, painting, or nearly any human creation, art reflects the inner world of the creator and the collective spirit of the age in a way that is difficult to falsify. More importantly, it does not impose a single interpretation.



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(Editors: Derrick MI & JIANG Qing)



Afrofuturism: A Posthumanist Inquiry into the Reconstruction of Subjectivity

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Abstract: The violence of “Othering”, rooted in the Western humanistic tradition’s “Vitruvian Man” paradigm, and the concomitant systematic exclusion of African subjectivity, constitute a structural obstacle to social cognition in Africa. This study innovatively synthesizes posthumanist theory with indigenous African philosophical resources, including Ubuntu philosophy, Bantu philosophy and non-linear concepts of time, and proposes three core concepts: “Cyborg-Ubuntu” subjectivity, an “actor-network of all things” and “Spiral Time”. This framework aims to deconstruct centralized models of the subject and reconstruct a future subjectivity that is dynamic, symbiotic, and trans-species. The creative works of Afrofuturism are examined as a concrete practice in constructing this “posthuman” subjectivity. By moving beyond the pursuit of recognition from the Western paradigm to actively create alternative futures, these works ultimately facilitate the liberation of all “Others” from the predicament of objectification, empowering them to become self-defining creators of the future.

Keywords: African philosophy; Afrofuturism; posthumanism; post-othering

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非洲未來主義： 面向『後人類』的主體性重構

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摘要：西方人文主義傳統中基於『維特魯威人』範式的『他者化』暴力及其對非洲主體性的系統性排斥構成了非洲社會認知的結構性障礙。論文創新性地融合了後人類主義理論和烏班圖思想、班圖哲學、非線性時間觀等非洲本土哲學資源，提出『賽博格—烏班圖』主體、『萬物行動者網路』及『螺旋時間』三個核心概念，旨在解構中心化的主體模型，重構一種動態、共生、跨物種的未來主體性。非洲未來主義創作是面向『後人類』主體性建構的具體實踐，其作品不再尋求被西方範式承認，而是主動創造替代性的未來，最終推動全體『他者』從客體化困境中解放，成為自我定義的未來創世者。

關鍵詞：非洲哲學；非洲未來主義；後人類主義；後他者化

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在現代性的宏大敘事中，西方人文主義（Humanism）曾扮演著解放性的角色，它將人的價值從神學的桎梏中釋放出來，通過高舉理性、自由與個體尊嚴的旗幟奠定了啟蒙運動以降西方社會的核心價值觀。然而，這場以『人』為中心的思想革命，其所頌揚的『人』（Man）卻遠非一個普世與包容的概念。正如眾多後殖民主義與女性主義理論家所揭示的，這個大寫字母的『人』，其原型是達芬奇筆下的『維特魯威人』（Vitruvian Man）——一個健康的、白種的、歐洲的、男性的、異性戀的、擁有完全自主意識的理性主體。（Braidotti, 2013, pp. 13-14）這個所謂『標準』的人類範式，通過一系列二元對立的邏輯運作劃定了『我們』與『他們』的邊界，從而系統性地生產出眾多『他者』（the Other），像西蒙娜·德·波伏娃（Simone de Beauvoir）在《第二性》中論述的女性『他者』（De Beauvoir, 2013）以及愛德華·薩義德（Edward Said）的《東方學》中描述的『東方』他者（Said, 1978）。這些他者以非理性和『非文明』為主要特徵，構成『維特魯威人』對立面，反襯出後者的文明與優越。

『他者化』操作在殖民擴張下的達到了頂峰。弗朗茨·法農（Frantz Fanon）在《黑皮膚，白面具》中借助現象學方法，描繪了被殖民的黑人如何在白人的凝視下喪失主體性，逐步被客體化，甚至非人化（Fanon, 1967）。更嚴重的後果是，這種『他者』身份已經被很多黑人內化於心，他們不能改變自己的『黑皮膚』，但卻竭盡全力地希望戴上『白面具』，內心缺乏認同、焦慮不安，陷入存在的異化。在殖民語境下，『他者』不僅僅是一個差異性的存在，更是一個被標記為次等的、有待征服和教化的客體。人尚且如此，動物、自然在以『維特魯威人』為標準的主體性認知序列中完全沒有立身之地，至多成為支撐那個大寫『人』之主體地位的必要背景。因此，人文主義對『人』的頌揚和所謂的『普世』價值，恰恰建立在對大規模『次人』（sub-human）與『非人』群體的排斥與貶抑之上。這一結構性的暴力，正是非洲未來主義所要拆解的對象。

一、『後人類』視角下的『他者』解構

後人類主義（Posthumanism）是一種典型的未來思考。但它並非一個統一的理論體系，而是一個包含了



諸多分支與爭論的思想場域。為了釐清內涵,我們需要將其與另一種相關但旨趣迥異的思潮——超人類主義(Transhumanism)——進行區分。超人類主義是一種精英主義立場,對科技發展異常樂觀,認為可以通過基因工程、人工智能、神經科學等技術手段來增強乃至超越當前人類的生物學局限,從而實現對『後人類』(Posthuman)生命形態的追求。本文關注的是批判性後人類主義(Critical Posthumanism),它並非旨在『升級』人類,而是對『人之為人』的基本預設進行哲學上的深刻反思與批判。

批判性後人類主義的矛頭直指人文主義的兩大基石——人類中心主義與人類例外論,拒絕將人類視為自然界的中心和萬物的尺度,這挑戰了笛卡爾以來主客體截然二分、精神高於物質、文化優於自然的思想傳統。後人類主義學者唐娜·哈拉維(Donna Haraway)為此做出了開創性貢獻,她在《賽博格宣言》中提出的『賽博格』(Cyborg)就是這樣一個顛覆二分界線的典型形象(Haraway, 1991)。賽博格是一個機器與有機體的混合造物,雖是虛構,卻也越來越走向現實。它的出現模糊甚至摧毀了三道至關重要的二分邊界:第一,人類與動物的邊界,賽博格是一種混合生物,可能是人機混合,也可以是植入了生物晶片的小白鼠,相對而言,人類本身也不過就是一種複雜的生物系統,理應和與其他生命形式共用這個星球;第二,生物與機器的邊界,基於賽博格的形象,不僅有機生物和機器可以混合,未來的人類自身也會成為一種『技術化的身體』;第三,物理與非物理的邊界,網路空間的興起使得我們的身份、交流與存在都可以在虛擬與現實之間流動,物理性的實體不再是唯一的存在方式。通過拆解這些二元對立的邊界,賽博格動搖了所有建立在『純粹』與『自然』基礎上的身份政治,包括性別、種族和階級。這意味著,如果連『人』與『非人』的邊界都是可以被跨越和重構的,那麼基於膚色、性別等生物學特徵而建立的等級秩序,其根基又何在?賽博格因此成為一個強大的反『他者化』的哲學工具,它不尋求被納入既有的『人類』範疇,而是要摧毀這個範疇本身。

破除西方人文主義的二分邊界後,後人類主義學者進一步嘗試建立起一種動態、連續的生命網路。羅西·布拉伊多蒂(Rosi Braidotti)借鑒斯賓諾莎和德勒茲式的生命哲學思想,對後人類狀況進行了更為系統的闡釋。她提出應區分了兩種生命概念:bios和zoe。bios指的是被賦予了社會、政治意義的特定形態生命(如『維特魯威人』的生命),而zoe則是指貫穿所有物種的普遍生命(Braidotti, 2013, p. 50)。西方人文主義傳統的根本問題在於,它把bios凌駕於zoe之上,將源自西方文明的特定人類生命形態標準化、普遍化,並據此極度貶抑其他形態的人類生命(被殖民者、女性、殘障人士等)以及其他眾多的生命形態(動物、植物乃至地球生態),僅視他們為西方式bios的供養和實踐的對象。這種認識不僅為性別歧視、種族主義等社會不公提供了思想依據,更是導致近代以來大規模生態危機、物種滅絕的思想根源。面對這一困境,布拉伊多蒂的後人類理論宣導一種『肯定的政治』(affirmative politics)(Braidotti, 2013, p. 192)。這種政治不再是基於批判和控訴的『否定性』,而是轉向對普遍生命(zoe)的積極肯定。她提出了『游牧主體』(nomadic subject)的概念(Braidotti, 2013, p. 93),這是一種流動的、多層次的、跨越邊界的主體性。游牧主體不固守於任何單一的身份認同,而是在不同的情境、知識和權力關係中不斷地生成與變化。這種後人類主體性,其核心是一種深刻的關聯性本體論(relational ontology),它表明『我』並非一個孤立、自主的原子式個體,而是與他人、他物、技術乃至整個星球生態系統處於一個複雜、動態的互聯網路之中。自我與他者、人類與非人類、生物與非生物不再是外部對立的關係,而是內在相互依存、共生共榮的生命網路。這種從孤立個體向動態互聯的轉變為我們思考如何超越西方『他者化』邏輯提供了關鍵路徑。

建立在後人類主義的批判之上,我們可以對『他者』問題進行更深層次的反思。傳統的反歧視鬥爭往往會陷入查爾斯·泰勒(Charles Taylor)所說的『承認政治』(politics of recognition)框架。在這種框架下,被邊緣化的『他者』群體致力於鬥爭以期獲得主流群體的『承認』。承認政治的內在邏輯是默認了某個『標準人類』的存在,鬥爭的目標是獲得進入這個標準人類俱樂部的門票。從西方人文主義視角來看,它要求『他者』證明自己也是理性的和文明的。後人類主義路徑正是要超越這一藩籬,其核心在於:(1)解構中心,而非融

入中心,後人類主義的重點並非將『他者』納入既有中心,而是要徹底解構『中心』本身,使『中心/邊緣』『自我/他者』的二元結構失效;(2)擁抱差異,而非追求同一,後人類主義擁抱哈拉維式的『差異的政治』,認為差異是世界的本然狀態,是生命力的源泉,因此差異不需要消除,也無法被消除,關鍵在於為存在『差異』的個體創造共生共榮的條件,而非人為將他們分為三六九等;(3)強調關聯,而非孤立個體,將主體性理解為一種網路化、分佈式且與非人類能動者(如技術、生態、物質)共同生成的產物,『他者』不再是外在於『我』的威脅或客體,而是構成『我』之所以為『我』的共生條件。

需要注意的是,後人類主義視角下的主體身份重構不是一個已經完結的狀態,而是一個動態的過程和一種持續推進的倫理-政治目標。在此過程中,以非洲黑人為代表的眾多『他者』無需再乞求西方的認可,而是要通過創造性的實踐重塑生態,建構一個沒有中心、萬物共生的生命世界。

二、後人類主義的非洲哲學資源

非洲哲學為後人類主義提供了豐富的思想資源。『非洲哲學』是一個類似『西方哲學』『中國哲學』的概念,非洲大陸擁有數千種語言和文化,其哲學思想也呈現出多樣性與動態性。任何試圖將『非洲哲學』理解為一個統一的、泛非洲概念的做法,尤其是將非洲大陸多樣化的思想體系簡化為一套統一且充滿異域風情的『世界觀』的做法,這本身就是一種殖民主義式的『他者化』操作。本文的做法是,努力從非洲哲學中挑選影響廣泛且能夠與後人類主義議題產生共鳴的思想元素加以討論。非洲哲學中的這些思想元素將會展示一種區別於西方『維特魯威人』式的主體概念,其背後是一種以關係、社群和生命連續體為出發點的世界構建方式。

(一) 關係主體性

如果說西方人文主義的主體是建立在笛卡爾『我思故我在』的個體理性之上,那麼南部非洲班圖語系文化中廣為流傳的『烏班圖』(Ubuntu)思想則提供了一個鮮明的對立面。烏班圖的核心箴言通常被表述為『他人在故我在』^[1],即個體的存在需通過與他人的社群聯繫和相互承認才能實現(Ramose, 1999, p. 88)。在烏班圖思想中,個體存在雖有本體論意義,但更多體現了倫理學內涵。在烏班圖思想中,『人之為人的資格』並非一種與生俱來的本質屬性,而是一個需要通過持續的社會交往和倫理實踐來獲得和維持的過程。莫格貝·拉莫斯(Mogobe B. Ramose)研究發現,在非洲思想中,新生兒通常被看作是『它』(it)——一個潛在的人,只有被命名、被納入家庭與社群的網路,並通過學習和實踐社群的規範與價值,『它』才能逐漸成長為『他/她』,最終成為一個具備完整人格(personhood)的『人』(參見 Ramose, p. 99)。這表明,人格的完善主要取決於個體如何對待他人、如何構建和諧的社會關係。換句話說,人是一種關係性的存在,並通過持續的成員互動和社群共建得以生成和發展。烏班圖哲學所宣導的這種主體觀不僅是一種描述性的存在狀態,更是一種規範性的倫理呼喚,要求個體積極投身於建立和維護和諧的人際關係之中(Shutte, 2001, pp. 17-21)。

這種觀點與第一節所述的布拉伊多蒂的『游牧主體』形成了有趣的呼應,兩者都強調主體的『生成性』,而非靜態的『存在』。烏班圖的獨特性在於,它將這種生成的過程牢牢地根植於具體的社群倫理關係之中,一個人的價值、身份和意義,完全由其在關係網絡中所扮演的角色、所承擔的責任以及所做出的貢獻來定

[1] 在祖魯語中對應表達為『Umntu ngumuntu nga bantu』,在博茨瓦納語中對應表達是『Motho ke motho ka batho』,兩個表達的意思一致。



義。這從根本上區別於西方自由主義以原子化個體為基礎主體性概念。烏班圖對『他者化』的態度並非『承認政治』式的『我承認你和我一樣是一個獨立的個體』,而是『你的存在構成了我的存在』。『他者』不是外在於『自我』的客體,而是『自我』之所以能夠成立的重要條件。在烏班圖的框架下,『他者化』不僅是一種對他人的道德傷害,更是一種對自我存在性的摧殘。因為傷害社群中的任何一人就是在破壞那個使自我得以『為人』的關係網絡。南非『真相與和解委員會』在後種族隔離時代援引烏班圖哲學正是試圖以此為思想基礎重建那個四分五裂的國度。重建的邏輯並非簡單的『寬恕』,而是認識到壓迫者與被壓迫者共同被鎖在一個扭曲的關係之中,雙方的人性都受到了損害,因此和解與修復關係是雙方共同『重新為人』(re-humanization)的必經之路(Tutu, 1999, p. 45)。

(二) 整體能動性

後人類主義致力於打破人與人、人與非人之間的界線,這一努力在非洲傳統思想中可以找到明確的思想支撐。典型代表如比利時傳教士普拉西德·唐普爾(Placide Tempels)在《班圖哲學》^[1]所提煉的非洲最大族群班圖人的世界觀和本體論思想。唐普爾提出班圖人世界觀的核心是『生命力』(force vital),從本體論層面來說,『生命力是存在的本質,生命力就是存在,存在就是生命力(Force is the nature of being, force is being, being is force.)』(Tempels, 1959, p. 35)。『作為本體的生命力分為5個層次,從上往下依次為:(1)神靈/精神/造物主,是生命力的來源;(2)人類祖先,各部落創始人,是生命力的最初接收者;(3)部落中死去的人,是生命力的傳輸鏈條,以精神形態存在於部落當中;(4)人類,是核心生命力的真正擁有者,其中長者維繫著生命之間的連接與傳承;(5)動物、植物、礦物等。生命力可以在不同層次之間流動,其中在人類個體間的流動以長幼為序』(Tempels, 1959, p. 41-43)。儘管唐普爾的研究帶有明顯的殖民者視角和歐洲哲學烙印,他甚至提出白人掌握了更多的知識和技術,在生命力層次中高於黑人,但他所揭示的『生命力』概念卻觸及了諸多非洲思想體系的共同特徵。與笛卡爾將動物視為『自動機』、將自然視為機械客體的世界觀相反,班圖人基於『生命力』的本體論構建了一個萬物有靈且充滿能動性的世界。人並非這個世界的主宰,而是這個巨大生命網路中的一個節點,人的福祉與力量取決於其能否與祖先之力、自然之力以及社群之力保持和諧的互動。

這種生命力宇宙觀也重塑了對主體和世界的理解。人與其它各類能動者共存,這本身就是一種超越了傳統人文主義『此世』框架的生存體驗,挑戰了『主體(人)-工具(物)-客體(世界)』的線性邏輯。人與物及世界共同構成了一個複雜的行動者網路,這種萬物相互滲透、共同行動的圖景為我們理解後人類語境下『人-機融合』的賽博格身體提供了一個前現代的、非技術的參照系,它表明,主體的邊界從來都不是固定和純粹的,而是可以被各種力量滲透和重構。班圖的『生命力』哲學為一種尊重生態、承認萬物關聯的後人類倫理提供了寶貴的本土資源,同時也有力地回擊了那種將非洲大陸視為需要被現代技術『拯救』的被動『他者』的敘事。

(三) 迴圈時間觀

在歐洲中心主義的啟蒙敘事中,歷史被描繪成一個線性的、向著特定目標(通常是歐洲現代性)前進的單向進程,其中非洲(主要指撒哈拉以南沒有文字記錄的非洲大陸)常常被描繪成一個『沒有過去』,也因此

[1] 該書被認為是非洲哲學研究的第一本專著,最初由法語寫成,於1945年出現在剛果的伊利薩白維爾(剛果民主共和國東南部城市盧本巴希的舊稱),隨後由剛剛成立的非洲出版社『Présence Africaine』(位於巴黎)於1949年出版,並由當時黑人性運動(Négritude movement)的核心人物迪奧普(Alioune Diop)作序。

『沒有未來』的大陸。黑格爾的論斷極具代表性,他宣稱非洲是『非歷史的大陸』(the unhistorical continent),『沒有表現出歷史,仍舊包藏在原始的、未開化的自然狀態裏』。(Hegel, 1956, p. 99)

約翰·姆比蒂描述了一種不同於西方的非洲時間觀(Mbiti, 1970, pp. 19-36)。姆比蒂調查發現,許多非洲語言中缺乏對遙遠未來的精確辭彙,時間主要被理解為兩個維度:Sasa(斯瓦希裏語),指的是現在、當下以及不久的將來,它是有機、鮮活和充滿個人經驗的『現實時間』;Zamani,指的是遙遠的過去,是祖先和神話的領域,它不僅是所有時間的源頭,也是所有時間的歸宿。表面上看,時間從 Zamani 流向 Sasa,從遙遠的過去流向現在與當下,並走向不久的將來;但基於歷史的維度,時間卻是從 Sasa 流向 Zamani,因為所有的現在必將成為過去,並且只有那些重要的人、重要的事件才會被記住,才會在新的 Sasa 中成為人們學習和借鑒的對象,這些才是人們關注的焦點。因此,Zamani 雖是過去,但卻是無限的,而未來則是有限且收縮的。這就構建了一種『過去—現在(包括不久的將來)—過去』的迴圈時間觀念,過去與現在並非截然分離,而是相互轉化、持續迴圈的,祖先的經驗和智慧可以為當下的生活提供指導,而當下的行為也會成為過去,為新的『現在』提供指導。在此過程中,與其暢想未來,不如做好每一個現在。這種迴圈時間觀體現了一種歷史的連續性和文化的傳承性。時間被視為一種流動的、可逆轉的現象,過去的事情可以重現,未來的事情也可以被預見,人們通過儀式和慶典來紀念過去,努力與祖先和神靈建立聯繫,其目標是為了把握好現在。至於未來,它取決於過去和現在,因此無需專門考慮。迴圈時間觀深刻地影響了非洲人的生活方式和思維模式。它強調了對過去的尊重和學習,以此來保存歷史的智慧,它還具有一定的安慰和治癒功能,因為人們相信逝去的人和過往的事並沒有真正消失,而是以另一種形式存在,並繼續影響著他們的生活。

姆比蒂的發現開啟了一個重要的思考維度,讓我們認識到,線性發展、作為『進步』載體的『未來』概念可能只是一種源自西方現代性的文化建構,而非普世真理。非洲還存在諸多類似的時間觀,這些觀點普遍認為時間是迴圈的、多維度的和富有彈性的,過去是智慧的累積,現在是行動的舞臺,相比而言,未來只是過去與現在的自然延續。鑒於過去與現在不同,對於不同地區、不同社群而言,並不存在一個適用於所有人類社群的既定未來方向。

三、後人類主義視角下的主體重構

非洲本土哲學和後人類主義都對原子式個體、主客二分以及人類例外論發起了挑戰。然而,僅僅滿足於此可能會將非洲哲學再次置於一個為西方哲學提供『本土驗證』的從屬地位,仿佛其價值僅在於為已有的西方理論提供異域案例。本節希望開啟一次『對話建構』,這意味著,將非洲哲學與後人類主義思想作為兩個相互驗證的積極對話夥伴,對話的目標是建構出更具包容性的新認識,以解構西方的『他者化』設定,重構主體性。

(一) 主體的重塑:『賽博格-烏班圖』

在主體性問題上,非洲哲學與後人類學為我們提供瞭解構西方個體主義的兩個有力支點。後人類主義的賽博格與游牧主體拆解了個體的邊界,強調其混雜性、流動性以及與技術的共生性,而烏班圖哲學則從社群倫理出發強調『我在因為我們在』(I am because we are)(Mbiti, 1970, p. 141),將個體安放在一個相互依存的人際關係網路之中。

批判性後人類主義,尤其在其技術導向的變體中,存在著一種潛在的危險,即在消解了『人』的邊界之後,主體可能迷失在一種流動的網路之中,從而失去倫理的立足點和政治行動的方向感。哈拉維的賽博格雖然被賦予了反叛的政治潛能,但其混雜性本身並不必然導向正義。一個由跨國資本、軍事科技和監控系



統所構成的『賽博格集合體』可能會成為更高效的壓迫工具。在此,烏班圖哲學為後人類主體提供了一個至關重要的『倫理錨定』。烏班圖並非僅僅陳述『人是關係性的』這一本體論事實,它更提出了一個規範性的倫理要求:你必須通過促進他人和社群的福祉來實現你自身的人格。這種責任感為後人類的流動主體注入了方向,促使其追問:你的『混雜』與『流動』是為了促進一個更具包容性和生命力的共同體,還是為了強化區隔與剝削?因此,『烏班圖式』的後人類主義會更加關注技術應用的社會與倫理後果,它會主動追問:人工智能的發展是否加劇了偏見?生物技術的進步是否服務於所有人的福祉?它將後人類的連接性從一個抽象的網路概念轉化為一種具體的、以社群和諧與共同繁榮為目標的倫理實踐。

反過來,後人類主義也對傳統的烏班圖思想構成了有益的挑戰和拓展。對烏班圖的批評之一是其潛在的人類中心主義傾向——它強調『abantu』(人們)構成的社群,其邊界往往止於人類社會。在面對生態環境、人工智能等當代議題時,一個僅限於人際關係的烏班圖可能顯得力有不逮。後人類主義的介入恰恰能夠將烏班圖的社群邊界大大拓展。哈拉維對人物二分的批判和布拉伊多蒂對普遍生命的肯定為我們將非人類存在物納入烏班圖的倫理網路提供了理論依據。

由此,我們嘗試建構一個『賽博格-烏班圖』(Cyborg-Ubuntu)或『生態-烏班圖』(Eco-Ubuntu)的新概念。在這個概念中,我之所以為『我』是因為我們之『我們』不再僅僅包含人類,而是擴展到了與我們共生的動物、植物、河流、山川乃至我們賴以為生的技術造物。在這個框架下,破壞環境就不僅僅是經濟損失,而是對構成我們人格的『生態社群』的直接傷害,是一種反烏班圖的行為。同樣,如何與日益智能化的AI建立共生關係也成為了一個烏班圖式的倫理新課題。這種『賽博格-烏班圖』主體既保留了烏班圖的社群責任感與倫理溫度,又吸收了後人類主義的跨物種視野與對技術現實的敏銳洞察,是一種對主體重構的深刻承諾,因為它不僅致力於消解人與人之間的『他者』鴻溝,更致力於彌合人類與廣闊非人類世界之間的分裂。

(二) 能動性的再分配:萬物行動者網路

非洲哲學認為神、祖先、人、動植物、礦物皆有其『生命力』相似,也因此皆有其能動性;後人類主義學者布拉伊多蒂之後,新唯物主義(New Materialism)者簡·班尼特(Jane Bennett)提出『活力之物』(vibrant matter)理論,認為物質本身就具有行動能力和影響世界的能力(Bennett, 2010)。基於這些理論,非洲哲學和後人類主義共同挑戰了將能動性視為人類專利的西方現代性觀念。

非洲哲學思想往往被看作一種古老傳統,而後人類主義和新唯物主義則常常被呈現為一種前沿的、革命性的思想,因此,後兩者對『活力之物』的發現可以被視為一種在經歷了現代性的主客截然二分之後向前者這一更古老智慧的回歸。非洲哲學成為當代哲學的思想資源,這本身就是對西方主體壟斷和知識霸權的一種批判,充分展示了非洲傳統哲學所具備的主體重構力量。另一方面,非洲傳統的『生命力』觀念在面對全球資本主義、新殖民主義式的資源掠奪和大規模環境破壞時,如何轉化為有效的當代行動?後人類的政治生態學理論為此提供了關鍵的『轉譯工具』。例如,布魯諾·拉圖爾(Bruno Latour)在專著《我們從未現代過:對稱性人類學論集》中提議召開『物之議會』(parliament of things),讓河流、森林、臭氧層等非人類『行動者』能夠擁有自己的『代言人』參與到行動決策中來(Latour, 1993, p. 142)。這一構想為如何將非洲哲學中『萬物有靈』的觀念轉化為具體的法律和政治實踐提供了極富想像力的方案。非洲哲學與後人類主義的這場對話催生了一種『萬物行動者網路』,將非洲古老的世界觀與當代的前沿批判哲學思想相結合,不僅在哲學層面為承認非人類的能動性創造了條件,更是在法律、政治和經濟層面為這些『沉默的主體』爭取了權利。

(三) 時間的解放:『螺旋時間』與未來的創造

殖民主義通過線性的時間觀念和發展理論將非洲鎖定在『過去』,這種時間操控與殖民空間政治配合運

行,使非洲被固定為客體之身,等待被西方殖民者拯救、解釋與改造。在經驗層面,這類時間敘事配合博物館展示、民俗展演與民族志影像,共同生成了『可消費的他者性』。約翰尼斯·費邊(Johannes Fabian)將這種利用民族志話語把『對象文化』置於『人類時間』早期階段做法稱為『同時代性的剝奪』(denial of coevalness)——被研究者被敘事性地安置在『過去』,而研究者佔據『現在』,以此鞏固主體/客體的時間距離(Fabian, 2002, p. 25)。

以迴圈時間為代表,非洲本土豐富的非線性時間觀念構成了對西方啟蒙主義『時間之矢』的抵抗,它認為過去並非是要被拋棄的包袱,而是可以被不斷重新啟動的資源庫。加納阿肯族(Akan)的『桑科法』(Sankofa)符號^[1]清晰地詮釋了這種『回顧過去,預見未來』的智慧。與此同時,後人類主義也從另一角度批判了線性進步史觀,指出這種相信人類將沿著一條直線走向更美好、更理性未來的敘事恰恰是人類中心主義的體現,它忽視了技術發展帶來的主體異化和生態崩潰的風險,也忽視了歷史的偶然與斷裂。後人類思想擁抱『生成』,強調未來的開放性,這是一種對任何形式的『歷史終結論』的拒絕。當『桑科法』的智慧與後人類的『生成』哲學相遇,一種新的時間模型——『螺旋時間』(Spiral Time)——便得以構建。它既非簡單的線性進步,也非封閉的迴圈重複。『螺旋時間』觀包含三個特徵:第一,回顧與汲取,如同桑科法之鳥,螺旋時間的第一步是向後看,深入 Zamani 的領域,批判性地從歷史、神話、傳統和被壓抑的記憶中汲取力量和智慧,這是對祖先的召喚,也是對創傷的療癒;第二,當下的重組,在 Sasa 的當下,這些從過去汲取的元素將與最前沿的科技、文明以及當下的政治訴求進行創造性的『融合』,這是一個賽博格式的重組過程,古老的儀式與虛擬現實相遇,傳統的織物圖案被編碼進 AI 演算法;第三,向未來的投射,這種融合的、充滿能量的當下被投射向一個開放的未來,這個未來不是對西方式現代性的模仿,也不是對田園牧歌式過去的回歸,而是一個被重新定義的『非洲式未來』。

這種『螺旋時間』觀正是非洲未來主義的核心動力,解釋了為何在非洲未來主義作品中我們總能看到古埃及的方尖碑與星際飛船並存,看到約魯巴的神祇行走在賽博朋克的都市中。這是一種別樣的時間哲學實踐,它通過這種方式,既肯定了自身的文化根源,又擁抱了最激進的未來想像,從而實現了對『未來』這一概念的『後他者化』——未來不再是他人的領地,而是我們可以通過回顧、重組和創造來主動塑造的家園。

四、結語

通過創新理論框架並將其應用於具體的文化文本分析,本文清晰地展示了非洲未來主義並非僅僅是一種藝術風格的展演,更是一場深刻的、多維度的思想革命,是一場旨在實現徹底『後他者化』的持續工程。它通過鍛造『賽博格-烏班圖』式的主體,宣告了一個新『人』的誕生,其存在本身就是對種族純粹論和原子式個體神話的駁斥;它通過實踐『生命力政治』,重新為世界『賦魅』,宣告了一個新宇宙的到來,在這個宇宙中,技術、自然與靈性不再相互對立,萬物皆有其能動性,這從根本上顛覆了將世界及部分人類『他者化』為被動資源的西方現代性邏輯;它通過創造『螺旋時間』的敘事,宣告了一種新歷史的可能,在這種歷史中,過去不再是負擔而是寶庫,未來不再是預設的目的地而是可以被主動創造的家園,這使得曾被剝奪了未來的『他者』重新成為了時間的主人。

非洲未來主義的實踐證明,面對結構性的『他者化』,最具顛覆性的抵抗或許並非是要求被納入舊有的、充滿壓迫性的『普世』框架,而是要運用認知與想像的武器去創造一個全新的世界,制定一套全新的遊戲規則。它是一份宣言,宣告那個被殖民主義和種族主義所定義的『他者』已經死去,而一個在傳統思想與未來

[1] 一只向後回望的鳥,其腳下踩著一顆蛋,寓意『回到過去,取回珍寶』。



科技的交融中誕生的後人類新主體正在冉冉升起,並邁向一個由他們自己定義的未來。

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An Empirical Study on the Development and Validation of a Conversational AI Dependence Scale for Students in Application-Oriented Universities

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Abstract: In the context of the rapid penetration of generative artificial intelligence into educational settings, university students’ dependence on conversational AI has become a critical variable influencing contemporary learning mode. Drawing on the Technology Acceptance Model, Social Cognitive Theory, and Technological Dependence Theory, this study constructs a four-dimensional theoretical framework of conversational AI dependence—comprising functional use, trust and perceived usefulness, emotional dependence, and critical literacy. Based on this framework, a 24-item measurement scale was developed and validated using 2202 effective questionnaires collected from three application-oriented universities in Guangdong, Henan, and Jiangxi. The findings indicate that students exhibit an overall pattern



of 『high usage, high trust, and moderately high dependence.』 Among the dimensions, trust shows the strongest correlation with emotional dependence ($r \approx 0.41$), and functional use significantly predicts emotional dependence ($r \approx 0.27$). In contrast, critical literacy and ethical awareness negatively predict dependence ($r \approx -0.08$ to -0.20), highlighting their moderating role in mitigating irrational or unreflective reliance on AI tools. Based on these results, the study argues that application-oriented universities should not only promote the effective integration of AI into learning but also strengthen critical AI literacy, academic integrity education, and process-based assessment to prevent unhealthy dependence. The findings offer both theoretical and practical insights into understanding the mechanisms underlying students' conversational AI dependence, and they provide a reference for AI governance and educational decision-making in application-oriented higher education. Future research may incorporate learning analytics and cross-platform comparisons of different conversational AI systems to further deepen the investigation into the mechanisms shaping students' AI-mediated learning behaviors.

Keywords: Conversational AI dependence; scale; application-oriented universities

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應用型高校學生對話式 AI 依賴量表編制實證研究

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摘要: 在生成式人工智能快速滲透教育場域的背景下,大學生對話式 AI 依賴成為影響學習方式的重要變數之一。本研究基於技術接受模型、社會認知理論與技術依附理論,構建了由功能性使用、信任與感知有用性、情感依賴、批判性素養四個維度組成的對話式 AI 依賴理論框架,並據此開發了 24 項量表,對廣東、河南、江西三所應用型高校的 2202 份有效樣本進行信效度檢驗。結果表明,目前應用型高校學生整體呈現『高使用—高信任—中等偏高依賴』的特徵,其中信任與情感依賴相關度最高($r \approx 0.41$),功能性使用亦顯著促進情感依賴($r \approx 0.27$);批判性素養與倫理意識則對依賴具有負向預測作用($r \approx -0.08 \sim -0.20$),顯示其在抑制非理性依賴中的調節意義。基於以上研究結果,本研究指出應用型高校應在促進 AI 有效使用的同時強化批判性 AI 素養、學術規範教育與學習過程性評價,以防止學生產生不健康依賴;本研究成果可為理解應用型高校學生對話式 AI 依賴的形成機制、應用型高校 AI 治理及教育決策提供理論工具與實踐參考;此外,未來可結合行為大數據和不同對話式 AI 的橫向比較,進一步深化應用型高校學生對話式 AI 使用行為的機制研究。

關鍵詞: 對話式 AI 依賴;量表;應用型高校

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文化廣電旅遊體育局大學生社會實踐教學基地』(2025ZG017)、2024 年廣東省教育科學規劃(高等教育專項)新時代『三全育人』視域下廣東高校英語專業學生講好灣區故事路徑研究(2024GXJK418)、廣州應用科技學院 2023 年度教學質量與教學改革工程外語實驗教學師示範中心(2023ZG002)階段性研究成果、廣州應用科技學院 2026 年度校級重點學科英語語言文學 B 類(特色重點)階段性研究成果、廣州應用科技學院 2026 年度校級教學團隊『人工智慧+語言服務』產教融合教學團隊階段性研究成果。

一、引言

2025 年 1 月,中共中央、國務院印發了《教育強國建設規劃綱要(2024—2035 年)》,明確指出以人工智能為代表的新一代資訊技術將深度重塑教育體系,並成為推動我國教育現代化的重要驅動力^①;同年,中國互聯網路資訊中心在第六屆中國互聯網基礎資源大會上發佈的《生成式人工智能應用發展報告(2025)》中指出,截至 2025 年 6 月,我國生成式人工智能用戶規模達 5.15 億人,其中中青年、高學歷用戶是核心群體^②,可見,人工智能正快速融入學習、教學等教育生態的方方面面。人工智能亦是推動高等教育範式變革的關鍵力量,清華大學 CERNET 網路中心副主任李星教授認為,人工智能對高等教育的影響,其意義如同十二世紀現代大學在歐洲的誕生,是一個從無到有的根本性變革^③。北京師範大學陳麗教授指出『人工智能在教育領域的應用,高校責無旁貸,應該先行先試。』^④在人工智能技術的推動下,尤其是對話式 AI 已成為智能手機的標準化功能,大學生也逐漸將 AI 工具作為學習過程中不可或缺的輔助系統。《中國青年報》曾面向全國高校學生發起關於 AI 工具使用的問卷調查,共回收有效問卷 7055 份。調查結果顯示,84.88%受訪者曾使用過 AI 工具。AI 工具已被受訪者應用於資料查詢(61.30%)、翻譯(58.31%)、寫作(45.75%)等多種學習、生活場景。77.51%的受訪者認為,AI 工具可以在一定程度上提升工作、學習效率^⑤;然而,伴隨便利性的提升,將 AI 運用於代寫論文是隨之而來的態勢。華北電力大學研究生院副院長張磊曾在接受中青報記者採訪中曾表示,經 AIGC 檢測服務系統檢測發現,非全日制研究生檢出 AI 生成論文率較高,部分論文高達 40%;在學科分類中,經管、外語和人文類學科檢出率較高,部分論文達到 20%—30%^⑥。為了監管和維護學術誠信,越來越多的高校引進了 AIGC 檢測服務系統;這些現象表明人工智能在提升教育效率與學習便利性的同時,也使得部分學生形成較強 AI 依賴,引發了關於高階思維能力弱化與學術倫理風險的教育討論。圍繞 AI 依賴的研究,周子琦等(2025)基於布魯姆認知目標分類理論指出,AIGC 工具在生成答案、提供即時解決方案的過程中,會讓學生傾向於『快捷滿足』;依賴技術可能削弱分析、評價、創造等高階認知能力的建構,阻礙深度學習與自主思考的養成^⑦。因此,在 AI 推動教育變革的背景下,如何在促進技術應用的同時,保持學生的批判性思維、學習自主性與 AI 倫理意識,已成為高等教育必須正視的重要議題。在此背景下,構建科學有效的 AI 依賴測量工具,對高校教學干預、學生發展指導以及教育管理決策均具有重要意義。近年來,圍繞 AI 依賴的心理和行為表現,國內外學者已開展初步探索,主要集中在依賴維度劃分、量表開發與實證驗證三個方面。孫雪睿等(2025)從功能依賴和情感依賴兩個維度編制了 AI 依賴問卷,並基於 821 份問卷數據分析驗證了該問卷的有效性^⑧;Yuanyuan Chen 等(2025)為了彌補測量依賴程度的空白,從不可控性、戒斷症狀、情緒調節和負面影響四個維度編制了針對中國大學生的依賴量表^⑨;秘魯學者團隊 Morales-García 等(2024)研發了一個基於脆弱感、績效焦慮、形象維護、外部驗證需求和被替代恐懼五個維度的 AI 依賴量表,用於測量大學生的 AI 成癮型行為^⑩。綜上,現有的研究為 AI 依賴的概念化與初步測量提供了基礎,但仍存在不足之處:首先,AI 依賴量表構建的理論內涵尚未統一,不同量表維度之間存在較大差異;其次,目前的研究聚焦於心理依賴或使用行為,缺乏對學習過程與學術能力影響機制的系統性建構;再次,AI



依賴與 AI 批判、AI 素養等相關變量之間的關係研究尚無深入探討；最後，量表設計應具有針對性、應準確反映某一教育生態領域中的學生對 AI 依賴情況。可見，構建兼具理論深度與教育針對性的 AI 依賴測量體系，將是高校教育的重要研究方向。

本研究基於教育技術學、社會心理學與批判性數字素養等多個研究傳統，綜合了技術接受模型理論、社會認知理論、技術依附理論和批判性數字理論，構建了一份四維整合型對話式 AI 依賴測試量表，涵蓋功能性使用、信任與感知效能、情感依賴、批判性與倫理意識四個維度，共計 24 個測量專案，用於測試應用型本科大學生在學習與論文寫作中對 AI 的依賴程度。量表形式採用 Likert 5 點評分（1=非常不同意；5=非常同意），量表總分等於各項目得分之和（範圍 24-120），得分 24-55 屬於低依賴，56-87 中等依賴，88-120 高依賴。該量表通過問卷星面向廣東、河南、江西三地的應用型高校學生派發了 2336 份問卷，回收有效問卷 2202 份，通過 Cronbach's α 係數分析、KMO 和 Bartlett 球形度檢驗證明瞭該量表具有良好的信度且變數間具有良好的關聯性，量表結構層次清晰、內部構念分佈合理。基於該量表的數據分析能清晰展示目前應用型高校學生在對話式 AI 的功能性使用、信任與感知效能、情感依賴、批判性與倫理意識四個維度的表現，希冀為教育決策作出一定的參考。

二、對話式 AI 依賴的內涵與框架

（一）對話式 AI 依賴的內涵解釋

『對話式 AI 依賴』一詞借助了心理學中對 dependence（依賴、依戀）的解釋。美國心理學會（American Psychological Association）將『依賴』定義為個體在情緒調節、認知加工或行為執行過程中對某一對象或活動產生持續性、顯著性且難以控制的需求狀態^①。美國心理學家 Ainsworth（1982）強調依賴是一種在面臨不確定性或壓力時尋求外部支持的行為傾向^②。這種尋求外部支持從而獲得安全感的機制同樣適用於學生與對話式 AI 的交互，即當學生面臨複雜資訊、決策壓力和認知負荷時，容易將對話式 AI 視為一種提供及時回饋與支持的安全基地。Bandura（2001）在社會認知理論（Social Cognitive Theory）中進一步說明，當個體的自我效能感（Self-efficacy）較低時，會更傾向依賴外部代理來完成任務，這也解釋了許多學生在學習過程中對 AI 會產生習慣性的依賴行為^③。自我決定理論（Self-determination Theory）為理解對話式 AI 依賴提供了另一重要視角。Deci 與 Ryan（1980）指出，當行為主要受外部動因調節，而非自身內部動機驅動時，個體更容易表現出依賴特徵^④。對話式 AI 因其便利性、即時回饋與高效問題解決能力成為了學生外部調節的主要來源，同時也弱化了學生的自主性與內生動機。在技術依賴研究領域，Griffiths（2005）將『顯著性、情緒調節、耐受性、情緒調節、戒斷反應、衝突和壓力』歸為所有依賴或成癮行為的共同點，當某項技術成為用戶完成任務、情緒調節或應對壓力的主要方式時，則可能產生功能性或問題性的技術依賴^⑤。

基於以上心理學和技術依賴的研究視角，本研究將學生的『對話式 AI』依賴定義為學生在日常學習和情緒管理中對於對話式 AI 所產生的持續性、自動性和替代性的依賴需求，並體現在學習過程中對 AI 的過度倚重，比如在缺乏 AI 支持時所產生的焦慮或自我效能感下降，以及在減少 AI 使用時會出現顯著的學習困難。換言之，對話式 AI 依賴的內涵既包括心理層面的信賴、安全感，也包括行為層面的持續性使用、偏好性替代以及自我效能的弱化。

（二）對話式 AI 依賴框架構建

綜上所述，考察學生的對話式 AI 依賴不能單一地僅從技術使用行為進行判斷，而需要綜合考察動機、



認知、情感與批判能力相互作用所構成的複雜心理生態。本研究基於教育技術學、社會心理學與批判性數字素養等多個研究傳統將學生對於對話式 AI 的依賴劃分為功能性使用、信任與感知有用性、情感依賴和批判性素養四個核心維度，並據此構建整體分析框架。

首先，功能性使用是對話式 AI 依賴最基礎的構成要素，它指學生在資訊查找、翻譯、寫作等具體學習行為中將 AI 作為主要工具的行為模式。Davis(1989)提出的技術接受模型認為，個體對技術的感知有用性(Perceived Usefulness)與感知易用性(Perceived Ease of Use)是影響其使用意願的關鍵因素^⑥。學生對於 AI 是否依賴首先取決於學生是否認為 AI 能提升學習效率(感知有用性)，以及 AI 操作是否方便智能和節省認知負擔(感知易用性)。其次，信任與感知有用性是學生對於對話式 AI 依賴的認知評價基礎。Bandura(1986)認為，個體的行為受個體信念(self-efficacy)、環境因素與行為結果預期的交互影響^⑦。大學生對 AI 工具的依賴，反映了他們在學習過程中對 AI 的效能信念(perceived efficacy)以及信任程度(trust)。對於對話式 AI 而言，學生越相信其生成內容的可靠性、邏輯性與效率優勢，越可能將其納入學習與決策過程，從而強化依賴行為。因此『信任與感知有效性』維度可用於衡量學生對於 AI 的認知機制。再次，情感依賴反映了學生在使用 AI 過程中的情緒調節與心理依戀機制。技術依賴(Technological Dependence)理論指出，當用戶長期與技術互動時，會逐漸形成情感依附與心理依賴^⑧。在 AI 語境下，大學生可能在情緒調節、信心構建等方面逐步形成『AI 伴隨』心理。因此『情感依賴』維度可用於衡量 AI 在情感層面的內化作用。最後，批判性數字素養(Critical Digital Literacy)強調用戶在使用數字工具時應具備批判思維、倫理意識與反思性判斷力^⑨。學生若過度倚重 AI，可能導致學術不端及創造力弱化。因此批判性數字素養是檢測學生 AI 依賴的重要調節變數，用來衡量大學生的自我調節能力與 AI 使用倫理覺知。

綜上所述，本研究構建的對話式 AI 依賴框架由四個相互關聯的維度組成：功能性使用體現依賴的行為基礎，信任與感知有用性提供認知評價動因，情感依賴反映心理調節機制，而批判性素養則在四維度中發揮調節與平衡作用。該框架既回應了依賴形成的心理過程，也兼顧了智能技術時代學生的行為特徵，為後續量表構建、實證驗證與教育干預策略提供了清晰的理論依據。

三、對話式 AI 依賴量表的編制

基於上述理論框架和四個維度，本量表編制的目的在於檢測應用型高校學生在學習過程中對於對話式 AI 的依賴程度。量表共涵蓋四個維度，每個維度 6 題，共計 24 題。維度一用於測試功能性使用，對應題號為 1-6；維度二用於測試信任與自我效能感知，對應題號為 7-12；維度三用於測試情感依賴；維度四用於反向計分，用於測試批判性與倫理意識，得分越高代表批判性意識越強。量表採用 Likert 5 點評分(1=非常不同意；5=非常同意)，總分等於四個維度得分之和，得分區間 24-120 分；其中，24-55 屬於低依賴，56-87 屬於中等依賴，88-120 屬於高依賴。

維度	維度名稱與核心測量焦點	題項編號	測量題項內容示例
A	功能性使用：測量使用 AI 工具完成學習任務的行為頻率與深度	1-6	我經常使用 AI 工具輔助論文寫作(生成草稿、潤色或改寫)。 在完成學術任務時，我常用 AI 來節省時間。
B	信任與感知效能：測量對 AI 輸出品質與效能的主觀信任程度	7-12	我相信 AI 提出的表達方式或結構建議能提升論文品質。 11. 我認為 AI 可以替我完成一部分學術寫作工作。

續表

維度	維度名稱與核心測量焦點	題項編號	測量題項內容示例
C	情感依賴:測量在情緒調節和壓力應對中對 AI 的心理依戀	13-18	沒有 AI 輔助時,我寫作會感到明顯的壓力或焦慮。 16. 當我得到 AI 積極回饋時,會感覺更有寫作信心
D	批判性與倫理意識:測量對 AI 內容的批判審視與使用倫理認知(反向計分)	19-24	我會核實 AI 生成內容的事實和來源。 22. 我認為在提交學術作品時應說明使用 AI 的情況。

表 1 對話式 AI 依賴量表結構

四、結果研究

該量表設計完成後通過問卷星面向廣東、河南、江西三地的應用型本科院校展開了調研並收集相關數據。本次研究共回收有效問卷 2202 份,從性別構成看,男性 1003 人,占 45.55%,女性 1187 人,占 53.91%,12 人不願透露,性別比例較為均。

(一) 量表信度檢驗

為檢驗問卷量表的內部一致性,採用 Cronbach's α 係數進行信度分析。如果此值高於 0.8,則說明信度高;如果此值介於 0.7~0.8 之間,則說明信度較好;如果此值介於 0.6~0.7,則說明信度可接受;如果此值小於 0.6,說明信度不佳。由表 2 可知,四個維度的 α 係數介於 0.8~0.9 之間,總 α 係數為 0.828,均超過 0.8 的推薦標準,說明問卷整體及各分量表內部一致性較高,量表具有良好的信度。

維度劃分	項數	Cronbach's α 值	總 Cronbach's α 值
功能性使用	6	0.863	0.828
信任與感知有用性	6	0.873	
情感依賴	6	0.879	
批判性素養	6	0.857	

表 2 信度檢驗

(二) 量表效度檢驗

為進一步驗證問卷的結構效度,對量表數據進行了 KMO 檢驗與 Bartlett 球形度檢驗。KMO 檢驗衡量的是變數之間共同方差,它檢驗的是變數之間是否存在足夠的關聯性,以便於能夠提取出有意義的因數;Bartlett 球檢驗的是變數間是否完全獨立。檢驗結果如表 3 所示,KMO 值為 0.906,大於 0.8,表明樣本適合進行因數分析;Bartlett 球形度檢驗近似卡方值為 24025.252,自由度為 253,顯著性 $p=0.000$ ($p<0.001$),說明相關矩陣並非單位矩陣,變數間具有較強的相關性。

KMO 值		0.906
Bartlett 球形度檢驗	近似卡方	24025.252
	df	253
	p 值	0.000

表 3 量表的 KMO 和 Bartlett 球檢驗結果

從因數載荷結果看,各題項在所屬維度上的載荷均大於 0.6,且在其他因數上的交叉載荷極低,顯示出良好的聚合效度與區分效度。

名稱	因數載荷係數				共同度 (公因子方差)
	因數 1	因數 2	因數 3	因數 4	
功能性使用 1		0.788			0.64
功能性使用 2		0.74			0.57
功能性使用 3		0.79			0.66
功能性使用 4		0.748			0.608
功能性使用 5		0.718			0.554
功能性使用 6		0.713			0.553
信任與感知有用性 1				0.83	0.737
信任與感知有用性 2				0.793	0.686
信任與感知有用性 3				0.782	0.682
信任與感知有用性 4				0.757	0.631
信任與感知有用性 5				0.727	0.587
情感依賴 1	0.647				0.442
情感依賴 2	0.826				0.702
情感依賴 3	0.839				0.722
情感依賴 4	0.799				0.68
情感依賴 5	0.732				0.623
情感依賴 6	0.783				0.667
批判性素養 1			0.666		0.455
批判性素養 2			0.793		0.64
批判性素養 3			0.762		0.595
批判性素養 4			0.778		0.614
批判性素養 5			0.666		0.542
批判性素養 6			0.793		0.719

表 4 量表的旋轉因數載荷係數與公因數方差結果

針對因數提取情況,以及因數提取資訊量情況進行分析,從表 4 可知,前四個因數的特徵根分別為 6.381、3.391、2.666、1.872,旋轉後各自方差解釋率依次為 16.58%、15.71%、15.40%、14.53%,四個維度貢獻較為均衡,未出現單一因數過度集中解釋方差的情況,說明量表結構層次清晰、內部構念分佈合理。

因數 編號	特徵根			旋轉前方差解釋率			旋轉後方差解釋率		
	特徵根	方差 解釋率 %	累積 %	特徵根	方差 解釋率 %	累積 %	特徵根	方差 解釋率 %	累積 %
1	6.381	27.74%	27.74%	6.381	27.74%	27.74%	3.814	16.58%	16.58%
2	3.391	14.74%	42.49%	3.391	14.74%	42.49%	3.612	15.71%	32.29%
3	2.666	11.59%	54.08%	2.666	11.59%	54.08%	3.542	15.40%	47.69%
4	1.872	8.14%	62.22%	1.872	8.14%	62.22%	3.342	14.53%	62.22%

表 5 量表方差解釋率結果

綜合因數載荷與方差貢獻結果可知,本量表的四維模型(功能性使用、信任與感知有用性、情感依賴、批判性素養)在統計上得到了良好驗證,各維度均具有較強的解釋力與獨立性。量表的信效度總體表現優良,可作為後續描述性分析與推論性檢驗的有效工具。

(三) 量表描述性分析

從四個維度的平均值與標準差來看,樣本在情感依賴($M=3.897$)上得分最高,表明學生在寫作與學習過程中對 AI 的情緒性依賴最為突出;其標準差較低(0.672),說明這一趨勢在群體中較為一致。其次是功能性使用($M=3.393$)與信任與感知($M=3.27$),顯示學生普遍認可 AI 的實用性,並在一定程度上信任其輸出。相對而言,批判性素養($M=2.354$)得分明顯偏低,反映學生在反思 AI 限制、識別風險、理解倫理規範等方面能力不足。總體而言,目前應用型本科學校學生呈現出『高依賴、高使用、低批判』的特徵,需要在教育中強化 AI 批判性與倫理意識培養。

名稱	平均值	標準差
功能性使用	3.393	0.676
信任與感知	3.27	0.777
情感依賴	3.897	0.672
批判性素養	2.354	0.636

表 6 問卷各維度描述性統計結果

1. 功能性使用維度分析

量表結果顯示,受訪者在 AI 功能性使用上整體呈中高水準,其中約 50%左右的受訪者在『提高寫作效率』(同意 972 人、非常同意 156 人,共 1128 人)與『遇到寫作困難會先求助 AI』(同意 912 人、非常同意 154 人,共 1066 人)上表現出明顯的使用傾向;將 AI 作為『日常學習與寫作的常規輔助工具』的比例同樣較高(同意 1009 人、非常同意 168 人,共 1177 人),顯示 AI 已成為常用學習支持工具。相比之下,在『完成作業或論文寫作』方面的態度略更謹慎(同意 883 人、非常同意 164 人,共 1047 人)。此外,各題目中『一般/不確定』均為最大類別(約 788-964 人),反映多數受訪者對自身使用頻率仍處於不穩定狀態;而『非常不同意+不同意』普遍僅占約 10%-15%,說明明確拒絕使用 AI 的群體較少。



圖 2 對話式 AI 功能性使用分析相關題項回答分佈

2. 信任與自我效能感知維度分析

從信任與自我效能感知相關的專案來看,受訪者整體對 AI 輸出持中度偏高的信任與採納態度。在『AI 生成的文字通常準確且有用』上,選擇同意與非常同意的有 718 人,但仍有 510 人不同意,顯示基礎信任存在分化;而對『AI 的表達或結構建議能提升作業品質』的認可更高,共有 894 人同意或非常同意。在更直接涉



及寫作依賴的專案中,如『AI 的建議比獨立思考更有助於組織論點』和『我願意採納 AI 給出的寫作思路或段落內容』,均有 959 人與 967 人表示同意或非常同意,說明多數學生在寫作過程中已較習慣參考甚至採用 AI 的結構性建議。值得注意的是,最具爭議的是『AI 可以替我完成部分學術寫作任務』,雖然同意與非常同意者達 814 人,但『不確定』有 924 人且明確不同意者亦有 464 人,反映學生在讓 AI『替寫』方面仍存在顧慮。

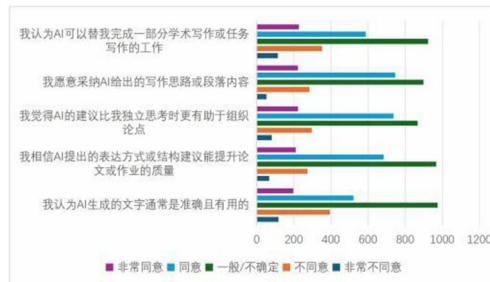


圖 3 對話式 AI 信任與自我效能感知相關題項回答分佈

3. 情感依賴維度分析

從情感依賴相關專案來看,多數學生在完成學習任務過程中對 AI 存在顯著的情境性依賴。在『沒有時間時會依賴 AI 快速完成任務』上,有 1181 人選擇同意或非常同意;而在『寫作缺少 AI 會感到無助』與『沒有 AI 會感到壓力或焦慮』中,同意及以上分別達 1411 人與 1394 人,顯示 AI 已成為減輕寫作焦慮的關鍵工具。同時,912 人因 AI 的積極回饋而增強信心,1353 人因其能減輕負擔而更頻繁使用。整體來看,學生不僅在效率上依賴 AI,也在情緒調節、靈感獲取與寫作動力上形成了較強的心理依賴傾向。

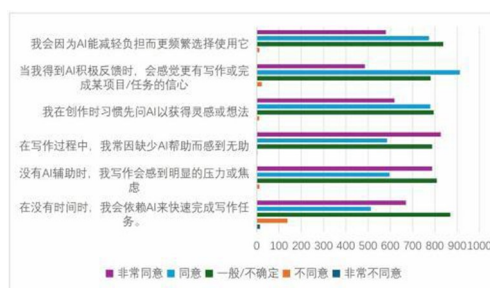


圖 4 對話式 AI 情感依賴相關題項回答分佈

4. 批判性素養與倫理認知維度分析

數據顯示,雖然學生普遍使用 AI,但其批判性素養整體偏低。首先,在『避免思考而直接接受 AI 建議』上,有 1245 人(同意+非常同意)傾向認可,而明確反對的只有 206 人,說明相當多學生在使用時缺乏主動思辨。同樣,在『核實事實來源』與『檢查偏見或錯誤』兩項中,不執行核查的人分別達到 1340 人與 1388 人,明顯高於進行批判性檢查的人數。此外,能清楚區分 AI 與原創界限的學生較少(僅 110 人同意或非常同意),反映出使用依賴高而批判評估較弱。整體而言,學生大量使用 AI,但批判性和審慎意識不足,存在潛在學術風險。

需要引起注意的是學生整體對『應在課堂或資源中學習負責任地使用 AI』持較低支持態度。66.8% 的學生(非常不同意+不同意)不認為需要專門學習相關內容,只有約 8% 表示明確同意。這說明多數學生傾向於認為 AI 使用『不需要額外培訓』或『已具備足夠直覺』。然而,結合其他題目中『批判性較弱』『依賴較高』等現象,這種低需求可能意味著學生對風險認知不足,使得 AI 教育的重要性被低估。

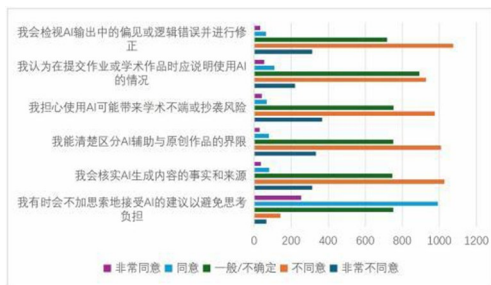


圖 5 對話式 AI 批判性素養相關題項回答分佈

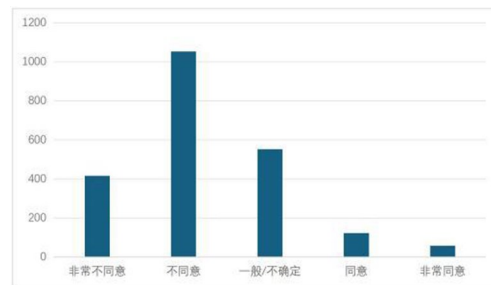


圖 6 應用型高校學生對在課堂中學習
負責任使用對話式 AI 的態度分佈

(四) 相關性分析

從數據來看,功能性使用與信任顯著正相關($r = 0.391$),二者均與情感依賴呈中等強度正相關($r = 0.273 \sim 0.412$),說明越頻繁使用、越信任 AI 的學生,也越容易形成情緒依賴。相反,批判性素養與三者均顯著負相關,倫理認知同樣呈弱負相關,表明批判能力與倫理意識越強,越能抑制對 AI 的不加反思依賴。整體呈現較穩定的結構性關聯。

	功能性使用	信任與感知	情感依賴	批判	倫理認知
功能性使用	1				
信任與感知	0.391**	1			
情感依賴	0.273**	0.412**	1		
批判性素養	-0.208**	-0.114**	-0.161**	1	
倫理認知	-0.205**	-0.034	-0.083**	0.301**	1

表 7 各影響因素的相關分析結果

綜合以上量表結果可以發現,目前應用型高校學生在使用對話式 AI 上呈現出『高使用—高信任—中等偏高依賴』的總體特徵。首先,信任與情感依賴之間的相關性最強($r \approx 0.41$),說明越信任 AI 的可靠性、表達能力與寫作建議,越容易在創作中產生心理依賴。其次,功能性使用同樣是顯著的推動因素,其與情感依賴存在穩定正相關($r \approx 0.27$),大量學生在查資料、生成文本、克服寫作困難時頻繁使用 AI,這種『工具化使用習慣』也會逐步強化依賴感。與此相反,批判性素養與倫理認知均顯著負向預測情感依賴($r \approx -0.08 \sim -0.20$),即越能檢視 AI 內容、意識到潛在風險、堅持原創性與學術規範的學生,越不容易被 AI 的便捷性所取代思考。總體而言,依賴的形成主要受到信任與使用頻率的推動,而具備批判與倫理意識則是抑制不加反思依賴的重要保護因素。

五、對話式 AI 於應用型高校的教育教學啟示

基於以上量表的調研結果,為應用型高校在順應 AI 推動教育變革的趨勢下需要注意的三點:首先,教育工作者在推廣 AI 技術應用時,不僅需要強調其工具屬性,更需加強學生對 AI 輸出可靠性、生成邏輯與潛在偏誤的認識。在寫作、語言生成等典型使用場景中,部分學生過度依賴 AI 的表達與思路組織能力,可能削弱其自主表達、批判判斷和創造性思維的發展,因此高校有必要在課程體系強化人工智能素養教育,通過



案例教學、反思式訓練等方式幫助學生理解 AI 的基本原理、應用場景及其文本生成的局限性,引導學生形成理性使用 AI 的習慣。其次,功能性使用與情感依賴之間的穩定正相關說明,目前不少應用型高校學生已將 AI 作為克服困難、提升效率的主要學習策略,進而在長期使用中逐漸形成了工具化習慣依賴。教育工作者除了強調學習過程中的實踐性、任務驅動式與產出導向式學習,同時更應關注學生在任務執行中是否出現過度倚重 AI 的傾向,如在課程作業、專案報告與技能訓練環節,應通過過程評價、階段性展示、寫作日誌等方式提高學生的學習透明度,引導他們在使用 AI 輔助的同時保持必要的獨立思考與技能操練,從而實現 AI 賦能而非 AI 替代的教學目標。最後,批判性素養與倫理意識對情感依賴具有顯著負向預測作用,這一結果說明具備較高 AI 批判意識與學術倫理認知的學生更能保持技術自主性,不易陷入不加反思的依賴狀態。因此,應用型高校在教學改革中應主動強化 AI 時代的學術誠信教育,構建覆蓋意識—規範—技能的三層教學內容體系,幫助學生辨識 AI 幻覺、檢視 AI 偏誤、理解知識產權、區分原創與生成、負責任使用 AI 工具等,從而促進學生建立健康的 AI 使用邊界,避免學術不端、能力弱化等風險。

六、本研究的不足之處與未來研究展望

本研究圍繞目前應用型高校學生的對話式 AI 依賴構建了較為完整的理論框架和檢測量表,並通過 SPSS 分析呈現了應用型高校學生對話式 AI 使用行為的結構特徵,但仍存在以下不足之處,有待未來進一步深化研究。首先,量表通過問卷星進行線上數據收集,主要依靠學生自我報告的 AI 使用情況、信任度與依賴,難以完全避免社會期許效應、回憶偏差、誇大或隱瞞行為的情況;同時,學生對『對話式 AI 依賴』的理解可能並不完全一致,雖然量表經過信效度檢驗,但必須考慮到學生在完成問卷過程中的複雜心理和行為不盡相同,因此,未來可結合行為日誌和學習過程數據(learning analytics)等客觀證據,構建更全面的數據結構。其次,隨著技術更迭對話式 AI 依賴具有明顯的過程性與動態性,學生的行為習慣、信任程度與倫理意識隨時間可能發生變化。本研究收集的數據為橫斷面數據,無法揭示學生對 AI 的依賴形成、深化或減弱的演變路徑;未來可通過聚焦個體成長模型或實驗研究方法,進一步分析依賴機制的因果關係及演變軌跡。最後,本研究主要關注學生對 AI 的依賴程度及其結構關係,但對於依賴與學程度與學生的寫作能力、批判思維、學術誠信、任務表現等尚未展開研究;因此,在今後的研究中可將依賴程度與學習成效、能力測評數據結合分析,從而揭示 AI 依賴的正負效應,從而為教育決策或干預提供更針對性的建議。

綜上所述,未來可在以下方面深化其研究:第一,進一步擴大數據收集範圍並根據學生的專業、年級等特徵進行樣本標記,以探討對話式 AI 依賴是否具有文理或年級等特定性征。第二,學生的 AI 依賴程度是否具有品牌針對性或傾向性,可通過對 DeepSeek、豆包、Kimi 等不同對話式 AI 展開橫向對比研究,其結果有助於識別哪些 AI 更容易誘發學生的不健康依賴,哪些則更能促進學生的元認知能力與批判性使用,從而進一步為學校在教學場景中選擇推薦的 AI 工具提供科學依據。第三,依據本次研究結果,可開展一定的教學干預,如批判性 AI 素養課程和反思性作業設計等,驗證其在降低不健康依賴方面的效果。

七、結語

在人工智能深度改寫當下高等教育生態的背景下,本研究通過構建『功能性使用—信任與感知有用性—情感依賴—批判性素養』四維理論框架,並基於量表數據進行統計分析,揭示了目前應用型高校學生於對話式 AI 呈現『高使用—高信任—中等偏高依賴』的總體特徵。雖然存在數據以學生自陳為主、依賴形成機制的動態性尚未完全揭示等不足之處,但從理論層面細化了目前應用型高校學生 AI 依賴的結構,為後續



量表開發、行為預測與學習成效研究提供了明確框架；同時，研究結果從實踐層面提示了應用型高校在推動 AI 賦能教育的同時，更應關注學生的批判性使用能力與責任意識培養，將 AI 素養教育納入課程體系、教學活動或學術倫理規範；本次研究結果希冀為應用型高校的教學決策提供數據支持，並助力構建兼具效率提升與學生能力發展的 AI 驅動學習模式。

注釋

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From “Rater” to “Enabler” : Repositioning and Practical Cases of Writing Teachers in the Generative AI Era

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Abstract: Generative AI has exerted a significant impact on the teaching of shipping correspondence writing, posing challenges for raters. This study adopts a qualitative research approach. Through a comparative analysis of standard model essays and AI-generated essays, it identifies AI’s advantages in formatting and its deficiencies in situational matching and cross-cultural communication. A four-dimensional transformation framework is proposed: shifting from knowledge transmission to situation design, from raters to critics, from providing answers to offering dialogues, and from technological resistance to technological integration. Teaching cases are used to demonstrate the feasibility of the four-dimensional transformation where raters act as enablers. The study reveals that teachers’ value lies in providing high-level capabilities that are difficult or impossible for AI to achieve, such as situational judgment and business strategy formulation. It provides a theoretical basis and practical reference for ESP teachers’ role transformation in the AI era.

Keywords: Generative AI; Shipping Correspondence; Teacher Role Transformation; English for Specific Purposes (ESP); Human-Machine Collaborative Teaching

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從『評分者』到『賦能者』： 生成式 AI 時代寫作教師的角色再定位與實踐案例

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摘要：生成式人工智能對航運函電寫作教學產生重大影響，評分者面臨挑戰。本研究採用質性研究方法，通過標準範文和人工智能生成範文的對比分析，識別人工智能在格式方面優勢以及在情境匹配和跨文化溝通方面缺陷，提出知識傳授向情境設計、評分者向批判者、提供答案向提供對話、技術抵制向技術整合四維轉變框架，通過教學案例論證賦能者即評分者四維轉變的可行性。研究揭示教師的價值在於提供情境判斷、商務策略等人工智能難於或無法做到的高階能力。為專門用途英語教師在人工智能時代角色轉變提供理論依據和實踐參考。

關鍵詞：生成式人工智能；航運函電；教師角色轉型；專門用途英語；人機協同教學

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一、引言

生成式人工智能自 2022 年末以來對外語寫作教學產生強烈衝擊，習慣於傳授知識和判錯題的教師何以為繼？作為專門用途英語的航運函電有其術語繁多、情境依賴和文化敏感等特殊性和疫情前習慣的教學方式在生成式人工智能時代面臨巨大挑戰：生成格式正確的函電後，教師再教模板的意義何在？能被人工智能代寫時，再打分還公平嗎？語法類錯誤再由人工智能自動糾正後，教師還有意義嗎？教師在生成式人工智能時代的使命是什麼，如何從評分者轉變為賦能者？

近年有幾項研究探討了人工智能外語寫作教學路徑與模式探索，探討了技術應用下的幾組關鍵爭議與理論支持，專門用途英語領域也有幾項關於改革思考、教學本土困境探索以及人工智能與商務英語融合人才培養模式。除上述幾項以外，未找到其他相關人工智能外語寫作教學探索性研究。以上幾項研究所涉及的人工智能應用多為通用寫作，未見針對航運函電等有行業特色的專門用途英語寫作教學探索；採用的多為實驗性質研究，驗證人工智能應用效果，鮮有教師角色轉變方面的質性研究；所提問題多集中於用或不用人工智能層面，少有教師價值重塑層面的探討。

本研究以航運函電教學為場域，採用質性研究方法系統識別人工智能在專業寫作中的能力邊界，建構從評分者到賦能者的四維轉型框架，提供基於真實教學場景的可操作案例，為一線教師在生成式人工智能時代角色重塑提供理論參考和實踐指導。

二、研究方法

(一) 數據來源

研究採用質性研究設計,運用文本分析、主題編碼和案例研究相結合的方法探索生成式人工智能時代寫作教師的角色轉換路徑。研究數據包括四類語料:(1)標準範文語料,指從《航運函電》講義中提取的開發信、痛點解決函、跟進函和報價函等 11 個範文;(2)人工智能生成文本語料,指運用 Claude 3.5 Sonnet 工具,基於講義中的 9 個真實任務自動生成相對應的函電文本;(3)教學文獻庫,指在中國知網、萬方數據庫中檢索 2022 年 11 月至 2024 年 12 月核心期刊上發表的 20 篇文獻,構建理論框架;(4)公開課程資源,指選取目前主流的慕課平臺中商務英語寫作、外貿函電等 5 門課程,分析其課程大綱、作業設計和評分標準,提煉創新性實踐模式。所有數據均來源於公開資源或由研究者本人生成,符合學術倫理要求。

(二) 分析框架

本研究採用 Bloom 的認知層級理論作為教師高階能力發展的框架。將教學從低階認知層面的模板記憶轉移到高階認知層面的情境判斷、批判性推理和策略創新。面向教員轉變維度,包括知識傳遞、能力培養、思維發展和技術整合的序列演進;分析維度包括:面向專業維度,包括格式規範性、術語準確性、情境適配性和跨文化敏感性。

(三) 數據分析程序

本研究採用四步程序:對比文本分析,提交給對比文本分析程序,逐句比對編碼差異之處,並總結優缺點;主題編碼分析-運用開放式編碼對文本進行標註,運用主軸編碼對主題進行分類,運用選擇性編碼提煉概念;案例歸納分析從 5 門慕課中尋找創新的教學設計,提煉出核心要素,並歸納出可複製的模式;三角驗證通過三角驗證確保研究有效性,考察有關人工智能局限性的討論是否在文獻中出現,看理論框架是否能夠說明實際的教學設計。

三、研究結果

(一) 傳統『評分者』角色特征

對 11 個標準範文進行主題編碼後發現,傳統航運函電講義中上述 Emails 呈現明顯的評分者傾向。Email 1-3 的開發信平均達到 800 詞,信息模塊一應俱全,體現『信息越詳細越不容易出錯』的邏輯,其深层次原因是將商務溝通任務劃分為可評分項目。傳統模式具有四個特征:模板化:將開發信變成固定格式的機械文章。格式化:評分體系中格式規範部分占比 30%-40%。唯答性:將標準範文變成唯一正確答案。糾錯性:以糾錯為核心的教學活動多針對語法拼寫。上述特征形成一個邏輯閉環:將標準範文變成唯一正確答案,評分者成為格式、語法的掌握者,擁有解答權威,答題者模仿以完成任務,評分者以評分糾錯來強化權威,答題者模仿以應對下一次評分。生成式人工智能的出現破壞了這一循環。

(二) AI 的能力邊界

9 個人工智能生成樣本與 11 個標準範文對比,人工智能生成的航運函電格式規範度為 100%,9 個樣本

格式正確,術語使用正確率為 89% (76 個術語,68 個正確),平均用時 12 秒生成 200–300 詞的函電;三個領域系統性缺陷,情境錯誤,3 個人工智能生成樣本中的運價錯誤占比 33%,人工智能生成的航運函電專業部分錯誤率 33%,9 個樣本無情境適配,體現不出文化差異,見表 1。

維度	AI 優勢	AI 局限	教師不可替代價值
格式規範	9 個樣本均符合標準結構 (100%), 主題行、稱呼、正文、結束語完整	無明顯局限	判斷何時打破常規格式以增強溝通效果
術語使用	準確率 89% (76 個術語中 68 個正確), 能區分 FOB/CIF/THC/BAF 等基礎術語	複雜運價計算錯誤率 33% (3/9 個樣本), 遺漏利潤分成等附加條款	核算多層級複雜費用結構, 理解代理分潤機制
情境適配	無明顯優勢	無法區分客戶關係類型 (新客戶/老客戶/投訴客戶), 9 個樣本均採用通用表達	根據客戶背景設計差異化溝通策略
跨文化適應	無明顯優勢	缺乏文化敏感性, 9 個樣本均採用統一語氣未體現澳洲/中東/歐洲客戶偏好	適配不同國家商務習慣與溝通風格

表 1 AI 在航運函電寫作中的優勢與局限對照

表 1 展示了人工智能在格式規範和基礎術語使用方面的優勢,但情景適配和文化溝通短板突出,這導致對稱能力分布對傳統評分者衝擊最大。不對稱矛盾在於人工智能有傾向支持格式化和基礎性指令使用,但無傾向支持情景和文化,對傳統評分者衝擊最大。對傳統評分者衝擊最大,是因為傳統評分者的基礎正是這三個領域,這恰恰是人工智能的優勢,這使得教師角色轉換迫在眉睫。

(三)『賦能者』角色四維轉型路徑

根據人工智能能力邊界與質性編碼結果,本文構建了評分者到賦能者的系統轉型框架,如圖 1 所示。

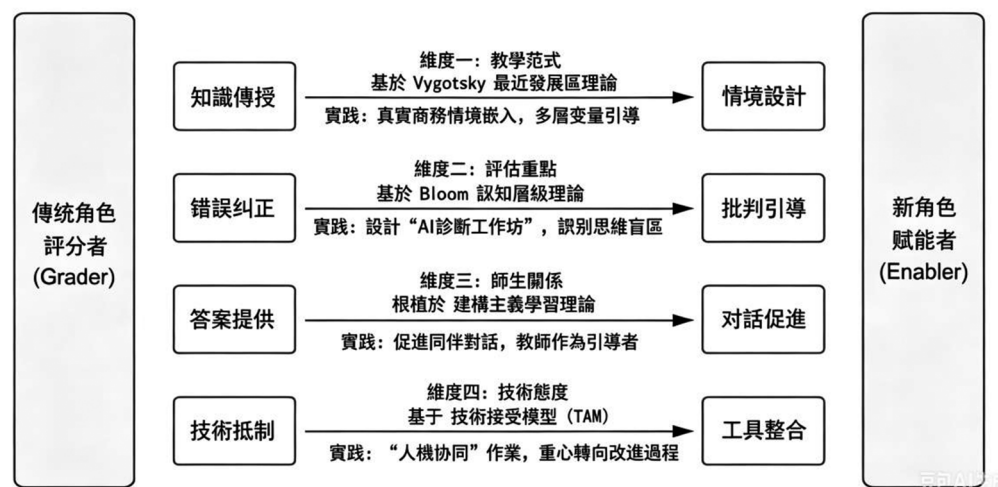


圖 1 從『評分者』到『賦能者』的四維轉型框架

圖 1 的轉型框架包含了四個維度的系統演進:在發展區理論的基礎上建立知識傳授到設計的演進,認知層級理論的基礎上建立錯誤糾正到錯誤批判的演進,在建構主義學習理論的基礎上建立答案到對話的演進,在技術接受模型的基礎上建立技術抵制到技術整合的演進。

（四）實踐案例

基於四維轉型框架,研究設計了兩個可操作的教學重構案例。報價函教學重構將傳統 45 分鐘課堂從模仿範文轉向診斷優化,教學流程對比如表 2 所示。

教學維度	傳統『評分者』模式	新型『賦能者』模式
課前準備	提供 1 份標準報價郵件範文	提供 3 個真實情境案例(越南客戶、歐洲代理商、非洲散貨客戶)+ 9 份 AI 生成樣本
導入環節(8 分鐘)	講解範文格式:主題行→稱呼→正文→結尾(學生抄寫要點)	展示 AI 生成的報價郵件,提問:這封 AI 郵件能直接發給越南客戶嗎?(學生分組討論)
教學重點	強調格式規範性、術語準確性	強調情境適配性、跨文化敏感性
學生活動(25 分鐘)	模仿範文寫作,教師巡視糾正語法錯誤	小組任務:識別 AI 樣本中的情境不匹配問題(如越南客戶案例中的付款方式、價格術語),重寫關鍵段落
反饋方式	收集作業,批改後下次課發回(3-5 天後)	當堂點評 2-3 組作品,學生互評 AI 輸出 vs 人工改寫(即時反饋)
技術使用	禁止使用 AI 工具	要求使用 Claude 生成初稿,然後根據情境修改
評價標準	格式符合度(40%)、語法正確率(35%)、術語使用(25%)	情境判斷力(45%)、跨文化意識(30%)、AI 工具使用能力(25%)
學生參與度	約 58%(多數學生被動抄寫)	約 82%(小組討論活躍度高)
課後作業質量	11 份作業中,9 份格式完全符合範文,但情境適配性差(如統一使用 FOB 術語,未考慮客戶類型)	18 份作業中,14 份能識別 AI 局限性並提出改進方案,但仍有 4 份過度依賴 AI 原始輸出
課堂互動次數	教師提問 3 次,學生回答者均為固定的 2-3 人	教師引導性提問 7 次,12 個學生參與討論,4 組展示成果
學習成效	學生能獨立完成格式正確的報價郵件,但面對非標情境時不知如何調整	學生能識別標準模板的適用邊界,開始質疑『為什麼這個客戶不能用 FOB』等深層問題

表 2 報價郵件教學重構對比

表 2 的報價郵件教學對比顯示了教學內容的徹底改變。傳統評分者模式下,11 份學生成品中,有 9 份完全符合範文要求,但情境匹配性很差,產出雷同,缺乏創新;新型賦能者模式下,18 份學生成品中有 14 份能夠指出樣本的不足並提出改進措施,課堂參與度從 58% 提高到 82%,課堂互動從教師的 3 次提問變成引導性提問 7 次,12 名學生主動參與討論;學生產生的關注點也從『我寫的是否正確』變成『我用的是否合適』,實現了從尋找唯一答案到判斷情境適用的轉變。廣交會跟進函工作坊設定了四個設計階段。情境分層階段提供了意向客戶、猶豫客戶、禮貌性接觸客戶三種情境;AI 基線測試階段發現人工智能對三種情境採用完全相同的話術;人工優化階段各小組根據不同的情境設計了有區別的方案;反思總結階段通過對比 AI 生成內容和人工優化後的內容,學生認識到人機協作的邊界,理解人工智能能夠生成格式規範的初稿,但情境判斷、禮貌性接觸客戶的跟進、跟進話術的適當調整需要教師引導學生完成。

四、討論

四維轉型概念與近期的人機協同教學理論相呼應,但對專用領域英語呈現了不同的價值。數智教育生態下的教學範式轉型指出教師身份已不僅是評分者,更是學習設計者與協同引導者[9],表 1 所示的人工智



能力邊界恰恰證明了教師身份的轉型不是技術到來時的被動防禦,而是教育之本的主動回歸,當人工智能在格式規範和基本術語上已經實現 100%正確和 89%術語識別時,依賴模板提供、格式規範和語法糾錯三大要素的傳統評分者角色已經難以為繼,這要求教學必須轉向更高複雜性和情境性的能力如情境判斷、跨文化應對和商務策略,人工智能賦能教育不是簡單的使用技術,而是重新定義人機分工邊界。本研究通過 9 個人工智能生成樣本發現,航運函電寫作中存在人工智能可完成區域和教師不可替代區域,能力分層又為維果茨基最近發展區理論提供了支持,也給教師從控制學習轉向賦能學習者提供了現實基礎。教師教學的數字化並非無從下手在航運函電領域也是真的存在,但是航運函電寫作的情境性給予了我們一個清晰的價值標尺,圖 1 所示的四維轉型進路把抽象的範式轉變具象化為可操作的教學設計,語言教育中關於人工智能的研究多集中在通用寫作上,而本研究採用質性分析探索了商業文本教學中,人工智能時代教師的獨特價值不僅表現在是否具備識別人工智能盲點的判斷力,更表現在是否具備訓練學生成為商務法官的智慧,人工智能教育應用的研究表明未來教育中的教師最顯著變化是技術應用能力,表 2 所示的報價郵件的重構是技術應用能力的體現,當學生的參與度從 58%躍升到 82%,他們的關注點也從形式規範轉向了情境匹配,這時教師轉型的教育價值就顯現出來了。

五、結論

研究在航運函電(專門用途英語)領域建構了一個包括教學環節和評價標準的四維轉型模式,案例表明學生的關注度提高了 24 個百分點,尋找答案轉為判斷適宜情景,為專門用途英語教師角色重構人工智能時代提供了可複製的案例。

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From Knowledge Inculcation to Literacy Development: Pathways to Enhancing the Effectiveness of Moral Education in Primary Schools from a Core Competencies Perspective

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Abstract: Amid reforms in basic education guided by core competencies, improving the effectiveness of moral education in primary schools is pivotal to fulfilling the fundamental mission of fostering virtue through education. However, current practices are constrained by the marginalization of moral education, limited pedagogical approaches, fragmented home-school-community collaboration, and evaluation systems that overemphasize knowledge acquisition, all of which hinder the development of students’ essential character and key competencies. Building on a clarification of the concept and scope of primary school moral education under the core-competencies framework, this paper examines the root causes of these challenges and proposes systematic optimization in four areas: renewing educational concepts, innovating practice-oriented implementation systems, strengthening collaborative mechanisms, and improving evaluation frameworks. These strategies are intended to facilitate a shift from knowledge-centered instruction to literacy-oriented development and thereby enhance the overall effectiveness of moral education in primary schools.

Keywords: moral education in primary schools; core competencies; educational effectiveness; challenges and pathways

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從『知識灌輸』到『素養培育』： 核心素養視域下小學德育實效性的提升路徑

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摘要：在核心素養引領基礎教育改革的時代背景下，提升小學德育實效性是落實『立德樹人』根本任務的關鍵。當前小學德育實踐面臨地位邊緣化、途徑單一化、協同碎片化及評價知識化等多重困境，制約了學生必備品格與關鍵能力的培養。本文在釐清核心素養導向下小學德育概念內涵的基礎上，系統剖析了上述困境的深層成因，進而提出應從重構育人理念、創新實踐體系、健全協同機制、完善評價體系四個維度進行系統性優化，以推動小學德育從『知識傳授』向『素養培育』的深層轉變，切實增強育人實效。

關鍵詞：小學德育；核心素養；實效性；困境與路徑

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一、問題提出

2022年《義務教育課程方案》的頒佈，標誌著核心素養已成為新時代基礎教育的頂層設計目標與價值導向。^①核心素養框架強調知識、能力與價值觀的整合性發展，其根本在於培養『全面發展的人』。在這一框架下，德育作為培育學生『責任擔當』『健全人格』『實踐創新』等素養的核心途徑，其有效性直接關係到『立德樹人』根本任務的實現程度。小學階段是兒童道德認知奠基、價值觀念萌芽和行為習慣養成的關鍵期，此階段的德育干預具有『扣好人生第一粒扣子』的奠基性作用和顯著的長期效應。然而，一個不容忽視的現實是，儘管政策層面三令五申，但在具體的教育實踐中，小學德育的應然價值與實然效果之間仍存在顯著差距。『重智輕德』『知行分離』『協同乏力』等問題依然突出，德育實效性不足已成為制約核心素養整體落地、影響學生全面健康成長的瓶頸因素。^②這種困境並非單一因素所致，而是教育理念、實施路徑、保障機制等多方面問題交織作用的結果。

因此，立足於核心素養的宏觀背景，系統深入地剖析小學德育實效性面臨的現實困境，並探尋科學、系統、可操作的突圍路徑，不僅具有深刻的理論價值，更具有緊迫的現實意義。本研究旨在對此進行探討，以期為推動小學德育工作的轉型升級提供參考。

二、小學德育的基本內涵

在核心素養視域下，小學德育應被理解為：以促進學生道德素養與社會性發展為根本目的，通過學校主導的、與家庭和社會協同的各類教育性活動，引導學生在認知、情感、態度與行為上，逐步內化社會主義核心價值觀與中華優秀傳統美德，形成適應個人終身發展與社會發展需要的必備品格與關鍵能力的教育過程。^③這一界定凸顯了三個關鍵轉向：目標上從『塑造品德』轉向『培育素養』；過程上從『單向施加』轉向『引導內

化』;場域上從『學校孤島』轉向『協同共育』。^④這使其與核心素養強調的『價值認同、責任擔當、實踐創新』等維度實現了內在統一。

基於此,小學德育的內涵主要包括以下維度:政治啟蒙與理想信念教育,重在符合兒童認知規律的樸素情感培養;社會主義核心價值觀教育,需將二十四字要求有機融入教育全過程;中華優秀傳統文化與生態文明教育,夯實學生的人文底蘊與責任意識;心理健康與健全人格教育,為形成健全人格提供內在支撐。這些維度相互滲透,共同指向『立德樹人』的根本任務。

三、困境透視:核心素養背景下小學德育的『失位』與『失衡』

儘管德育的重要性被反復強調,但在實踐層面,小學德育的實效性卻受到多種因素的制約,陷入了一系列亟待突破的困境。對這些困境進行深層次的剖析,是尋找破解之道的前提。

(一) 德育地位邊緣化與核心素養培育虛化

在理論上,『德育為先』已成為共識,但在學校教育的實際運作中,德育卻難以擺脫『說起來重要,做起來次要』的尷尬境地。其根源在於強大的應試教育慣性。在升學率壓力下,學科知識教學佔據學校工作的絕對中心,德育往往被窄化為知識傳授或形式化活動。當前,小學教師主要將主要精力投入學科教學,德育工作存在明顯的『智育化』傾向。這種價值排序偏差導致核心素養培育在實踐中被虛化。許多教師對核心素養的理解停留在概念層面,難以轉化為有效教學行為。更嚴重的是,『拍照留痕』式德育活動加劇了形式主義,陷入『有活動無體驗、有形式無內涵』的困境,嚴重損耗了德育的嚴肅性和實效性。^⑤這反映出教育評價指揮棒的偏移尚未根本扭轉。

(二) 實施途徑單一化與素養轉化機制阻滯

德育的實施途徑直接影響其實效性。小學德育的實施方式仍較為單一,活動集中於主題班會、壁報宣傳、徵文比賽等傳統形式。^⑥這種依賴語言灌輸的模式,難以與學生真實生活經驗建立深度聯結,缺乏促使學生情感共鳴、價值認同和行為轉化的關鍵環節。核心素養宣導的『實踐創新』『社會責任』等實踐性素養,必須在真實情境中通過體驗、探究和反思來習得。^⑦然而,當前缺乏多樣化、情境化的體驗式活動設計,導致素養目標與實施路徑出現斷層。學生『知行脫節』現象普遍存在——能對答如流,卻在現實道德困境中不知所措。

(三) 協同機制碎片化與育人合力弱化

德育是系統工程,需家校社形成育人合力。然而,協同機制存在明顯『碎片化』問題。首先,家校教育價值觀衝突:學校宣導集體主義、社會責任,部分家庭推崇競爭性個人主義,這種衝突消解了育人一致性。其次,社會資源整合不足:博物館、企業等缺乏常態化參與管道,視其為負擔而非責任。有效的協同育人需要制度化平臺、清晰權責和共用目標。當前三方處於『合而不作』『各唱各調』的鬆散狀態,難以形成持續合力,甚至相互抵消,降低德育整體效能。

(四) 評價體系知識化與素養診斷缺失

評價是指揮棒,但當前德育評價存在過度量、知識化傾向。學校仍主要採用書面測驗或行為量化打分,這種方式只能反映知識記憶和外顯行為,無法捕捉道德情感變化、價值判斷過程及複雜情境中的行為選



擇。^④這與核心素養評價強調的綜合性、表現性、發展性理念嚴重脫節。評價內容片面、方法單一，導致結果無法真實反映學生品格發展水準，也不能為教師改進實踐提供有效回饋，陷入『為評價而評價』的迴圈。

四、破局之道：小學德育『歸位』與『融合』的多維路徑

面對上述困境，頭痛醫頭、腳痛醫腳的零散改革已難以奏效，必須進行系統性的路徑優化與重構。這需要從理念、實踐、機制、評價四個維度協同發力。

（一）理念重構：確立素養本位的價值導向，營造育人新生態

提升德育實效性，首當其衝的是要實現全校範圍內育人理念的深層轉變，從根本上確立『素養本位』的價值導向。^⑤學校管理層必須率先垂範，通過組織系統的校本研修、專題學習、案例工作坊等多種形式，引導全體教師（而不僅僅是班主任和德育幹部）深入理解核心素養的內涵、意義及其與德育的內在關聯，深刻認識到德育是滲透在所有學科教學和學校日常生活中的靈魂。要特別著力提升各學科教師挖掘和轉化教材中德育元素的意識和能力，實現『學科育人』與『活動育人』的有機結合。

在學校的評價導向上，必須下決心進行改革，堅決打破『唯分數』的桎梏。可以借鑒『學生綜合素質評價』的思路，構建涵蓋道德認知、公民素養、身心健康、藝術素養、實踐創新等多維度的評價體系，將德育方面的表現作為重要指標，同時賦予其在評優評先、畢業評價中合理且具有實質影響的權重。尤為關鍵的是，要將德育工作的實際成效與教師的績效考核、職稱評定、評獎評優等切身利益緊密掛鉤，通過強有力的制度杠杆，引導每一位教育者都將育人職責內化於心、外化於行，從而在整個校園內營造出『人人重視德育、處處蘊含德育、時時踐行德育』的良好生態。

（二）路徑創新：構建知行合一的實踐體系，促進素養內在轉化

德育不能紙上談兵，必須構建起以實踐體驗為核心的『知行合一』的實施路徑。基於馬克思主義的實踐觀與陶行知先生『教學做合一』的思想，德育活動應努力構建『情境感知—親身體驗—深度反思—自覺踐行』的螺旋式上升迴圈模式。^⑥教育者需要精心設計，針對不同學段學生的認知特點、生活經驗和興趣所在，提供差異化的、富有挑戰性的實踐活動。

對於低年級學生，可以多採用遊戲化、故事化、角色扮演等趣味性強的方式，如在『班級小超市』中學習誠信交易，在模擬情境中學習禮貌交往。對於中高年級學生，則應逐步增加探究性和社會性，可開展諸如『校園垃圾追蹤』環保調查、『我為社區獻一策』專案式學習、『走進養老院』志願服務等更具深度和社會意義的實踐活動。比如，貴州省修文縣第二小學積極構建『知行合一』的德育實踐體系，將思政教育與情境體驗、實踐鍛煉深度融合。學校創新開展『思政+實踐』活動，如『立志』班會、『責善』角真誠提醒、『重走陽明路』研學體悟，以及『學雷鋒』日走進社區志願服務，引導學生在真實情境中親身體驗、深度反思，將抽象道德認知轉化為具體行動。同時，學校實施校園微治理，設置文明監督崗，讓學生參與校園環境維護，在自覺踐行中強化行為養成。

所有活動設計都應遵循『近、小、實、親』的原則，即貼近學生生活、從小處著手、注重實際效果、親切自然，確保德育活動源於學生的真實生活，又能引導其高於生活，最終目標是促進學生將道德認知更好地回歸生活、指導生活。大量的教育實踐證明，基於真實情境和親身體驗的道德實踐，能夠有效激發學生的道德情感，提升其道德認知的內化效率，並顯著增強行為轉化的自覺性和穩定性。

（三）機制健全：構建家校社共育新格局，凝聚強大育人合力

破解協同育人的困境，必須著力構建制度化、常態化、高效化的家校社協同育人機制。學校應積極主動地發揮主導和橋樑作用。^④例如，可以成立由校領導、教師代表、家長代表、社區代表共同組成的『家校社共育委員會』，作為常態化的議事協調平臺。學校應定期組織『家長開放日』『家長課堂』或專題工作坊，向家長傳播科學的教育理念和德育方法，提升家長的德育素養與協同意識，努力消解家校之間的價值觀衝突。

在與社會協同方面，教育行政部門應發揮統籌協調功能，牽頭建立區域性的『社會德育資源庫』和『供需對接資訊平臺』，系統梳理和整合各類社會場館、企事業單位、專業人士等社會德育資源。通過出臺激勵政策、建立專案合作機制，鼓勵和引導社會力量主動向學校開放資源，與學校共同研發系列化、主題化、課程化的研學實踐教育活動，將社會大課堂變為學校德育的有效延伸和生動教材。此外，還應充分利用現代資訊技術，搭建便捷的家校社即時溝通、資源共用（如線上德育資源庫）、活動展示的數位化平臺，形成線上線下相互補充、相互促進的協同育人網路，最大化地凝聚育人合力。通過調研發現，重慶市忠縣積極探索家校社『教聯體』協同育人機制，由學校聯動政府部門、社區機構、企業單位及家長群體共同組成育人共同體，打破校園圍牆，充分盤活博物館、科技館、勞動實踐基地等多類社會德育資源，將場館變身為『行走的課堂』，有效實現德育教學與社會實踐的供需對接。同時，各校緊扣德育工作實際需要，自主搭建線上溝通與資源分享網路，通過數位平臺發佈實踐活動資訊並及時推送育人資源，從心理健康支持到課後安全守護，形成線上線下融合互補的協同育人工作格局。這一創新機制呈現出『學校有呼、家庭有應、社會有助』的良好共育生態。

（四）評價改革：建立素養導向的診斷機制，實現以評促建

德育評價改革必須擺脫知識化、分數化的窠臼，轉向關注學生全面發展和素養養成的多元化、過程性、綜合性評價。^⑤在評價內容上，要堅決超越對道德知識的簡單考查，轉向綜合評估學生的道德認知水準、情感態度傾向以及在真實或模擬情境中的行為選擇能力。這需要綜合運用多種質性評價方法，如細緻的觀察記錄、深入的行為描述性評價、持續積累的成長檔案袋以及精心設計的情境測試等。在評價主體上，要打破教師作為單一評價主體的局面，積極引入學生自評、小組同伴互評、教師評價、家長回饋等多方參與機制，從而形成一個立體、多元、互證的評價視角，使評價結果更加全面、客觀、公正。^⑦

最為重要的是，要致力於建立一套科學的德育品質監測與回饋改進機制。學校應定期對評價中獲得的數據和資訊進行深度分析，其目的不是為了給學生排名次，而是為了診斷出不同年級、不同班級學生群體在品德發展上的優勢與薄弱環節，分析德育工作中存在的具體問題，從而為教師有針對性地調整教學策略、為學校優化德育頂層設計和過程管理提供精準、科學的依據，最終實現『以評價促進德育建設、以評價引導德育改進』的良性迴圈。

五、結語

核心素養視域下的小學德育改革是系統工程。要提升實效性，必須直面地位邊緣化、途徑單一化、協同碎片化、評價知識化等結構性困境。優化路徑應堅持『學生中心、素養導向』，以生活實踐為場域，以協同共育為支撐，通過理念、路徑、機制、評價的協同變革，推動德育從形式化活動轉向浸潤式素養培育。德育改革的成功不僅依賴教育系統內部的創新，也有賴於社會文化環境的改善和支持系統的構建。後續研究可聚焦不同區域學校的實施策略與效果評估，以及人工智能等技術在德育中的應用，為持續提升實效性提供更多智慧。



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Construction and Application of Virtual Simulation Practical Teaching Model for Shanxi Tour Guide English

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Abstract: The Ministry of Education continues to promote the construction of virtual simulation experimental teaching projects as an important direction for the construction of first-class courses. In university teaching, traditional tour guide English classrooms face challenges such as a lack of real-life scenarios and difficulty for students to speak up. This study is guided by the OBE concept and constructs a four-step virtual simulation practical teaching model for Shanxi Tour Guide English, which includes “Guidance, Performance, Evaluation, and Expansion”. The effectiveness is verified through a questionnaire survey, in order to provide useful references for similar course reforms.

Keywords: Shanxi Tour Guide English; virtual simulation; OBE concept; practical teaching model

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山西導遊英語虛擬仿真實踐教學模式的構建與應用

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摘要:教育部持續推進虛擬仿真實驗教學專案建設,將其作為一流課程建設的重要方向。在高校教學中,導遊英語傳統課堂面臨真實場景缺失、學生開口難等困境。本研究以 OBE 理念為指導,構建起了山西導遊英語『導·演·評·拓』四步虛擬仿真實踐教學模式,並通過問卷調查進行成效驗證,以期為同類課程改革提供有益參考。

關鍵詞:山西導遊英語;虛擬仿真;OBE 理念;實踐教學模式

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一、引言

(一) 研究背景

《教育部等九部門關於加快推進教育數位化的意見》(教辦〔2025〕3 號)指出『高等教育、職業教育建設覆蓋各學科的精品數字課程、虛擬仿真實習實踐、學位論文與實踐成果等資源。(教育部,2025)』《教育部辦公廳關於開展第三批國家級一流本科課程認定工作的通知》(教高廳函〔2023〕24 號)明確『第三批國家級一流本科課程擬認定 5,800 門,包括線上、線下、線上線下混合式、虛擬仿真實驗教學和社會實踐五類。(教育部辦公廳,2023)』虛擬仿真技術創新發展專業課程成為國家政策及教育教學發展的重要方向。

山西省目前正致力於打造國際知名文化旅遊目的地,隨著入境遊的發展,英語導遊需求日益增長。然而,導遊英語課程長期面臨場景缺失、學生開口難等現實困境。在傳統課堂中,學生需要通過圖片、視頻『想像』景點,缺乏真實環境中講解訓練感受,講解自信心普遍不足(謝方莉,2019:123),語言应用能力與行業需求脫節明顯(逯付蓉,吳貴華,2020:193)。

現有研究顯示,理工科實驗教學有虛擬仿真技術的廣泛使用,旅遊管理、導遊訓練也有涉獵(鄭成棟,2023:123)。但是,虛擬仿真實踐教學模式研究較少,尤其是針對某一特類課程進行地方文旅結合更少(張軍,沈驚宏,2021:78)。目前的研究集中在虛擬平臺開發(梅振華,2017:158)與使用(魏光澤,2019:84),少有構建和驗證系統教學模式(陳偉霆,2020:67)。

因此,本研究在 OBE 理念指導下,搭建了山西導遊英語『導·演·評·拓』虛擬仿真教學模式,輔以問卷調查以驗證效果。

(二) 研究意義

本研究開展的是特定課程模式構建和驗證,理論上彌補了虛擬仿真在該方向應用少的空缺,OBE 理念在文科課程的應用也為其他語言類和導遊類課程提供了可借鑒案例。

本研究提出的『導·演·評·拓』實踐教學模式也有其實踐意義。它為導遊英語教學任課教師服務，讓學生變得更加自信，提升語言綜合能力，對導遊英語課程建設及模式改革起到了思路引導，有利於國際化人才的培養，同時本研究的結果對於虛擬仿真教學模式相關研究也是有益參考。

二、文獻綜述與理論基礎

（一）虛擬仿真在教學中的應用研究

已有研究證實，傳統旅遊實踐教學有低成本、缺乏場景、難以重複等問題(張蕾,2023:59)，虛擬仿真技術能破解相關難題，實現虛實結合、校企協同、學科交融等形式教學。

學界提出了多種教學體系，如分層進階、虛實結合等(白剛,韋少凡,2021:128)，形成了多種實踐教學模式，如『仿真+實操』『崗技貫通』等，用3D實景、VR全景、智評等前沿手段進行場景漫遊、操作模擬與綜合測評(魏光澤,2019:85)。

國際學者也指出，360°VR全景、交互的沉浸式與敘事的遊戲化能增強旅遊場景的真實感與歡迎度，被視為虛擬仿真教學的技術支持和經驗借鑒(Rafi et al.,2025;Kontogiorgakis et al.,2024;Talawar A.,2025;Zhu et al.,2024)。

現有研究指出，當前虛擬仿真教學平臺功能同質化，場景設計偏展示，智評體系不完善，資源共用不充足(劉德建,黃榮懷,2021)，且多以模式構建與經驗總結為主，長期教學效果追蹤與實證檢驗相對薄弱(高媛,劉德建,2016)。

（二）導遊英語教學研究現狀

導遊英語教學在初期研究中體現出注重導遊詞表達規範即語言表達、導譯基礎技能等特點(謝方莉,2019:124)。後期研究更多定位於導遊職業(展慧,2016:276)，新冠肺炎疫情研究者們宣導真實場景的融入，呼籲學生多種能力如語言實操能力、現場應對能力及文化交際能力的培養(牛志芳,2016:19)。

教學中廣泛使用角色扮演、實景模擬、情境教學、案例教學、體驗式學習(張蕾,2023:59)，教師建起線上資源庫，開展混合式教學，融入虛擬仿真技術，旨在消除導遊教學的現場感不足等問題(謝方莉,2019:124)。

國際學者也指出，VR沉浸式特點能強化情境式學習，提升文化旅遊體驗，是一種新的教學方式，能助力導遊英語的實景練習和跨文化理解(Lee & Kim,2021;Chen et al.,2025)。

學界一致認為，薄弱的實踐環節、語言教學與真實場景脫節、跨文化體驗是導遊英語教學明顯問題，教學資源建設滯後，缺乏雙師型師資，課程與新技術融合不深都影響導遊英語教學(韓潔,2021:31)。

作者	方向	理論	手段	成效證明	創新
張蕾(2023)	導遊業務	無支撐	3D 遊 角色扮演	問卷調查	遵循 OBE 理念的目標導向
謝方麗(2019)	旅遊英語 教學	建構 主義	VR 交互對話	成績分析	定位山西地方特色
Chen(2025)	旅遊 體驗	沉浸 理論	VR 版本對比	測評回饋	『導-演-評-拓』完整教學
Rafi (2025)	旅遊 宣傳	臨場感 理論	360°VR 全景	調查遊客 行為意圖	行銷學+語言學,重在導遊英語產出



續表

作者	方向	理論	手段	成效證明	創新
本作	山西導遊 英語實踐 教學	OBE 理 念+體驗 式學習 理論	導·演·評· 拓教學模式	現狀調查+ 體驗分析+ 效果追蹤	OBE 指導,構建教學閉環; 進行 VR 地方特色旅遊教學; 3. 強調遷移應用(拓),化解場景局限

表 1 國內外研究對比

同類研究集中在通用場景及行銷體驗,而本研究引入了 OBE 理念進行『反向推導』教學設計,選取山西特色景點,開展了模式化導遊英語教學,做到了有理論、有設計、有價值(服務地方)的差異化創新。

(三) 本模式的理論基礎

OBE 理念宣導將學習預期成果看作整個教學活動的原點(Spady W. G., 1994),系統反向地設計教學,精準提升學生能力素養。本研究正是在 OBE 指導下構建教學模式,將學生『能用英語講解山西景點』作為教學出發點。

情境學習理論將學習視為一定社會文化環境中的主動建構行為(Lave J., Wenger E, 1991),注重培養學生素養和可遷移能力。這也是本研究的理論支撐之一。

體驗式學習理論認為教師需要搭建起『實踐—反思—提升』的學習閉環,以破除課堂學習與實踐脫節的局限(Kolb D. A., 1984),讓學生由『動手操作』轉向『能力提升』。本研究構建的『導·演·評·拓』模式正是基於此。

三、『導·演·評·拓』教學模式構建

(一) 模式構建思路與原則

本模式以 OBE 理念為頂層設計框架,從學生能用英語解說山西主要景點這一終極成果反向設計教學,借助情境學習理論,運用虛擬仿真技術,參考體驗式學習理論,構建起了『課前感知—課中練習—課後反思—拓展遷移』的實踐教學閉環。

本模式遵循的原則有:成果導向、情境仿真、重複練習、多維評價等。本研究以 OBE 為指導,反向設計教學的內容、流程和評價標準,使用虛擬仿真技術,創設仿真的景點講解環境,引導學生進行分階段、反復講解實訓並使用 AI 評分、學生自評、師生互評等多維評價體系。

該教學模式具體設計過程如下:

- (1) 將能用英語規範講解山西主要景點視為最終學習成果。
- (2) 將成果達成細分為情境驅動、虛擬練習、即時回饋、能力遷移四個環節。
- (3) 將虛擬仿真功能 3D 漫遊、AI+師生評價、場景切換匹配到導、評、拓等環節。
- (4) 通過流暢的講解、準確的文化表達、職業化儀態衡量學生的學習成果達成度。

(二) 教學模式總框架

有了上述思路與原則,本研究提出了『導·演·評·拓』四步虛擬仿真實踐教學模式,構建了一個由五個層次、四個核心環節組成的可迴圈、螺旋上升的教學模式。

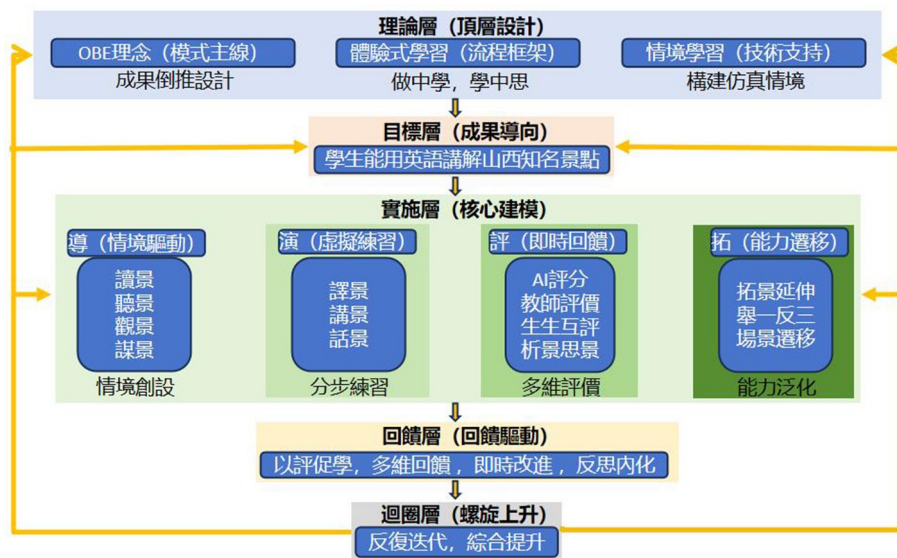


圖 1 『導·演·評·拓』虛擬仿真實踐教學模式框架圖

圖 1 中,理論層、目標層、實施層、回饋層、迴圈層構成了該模式的自上而下『五層次』;情景驅動、虛擬練習、即時回饋、能力遷移構成本模式的『四環節』。

(三) 四步模式詳解

(1) 導:對應課程教學中的讀景、聽景、觀景、謀景環節,是 OBE 理念中的情境驅動,激發學生的學習動機。學生可以在虛擬仿真平臺中 360°漫遊山西景點如雲岡石窟、晉祠等,初步感知景點,教師通過課程平臺發佈講解任務。學生完成任務後能察覺自身不足,為後續學習做好心理和認知準備。

(2) 演:對應課程教學中的譯景、講景、化景等踐學環節,是 OBE 理念下的『以學生為中心』和『目標導向』。3D 虛擬漫遊平臺有全景流覽、視角縮放和場景切換等功能,學生漫遊過程中可以模仿標準導遊詞,進行個人導遊講解或小組對話,AI 平臺及師生會對個人講解或小組對話音視頻即時評價,最終實現學生英語導遊解說能力從跟讀到半跟讀,再到脫稿的蛻變。

(3) 評:該環節融入了課程原有的析景、思景內容,強調評價對學習的反向促進。在該環節中,學生對景點文化及精神進行分析,對實踐過程進行反思,AI 就發音準確度、語調自然度、表達流暢性進行評分,教師對學生的展示是否有文化拓展、邏輯性表達、職業儀態等作出評價,生生互評則指出學生的優勢和不足。自此學生能在日後進行有方向的改進。

(4) 拓:此環節涉及課程原有的拓景內容,考查學生語言及技能的遷移能力,檢驗學生成果達成度。學生運用已掌握的講解方法或策略,將虛擬仿真場景由小景拓展到大景,如從雲岡石窟第五窟拓展到整個石窟群的解說,或從 A 景切換到類似的 B 景,如在掌握懸空寺講解後繼而進行應縣木塔的講解,檢驗學生的融會貫通能力和綜合素養。

以上四個步驟為一個可迴圈的閉環。學生每完成一個景點或任務的『導—演—評—拓』全流程,就可進入新一輪迴圈。隨著迴圈次數增加,學生的講解能力呈螺旋式上升,最終達成終極學習成果,即能用英語規範流利地講解山西主要景點,並能應對各類複雜場景。

(四) 模式與課程流程對應關係

『導·演·評·拓』四步驟與《山西導遊英語》課程原有『導學·踐學·思學·拓學』教學流程高度契

合,具體對應關係如下:

模式環節	對應課程流程	具體活動對應
導	導學	讀景、聽景、觀景、謀景
演	踐學	譯景、講景、話景
評	思學	AI 評分、教師評價、生生互評、析景、思景
拓	拓學	拓景、舉一反三

表 2 模式環節與課程流程對應關係

其中,『思景』為思政融入,『析景』為文化內涵分析,與『評』環節的自我反思相互補充,形成完整評價反思體系。模式保留了課程原有環節,增加了 OBE 理念指導和虛擬仿真技術支撐,使教學流程更系統,更具操作性。

四、研究設計與實施

課題組以筆者所在高校選修《山西導遊英語》課程的 48 名學生為研究對象,於教學期間使用支持景點全景流覽的 3D 虛擬漫遊系統平臺,共選取雲岡石窟、晉祠、平遙古城、五臺山四個山西景點,開展了虛擬仿真教學活動。

在體驗教學前,課題組通過問卷星平臺向學生發放了現狀問卷調查,內容圍繞虛擬仿真技術認知與使用、傳統導遊英語教學不足和學生對虛擬仿真教學期待三個主題展開,學生的導遊講解自信心也在問卷之列。

該教學體驗活動包含虛擬漫遊和模擬講解兩個部分。學生通過 3D 虛擬仿真平臺遊覽雲岡石窟、平遙古城、五臺山、晉祠四個景點,進行 360 度視角旋轉或縮放畫面,並嘗試進行全英文景點解說或小組對話。

教學體驗活動之後,課題組向學生發放了體驗回饋問卷,重點收集學生對虛擬漫遊教學的感知效果、自我評價以及總體滿意度等。

五、模式有效性驗證

(一) 現狀調查

指標	類別	百分比/平均分
使用虛擬仿真工具的頻率	從未使用	43.75%
	偶爾使用	27.08%
	使用過 1 次	14.58%
	經常使用	14.58%
對虛擬仿真應用於教學的態度	非常支持	60.42%
	比較支持	35.42%
	一般/不太支持	4.16%



續表

指標	類別	百分比/平均分
每週願意投入練習時間	30-60 分鐘	56.25%
	30 分鐘以內	29.17%
	1 小時以上	14.58%

表 3 學生對虛擬仿真的認知與態度(N=48)

95.84%的學生支持虛擬仿真,然 43.75%的學生從未使用過;超半數學生願意每週投入 30-60 分鐘練習,說明虛擬仿真教學有其可行性。

問題	選擇比例
缺少真實景點環境	75.00%
缺乏真實對話機會	75.00%
課堂練習次數有限	52.08%
實地實訓成本高	50.00%

表 4 傳統教學的主要痛點(多選,N=48)

傳統導遊教學主要痛點是缺少真實景點環境(75%)和真實對話機會(75%),證明了使用虛擬仿真的必要性。

多數學生認為,虛擬仿真教學能幫助他們提升現場講解的流利度和自信心,並期待虛擬仿真教學的持續運行。

(二) 體驗回饋

題項(1-5 分)	平均分	同意比例(4-5 分)
幫助理解英文表達	4.11	80.85%
對空間佈局的認識	4.04	76.60%
有必要預習景點	3.96	76.59%
身臨其境感	3.94	72.34%

表 5 虛擬漫遊的感知幫助(N=47)

80.85%的學生增強了理解英文表達的能力,76.60%的學生提升了空間佈局認識,76.59%的學生表示景點『預習』有助真實旅程的開啟。

題項(1-5 分)	平均分	同意比例(4-5 分)
更有信心開口講	3.98	78.72%
願意繼續參加	4.06	83.00%
比傳統課堂更有趣有效	4.04	76.60%

表 6 模擬講解的自我評價(N=47)

學生對模擬講解評分人均 4 分以上,認為教學體驗活動提升了導遊英語解說的信心,聲稱這樣的課堂有趣且有效。

指標	類別	比例
總體滿意度	非常滿意	51.06%
	比較滿意	44.68%
	合計	95.74%
希望體驗頻率	每週 1-2 次	53.19%
	每次課都用	23.40%
	合計	76.59%

表 7 總體滿意度與頻率期待 (N=47)

虛擬仿真實踐體驗教學總體滿意度為 95.74%，且 76.59% 的學生希望每週至少開展一次。

(三) 現狀調查與體驗回饋對比

存在問題	調查結果	體驗回饋	調查結果
缺少真實景點環境	75.00%	身臨其境感(均分)	3.94
缺乏真實對話機會	75.00%	願意繼續參加	83.00%
對虛擬仿真持支持態度	95.84%	總體滿意度	95.74%

表 8 現狀調查痛點與體驗回饋的呼應 (N=47)

開展模式教學後，學生對虛擬仿真進行了評分，學生都表示虛擬漫遊讓他們有身臨其境感，人均評分 3.94 分，表明虛擬仿真的應用解決了本課程教學場景缺失問題；超過五分之四的學生表示願意繼續參加仿真練習，說明本模式教學實現了人與人、人與景的交互；支持虛擬仿真教學的學生人數 (95.84%) 與滿意教學體驗活動的人數 (95.74%) 基本相當，證明了本模式教學很有效。

六、結論與展望

(一) 研究結論

本研究基於 OBE 理念構建了四個環節、五個層次的『導·演·評·拓』虛擬仿真實踐教學模式。通過研究發現，本模式教學能彌補傳統導遊英語場景缺失和交互缺少等短板，與此同時還能增強學生自信心，提升其語言綜合能力。

本模式教學的成功也證明 OBE 理念能較好地指導導遊英語教學，拓展其在語言類課程中的應用，為地區性培養國際化文旅人才提供了可借鑒的教學路徑。

(二) 研究局限與展望

本模式研究也有一些局限，首先是學生體驗時間較短，模式教學效果還沒有充分展現。本模式研究結果收集以主觀回饋為主，屬於自我報告性質，故其結論的客觀性說服力會有所欠缺。再則，本研究樣本都來自同一所學校且樣本量較小 (N=47/48)，因而結論的推廣性還有待加強。另外，研究使用的虛擬仿真平臺現有功能不多，還沒有一體化語音識別和 AI 自動評分功能，無形中加重了實際教學負擔。

在未來教學中，團隊將繼續開展虛擬仿真成效研究，延長模式教學週期，開展長效實驗，提升模式教學

可行性。結論收集會增加客觀能力測試,以增強結論的客觀性。為增強模式教學的可信度,後續研究還將擴大樣本收集範圍並繼續開發完善仿真平臺功能,為長效教學研究做好準備。

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